

## **DAKOTA Scouts at Fort Abraham Lincoln, May, 1876**

Lilah Morton Pengra, December 2020

NOTE: All memoirs, interviews and research by LBH authors agreed (prior to 2017) that there were four Dakota scouts in addition to approximately 40 Arikara scouts with the Dakota column of the Yellowstone Expedition, commanded by Lt. Col. George A. Custer. There was little agreement on how names were spelled at the time, translated then or now, or which alternate names referred to the same man. John S. Gray struggled with the problem and concluded that the “four Dakota scouts present a matching problem too formidable for anything better than an arbitrary solution.”<sup>1</sup> Some of the alternate name pairings that have been suggested over the years were rejected here because Fort Abraham Lincoln muster rolls and Fort Rice muster rolls<sup>2</sup> showed men with those names present at the same time. The following notes are Lilah Morton Pengra’s interpretation of corresponding names, translations and probable identities.

### **APPEARING BEAR**

Appearing Bear and his brother Round Wooden Cloud were Sihasapa (Blackfoot Dakota). They both were enlisted at Fort Lincoln and served on the Yellowstone Expedition. Before that, they served together at Ft. Rice with a third brother, Mato Waste (Good Bear), aka Shaking Nerves,<sup>3</sup> who did not go with them on the expedition.

“Appearing Bear” was one of the translations given for Mato Inapa because the Dakota word InáphA meant “emerging, e.g. as the sun from behind a cloud.”<sup>4</sup> Thus, his name was sometimes translated as Bear Come Out or Comes the Bear. He was also known as Pte-ate which has been translated as Buffalo Ancestor, All Buffalo, Buffalo Body or Whole Buffalo. Native Dakota speakers explained that the concept expressed in the name was “gave rise to all the buffalo or essence of buffalo.”<sup>5</sup> The Dakota name was translated into Sahnish (Arikara) by other scouts and appeared in interviews with Arikara as Tonheci-tu. Later he was nicknamed “Old Caddo” when he worked with Isaiah Dorman there.<sup>6</sup>

His first enlistment was in 1868 at Fort Rice. He enlisted at Fort Abraham Lincoln on February 3, 1876, the eighth of his 11 enlistments. Lt. Ernest Garlington reported that Bear Come Out, age 50, 5’9” was “Killed at Fort A. Lincoln DT Nov 10, 1878 . . . in a personal affray.” F. F. Gerard referred to this incident, although with an earlier date, as did George Herendeen.<sup>7</sup> At the time of his death, the Army owed Appearing Bear \$16.98. He was buried in the Post Cemetery, grave No. 39, Fort A. Lincoln.<sup>8</sup>

### **BEAR RUNNING IN THE TIMBER**

The Dakota scout, Bear Running in the Timber, enlisted for the first time on November 11, 1875 at Ft. Lincoln with Lt. James Calhoun and again on May 11, 1876 with Lt. Charles

Varnum. Both times he was described as 5'8" and 40 years old. From 1877 and for several years thereafter, Bear Running in the Woods was listed on the Standing Rock annuity lists as a scout receiving rations at Ft. Lincoln.<sup>9</sup> He was brother to the Dakota scout Left Hand who, by that time, was deceased.<sup>10</sup> Bear Running in the Woods was listed on the Standing Rock Indian Census until 1896. He was listed again as brother to Left Hand and Julia Rock Crane Voice in the *Roster of Name Changes at Standing Rock*.<sup>11</sup>

In one of two interviews with Camp, Adam Carrier said that "[There was] a Ree named Bear in the Timber."<sup>12</sup> Bear in the Timber probably was the Arikara known as Bear Charging in the Timber, brother of Strikes Enemy and Red Bear, both of whom were Arikara scouts with the expedition.<sup>13</sup> Therefore, he might have served under a different name because brothers often did enlist together. If so, that would account for Carrier's memory of him and confusion in the Little Bighorn literature about the identity of Bear Running in the Timber.

Boy Chief's list of Dakota scouts<sup>14</sup> included Bear in Timber but not Cards which has led some authors to hypothesize that Caroo (aka Karu, Cards) was Bear Running in Timber's nickname. However, the age and height given for Bear Running in the Timber was significantly different from that given for Cards when both were enlisted by the same officer only two days apart.<sup>15</sup>

## CARDS

Lt. Calhoun enrolled Cards aka Ca-Soo at Ft. Lincoln on April 6, 1875 and again on November 13 that year. He described him as 6'0" and 21 years old. The name Ca-Soo or Karu used in Army records and by Camp was the English approximation of the Dakota nickname *Kharsú* (with the "n" indicating that the vowel is nasalized) which could also be translated as Gambler. Lt. George Wallace enlisted Gambler at Ft. Lincoln on December 29, 1876 and described him as 6' and 22 years old; Lt. Garlington enlisted him on June 29, 1877 at Sunday Creek, MT and described him as 6'1" and 23 years old.

Possibly Bear Running in the Timber was sent to Fort Lincoln with messages and Cards then returned to the field with messages and mail. George W. Glenn saw a man arrive on June 21 and identified him as Isaiah Dorman. More probably, it was Cards who was tall like Dorman and also the son of an African American man and a Native American woman.<sup>16</sup> On Standing Rock annuities lists for 1876 through 1882, Cards was listed with the "Mixed Blood families" with his wife and child.<sup>17</sup>

Cards, later known as Henry Kaddy, was employed as an interpreter for the Northern Pacific Railroad.<sup>18</sup> On another occasion, Indian Agent James McLaughlin recommended him as an interpreter and wrote to a prospective employer that "an Indian of this Agency named 'Caddy' who speaks good English and is an intelligent Indian, being an old Scout and thoroughly familiar with the country over which you will bring your cattle . . ."<sup>19</sup>

Several authors assume that Kardu, reported as killed by Penis in a drunken brawl in 1876 or 1878, was the same man as Karu. Henry Kaddy was still alive in 1905 annuity list and thus was not same man as Kardu.

## LEFT HAND

Left Hand was a very common name. In the Little Bighorn interviews, three men by that name, who were respectively Cheyenne, Arapahoe, and Arikara, were mentioned.<sup>20</sup> In the Register of Enlistments,<sup>21</sup> there were three additional men by the same name enlisted respectively at Fort Buford (April, 1874), Fort Stevenson (May, 1873), and Still Water River (November, 1876); these men were different ages and some enlistments overlapped so they were distinct individuals from each other and from the three at the Little Bighorn. Varnum recorded Left Hand on his muster roll and noted he was also known as Qhci or Quigh.<sup>22</sup> which is Sahnish for Left Hand. He was not the same man as the Dakota killed during the battle because he re-enlisted on 6-10-76 at Ft. Lincoln. This correlated with Red Star's report that Left Hand returned to Ft. Lincoln with the mail.<sup>23</sup> The Arikara Left Hand enlisted with Lt. Alex Ogle who described him as 5'8" and 45 years old. He was discharged in December, 1876 and thus was not killed during the battle.

The Dakota man also named Left Hand enlisted at Ft. Rice for the first time in September, 1871. He was 5'10" and 40 years old at that time. He served two more six-month enlistments until his final discharge on September 13, 1875. He probably was the scout whom Young Hawk "says he was a Sioux, and when his [enlistment] time expired he left and joined the Sioux. The Rees afterward found his horse in the Sioux village, and Left Hand was one of the dead Indians left by the Sioux in the village."<sup>24</sup> Confusion between the Arikara Left Hand who served as an Army scout during the expedition and the Dakota Left Hand who had previously served as a scout at Ft. Rice accounted for why William J. Bailey in his 1910 interview said that he "never heard that Left Hand went with Sioux after his [enlistment] time expired"<sup>25</sup> because he meant Left Hand, the Arikara scout, not Left Hand, the former Dakota scout.

## ROUND WOODEN CLOUD

Adam Carrier was known by two Dakota names, Mahpiya Changleska and Watoksu. The first was most often translated as Round Wooden Cloud but also as Hoop Cloud, Ring Cloud or Striped Cloud. The last was a misunderstanding because gléška meant spotted or striped. However, čhaṅgléška was the name of a game that used a round hoop made of wood;<sup>26</sup> different interpreters obviously struggled with how to translate the word. A letter from Edwin A. Lindsay, Wakpala, SD, to Camp in 1909 verified that "Watoksu is the translation of Carrier, but his only and real Indian name is Mahpiya Changleska."<sup>27</sup> Watoksu, sometimes written as Matoksu, was misspelled as well as mistranslated. Dakota dictionaries translated wathókšū as "to carry or transport" or simply as "carrier." Mnithókšū meant "to carry water" and was the spelling provided by Josephine Waggoner when she listed two of the scouts who went with Custer.<sup>28</sup> Isaiah Dorman translated Watoksu as "Take From One Place to Another" on the August 1873 muster roll for Ft. Rice and as "Carry from One Place to Another" for a letter in 1876.<sup>29</sup>

Lt. Horatio Potter enlisted Carrier (as Wa-tawk-su-pa) at Ft. Rice on February 14, 1873 and described him as 5'9" and 35 years old. Lt. Calhoun enlisted him at Ft. Lincoln on April 6, 1875

and again on March 31, 1876 (as Mach-pe-yeh-chinga-lash-ca aka Round Wooden Cloud) and described him both times as 5'11" and 40 years old.

On a list of Fort Rice scouts eligible for annuities in 1873, it was noted that he had one wife and six children with him.<sup>30</sup> He was baptized as Adam Carrier on April 3, 1889, at the Episcopal mission to the Blackfoot Camp, later known as Wakpala, SD. The Mission Record Book described him as born in 1837 at Grand River, the son of Wahintka [Elk Horn Scraper] and Winyantanka [Large Woman]. His deceased brother's daughter, Emma Matoinapa, was baptized at the same time so might have been living in his household. Carrier died on June 23, 1913 and was buried the next day at St. Elizabeth Episcopal Church cemetery, Wakpala, SD.<sup>31</sup>

## SEIZE THE BUFFALO

Walter M. Camp interviewed Carrier in 1909 who said that he and his brother "Comes the Bear" were with two "other Sioux . . . Seize the Buffalo and White Cloud . . ."<sup>32</sup> Richard Hardorff equated Seize the Buffalo with Round Wooden Cloud who, at the time he was writing, had been identified in the Little Bighorn published literature as the same man as Watoksu (Carrier) by only one author.<sup>33</sup> Hardorff wrote in a footnote that Seize the Buffalo's 2<sup>nd</sup> enlistment at Ft. Lincoln was on March 31, 1876 which was Round Wooden Cloud's second enlistment by that name at Ft. Lincoln, his previous enlistments having been recorded with the name Watoksu at Ft. Rice. No other Dakota scout enlisted on that day; therefore, because Carrier was not referring to himself, Seize the Buffalo must be another alternate name for Cards or Bear Running in the Timber. Seize the Buffalo was not found enlisted at any fort in Dakota, Wyoming or Montana Territories nor found on any annuity list or Indian census.

## THE SHIELD

The Shield served one enlistment from December 11, 1875 to May 11, 1876 at Ft. Lincoln.<sup>34</sup> He was described by Lt. Calhoun as 5'9½" and 27 years old. Standing Rock censuses list him as Jacob Take the Shield, Lower Yanktonai.<sup>35</sup> He died in 1926.<sup>36</sup>

## WHITE CLOUD

White Cloud enlisted at Ft. Lincoln on November 13, 1875 and two more times on May 14 and December 14, 1876. He also served at Standing Rock in 1878. His three enlistment certificates described him twice as 5'8" and 21 years old and once as 5'11" and 21 years old. There were no recorded alternate names for White Cloud. He was Lower Yanktonai and died at Standing Rock in 1887. His son, Pretty Bull who later was known as William White Cloud, survived him.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> John S. Gray, "Arikara Scouts with Custer," *North Dakota History* 35 (1968): 449.

<sup>2</sup> NARA RG 94 Box 2360.

<sup>3</sup> Major Alfred B. Welch, *Collected Interview Notes*, Ft. Berthold Community College, New Town, ND, p. 185, interview at Oak Creek May 6, 1941; *Regular Army Muster Rolls*, op. cit.

<sup>4</sup> Norbert and Agnes Picotte, interview, February 21, 2009.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. and Ole Little Eagle interview, March 30, 2011.

<sup>6</sup> Isaiah Dorman to Agent Edmund Palmer, November 20, 1873, SDSHS microfilm 5527, *Standing Rock Agency Letters Received*; NARA RG94 E53 PI-17, Box 2359; *Regular Army Muster Rolls*, ca. 1861 – 1912, Fort Rice, October-December, 1873. Also, a footnote by the editor of William Taylor, *With Custer on the Little Big Horn*, New York, NY: Viking, p. 38, noted that Varnum said Bear Come Out was Called Old Cadoo.

<sup>7</sup> F.F. Gerard to Walter M. Camp, July 19, 1909, *BYU Walter Camp Papers*, Mss 57 Box 1 f8; George Herendeen interview by Camp, quoted in Kenneth M. Hammer, *Men with Custer: Biographies of the 7<sup>th</sup> Cavalry 25 June, 1876*, Fort Collins, CO: The Old Army Press, 1972, p. 30.

<sup>8</sup> NARA, RG 94 E 2.3, Adjutant General's Office, Final Statements of Death.

<sup>9</sup> *Standing Rock Annuities*, Family History Library, Salt Lake City, Rolls 1021931 and 1021932.

<sup>10</sup> NARA RG 75 E 617 *Roster of Name Changes, Volume 7: Standing Rock*.

<sup>11</sup> NARA RG 75 E617 Vol. 7: *Roster of Name Changes, Standing Rock*. Julia was wife of Felix P. Crane Voice.

<sup>12</sup> Richard G. Hardorff, *Camp, Custer, and the Little Bighorn*, El Segundo, CA: Upton and Sons Publishers, 1997, p.58.

<sup>13</sup> Personal family tree entered by Whitney Rabbithead on ancestry.com, February, 2015.

<sup>14</sup> Kenneth Hammer, *Custer in '76: Walter Camp's Notes on the Custer Fight*, Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1976, p. 285.

<sup>15</sup> NARA RG 393, E 32: "Vol. 107, Descriptive Book Detachment Indian Scouts, 1872 – 1881; Ft. A. Lincoln," #216 listed Bear Running in Timber, age 40, ht. 5'8", enlisted Nov. 11, 1875 by Lt Calhoun; #219 listed Cards (Cassoo), age 21, ht. 6', enlisted Nov. 13, 1875 by Lt. Calhoun.

<sup>16</sup> Comment quoted in Kenneth Hammer, editor, *Custer in '76: Walter Camp's Notes on the Custer Fight*, UT: Brigham Young University Press. p. 135. See also Lilah Morton Pengra, "Cards: The Fourth Dakota Scout," *Greasy Grass* 32 (2016): 3-7. Bear Running in Timber was present at Fort Lincoln on August 31, 1876 per NARA RG 94 PI 17 E 53 Box 2360, Fort Lincoln muster roll.

<sup>17</sup> Family History Library, Salt Lake City, Microfilm Roll 1021931.

<sup>18</sup> NARA RG92 E232 *Card Index to Names Mentioned in Series 238*, Indexed by Mary M. Easow, October 2, 1929.

<sup>19</sup> *Major James McLaughlin Papers*, Assumption Abbey Archives, Richardton, ND, Roll No. 20, p. 378.

<sup>20</sup> Richard G. Hardorff, *Lakota Recollections of the Custer Fight*, Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1991, p. 121; W.A. Graham, *The Custer Myth: A Source Book of Custeriana*, Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1953, p. 111; Orin G. Libby, *The Arikara Narrative of Custer's Campaign and the Battle of the Little Bighorn*, Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, p. 50.

<sup>21</sup> ancestry.com, accessed October, 2010.

<sup>22</sup> Mark van de Logt noted that Left Hand's Arikara name in the muster roll was given as Kukh-ke-khit [friendslittlighborn.com, accessed October, 2015].

<sup>23</sup> Libby, op cit, p. 67.

<sup>24</sup> Hardorff, *Camp, Custer, and the Little Bighorn*, op cit., p. 49.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., p. 69.

<sup>26</sup> Black Elk (Raymond J. DeMallie, editor), *The Sixth Grandfather: Black Elk's Teachings Given to John G. Neihardt*, Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, p. 33. It was a child's game that was occasionally "played ceremonially by men to bring good fortune in the buffalo hunt."

<sup>27</sup> *Walter Camp Papers*, BYU, Mss 57, Box 57, f. 9.

<sup>28</sup> Stephen Returns Riggs, James Dorsey (editor), *A Dakota-English Dictionary*, St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1992, p 539; *An English-Dakota Dictionary*, American Tract Society, 1902, p. 29; personal communication, Louis Garcia, July 28, 2015. Josephine Waggoner, *Witness: A Hunkpaha Historian's Strong-Heart Song of the Lakotas*, Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2013, p. 149.

<sup>29</sup> Ft. Rice Muster Roll, op. cit.; NARA RG 393.5 E1: Fort Rice, Letters and Endorsements Sent, Vol. 1 of 4, March 16, 1876, Benteen to Poland.

<sup>30</sup> SDSHS microfilm roll 5527, *Grand River communications*.

<sup>31</sup> *Standing Rock Mission*, Volume A-I, Episcopal Diocese of South Dakota, Augustana College, Center for Western Studies, Sioux Falls, SD.

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<sup>32</sup> Hardorff, *Camp, Custer, and the Little Bighorn*, op cit., p. 58.

<sup>33</sup> Kenneth Hammer (editor), *Custer in '76: Walter Camp's Notes on the Custer Fight*, Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1976, p. 183, note 2.

<sup>34</sup> Enlistment register, ancestry.com, accessed October, 2010.

<sup>35</sup> That Shield and Take the Shield were the same man was hypothesized because he lived between former Ft. Rice scout Dog Skin and scout Henry Kaddy (BLM-GLO allotment descriptions and ancestry.com). The author has found many instances of retired scouts living in the same band and at adjacent locations. This might have occurred because they were from the same band and related prior to serving as scouts. Or, it might have occurred because men associated with the Army were socially excluded from others at Standing Rock who had fought the US.

<sup>36</sup> North Dakota death certificate.

<sup>37</sup> Family connections were verified by the consistent presence in the household of White Cloud's grandmother, Red Couch.