

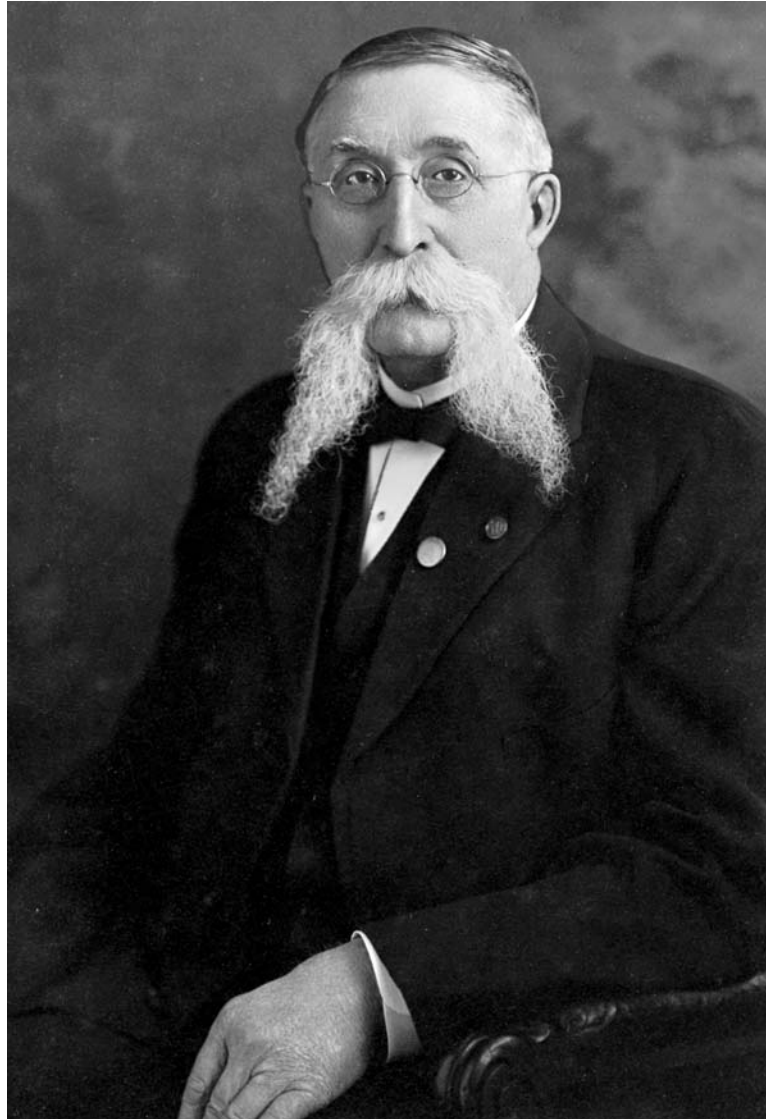
Voices of the American West, Volume 2



The Settler and Soldier Interviews of Eli S. Ricker, 1903–1919

EDITED BY RICHARD E. JENSEN

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Eli S. Ricker worked for the Office of Indian Affairs in Washington DC when this portrait was taken in 1916. RG1227.PH:1-4

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Soldier Interviews
of Eli S. Ricker, 1903-1919**

Edited by
Richard E. Jensen

UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA PRESS
LINCOLN AND LONDON

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Set in Bulmer by Tseng Information Systems, Inc.
Designed by R. W. Boeche.
Printed by Thomson-Shore, Inc.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Ricker, Eli Seavey, 1843-1926.
Voices of the American West, Volume 1 : the Indian interviews of Eli S. Ricker, 1903-1919 /
Eli S. Ricker ; edited and with an introduction by Richard E. Jensen.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN-13: 978-0-8032-3949-4 (hardcover : alk. paper)

ISBN-10: 0-8032-3949-1 (hardcover : alk. paper)

1. Indians of North America—Historiography. 2. Indians of North America—Interviews.
3. Pioneers—United States—Interviews. 4. European Americans—Interviews. 5. Indians of
North America—History. 6. Frontier and pioneer life—United States—History. 7. Ricker,
Eli Seavey, 1843-1926—Relations with Indians. I. Jensen, Richard E. II. Title.

E76.8.R53 2005

970.004'97—dc22 2005012016

ISBN-13: 978-0-8032-3967-8 [vol. 2]

ISBN-10: 0-8032-3967-x [vol. 2]

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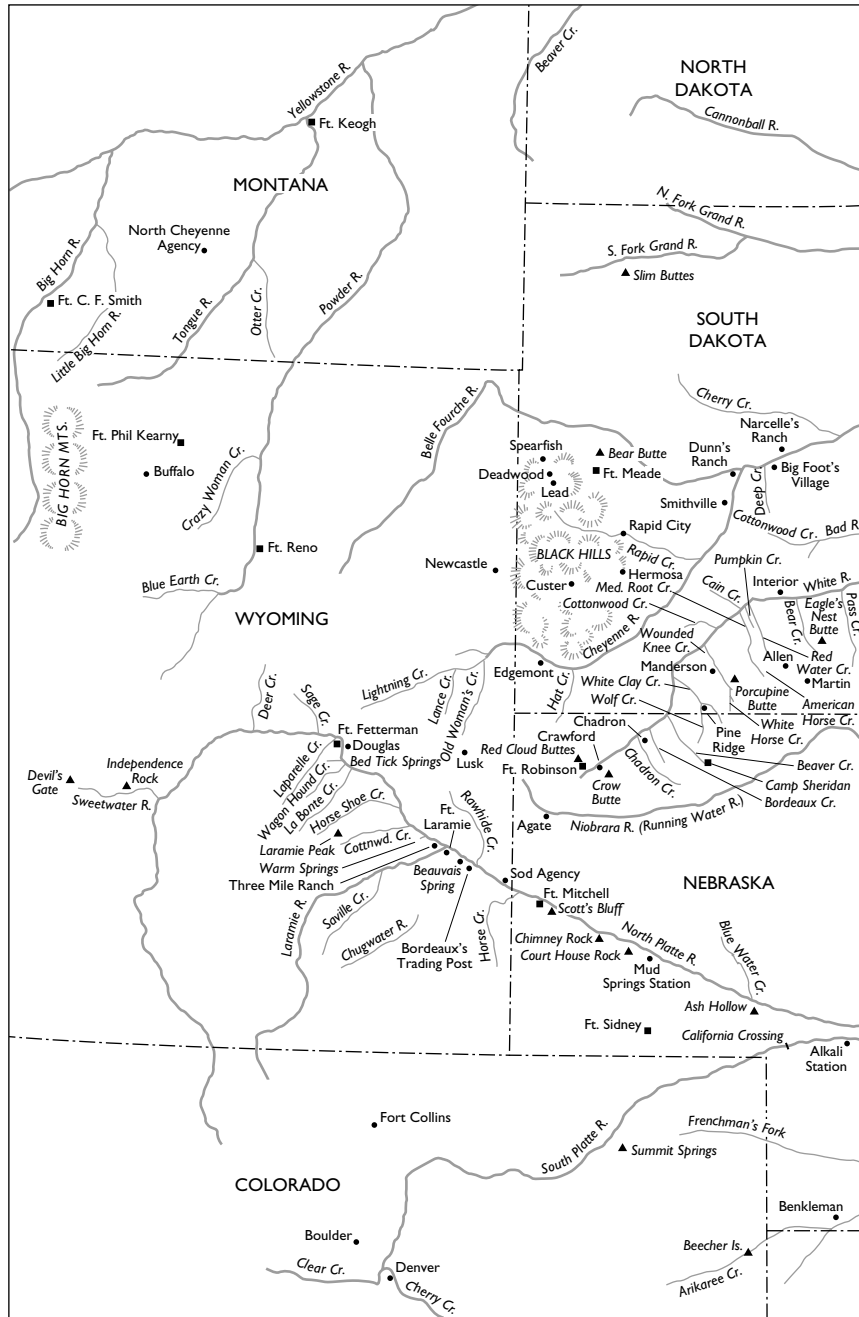
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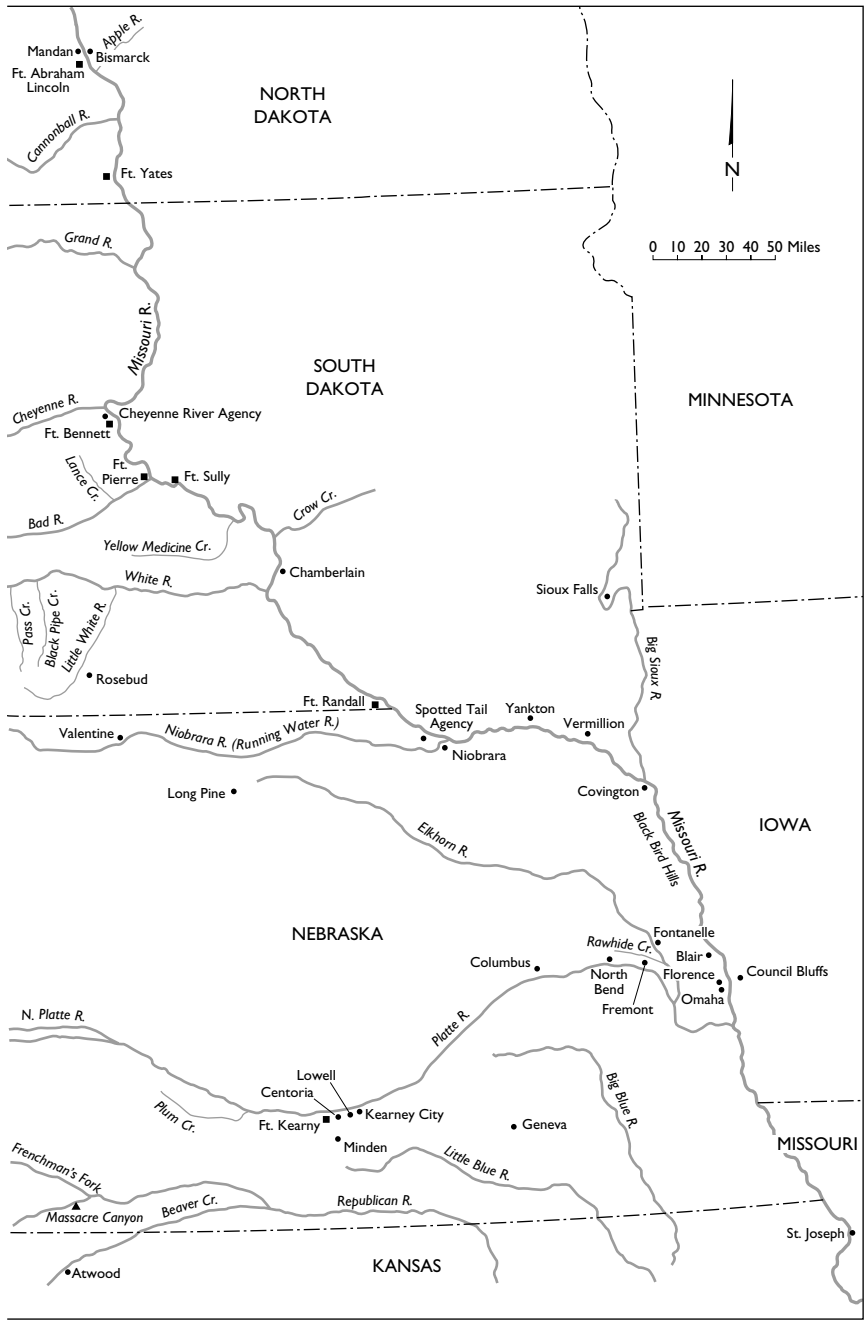
Introduction

Eli S. Ricker was forty-two years old when he settled in Chadron, Nebraska, in 1885. His wife and family joined him a year later. For the next two decades he practiced law, acquired a sizeable ranch, and then in January 1903 he and a partner began publishing the weekly *Chadron Times*. Ricker owned the paper for just over two years. It was during this time that he began interviewing people who could give him eyewitness accounts of historical events on the Plains. This was to be the basis of a book on Plains history, which he never wrote.

Voices of the American West, Volume 2



The West of Eli S. Ricker



1. Wounded Knee

[Peter McFarland's Interview]

[Tablet 31]

Personal Sketch of Peter McFarland who is (April 20, 1905) 35 years old and was 21 at W. Knee battle.¹ He was teamster for the Indian scouts under Capt. Taylor. Was at W.K. fight and all through it and in the center of it. He came back from W.K. & was ambulance driver for Col. Biddle.² In January, 1896, he began service in the Pack Train at Camp Carlin, near Cheyenne, Wyo. and in 1898 went with pack train to Alaska where he was three months and then shipped from Dyea, Alaska, to Tampa, Florida, via Seattle and St. Louis, and reached Cuba June 22, 1898, and was there four years, barring one trip back to the states which lasted three months. Was in the pack train service from the time he went in January, 1896.

Was first employed by the gov't. as ambulance driver in 1888.

Shipped from Cuba in 1902 and arrived at Fort Riley, Kansas, May 6, 1902, and came to Fort Robinson in August, 1904.

April 18, 1905. Wounded Knee

Peter McFarland, Packmaster at Fort Robinson, of Pack Train No. 3, says: He was a gov't. employee driving team for the Quartermaster Colonel Humphreys who was in charge of all the teams at Pine Ridge. (He is General Humphreys now.) Humphreys was the Quartermaster at P. Ridge then. McFarland was assigned to Capt. Chas. W. Taylor, Chief of Scouts, and served under him and Lieut. Guy Preston.³

McFarland went out from the Agency after Christmas (probably the 27th) with a four-line team which was in charge of Capt. Taylor, hauling grain, ammunition tents, etc; went with 7th Cavalry. Camped that night at Wounded Knee where the battle came off. Baptiste Garnier with some of the Indian scouts went out on the morning of the 28th and captured 2 or 3 of Big Foot's scouts who

were watching the troops.⁴ He brought them in and they were kept in McFarland's tent. Baptiste saw on the night of arrival at W.K. some of Big Foot's scouts hovering around. Next morning he went out and got behind these scouts and captured them. He discovered the location of Big Foot's camp on the Porcupine and on his return he conducted the 7th Cavalry out to the camp and Big Foot's band was brought in, arriving about, as it seems to him, as late as 2 or 3 in the afternoon. Tents had been put up by a detachment which had been left behind in the camp of the 7th at W.K., for the Indians to occupy, but on their arrival they would not occupy them for they seemed to want to camp near the dry gulch. They pitched their tepees in an irregular half moon. About 10 or 12 Indians sat up all night manifesting no desire to lie down; they stayed over by McFarland's tent where Big Foot was lying therein on Mc's buffalo overcoat which I have seen at Fort Robinson. Big Foot was very sick with pneumonia and had a white cloth tied around his head as though he was in pain. Little Bat [Baptiste Garnier] was at Mc's tent also and he sat up all night talking with the Indians in a low tone; they seemed to be discussing and talking over affairs. Bat told Mc that as Mc was lying in the tent asleep & was 20 yrs. old, that he himself stayed up all night to watch, saying that if the Indians had broke out that they would have killed Mc, & Bat was keeping them engaged in conversation to keep them quiet. Big Foot and Mc slept together in same tent. Big Foot was a man of large stature. A close chain guard was placed around the Indians and it encompassed the scouts. That is, the tent occupied by the scouts and Bat and Mc was in the enclosure.

Following is a description of McFarland's map of the W.K. field:⁵

[Figure 1]

1. House on Hill. There was a small shack on this hill and some hay was stacked there. Mc and Lt. Preston went up there and got some hay for their horses. Here were planted the Hotchkiss cannon. He thinks there might have been 3 or 4 of these. Cannot tell the number.⁶

2. Is where the hospital was. The wounded were brought and laid around this wagon. It was not a tent. They were laid on 2 stretchers and on blankets & anything else at hand. This is what he calls the Red Cross Ambulance, but it was handled by the military. It has a white flag with a red cross.

(There were some pack mules on the field with the wagon train.)

3. Troops and Transportation. The Transportation was parked in rear of the troops and close to the hospital wagon. The dots just above the words "Troops

and Transportation” mark the “Kitchen wagons.” The dots between the troop quarters and the “Officers” tents are the First Sergeants’ tents.

4. Officers Tents.

5. Close Chain Guard. On the east side of the ground enclosed by the chain guard are tents put up by the troops for the Indians to occupy when they came in, but which they would not use. He says it was understood that there were 319 Indians of all kinds in Big Foot’s band brought in; this is what Bat told him.

About 8 o’clock in the morning four dismounted troops were formed in a circle within the enclosure formerly made by the chain guard which had now been taken up. This circle is marked 5 and was an oblong & not a circle.

The night or day before, word was dispatched to the Agency stating that Big Foot’s band was captured and more troops were wanted to help disarm them. Four troops came out in the night accompanied by Col. Forsythe. Before his arrival Capt. Whiteside had been in command of the 4 troops and transportation of the 7th.⁷ These four troops which came in the night were camped behind the hill at the north and out of sight of the Indians. About the time the battle started Mc saw these 4 mounted troops dispersed to the southwest of the camp up on the high land evidently to prevent the Indians, if they should break away, from gaining the hills in that direction.

The Indian warriors were ordered to come into the oblong “circle” and to bring their arms and turn them over. They showed reluctance, looked down-cast—mad—but finally 60 or 70 or more out of 129 warriors came straggling in. They were asked to give up their guns, but none had any. Then they returned to their tepees. They all had on ghost shirts, which were covered up by their blankets.⁸ All had on the war paint; ~~their faces painted green striped with yellow~~ many had on their war feathers; some of the ponies were decorated with feathers in their tails and striped with the paint of battle. After awhile they began to come back; this time they sat down on the ground. Now 2 or 3 were taken at a time from the main body to the west end of the oblong “circle,” the guns were received there by a soldier who carried them out through the guard and piled them on the ground 30 or 40 feet away and beside the wagon to which the team was attached ready to haul them at once to the Agency. Lieut. Preston was sitting down on the pile of guns when the fight began. The search produced only 8 or 10 old firelocks [flintlocks].

When the warriors collected the second time Big Foot, assisted by another, came out into the “circle” and in the center kneeled down and remained there

and in that position until he was killed. Shortly after the search began the medicine man began to chant his war (?) song. The Indians had their arms concealed under their blankets. When the search began to bring out the good weapons the medicine man still singing facing the rising sun, his back to the Indians, waving his arms, he stooped down and with both hands grasped some soil and threw both arms outwardly scattering the dust. Instantly came an Indian volley. The fight was on with deadly effect. It was at close quarters and hand to hand. The Indians used guns, knives and war clubs. The women fired from the Indian tents. Philip Wells was wounded early in the action. Capt. Wallace was also killed near the east end of the "circle."⁹ Lieut. Preston, at the beginning of the action, mounted his horse and within an hour was at the Agency with word of what had happened. (It was safer than staying there.)

(The scouts were Indians and Little Bat was the chief. There were 24 or about that number. Excepting 4 or 5 of these scouts they all disappeared the first night that the 7th arrived at W.K. Nothing more was seen of them until two or three weeks afterwards they returned to the Agency.)

The center of the fight was at the "circle." One of the Indian scouts was High Back Bone who was thought to be half crazy. Early in the action he was seen by a soldier to flourish his revolver and whether it was excitement or a bad heart which was his incitement is not known, but his actions being seen, his running around was interpreted to mean that he had turned against the whites, and when he got down by the officers' tents a soldier shot him down.¹⁰

Where the center of the fight was were 50 or more Indians killed.

After the fight had continued awhile and the smoke rose so the field could be seen and the soldiers had been formed in line at 6, and some soldiers were formed in line on the top of the hill by the artillery, the Hotchkiss guns on the hill fired into an Indian wagon standing at 7. Several Indians were firing on the soldiers from behind this wagon. The shell sent into it knocked it into pieces and killed a number of warriors.

During the progress of the fighting an Indian slipped into the tent belonging to the scouts and occupied by Bat and McFarland, and he got Bat's gun and shot 2 soldiers. McFarland saw the smoke from Bat's rifle coming out of the scouts' tent at 8. Mc was standing behind his wagon at 9 which had been overturned; one of his mules was shot and the others, when the mule fell, cramped around and tipped the wagon over. When Mc saw what this Indian was doing (he saw two men fall when the shots were heard from the tent) he ran forward and notified some soldiers in the line at 6, and as they could not fire from that

position without striking the tents of troops nor without hitting some of the horses, they ran back to the first tent in the officers' row at 10 and from here they fired 2 or 3 volleys into the scouts' tent. An officer with the men who were firing on this tent told a trooper to go up to the tent and fire it; he said he would fix it, and he ran up and cut it open whereupon the Indian on the inside shot him in the breast and killed him instantly. This firing party continued to shoot into the tent while Mc ran up to the top of the hill where the cannons were and told the officer in command of the artillery that a Hotchkiss gun was wanted down on the bottom to shell the tent. One cannon was brought down and planted at 10 and a few shells were thrown into the tent. Then a soldier ran up and set the tent on fire and it was quickly burned down, and his [the Indian's] clothing took fire and he was burned and bloated up 2 feet high. He was found to have a bullet hole through his body and it is not known whether he had been killed by a rifle shot before the cannon was brought into requisition. Bat's gun which he had been using was burned "a little" on the stock. It was his best gun, the Hotchkiss rifle.

Dr. Seward Webb of N.Y. who used to come out on hunting trips gave Battee a fine breech-loading arm which Bat called his Hotchkiss rifle.

All the foregoing occurred in about three-quarters of an hour.

The Indians were pushed back into the gulch; some crossed it, others went up the gulch. Those who crossed fell back one by one going up the rising ground to the southwest where they made a stand at 11; the mounted cavalry above their position had before this time ~~disappeared and he does not know where they went~~ moved around to the west to get out of line of fire and here they found something to do in pursuing Indians who had escaped by running out of the gulch at the upper end or head. A lot of Indians were killed by these mounted men who had one of their number shot through the body. The fight of the Indians at 11 was kept up till the last one was killed. A Hotchkiss gun was run out on the flat in front of the Indian tepes and towards the gulch. From here a searching fire was kept up on the Indians who were lying low in the gulch; whenever and wherever one was seen to move, as they often did in shooting at the troops, a shell would be dropped where he was which either killed him or hunted and chased him out; he would spring right up and march toward the soldiers singing the death song, and was quickly killed by the watchful soldiers.

A straggling fire was kept up till the middle of the afternoon. This was due to the fact that the gulch was occupied by Indians who did not show themselves, but when a soldier got exposed a concealed Indian would pick him off.

So it was not only extremely hazardous but was almost certain death to advance towards or along the gulch, and this Hotchkiss gun was kept in action to drive them out whenever the position of an Indian was discovered or from any sign suspected. The gun was moved from position to position as was found necessary. A lieutenant with this Hotchkiss was wounded while the gun was doing its work against the Indians in this protected part of the field.¹¹

Mc says he saw one Indian who was scalped. He was lying in the gulch on his back.

McFarland went around by the road and got up where the Indians had all been killed at 11, and there he found a little girl about three years old, had light hair, she was standing and holding on to her dead mother's hair. He took the child and carried it to the Red Cross ambulance and it was received by an attendant. What became of the child afterwards is not known.

Wounded Indians got down to the creek in some manner (supposed to have crawled down the gulch) and many were found there afterwards both dead and wounded, some of them frozen.

A rumor got in circulation that a large force of Indians was coming from among the hostiles at the Agency.¹² This was late in the afternoon. Troops began making breastworks out of the bags of oats in the supply wagons, by carrying them up and putting them down on the hill north of the flat. This work had not gone far when there came an order to load up and start for the Agency. The dead and wounded soldiers and the wounded Indian women and children and the train and troops moved in and arrived at the Agency about one o'clock next morning. The Agency was all excitement, nobody being in bed.

Peter McFarland's Pine Ridge story continued: He says:

About Sept. 1889, Capt. Gilfoyle took an escort from Fort Robinson (McFarland was with him) and met General Miles at Rushville and took him to Pine Ridge Agency where Miles remained 2 or 3 days and was having some kind of a conference with the dissatisfied Indians.¹³ The party brought back four Indian chiefs who went with General Miles to Washington.

He further says:

That after he came back from W. Knee to the Agency on the night of Dec. 29, arriving about 1 o'clock on the morning of the 30th.

Early on the morning of the 30th the 9th Cavalry came into the Agency, having left their wagon train abt. 5 miles north of Agency in charge of D troop under command of Capt. Loud. When the wagon train or transportation was

within about 2½ miles of Agency just at break of day, they had an advance guard out, a party of 2 Indians advanced toward the advance guard & were mistaken for friendly Indians because ~~they were wearing~~ one wore U.S. Soldier overcoats with yellow cape lining, & when close to the ad. guard he shot one of the guard dead. The other advance guard then broke for the Agency and the other two Indians tried to head him off but he escaped from them and gave the alarm at the Agency. The wagon train then parked for protection till reinforcements could be brought out. The 9th came right out and dispersed the Indians and the train came in.¹⁴

The smoke down in the valley of the White Clay [Creek] from fires made by the hostiles the day before was rising lazily, and there was rumor that the Indians were going to attack the Mission, so the 7th Cavalry was sent out. (They were setting fires on the 30th.) The troops got into the bottom on the creek just north of the Mission, and at one time it looked as though the Indians had them in a pocket; the 9th was sent out to their assistance and they were extricated. Several were wounded and killed.¹⁵ The troops returned to Agency in the evening abt. 4 or 5 o'clock. The Indians went on down the valley. The night the troops came in from W.K. and the night of the 30th there was a chain guard around the Agency and teamsters and all able bodied persons were up all night and doing duty apprehensive of attack by the Indians.

On January 1, Gen. Brooke with an escort of 9th Cav. and 2nd Infy. went west & a little north 18 miles to the White River and camped that night. Leaving these troops there the next morning he went down the River visiting all the camps till he arrived at the mouth of W.K. where there was the 6th Cav. under Col. Carr. Between these two camps were, beginning next to Henry's camp and following the river was first, as you recollect, Ofleys, Wells and Sanford's camps but he does not know their order. ~~and says there may have been more.~~ From Carr's camp the general and escort returned up the river. There was a simultaneous movement now of all these camps converging toward the Agency.¹⁶

It should have been said before that when the general was going down the river they saw where two troops of the 6th Cav. had had a brush with the Indians, there being a little breastwork thrown up.

Henry's camp and Carr's were on the south side of White river, and the intervening ones on the north side. Carr's was in the angle of W. River and W. Knee creek.

Carr moved his camp up the river toward White Clay and the intermediate camps took up the march for the same point on the White Clay above the mouth

and just below (or north) of the Mission and all, comprising it was at the time said, 39 troops and companies, and all went into camp together at that place.

As Genl. Brooke went down the river he left his escort as he successively reached one camp after another, and took a fresh escort & went on.

He stayed in each camp a day while Little Bat went out over the hills and looked and watched to see if any Indians were around. One of these camps was called the Leavenworth camp because it was the camp of M [Troop] of the 5th Cav. and C Troop of [the] 9th Cav. which had come up from [Fort] Leavenworth. This is the camp where Lieut. Casey who had charge of the Crow scouts, was killed. (Thinks these scouts had come from up abt. Standing Rock.)¹⁷

Casey went out from Leavenworth camp against Bat's warning not to go out too far in that direction and up the valley. The hostiles were between Leavenworth camp and the Agency and Casey went out from this camp going south or nearly so and went up the valley, while Bat made a detour to the west through and over the hills west of White Clay creek. Casey went out with 2 Crow scouts of his command. As he went up over a hill an Indian scout (a hostile scout) shot him. His own scouts returned to Leavenworth camp and a detachment was sent out and his body recovered. He was a man large of stature, raw boned, etc.

McFarland says that the 8th Cav. was out there somewhere but does not know how they got there unless they were the ones that Big Foot's band got away from when they started from Standing Rock [Cheyenne River Reservation].

When the troops had all concentrated in the single camp north of the Mission and east of White Clay they were out of rations, and a wagon train of 25 or 30 wagons was sent in to the Agency for supplies with an infantry escort & McFarland was in the lead. They followed the road from the Mission to the Agency and on the way passed the hostile Indian camp which was surrounded by a chain guard & was flying a red flag (ticklish movement). The train had no trouble. The hostiles remained in their camp a few days and then they moved over south of the Agency, passing it on the west, moving up White Clay past Red Cloud's house going in single file with their ponies and teams on their right flank and the women and children in rear drawing out like a thread uncoiling from a spool, and they camped on White Clay just above American Horse's camp of friendlies.¹⁸

The troops then came right in behind them and were then put into camps around the Agency. In three weeks more by departures of a few at a time the

tepees had all disappeared—the Indians had gone. There were 600 Brulé Sioux Indians there at [the] Agency—he says the meanest of all the hostiles.

On the first ridge north of the Agency and left of the road to the Mission stood four Sibley tents serving a secret purpose in the concealment of four Rodman cannon which were placed there under cover of darkness and trained on the hostile camp, so that if a break had been made by the Indians these guns would have opened as a surprise on the enemy.¹⁹

Two Strikes was a leader of the hostiles. Also Jack Red Cloud.²⁰

Returning to Wounded Knee. Both McFarland and [W. F.] Clark say:

That a man named Campbell got his lower jaw shot off and afterwards was furnished with a silver jaw. He was loquacious to a degree but it is not said whether this change in his anatomical mechanism ever effected a cure of his habit of much speaking.

The wounded soldiers when brought in from W.K. in army wagons over frozen ground suffered terribly from the jolting and their groans were ~~terrible~~ and heartrending.

A light haired recruit for [the] 7th Cav. went up to W.K. with McFarland to join his command; he got a bullet through his head just below the ears. He was brought in with the wounded and dead and it was thought he was dead and was left out all night in the wagon in the cold night. Next morning when they were removing the bodies it was noticed that this young man moved. He was taken into the hospital, his wound was bandaged, in two days he was strolling about the Agency and he finally recovered (see Book 4, page 17, 62 recruits for 7th Cavalry).²¹

Capt. Mills of the 2d Infantry was sent out with his company north of the Agency to occupy the ridge with his company. He and his Co. had come up from Omaha with Gen. Brooke. He was well along in years. He marched his company to the foot of the ridge by the little creek & left them there till he went up on the hill himself to see if there were Indians before exposing his men. Nothing was done and he was at length recalled. This was on the afternoon of the 29th after the Indians had been firing and burning. He occupied his tent that night and in the morning was found sitting in his chair dead.²²

Jack Red Cloud was a bad Indian during these disturbances. After the trouble had subsided he was seen in the post-office by [W. F.] Clark and McFarland with streakings of ghost painting and with ghost raiment adorning his muscular frame.

Red Cloud was out in the hostile camp some time and on his return he stated that the hostiles obliged him to go, but it was believed that he went of his own accord.²³ The only reasonable supposition is that Red Cloud's native sympathies were with the hostiles — they could not well and naturally be placed elsewhere; but from his visits to the eastern section of the United States he had acquired visual knowledge of the strength of the white people, and he was too ~~shrewd~~ wise not to know that the power of the government was irresistible. On a former occasion he had expatiated to his people upon the grandeur of the white men's possessions and the vast number of their population, and because he was yielding to a sensible discretion there is good reason to say that his influence had to some extent declined among the younger and rasher members of his tribe.

When a Big Foot squaw was dying in the hospital she told another person that there was a plan for the Indians to carry secret arms on their persons and to simulate friendship for the whites, and at a concerted moment to begin a massacre of the white soldiers and people when they did not suspect danger. A lady school teacher on the Reservation who understood the Sioux language overheard this and reported it (Miss Emma ? Steckel; write her).²⁴ An order was issued by Gen. Brooke requiring all persons to carry arms all the time as stated in [W. F.] Clark's foregoing statement.

The first troops at the Agency were the 2d Infy. from Omaha and Co. C. of the 8th Infy. and 4 troops of 9th Cavalry. These troops all disembarked from trains at Rushville.

[Tablet 41]

Scalping of Indians

Indians were scalped at Wounded Knee. Peter McFarland told me of one lying in the draw scalped. He also said that he scalped one. Somebody was trying to get a scalp from an Indian without success, not knowing how to do it; and he volunteered to take it off, which he did with a jerk after he had made the circular incision.

[Charles W. Allen's Interview]

Charles Wesley Allen came west in 1871, and worked at Fort Laramie, Pine Ridge, and at Valentine, Nebraska, where he first learned the newspaper business. In 1885 he and two partners moved to Cha-

*dron and published the Chadron Democrat. Allen left the paper in 1891 to take up ranching south of Martin, South Dakota. In the 1930s he prepared a manuscript about this period of his life. Nearly one-third of it was devoted to his eyewitness description of the Wounded Knee massacre and events surrounding it.*²⁵

[Tablet C]

Wounded Knee Statement of Charles W. Allen

Chas. W. Allen of Merriman Neb. Dec. 23, 1903, says: He reported from Pine Ridge Agency for the New York Herald during the Indian troubles 1890. There were three New York Herald correspondents on the ground at Pine Ridge Agency during the war, viz; Chas. W. Allen, Alf. Berkholder and J. W. Jones. The latter remained only abt. 2 weeks & left. Allen remained until within 2 weeks of the time of the departure of the soldiers and Berkholder stayed till last minute.²⁶

A man named Miller who had a paper down at Blair or Mo. Valley was there only 3 or 4 days in the early part of the matter & did not show Berkholder who was the reporter in charge, that he had any authority from James Gordon Bennett who signed all the telegrams authorizing reporters to act for the Herald.²⁷ He finally left without writing anything for Bennett. Jones was there 2 wks. & left day before W. Knee Massacre. Write K. Managury [?] Editor New York Herald & ask for copy of all the correspondence from the War Correspondents at Pine Ridge Agency & W. Knee including Red Cloud's speech to the hostiles. Red Cloud had influence with the hostiles.

Charley Allen was the only N.Y. Herald reporter who was at W. Knee; Berkholder did not go out that trip.

The only papers represented on the ground of W. Knee were the Herald, Omaha Bee and Lincoln State Journal. Cressy represented the Bee & Kelly the State Journal. Journal's account was a fair general one; but the Bee & the Herald were the only ones that were full & perfect in detail. The Bee correspondent was a sensational writer & the bulk of stuff he sent in was exaggerated; but his a/c of the W. Knee fight is good, as he and Charley worked together in preparing their dispatches. He and Charley paid a messenger \$75 to carry their dispatches & letters to their papers to Gordon P.O.²⁸

Reinhart, the Photographer in Omaha has all the pictures ever taken & a fine collection. He made a national reputation.²⁹ Charley Allen says that at W. Knee the soldiers' tents were at the foot of the hill on which the monument

stands.³⁰ That south of these was the council which was surrounded by the soldiers. He thinks the cordon of soldiers was open one side—probably on one side—the side next the tents of soldiers south of the council where the pole stood was a row of Indian tents. Officers were searching these tents for arms and Charley Allen was with them when the firing began. It was from here that Charley ambled off on hands & knees, going west and finally up the hills to save himself. He says several times soldiers essayed to shoot him & he heard officers say to them that he was a white-man, and soldiers afterwards told him that they came near shooting him.

The soldiers that surrounded the council were between the army tents on the north at the foot of the hill and the Indian tents on the south. Charley Allen says about 20 of the Indians had been disarmed and their guns were stacked at one side with a guard over them (I should think from the way he pointed in his description that these were stacked on the west of the council circle; at any rate he pointed and said “they were stacked off to one side”). He says the Indians had guns concealed under their blankets and cartridge boxes shoved down their trowsers. He is the best authority for the reason that he was there with the business mission for the Herald to know the facts & was actually present witnessing the search for the purpose of reporting the facts. Besides, he is a calm man not inclined to fiction, fancy or sensation but his characteristic methods are careful, accurate and truthful. It is manifestly true that only a part of the Indians were disarmed, and the smaller part at that. It was thus possible for the Indians to have the chance to kill as many soldiers as were killed. This can be the only reasonable solution. Charley says he heard a shot and then as he expresses it “it went like pop corn.”

I asked him the question how it started, and his answer indicated that he did not know definitely, but said what I have stated, and spoke as though it is the common agreement that a “crazy” or excited ghost-dancing young Indian discharged his piece at the guard over the guns, and then the shooting began in deadly earnest and became general.³¹

Here is where coolness and discipline should have been displayed to avert the tragedy. If these had been present no doubt a more humane result could have been recorded. Instead of allowing the act of this one Indian to become a pretext for starting the fire which led to loss of many lives on both sides, the transgressor should have been seized and put under guard till all the Indians had been disarmed. Charley Allen & Berkholder went out with the first de-

tachment of 7th Cavalry which went to intercept Big Foot's band, and after they had been met matters dragged along without any occurrences & these two men were out there with only a camping outfit and tent; so they returned to the Agency. When the rest of the 7th was sent up to W. Knee Charley went along but Berkholder stayed behind, and so Charley was the only authorized reporter who witnessed the W. Knee fight. But when he and Burkholder got together at the agency they prepared the report in conjunction.³²

[Tablet 11]

Following is Charley Allen's Map of Wounded Knee [Figure 2]

Ask Allen how long the battle lasted.

" Abt. cannon

" " commands of officers

" " calls to Inds. to sit up

Wounded Knee (Continued)

Allen, S.D. Wednesday, Aug. 21, '07.

Charles W. Allen says: He was at the battle of W.K. and was on the field during the fighting.

He was present at the council. He saw Big Foot brought out of his tent and placed close to the circle. The Indians were stubborn and opposed to surrendering their arms. Big Foot talked to them feebly but without much influence. The medicine man harangued them. He was a fine orator, if there ever was one. (As Mr. Allen could not understand what he said, and has given me what he was told that he said, I will not put it down.) He says that the medicine man gathered up some dust and swirled it [in] the air to illustrate as he was told. Getting tired of the council which to him resembled a ward caucus, he went over to where the soldiers were disarming the Indians. Little Bat was here and John Shangrau. The soldiers had got about two thirds the way around. In front of one tent a woman was lying on the ground. A soldier engaged in the search said: Roll that woman over; maybe there is a gun under her. Another turned her over exposing a gun handsomely concealed. In another place a girl was found covering up some kind of firearms in like manner. The soldiers were searching the bags of knives and forks and taking all the murderous weapons. The wagons that the squaws had partly or wholly loaded were unloaded and examined for arms.

He saw the little children in numbers playing about the tents like little chil-

dren around a country schoolhouse. Two hours afterwards he saw the same children lying dead or wounded where they had been cavorting in mirth just a little while before.

While this search was going on he heard a shot. In a moment came the popping of soldiers' guns, and men, women and children began to fall. The Indians broke to get away. He says the officers could have had no expectation of battle, or the dispositions of the soldiery would have been different.

Big Foot was killed in this manner: Some of the Indians feigned that they were dead; Big Foot did so as one of that number, or he laid down because he was unable to sit up; at any rate, he was lying on his back. He raised up. (~~Was it when the call was made to the Indians, as Paddy Starr says, to raise up and be saved? Others have said that calls were made to the Indians.~~)³³ Big Foot raised up; as he did so a soldier who was standing among other soldiers and one officer, leveled his gun at the chief and shot him in the back and he fell back dead. Big Foot's daughter was standing by the Big Foot tent; she saw this dastardly deed and ran towards her father; as she did so, a lieutenant snatched a gun from the hands of a soldier and shot her in the back. She fell dead on the spot and her spirit kept company with that of her sire. This officer was Lieutenant Reynolds. My informant stood with this group of officers and soldiers and saw these things done. These facts are absolute and certain. (In writing, the name of the officer is to be suppressed. My pledge was given never to let it be known who it was that gave me the name of this officer. It was on this condition that he gave it. There is no mistake as to who it was. My informant rode by his side to the Agency after the butchery and heard him addressed by name many times. My informant is an acquaintance of 22 years and thoroughly trustworthy. Lieutenant Reynolds was the man.)³⁴

Lieutenant Garlington was on Cemetery Hill with a troop. He was wounded in the elbow.³⁵

He [Allen] says the bright sun was shining in Big Foot's face and he thinks he rose up on that account.

He says the council was not assembled until 8 or 9 o'clock A.M. The fighting began about 11 A.M. The main fighting was done in half or three-quarters of an hour, but the excitement lasted two hours. The troops and train did not leave the field for the Agency until about 3 o'clock P.M. It was after one o'clock at night when they arrived at the Agency.

Says no cannon was fired into the tent where the Indian was shooting from; but a soldier went up and cut a slit in the tent and the Indian shot him in the

breast. Then the cry came to burn the tent. It was set on fire. The Indian was scorched brown and the stock of Little Bat's gun was burned.

Lieut. Garlington had his troop on Cemetery hill. He was wounded in the elbow. He was left there with a guard and his troop was sent west along the road and up the hill to head off and beat up the Indians. The troop of gray horses was the farthest west and on the road up the ridge to the west; this was commanded by Capt. Jackson, and was stationed out there to ward off Indian reinforcements & to pick up stragglers Indians.

The military took all the wounded, red and white into the Agency when they went in; but when the party went out a few days later—the party Dr. Eastman and George E. Bartlett were with—this party found a few, as stated by Dr. Eastman—a few who had been missed.³⁶

Charley Allen says the squawmen taught the first lessons of civilization to their wives—taught them to make tables and get their meals off the ground—taught them to make garden and raise vegetables, taught them to dress like white women.

Squawmen filled an honorable place—did a necessary service—they learned the Indian languages and were indispensable to the military, to the civil power—to the government in every way—as interpreters, guides, trusted assistants and helpers.

(Read the letter of Reno in the back part of Tonda. Charley Allen says what he affirms of squawmen is untrue.)³⁷

Charley Allen says it was not possible for white men of any character to be with the Indians against Reno. White men cannot live among the Indians in time of war with the whites, though they be squawmen. If white men at such time fight on the side of the Indians against the whites and attract attention by their bravery and prowess, they arouse the jealousy and enmity of the Indians, of those especially who are ambitious for honors. Again, their lives would be unsafe from other cause. The squaws mourning for their dead, killed by white men, would in obedience to the law of their race which is the law of Israel—“an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth”—would have killed them. A squaw seeing a white man, for instance lying asleep, having lost a relative at the hands of a white man would bury an axe or a war club in the sleeper's head. This would appease the spirits which were calling out from the ground for her dead to be avenged with the blood of a white man.

Appleton, chief clerk and acting agent at Red Cloud furnished atonement with his life for a white man who killed an Indian.³⁸ This was the law of Indian

society and government. When any person says that white men were fighting in the ranks of the Indians against the whites it is pure fabrication.

At Wounded Knee C. W. Allen heard no commands of officers at the opening of the fight. He thinks the affair was an accident of war, very deplorable, yet an accident. The officers were free from the influence of liquor in the morning. During the night before, there had been some conviviality. Allen was with Major Whiteside, Captain Wallace and other officers that night; they were not intoxicated, but felt well.

Allen says there were soldiers drawn up as Philip Wells avers; but there were also a cordon of soldiers thrown around the council, and it was impossible for these soldiers to shoot without killing one another.

Suppose (I say) that it was an accident. Why should the soldiers have fired when no shots had been poured into them? Was there no authority and no discipline among officers and soldiers? Could they not wait till the recalcitrant Indian or Indians who forcibly refused to deliver their guns were overcome and restrained? It is said Indians in the council arose when the first shot occurred. Was it not natural that they should do so without intention to fight? The action of the troops was overhasty, premature, and more like a mob than trained soldiery.

[Meded Swigert's Interview]

Meded Swigert was an eyewitness to the Wounded Knee massacre. Charles Allen met him and said he was a "hotel man" from Gordon, who came to Pine Ridge simply to satisfy his curiosity.³⁹

[Box 19]

M. Swigert who lives 15 miles southeast of Gordon and has a son in business in G. [Gordon, Nebraska] was on the battle ground at the outbreak and is the man who on foot outran Jim Asay to a log house for protection. Asay was in a light wagon with a barrel of whiskey.⁴⁰ See Swigert. He has a telephone.

[Tablet 14]

M. Swigert's Map March 31, 1905⁴¹

M. Swigert of Gordon says: _____ Miller was correspondent of the Neb. State Journal.⁴²

He says: That the 7th Cav. went up from the Agency before the battle on Monday, and he followed them up.

He says the only troops in the battle were the 7th Cav. & no Infy.

After breakfast the Cav. got ready and went up over Cemetery hill and headed down toward the trader's house and came around up to the east of the tepees. (See map.) The two leading companies were dismounted and four horses were held by one trooper. Col. Forsythe ordered the Indians to come to council, and Little Bat interpreted to the haranguer who cried "Come to Council! Come to Council!"

The Indians came out of the tepees bringing the little boys with them and they sat down on the ground. Col. F. ordered a chain guard thrown around, in an oblong hollow square abt. 60 x 100 feet, the soldiers standing 4 to 6 ft. apart. Col. Forsythe observing that Indian boys were in the council asked why they were there. And Chief Big Foot said those boys had proved themselves brave and they had a right there by that reason. That when an Indian boy had proved his bravery he was recognized of right as a warrior. Forsythe then said if they want them in the Council let them stay. The Colonel then told them that the Great Father had sent him there to take their arms and ammunition and that the G.F. would pay them what they were worth; that they should go back to their homes at Standing Rock; that he would send a wagon train with them to help them back and a company of soldiers to guard them and see them safe home; that the Indians at Pine Ridge were excited and that there were some bad Indians among them, and that if these were to go there it would make trouble. The Indians cried out in one acclaim "Lille Washta, lille washta" (Very good; very good!).

Then Col. F. said to let ten (Indians) go from this end of the council & ten from the other end go to their tepees and get their guns & ammunition. At first they hesitated, then went strolling off leisurely or slowly as though they were disinclined to do as told. They were gone to the tepees abt. ½ an hour and seemed to be moving around uneasily. ~~When they returned (the first 20)~~ When some had returned more went out, and abt. an hour was consumed before all had come back, and it was declared by them that they had brought all they had. They turned over a lot of old, worthless guns numbering about 60; these were piled in 2 piles, one pile in front of Big Foot's tepee at the east end of the council or square, and the other pile near the west end, as parties had been sent out from each end and they returned where they had respectively gone out. These piles were under guard of soldiers. Col. Forsythe now said to them, "When you passed under examination as prisoners yesterday you had 160 good guns,

and you have brought only 60 old, worthless guns that were not counted.” The Indians, it must be remembered, were now standing up; they did not sit down on their return as is usual in council. He then said, “You must go and get those guns & fetch them in, for we know they are here inside our guard line, and we must have them. And I will have the men search the tents and the grounds till we find them.” The Indians stood there talking and declaring that these were all, Little Bat interpreting what was said, the Indians remaining in their places, showing no disposition to go as directed or to give up their arms.

Six soldiers were now sent to search the tepees. They returned in abt. ½ an hour bringing two guns and stated that these were all they could find & that they found 2 Indians with the guns. While they were talking one of the guards called out, “This Indian right here has a Winchester; the wind blew his blanket up against it & I saw it;” another guard said this Indian [had] a six shooter and a belt of cartridges on him; then another guard cried out, “They are all armed!” “Search them!” said the Colonel, directing the searching party to search the Indians. Then 2 or 3 seized the Indian with the Winchester and took it from him; then the medicine man threw off his blanket and revealed that he was painted blue, being naked except leggings, and breech clout & a head dress, and covered with yellow spots [the] size of ½ dollar (silver). He began to jump and dance backward and forward before the Indians and sing a war chant; he stooped down to the ground and took up a handful of dirt and made two signal motions — opened 2 fingers and threw up a part of the dirt, then made 2 steps sideways and threw up the balance over the heads of the Indians.⁴³ Little Bat the chief interpreter cried out in a loud voice, “Look out, they are going to shoot!” Just then the whole band of Indians threw their blankets in the air and opened fire. The troops were taken by surprise. The men holding the horses turned them loose. The civilians (11 in number) fled to shelter. Teamsters sought protection behind their wagons and any other objects. The horses tied on either side of camp [by] ropes instinctively lowered their heads and held them down crowding close together; the women and the little girls poured over the bank into the gulch where they had dug a ditch the night before abt. 18 inches wide & deep and abt. 80 or 100 ft. long, in which they laid down for protection.

(After the chain guard had been placed these men were ordered to load their pieces which they did.) Everything was in instant panic on the field. The chain guard returned the fire. Opposite lines poured relentless shots into comrades as well as into Indians. The soldiers, as well as Indians were under double fire. Many fell by the hands of their own men.

Mr. Swigert ran down to the trading house distant 175 paces and took shelter and remained about an hour.⁴⁴ A soldier also came (also Asay and 2 or 3 others with him) behind this house. The bugle sounded the order to fall back into line. Then followed several volleys of small arms. The Hotchkiss guns were fired at this time. (There were 3 or 4 of these, but one became disabled at the outset.) When the firing had about ceased all behind the house went back to the field. When the soldiers fell back under orders & formed the line of battle the troops came into view of the trench on the north side and at the bottom of the gulch under the bank, and the killing and wounding of the women & girls here now took place. As soon as the fire was directed on these they began to move about and it was discovered that they were women and the firing on them was stopped. The Indians fled in all directions, mostly to the south and west, and were pursued and shot down. Some were killed half a mile from the central field. The dead lay thickest on the council ground, soldiers and Indians together, in places 3 deep. Big Foot who was sick and during the council was sitting in front of his tent was killed there. An Indian sprang into the scouts' tent, where there were a lot of guns and ammunition and from this place he shot several of the soldiers; when the firing from this place was noticed a return fire was directed to this spot. A Hotchkiss threw a shell into the tent, which set the tent and the ammunition on fire, and the Indian was killed and burned. After the firing had ceased on the field two Indians were in a little depression up the gulch abt. 300 yards from the field, and they were concealed by big grass and from here they kept up a fire on any soldiers in sight. A soldier was detailed to go up the gulch to tell these to stop firing and to come in as prisoners, and that they would be protected. They refused to surrender saying that their friends were all dead and that they were ready to die too. A cannon was then trained on them. One shell was all that was needed to stop shots from there. At this moment a team appeared in sight hurrying as fast as they could going up out of the gulch. The officer asked the gunner what they were. He looked through a glass and said they were Indians, and the officer said, "Can't you stop them?" The gun was trained on the wagon; there were five in the party — 2 men being on the ground whipping and urging the horses; the shell exploded with terrible effect, tearing horses, wagon and Indians in pieces. An eye witness says the sight was as if a pile of rags had been thrown into the air. All were killed except a small baby which General and Mrs. Colby afterwards adopted. This child was in this wagon. Mr. Swigert says ask the mother of Frank Goings at the agency whether this is the baby that the Colbys took.⁴⁵

He says that the soldiers did not bury the Indian dead. A party of citizens went out from the Agency and buried these.

He says he saw a woman running west with a pappoose on her back. A shot killed her. The child was old enough to sit up but could not walk. He told one of the Indian scouts to go and get this child and take it to the squaws near the hospital. The scout tore open the mother's dress and pressed the infant down to the mother's breast, when it went to nursing.

An Indian man & woman mounted on horseback were escaping along the road toward the Agency. These were torn into fragments by a shell. There must have been 30 or 40 Indians who got away and saved their lives. An Indian boy and girl in the early part of the action, caught two of the horses which were turned loose by the soldiers who were holding them when the firing began, and rode to the hostile camp and told the hostiles to turn back, as those at the creek had been disarmed and killed. There were a number of women who were uninjured and these with the wounded women were taken to the Agency. The wounded women and men were taken to the Episcopal Church at the Agency.

Mr. Swigert thinks that under the orders that Col. Forsythe had there was no escape from the fight as the Indians would not give up their arms. Forsythe was obliged by orders to disarm the Indians and the Indians would not be disarmed. It was like an irresistible force meeting an immovable object.

Afterwards, within a few weeks, a convoy of wagons and soldiers took the surviving Indians back to Standing Rock.

He says that in the old and unused building in N.E. cor. are piled the old arms and remnants which were gathered up after the battle.

About the 3d or 4th of Jan., 1891, word was bro't to the Agency that the Indians had burned the large log school house at the Mission and several houses belonging to friendly Indians. The report was that the people at the Mission were standing the Indians off. The 7th Cav. was sent out to the Mission. The Comdg. officer sent back for reinforcements. The 9th was then sent out. These were colored soldiers. The Indians drew off down the White Clay.⁴⁶

This affair on the W.K. was hushed up; there was anxiety to keep a part of the truth from the public; this was evident from the uneasiness manifested by some in authority; officers had at least one conference with the civilians asking what they knew and warning them not to say too much. This was probably to shield Forsythe who had been put under arrest.⁴⁷

Mr. Swigert says there were eleven civilians at the battle namely; James F. Asay, Charles Cressy, _____ Miller, Charley Allen, Dick Stirk, J. H.

[Thomas H.] Tibbles, Jack Newman, M. Swigert, Joe Brown Jr., Father Craft the priest who was afterwards wounded, and Philip Wells.

(April 23, 1908. Mrs. Keith told me about Tibbles' coming out to W.K. but I think he had gone back to the Agency when the fighting occurred. I think Mr. Swigert was mistaken as to him.)⁴⁸

Write to J. H. Tibbles and ask for anything he can furnish abt. W.K.

The Indians relied on the medicine man's incantations and pretensions. When the fight began and they saw their friends falling around them they were cruelly disenchanted and fled for escape. They were truculent in disappointment. This was shown by the maddened hatred of the wounded Indian who asked to be moved and placed by the side of the misleader, and who when this was done viciously plunged his knife into his dead body three or four times.

(Apr. 23, 1908. This incident is partly confirmed by some other person whom I do not recall.) It turns out to be Guy Vaughn.⁴⁹

[Guy Vaughn's Interview]

[Tablet 14]

Guy Vaughn of Chadron says: That he was present at the battle of Wounded Knee as a courier with Capt. Wallace when his command left the Agency to go to W.K. The 7th Cavalry all went out from the Agency at the same time and were most of two days in reaching W.K. They went into camp that night, the 28th as near as he can recollect, and next morning 29th, after breakfast the command formed in line and moved forward from the camp which was on the opposite side of W.K. creek from where the fight took place, and advanced to the creek facing the Indian camp and crossed the creek and formed in the shape of a letter V.

The Medicine man threw dirt in the air and yelled and the braves threw off their blankets and began firing. The soldiers threw themselves on the ground. Thinks no order was given by any officer to fire. The firing at once became general. The positions of the soldiers were changed several times.

As Guy recollects Capt. Wallace was wounded in the left shoulder and pretty high up. Does not think the wound would have killed him, at any rate not immediately, and so he thinks he was first struck with the war club. When he saw him the Captain was lying on his face. Saw Big Foot first after he was killed; he was lying flat on his back, his arms spread out, and a bullet hole through the middle of his body. Several dead bodies were lying close by him.

Guy saw a wounded squaw crawl on her hands and knees some ten yards

with a butcher knife in her teeth and plunge the knife into his [a soldier's] breast. She was found after the battle was over clutching the knife in her hand, lying beside the dead soldier with a bullet hole through her head, showing that someone had given her this as a recompense for the vengeance she had wreaked on the dying soldier who had tried to evade her blow.

(Guy belonged to the Nebraska National Guard and left W.K. with a dispatch from Capt. Taylor, chief of scouts. Delivered the message at Rushville, remained 12 hours at R. and then went by rail to Long Pine and went to drumming up the company to which he belonged which rendezvoused at Long Pine.)

[Francis M. J. Craft's Letter]

Father Francis M. J. Craft, S.J., a longtime missionary to the Lakotas, accompanied Forsyth's command to Wounded Knee on the evening of December 28. He said he went there "to see if I could be of any service . . . by going among the Indians and reassuring them." During the mêlée he received a serious stab wound that pierced his right lung.⁵⁰

[Box 2]

St. Matthew's Rectory

East Stroudsburg, Pa.

Jan. 16th 1907

Dear Mr. Ricker,

Your kind favor of Dec. 22d received. I regret very much that I have not the time to write up for you the matters you mention, as they should be carefully prepared, if mentioned at all. I can only say that any reports as to soldiers or officers being in any way to blame for the battle of Wounded Knee Creek, or that they hunted down & killed Indian women & children are entirely false. The women & children were killed—most of them at the beginning of the battle—by the fire of the Indians themselves, when they fired, without provocation, upon the troops, beyond whom the women & children were standing. All the women & children who were saved, were saved by soldiers, at the risk, & in many cases, at the cost of their own lives.

The enclosed copy of a sketch [not found] is not quite correct. I have seen it before, & learn that it was sketched from a description, (& not by an eyewitness) & probably refers to the death of either Private Kelly, or Private McCue of the 7th Cavalry. [Here appears a long paragraph on the derivation of

his name.] I regret very much that I have not the time to aid you as you request, but it would take more time than I can possibly spare.

With kindest wishes, I am, very sincerely yours,
Francis Craft.

[John W. Butler's Interview]

[Tablet 16]

John W. Butler of Agate says he was at W. Knee as a packer in charge of the pack train. He says that the Indians were got into a circle, as others state, to be disarmed. Col. Forsythe came to him the night before & told him to be ready next morning at 6 a. m. with the pack train to start for the Agency, and he got ready as ordered. Butler was not a soldier then but had been employed by the Q.M. at Fort Robinson as a civilian packer.

The Indians were ordered to come & turn in their guns but as only one or 2 were bro't Forsythe ordered Capt. Wallace by saying, "Capt. Wallace, select a detail and go and search those tepees, & see whether they have any firearms and steel pointed arrows and if they have any take them; if they haven't any we will proceed on into the Agency." (Wallace was the ranking Captain on the ground.) Wallace told Butler to come with him, remarking to him that he did not want to take any of those white soldiers as they would fool with the squaws etc. Wallace was accompanied by Lieut. Smith of D Troop to which Capt. Wallace belonged, and Lieut. Preston of 9th Cav. who was in charge of the scouts.⁵¹ These 4 went to a tent & searched it & found a lot of new guns & passed them out to soldiers & then went to next tent. It was at the first tent that Butler passed out a new war club to Wallace who said he would keep it & hang it in his office. He put it under his arm. Butler & Smith went into the tent and found guns & handed them out. They were carrying them out to number them & put them into a pile. They were each numbering them & laying the guns down between these 2 officers. Wallace got Butler's knife to mark a gun for Butler. He told Butler he could have [?] it. He handed the knife back & stooped down to lay the gun on the ground, and while in the act an Indian in the circle jerked the war club from under Capt. Wallace's arm & struck him in the head & he fell dead. Lieut. Smith instantly shot the Indian who fell by Wallace; their feet lay between the legs of each other.

[Shorthand next six pages]

[James R. Walker's Interview]

Dr. Walker received his medical degree at Northwestern University in 1873. He practiced medicine at Leech Lake, Colville, and the Carlisle Indian School before coming to Pine Ridge in 1896. In 1902 anthropologist Clark Wissler visited the reservation and encouraged Walker to carry out investigations into Lakota culture. Even the most conservative Lakotas came to trust Walker, which enabled him to gather a massive amount of data on native religion and beliefs. Walker retired in 1914.⁵²

[Tablet 17]

Interview with Dr. J. R. Walker, Agency Physician, Pine Ridge, November 21, 1906.

Dr. Walker has been at this Agency in official capacity eleven years.

He it was who wrote the article on Wounded Knee published in Appleton's Book-Lovers Magazine in _____ 1906, and which was sold through Rex Beach. This was the statement of Dewey Horn Cloud (now Beard) in his own words as near as could be.⁵³

Upon the subject of Wounded Knee the doctor states:

That Beard told him that Big Foot's mission was peaceable; he was coming to the Agency for a peaceable object; that he encountered the soldiers drawn up in battle array, but he approached them in careless order as he had been moving across the country, without hostile attitude on his part, and showed all possible intention to be friendly. The commanding officer took Big Foot into a conveyance and moved off with him, followed by the troops, and these were followed by the Indians themselves. Thus they all came to Wounded Knee; the soldiers went into camp; Big Foot was put into a tent; and the Indians went into their own camp untrammelled by orders from the military.

The critical question is on the beginning of the action—the spark from which the flame arose. The father of the Horn Clouds was a doubting Thomas in the matter of the new Messiah worship. When affairs were drawing to a head in the search for arms, Horn Cloud tauntingly told the medicine man that now was the time to test and prove the efficacy of his new gospel.

The medicine man has been accused by the whites of throwing up dirt into the air and waving a blanket or some emblem as a signal for action. This was only the ordinary procedure through which he went in the ghost dance. It hap-

pened at this moment that the searching party came to two certain young men who had Winchester rifles for which they had paid good prices, and they were not willing to give them up, though their disposition was peaceable and they would have surrendered their ammunition without resistance.

An officer ordered a noncommissioned officer and a private to disarm the two young men. They advanced toward these, and one of them dropped his piece nearly to the position of guard against infantry, when the two soldiers retreated as though they anticipated that he would shoot if farther pressed. The Indian laughed at their evident fear. Just then Beard heard a shot and he looked around. A moment later he heard two shots and saw the two Indians fall. This was the beginning of bloodshed, and from now on it flowed continuously till the madness for blood and murder had ~~nothing more to feed on~~ left nothing but dead and dying.

It should be said that the conviviality among the officers the night before was well known by enough responsible persons to leave no doubt on this point.

(Mr. R. C. Stirk has told me that this pleasure was carried to a pretty high pitch, and that the line officers were going from tent to tent congratulating Col. Forsythe on his capture of the Indians.)

Dr. Walker is of the opinion that intoxicants had undue effect in producing the result of the disarmament.

Black Fox and Yellow Turtle were the two young men who opened the battle of W.K. See Dr. Walker's article published in Appleton's under the name of Rex Beach.

In 1897 the authorities began getting the Indians to take the names of their fathers.

My Map of Field of Wounded Knee⁵⁴

(This is not Dr. Walker's narrative. One of the Indian police told it to me. The policemen are paid \$20 a month. They are distributed over the Reservation. They come into the Agency from their homes on detail, as it were, and stay at the Agency on duty about three weeks and then return home and continue on duty there. They keep eight here at the Agency on duty.)

Dr. J. R. Walker says that Chas. W. Allen told him that Big Foot came out of his tent and sat down in front of it. When the firing began Big Foot's daughter ran towards him and he was shot just before she reached him; she gave an outcry and stooped over him. An officer seized a gun in the hands of a soldier and shot her and she fell over on her father.

Dr. Walker speaks of the cannon being trained on a wagonful of Indians escaping in a southeast direction and fired into them and all and everything were killed and demolished.

A woman and two children escaped down the ravine and got into W.K. Creek and were followed by soldiers and shot in the creek. Dr. Walker says he has heard from other sources of this incident of the killing of these in this manner. Antoine Herman, an intelligent half-breed who helped bury the dead, told Dr. W. that these bodies were found in the creek. Antoine Herman lives in Kyle.

Dr. Walker says that Red Cloud was not a chief but a head warrior. Mr. Samuel Deon has told me the same thing. Dr. Walker adds that Red Cloud was cruel. Once he and some other Indians held up a train or engine on the U.P. R.R. and fed the fireman into the fire box.

Another story of this character is, that the Doctor mentions, that at another time Red Cloud and some of his friends tied a railroad employee to a telegraph pole and shot his body full of arrows. These acts are not unlike what American Horse related to me about his shooting stealthily some Indians that he crept up on.⁵⁵

Dr. Walker's management of Ghost Dancing at Leech Lake where he was Agent in 1890.

When the Messiah delusion gained some progress at Leech Lake some of the Doctor's Indians brought the matter to his knowledge, and he invited them into his office and talked the subject over with them in a deliberative manner. They told him that the Messiah was to come and destroy the white people and to restore the earth to the Indians as it once was with all its benefits; that their dead would be restored to them, and a new era of the ancient happiness which blessed their fathers would descend upon them. They particularly stated that their Messiah taught them to do no wrong.

Their confidence was very strong that they were to see a period of great rejoicing long delayed. Dr. Walker told them that if what they had told him was true, the Great Spirit was behind it all, and if he was planning this good for them it would come to pass and be right; but if they were mistaken in these pleasing anticipations—if these truly good things had not been planned for them by the Great Spirit, they would fail to realize them and all their dancing and rejoicing would come to naught, and they would know whether they were in error. They made known to him their purpose to do no harm nor wrong and that their Messiah had taught them these principles.

He admonished them that they must cleave to this determin[ation] if they would obey the Messiah whose interposition they desired, and so long as they did this their dancing and worship would be all right and not be opposed, and he advised them to continue it. In less than a year it had died out and some of the Indians spoke of it in jest.

Agent McLaughlin did nothing against the dancing till the government called his attention to the subject, then directed [blank].

[Tablet 25]

Dr. J. R. Walker says: That on the 4th July, 1903, Red Cloud formally abdicated his Chieftancy in favor of his son Jack at a celebration of the Indians. Dr. Walker took down the speech, and he has read it to me. It is a fine piece of eloquence. The doctor will publish it and then I may get it.

[George E. Bartlett's Interview]

As far as is known, Ricker's first interview was with George Bartlett on November 30, 1903. It is the only time Ricker wrote all of his questions and the answers he received. A week later Bartlett gave Ricker a biographical sketch.

[Tablet 45]

Sketch of Capt. George E. Bartlett. Was born Aug. 25, 1858, at New Haven, Conn., and came with his parents to Sioux City, Iowa; and a year later he went up to the Yankton Agency and were employed in a trading store continuously from that time up to 1876.

A party of 14 outfitted at Yankton for the Black Hills, among them were Milloy, an old California miner and Charley Green, who afterwards [was] killed on Centennial prairie (near Whitewood) by the Indians when he was hunting some hobbled horses, and Alex. Sands, Frank Munson, and Irving Smith & several French Canadians whose names the Captain cannot recall. Capt. Bartlett joined this party and went into the Black Hills in the month of August & went into Two-Bit Gulch and located claims and in November the Captain came out of the Hills & returned to Yankton & remained there that winter. The whites were driven out by the government because this was before the treaty.⁵⁶ On Feb. 24, 1877, with another party he left Yankton driving one of Charlie Marshall's teams to take the party to the Hills, and they arrived in March. The trip was for awhile very pleasant and when they reached the Cheyenne river a terrible blizzard was encountered & they were snowed in there several days.

They arrived at Rapid City & weather was fine. There were a blockhouse just west of where the flouring mill now is, 2 or 3 cabins, and John R. Brennan had a little log house there and he afterward kept the American House. Noah Newbanks had a log store. "Red-headed" Johnson had a log livery stable. Frenchy had a stone shack for a saloon. The blockhouse was in the middle of the street & had a well inside of it. In a few days the captain went up to Spring Valley ranch where he worked for Garvey & Adler a year in making the ranch improvements. This place was 14 miles above Rapid City. Here some complications arose between the two partners over a woman who was cooking at the ranch; Garvey became infatuated with the woman and tried to drive Adler off the place and Adler killed him. Garvey ran toward Adler with a hammer and the latter ran into the house and took a Sharp's rifle and shot Garvey. Adler was tried and acquitted.

When the pony express was established from Fort Pierre to Rapid City he was employed by the mail contractor Harvey Horton to carry the mail, and he carried it from Cheyenne river to Deadman creek between Rapid City & Fort Pierre. He rode all winter a distance of 30 miles, leaving Cheyenne river at sundown and returning and arriving at sunrise next morning, making a night ride of 60 miles. He got off the road one night in a blizzard and got into the head of Bull creek and crawled into a hollow Cottonwood stump and remained there three days and 2 nights. He had one jack rabbit to eat while lost. His horse browsed around. He found his way out the evening of the third day. Following this service he was in 1879 appointed deputy U.S. Marshal for Dakota by John B. Marshal, U.S. Marshal for Dakota Territory. He held the office ~~continuous~~ under different marshals 14 years. Captain Bartlett traveled anywhere as deputy U.S. Marshal, for in those times a marshal went anywhere and did not pass over his papers to other marshals as is now done. He had his house at Pine Ridge and Deadwood. He went on to Pine Ridge Reservation along on White river—went down from the Hills to prospect. He went with a party, but found nothing.

In 1883 (?) he started a trader's store at Wounded Knee where he established a post-office in an Indian camp, for W.K. was nothing but an Indian camp then. While at W.K. he established a Nebraska horse ranch in the northern part of Cherry Co. close to the reservation line. He held them for quite a while on the reservation till the govt. officers began to make a fuss abt. it, then he moved them over the line & hired a man to take charge of them.

He was a trader at W.K. nine years and until 1892.⁵⁷

In 1893 he took a band of Indians to the World's Fair for exhibition purposes for another party. While there he made an engagement with Adam Forepaugh Howe & Cushing's Circus to travel with the circus with the Indians in a Wild West taking some Pine Ridge Indians, & doing fancy shooting. He formed like arrangements with others afterwards in the following order: Adam Forepaugh's Circus which had also a Wild West attachment, and used an old Deadwood stage coach; Robert Hunting, commonly known as Bob Hunting. With these he toured the south, making all the southern states where the Indians attracted a great deal of attention, especially among the negroes, and where his shooting of walnuts and pennies and loaf sugar thrown into the air also attracted great interest from the old mountaineers who themselves had been raised from children to the use of the rifle, some of whom were surprisingly incredulous as to his practice being genuine & the walnuts being broken by a bullet, and would not believe that he had not used shot cartridges until he had allowed them to throw up pieces of silver money in the air and sent a rifle ball through them.

~~The author I saw him shoot.~~

The author has witnessed shooting by him even more marvelous. He saw Capt. Bartlett, using a Marlin 30-30 rifle loaded with a 30-30 cartridge with a soft point bullet, manufactured by the Peters Cartridge Co. of Cincinnati, Ohio. At the time I saw this he was in the employ of the Peters Cartridge Co. and gave an exhibition for the purpose of demonstrating the superior quality of all kinds of ammunition made by that company, including the cleanliness and introduction of King's semi-smokeless powder, a patented article. I saw him repeatedly pierce with a bullet a piece of boiler plate steel two and a half inches square and one quarter of an inch thick, thrown into the air. I also saw him shoot small washers the size of quarters and half dollars. I saw him place a common oyster can on the ground and shoot under it throwing it into the air and then shooting and hitting it five times before it descended to the ground. I saw him throw such cans into the air and shoot each six times in their descent. I saw him shoot, holding his gun in various positions and with his back to the mark, and holding the gun upside down and also at arm's length, with the aid of reflection from a small round mirror about the size of a silver dollar, and hitting the mark at each trial.

The Captain will send ~~cuts of some of his cuts~~ me photos of some of his attitudes in these shooting exploits, for cuts to accompany his sketch. Notify him when they are wanted.

Continuing the show engagements, the Captain was next engaged to Davis

& Keogh in a western melo-drama called the "Great Train Robbery," showing the perils and excitements of railway travel on the southwestern frontier, the scene being laid on the Chicago & Rock Island R.R. in the Indian Territory. The scenery in this melo-drama was very grand, the scenic effects being very powerful, exhibiting the train on the prairie, the robbers holding it up and overpowering the express messenger and blowing ~~open the safe~~ up the car and robbing the safe. The specialties were particularly interesting and exciting. Capt. B. was with this three seasons and did the fancy shooting in the specialties. There were ten long haired Sioux Indians from the Pine Ridge Indians with this show and which the Captain himself furnished.⁵⁸

Capt. B. quit the show business and in 1898 went to work for the Marlin Firearms Co. of New Haven, Conn., shooting their new repeating shot gun at gun clubs and shooting tournaments advertising their guns. In the spring of 1901 he made an engagement with the Peters Cartridge Co. of Cincinnati, Ohio, & has been with it since to date (Dec. 8, 1903). Since he has been in their employ his travels have covered the entire western country, a part of old Mexico and a part of Canada.

The foregoing was written Dec. 8, 1903, and taken down from Capt. Bartlett himself. His address: Capt. George E. Bartlett, Peters Cartridge Co. Cincinnati, Ohio.

[Box 19]

Capt. Geo. E. Bartlett in a fight with thieves in Montana got a wound in his knee & the Indians called him "Wounded Knee" & he is known by them by that name; but the creek went by that name before he was an Indian trader at Wounded Knee. He was there 9 yrs.; went there in 1883. He was Deputy U.S. Marshal 14 yrs. in Dakota Territory—first appointed in 1879. He held office of Post Master, was special agt. for the Department of Justice, & was Inspector for the Black Hills Live Stock Assn.

Capt. Bartlett was appointed Capt. of Indian Police by Gen. Brooke, & this is how he got his title. He was not app. by Gen. Miles as stated in my notes elsewhere. He was the man who brought word to Gen. Brooke of the massacre at Wounded Knee. Brooke would not believe his story, & said it is Impossible! impossible!

Rough map of Wounded Knee by Capt. Geo. E. Bartlett. [Figure 3]

Capt. George E. Bartlett represents the Peters Cartridge Co. of Cincinnati

and travels with W. H. Kleinke who travels for Hibbard, Spencer, Bartlett & Co. of Chicago.

Statement of Capt. Geo. E. Bartlett made Nov. 30, 1903, in the office of The Chadron Times. Lee Card, Stenographic Reporter. [Ricker edited the type-script.]

Q. You may state when you came here?

A. Well, I was down there the first after the war, the fall of 77, along the White River down to the forks. It was in the spring of 78 when they went up and located at Pine Ridge

Q. Were you there continuously from that time?

A. No, I was in Deadwood a good deal of the time and travelled back and forth there many years, but spent about half of my time at the agency head quarters which were really at Deadwood but I was appointed for the [Pine Ridge] Indian Reservation, but used to do lots of work north on the hills[,] in Montana and over into Wyoming and all around the country.

Q. Well, when did you come to the reservation to stay continuously?

A. I think it was in 1883, I went over there to Wounded Knee from White and Gillingham. They bought out the Tom Cogle's store.⁵⁹

Q. Was he a ranch man?

A. He did have a ranch down here on Beaver. Had a store at Pine Ridge and a branch store at Wounded Knee.⁶⁰

Q. How long were you there?

A. Nine years.

Q. Now, I wish you would make a statement about the Indians that were there at Wounded Knee. Where was Big Foot's Band?

A. Well, as I understand was at Standing Rock Agency. The Indians of Standing Rock Agency on hearing of the dance down here at Pine Ridge are supposed to have started down here for the purpose of joining it, whether they had any intention of joining in or not, there cannot anybody tell and as soon as the soldiers intercepted them at the Bell Fourche River or Bear Butte Creek and made them prisoners, that is, in a way, and they skipped out at night and come on down through the bad lands and the Indian Police first noticed them coming up Porcupine Creek. They crossed the bad lands and come over to the White River and started up Porcupine Creek. Porcupine Creek from Wounded Knee is 8 miles off the road. When they came across, parties of soldiers were

sent to intercept them and bring them in and they had trouble there. I think they were under Captain Wallace. He was the captain killed there. He was with them when they went down to intercept them. They intercepted them down on the Porcupine Creek. They come up from Porcupine Creek and then crossed over to Wounded Knee and went into camp the 28th day of December 1890. Well then they were getting ready to move the next morning about 8 o'clock and the shooting commenced after having disarmed them right there. I think they took their guns away from them the night they got in there.

Q. Well, I always heard they had them about surrounded there and got them out into line and some of them did not bring their guns.

A. They had everything that you could think of—old muzzle loaders with [blank] lock and everything else, and Wallace was killed there as he was going around among the tents.

Q. I did not think that was so, I thought Wallace was killed after the shooting commenced, that is what I always heard. That is different from anything I ever heard. I understood they delivered up all arms they had.

A. They might not have delivered up all the arms but nearly all. They might have held out a few guns. There [are] always a few in every kind of a crowd, you know, of either whites or Indians that would kind of naturally hold out a few revolvers. They did not have very many guns. Most of their guns were given to the police and they promised to deliver up their guns when they got to the agency and the Indians were going into what they called a friendly camp. A great many Indians camped up there which was on White Clay Creek.

Q. Did you see the guns?

A. Now [No?], I had been down in camp. The hills where I was (when the massacre was going on) are well off Wounded Knee Creek in the direction of the Agency.

Q. Just tell him anything about it you saw and know. The fight coming off. Can you give the positions of the guns?

A. This Hotchkiss gun stood on the hill north of the camp—right in that locality (showing) right out here on this flat is where the camp was, then there is a succession of hills; that cannon stood up there on one of those hills somewhere. This is the hill where the body was found. I was told that one was planted way up there. It might have been this gun that was trained on that woman and child and killed them. (The woman and child that Marrivall told about.) This road (pointing) runs toward the agency. The hills are very low and

slope on the east side and when that gunner wrecked that squaw and wagon, that was right in front of the store. Right (pointing) up here is a dry creek that is down in a deep gulch and there was a deep bank of snow there and quite a number of Indians that were shot would run and fall into this snow bank and die. There were several places where the Indians dropped off this bank right into this snow and there were a big pile of Indians lying dead in one bunch here and in some places there were five and six squaws in a pile and in one pile of squaws was that Indian baby alive—right in the bunch of squaws that were frozen stiff and cold.

Q. You saw that wagon load of squaws that moved away from the camp towards your store and that that Hotchkiss gun was discharged at the wagon.

A. It hit the wagon or ground under the wagon and burned the wagon half up.

Q. Do you know of any other incidents like that?

A. Only those two boys, and the old man that I spoke of that was followed way up the creek and he and his two boys killed trying to get away. (They were found killed by gunshots three miles up Wounded Knee creek from the battle ground.)

Q. You said something about a couple of women?

A. Five of them run from this camp up across the flat and where this deep gulch is and up in here (pointing) I guess in the clear space and got up on those hills and two soldiers followed them and as soon as they saw they were being followed by the soldiers they sat down on the hill and faced them and the soldiers killed all five of them. When they saw they were going to be slain they covered their faces with their blankets and awaited death.

Q. You saw that?

A. Yes. Two little boys were killed also. One soldier shot him through the eyes. The article says he was dead. Both his eyes were shot out. They were both probably in the neighborhood of 12 years of age. One was a half breed boy and was shot through the hip. He was found dead, so the article says, but he was found alive. (Capt. Bartlett speaks of the article meaning that published in the "Great Falls Leader." He says that both these boys were alive but the one shot in the eyes died in a few days. Doesn't know what became of the one shot in hip.)

Q. Did you see that?

A. No, the half breed boy told me that.

Q. Well, you know of any other incidents like that?

A. Only those two boys—Indians—found on the creek five miles east of