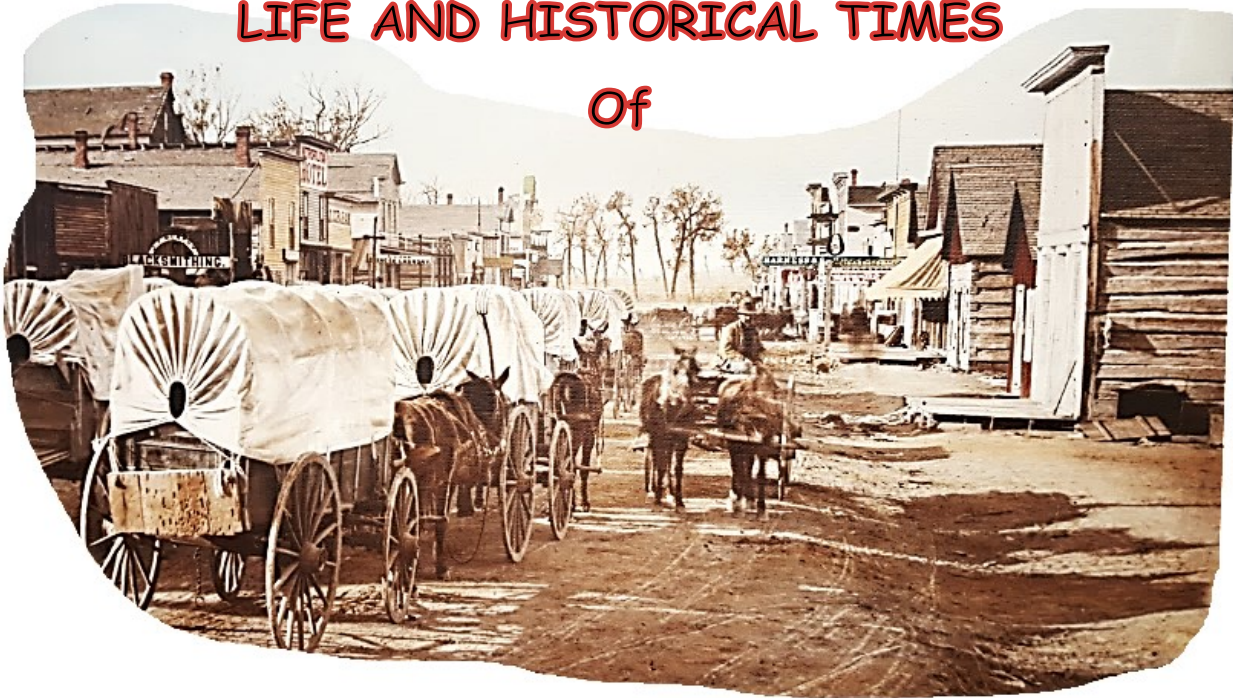


A SCRAPBOOK
Of The
LIFE AND HISTORICAL TIMES
Of



CHARLES "Charlie" BROWN
(1834-1900)

**EARLY MILES CITY MT PIONEER AND...
CHIEF WAGON MASTER FOR THE LITTLE BIG HORN EXPEDITION**

PART 1: 1834-1876
PART 2: 1877-1895
PART 3: 1896-1951

PART 4:
Acknowledgments
About The Author
Photos & Misc. Historical Info.

A Compilation of All Things Charlie
By Jeanne Dahlin Swick - 2019

Scene Looking West on Main Street, Miles City MT - 1882
Charlie's Saloon is at the right in the far distance
Huffman Print Courtesy of US Bank

AN IMPORTANT NOTE!

PLEASE DO NOT ATTEMPT TO READ THIS ON A PHONE!

THIS DOCUMENT IS AN ECLECTIC MIX OF INFORMATION. IT SHOULD BE READ ON A DESKTOP-SIZE COMPUTER SCREEN.

Because most of the people who requested a copy will get it email (PDF) due to its length and cost, I have deliberately left in active internet links to historical resources. By clicking on the links, if you are interested, you can do some extra historical reading to expand upon what I presented.

***Hard B/W Copies Will Go To:** The Range Riders' Museum (Miles City); Carnegie Public Library (Miles City); Montana Historical Society (Helena MT); North Dakota State Historical Society (Bismarck ND); Clay County Historical Society (Moorhead MN) and the Hohenlohe Zentralarchiv at Neuenstein, near Charlie's hometown of Öhringen, Baden-Württemberg GER.

***For those of you who are getting a hard copy...**

Let me know if you would also like a free email (PDF) copy to use to click on the links. I will be happy to email you one in that format as well.

Free Email Copies (PDF) will be sent to individuals who have expressed an interest in Charlie's story during my research. **Due to the cost of printing, I am unable to provide hard copies to everyone.** Email copies will be a great deal more colorful and are searchable and clickable.

**This Research Is Provided Free
Upon Request To Anyone Who Is Interested
Jeanne Dahlin Swick: Norsky123@hotmail.com**



It is my feeling that Charlie Brown deserves a more prominent **PIONEER TOMBSTONE** in the Custer County Cemetery in Miles City MT. His rather flimsy marker, whose **birth year is even in error**, will disappear before too many more years have passed. This would make a wonderful Miles City community history project to get a decent pioneer memorial in place and educate the public about a fascinating immigrant pioneer and a beloved founding father of Miles City. Count me in for a contribution if some local person or organization would take on the project.

**Below are the reasons why...
Read and see if you think he is deserving of a pioneer memorial.**

*“History is the memory of the human race.
We study it because we cannot do otherwise. Curiosity compels us.”
[Kenneth M. Setton, Historian]*

DEDICATED TO...

RALPH HARTSE (1924-2018)

CCHS Band Maestro

And...

HAROLD BOE (1921-1986)

CCHS English Teacher Extraordinaire

Although I was blessed to have exceptional teachers in many grades in Miles City while growing up, both of these men, especially, had a profound effect on my entire life. They taught with love and dedication to excellence which impacted the life lessons of their students far beyond the subjects they were assigned. I couldn't be more appreciative of their presence in my life. Hartse taught us the importance of teamwork and to work hard without complaint and to be proud of ourselves. Mr. Boe taught us critical thinking skills and appreciation of an elegantly structured sentence. He always said he wanted us to be well read, be able to communicate verbally and in writing, and be able to hold our own in a conversation in a room full of intelligent people. Without either of them, my life would have had a different outcome.

Both men were respected teachers, then and now, and never to be forgotten by their students.

And...

CLARE M. SMITH (1907-2000)

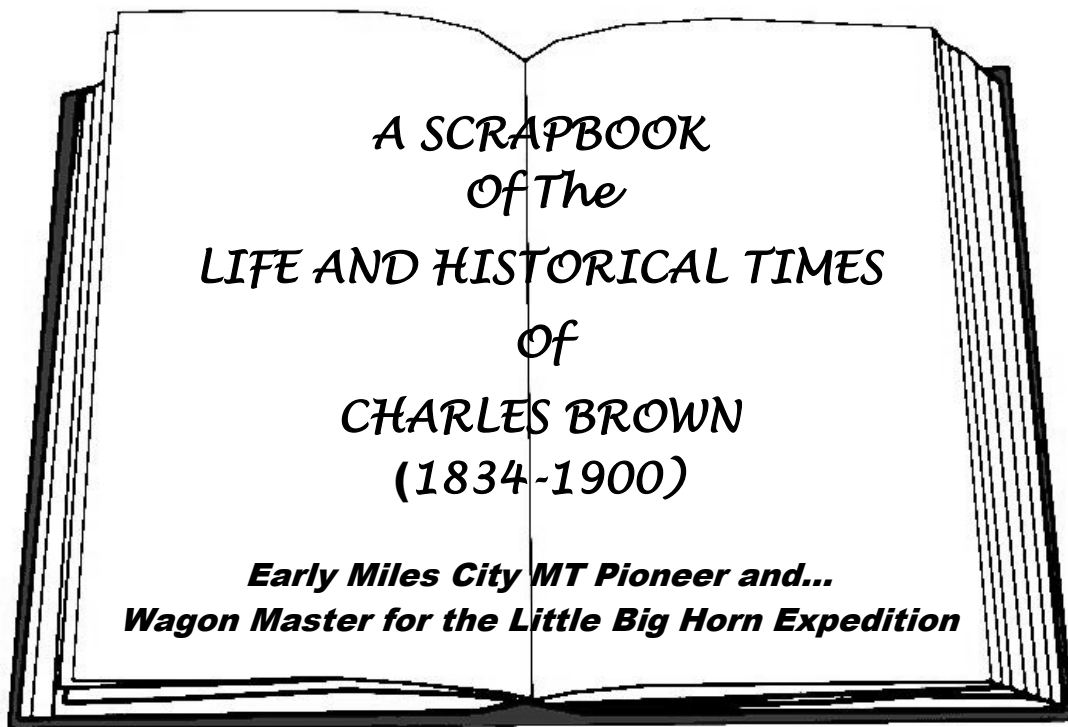
Librarian, Carnegie Public Library, Miles City

<https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/82286824/clare-m.-smith>

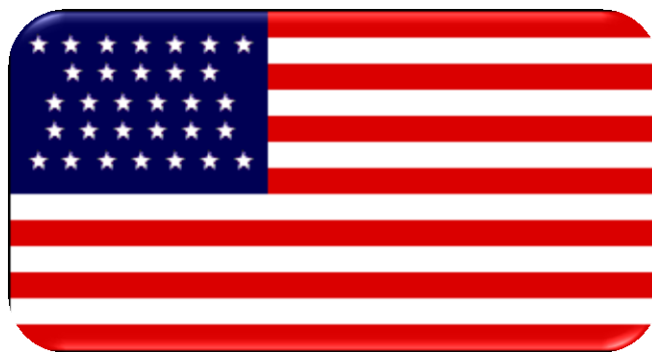
My first boss, who taught me such valuable lessons as a young person about how to be a good employee. She was a consummate professional who trusted me and gave me encouragement and support during my years under her supervision. Those lessons paid off in every position I ever held in my adult life. I will always be indebted to her. And hooray for old-fashioned quiet libraries!

AND ALWAYS TO MY BELOVED GRANDCHILDREN...

Alyssa, Ryan, Madison Kate and Nathaniel



PART 1
1834-1876



The US flag had 31 stars when Charlie arrived in America in 1852.
California had only been a state for one year.
Montana's statehood was 37 years in the future.
Charlie had a lot of ground to cover before then.

Compiled by Jeanne Dahlin Swick - 2019

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INTRODUCTION

Charlie Brown “Pioneer Energizer Bunny”

Someplace in a song there was a ‘*Good-Hearted Woman*’, but in early Miles City there was a ‘*Good-Hearted Man*’ named Charlie Brown. Some stories about pioneers in the Wild West have been highly over-exaggerated; others have been understated, and some entirely overlooked. Charlie’s life is in the last two categories, and I’d like his story to be front and center this time.

One day, while walking old graves in the Custer County Cemetery in Miles City MT, I came across the simple, flat and worn grave marker for a Charles Brown, prompting me to wonder who he was in relation to the history of Miles City. After several years of research, I now feel that I can somewhat sense the breadth of his life and the essence of his character and personality. And I am in awe. I believe his story deserves special recognition it has not had previously. Although there were many bold and adventurous pioneers of early families in the American West in the 1800’s, few put down a footprint over such a vast geographic territory of America and touched upon so many notable historic events and personages along the way. Charlie Brown did it all. He was an adventurer, from beginning to end. I’ve nicknamed him the ‘*Pioneer Energizer Bunny*’. He was a man supremely adapted to the times into which he was born, and not a blade of grass could ever grow under his feet.

His story, as presented here, is not a fictionalized pioneer story. It is a collection of documented facts tied together with a narrative that reads like an amazing adventure story, which is exactly what the life of Charles Brown was. It was my objective to find out what formed Charlie’s character and made him tick; and I wanted to chronologically walk beside him and try to envision his everyday life, when possible, through the eyes of historical perspective.

Charlie lived a richly-layered life of unbelievable historical proportion across America after his 1852 emigration from Germany. His name appears briefly in both sourced Montana history books and even in fictional works about Montana; but, for some reason, it has never risen to the level of interest or understanding I believe it deserves. Known affectionately in early Milestown as ‘**Old Charlie Brown**’, his life had a great deal more complexity than his nickname. His story deserves another look.

My goal is to allow you to hang onto his coattails and follow him from his birth in Germany in 1834 to his death in Alaska in 1900. I want you to experience life as he knew it, from his privileged childhood as a very young boy riding with the Queen in a royal German court to his early immigrant life in a circus and later as a miner during the gold rush days of California and Colorado and as wagon boss in battles during the Civil War. He touched history coast to coast, including his mining days during the early history of Montana Territory in Alder Gulch, Virginia City, and Helena and as an oath-signing Montana Vigilante. His last days were spent saving lives in Alaska during the Klondike Gold Rush. In between, he became the ‘Master of Transportation’ for Custer and Terry on their way to the Little Big Horn. Find out how he survived the fate of the 7th Cavalry.

Charlie Brown's story also parallels that of early Fort Keogh and Miles City. His life is a snapshot of the earliest rough-hewn days just before and after the Battle of the Little Big Horn, then on to more civilized times at the turn of the century. He was one of the earliest and most beloved pioneers of Miles City, exemplified, as you will see, by his many acts of wisdom, kindness and community service. If you are a family member or a lover of early Miles City history, you can be proud of this extraordinary personality. I'm not related, but I want to be.

**Along With Charlie's Personal Story, You Will Get
A Big Dose of History!
Because Neither Can Ever Stand Alone.**

Included are many newspaper stories about the times in which he lived, most of which include the name of Charlie Brown in print. In addition to American history, you will also need to understand a bit of German history to appreciate Charlie's privileged childhood and the political and military history leading to his emigration to America in 1852 at the age of 17. History is what made Charlie so notable and carried him along throughout his lifetime. He was either in the thick of many significant historic events or observing nearby.

***All Information Is Entered In Chronological Order
PDF Copies are Searchable***

***BE SURE TO CLICK ON THE BLUE LINKS THROUGHOUT THE
DOCUMENT FOR MORE HISTORICAL DETAIL***

Below is a **SAMPLE** of what you will get by clicking on various links throughout this document. Either click on the link or cut/paste the link to your browser. **Zoom in** once you reach the Library of Congress site; you can page forward and backward if you want to. A short learning curve. This article is found on Pages 1 and 3 of that day's newspaper and details how the town spent the Fourth of July in 1888. You'll want to experience this. What fun it must have been! Those really were the 'Good Old Days'.

Jul 6, 1888 - Daily Yellowstone Journal. Control/Click on it or copy/paste to your browser. <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn86075021/1888-07-06/ed-1/seq-1/> From greased pole climbing to foot races and baseball....here's how Miles City celebrated the 4th of July in 1888. 'A Glorious Day', as noted by Editor Sam Gordon. Charlie's part is also mentioned.

All links in this document from 'Chronicling America' are from the Library of Congress.

LEARN FROM HISTORY

In many instances in the narrative below, based on recollections of those who lived then, there are many racial slurs [particularly relating to Native Americans] and graphic descriptions of unpleasant incidents, including the actions of Montana's Vigilantes in the 1860s and 1870s, none of which would be tolerated today, I hope. However, we cannot judge the words and actions from 150+ years ago by today's standards. Charlie's life was lived in another time and under entirely different circumstances, all of which seemed perfectly appropriate to those living then, much as we may cringe today. Prejudices did exist, as they do now. It is my personal feeling that history should not be manipulated or shoved under the rug in order to make it more palatable by today's standards. Take a lesson from history instead. We can make changes in our personal lives today that make the world a more kind and gentle place without wiping the slate of history clean--embrace it for what it can teach. Sometimes reading about those awful slurs or murderous actions from another era can make us even more mindful of how people can be hurt--and it might even change a few of us.

KEEP IN MIND THAT I AM AN AVOCATIONAL HISTORIAN, NOT A PROFESSIONAL.

This Was Written For Three Reasons...

- 1) To Satisfy My Own Curiosity
- 2) To Provide Information to Local and State Historical Institutions and other Interested Individuals.
- 3) To Provide Family Members With Information

My personal DNA doesn't allow me to write two-page biographical summaries. If you want to plumb the depths of Charles Brown and walk through history side-by-side with him in detail, you've come to the right place.

I take historical accuracy seriously and attempt to produce quality work. However, I am not a professional, and readers should always feel free to research their own corroboration.

Even if you don't want to read every page, at least page through it and enjoy some of the newspaper articles about Charlie and early Miles City. There is a lot of interesting historical information in these pages.

Have fun! I did.

TIMELINE OF CHARLIE'S LIFE

The first (10) years after Charlie's emigration to the US in 1852 are largely unaccounted for. Only anecdotal evidence can be found for his life during his earliest years in America. He appears on the 1870, 1880 and 1900 US Censuses in Iowa, Montana and Alaska and on the 1875 Minnesota State Census for Moorhead. [No census exists for 1890; records were destroyed in a Washington DC fire.]

Below are fairly well-established and documented locations where Charlie had a presence. In between these travel markers were many, many historical events and interesting stories of a life lived to its fullest.

1834

Birth in Germany

1852

Emigration from Germany to New York City

1852-1857

Lived in NYC and Philadelphia briefly

Possible 5-year naturalization process completed

Drove a bandwagon for Dan Rice's Circus

These years were a time of travel east of the Mississippi

1858-1861

The beginning of Charlie's travel west of the Mississippi. Arrived towards the end of the California Gold Rush (1848-1855); then to Colorado during the Pike's Peak Gold Rush (1858-1861)

1862 (Mar)

Battle of Glorieta Pass, New Mexico Territory

Hired as civilian wagon master in Denver

Col. John P. Slough, Commanding

1863 (Jan)

Bear Creek Massacre, Utah Territory

Hired as civilian wagon master at Fort Douglas, UT

Col. Patrick Edward Connor, Commanding

1863 (Before May)

Arrived Bannack, Montana Territory. Occupation: Miner

1863 (Dec)

Vigilante Oath taken in Virginia City, Montana Territory

1865 (Jul)

Colorado on Vigilante business. The Port Neuf Affair.

PART 1: 1834-1876

1866 (May)

In Salt Lake City

1866-1870

Whereabouts unknown.

1870 (Dec)

Marriage in Sioux City IA

1872

Living in Moorhead MN; freighting to Fort Garry, Canada

1874

Charlie buys a farm in ND across the Red River from Moorhead.

1876

Fort Lincoln, Dakota Territory: Named Master of Transportation for the Terry/Custer Expedition to the Little Big Horn.

1877

Working mostly in the Bismarck/Miles City/Fort Keogh area after the LBH. Col. Nelson A. Miles, Commanding Ft. Keogh

1878 (Jun)

Moved his family from Moorhead MN to Miles City

1878-1897

The Glory Years in Miles City

1898

Left Miles City for Alaska

1900

Died in Alaska, Age 66

1901

Body brought back to Miles City for burial.

PART 1: 1834-1876

CHARLES ‘CHARLIE’ BROWN
(aka Karl Braun, aka Max Edler von Braun)
(1834-1900)

*Early Miles City MT Resident - American Pioneer Extraordinaire
And Respected Citizen of the World*

**A definitive look at his life and historical times
185 years after his birth**



His physical appearance was said to be:
“...about six feet one inch, and weighed 220 pounds, and was a nice looking man when young...” [Behrer]

PART 1: 1834-1876

From information I found, we know he spoke with a heavy German accent, smoked cigarettes and ate German kuchen and sauerkraut; and, of course, he drank beer. He was, after all, German! We know he loved nearly every species of animal and was an astute observer of people and nature. We also know he had a rich baritone voice and loved music and dancing. Friend Beehrer said he exhibited signs of frost-bitten fingers from Vigilante activities, and a later Miles City newspaper article noted he bore scars from early battles in Utah and New Mexico Territory.

Although he is often described as rather uncouth in his dress, 'Old Charlie Brown,' as he was known in Miles City, was likely quite often underestimated--which may have been to his advantage, and even by design in many situations. He was no one's fool, nor did he suffer fools. He could hold his own in a room of intellectuals or around a campfire. Through intelligence, loyalty, grit, determination and common sense, he plowed through life unabashedly, creating history and friends along the way and eschewing any desire to be part of the social elite. He had an interest in national politics and was involved in local and state elections and could have easily aspired to the Montana Legislature but did not. His witty personality was all-inclusive; he was the quintessential man of the people, by the people, and for the people. Freedom and liberty were an absolute must for the independent lifestyle he craved. **Following Charlie's movements in America would be an interesting classroom lesson plan for a history teacher to present.**

A life more full of pioneer adventure than Charlie Brown's can hardly be imagined. Although he was raised in a world of privilege and structured social mores for his first 17 years, he spent considerably more time living the rest of his life in a hard scrabble existence in the early days of the American West. Those times were the measure of the frontiersman he became.

From his arrival in New York City in 1852, Charlie lived a life pointed westward over many historical pioneer trails and great American rivers. Unlike most pioneers who were pushed on by a desire for land, Charlie, unmarried and without family obligations prior to 1870, had an overwhelming need for adventure. Highly principled, intelligent and articulate, he was good-humored, a **supremely talented horseman**, full of mischief, always protective of the down-and-out and women and children, loyal to his friends, and **a mighty foe to anyone perpetrating a crime against good people**. His many skills were counted on by early Miles City MT residents and his sagacity heeded. He was also fearless in a fight and doggedly and single-handedly tracked the bad guys in his sights to their bitter end in Montana's early Vigilante days. Those and many more descriptive adjectives can be applied to Charlie Brown--and each adjective has a

At Charlie Brown's regular recurring auction circus (where he sells cayuses for \$25, "word one hunder und vifty in de spring), last evening, a bystander, uninitiated in the ways of this, "God's Own Country," asked of Charles the Great if he was selling horses or drunken men—a man in a maudlin state being the bright particular star of attraction, and eclipsing Charlie and his valuable cayuses.

story to back it up. He was one of a kind! He personally knew most of the historical figures in early Montana and Miles City. And he never lost his ethnicity, always notable as Dutch [Deutsch/German] Charlie who **spoke with an accent**.

Nov 2, 1883

Daily Yellowstone Journal

The accent of 'Charles the Great'

"...worth \$150 in the spring"

PART 1: 1834-1876

As his friend Charles Beehrer noted, he was a *'man's man'*. Not a braggart, he unfortunately left no firsthand stories written down--no diary I can find to document his amazing life across America as he galloped full speed through life on as fine a piece of horse flesh as he could find or afford. But others, such as Beehrer and Nelson Story, two quintessential Montana pioneers and friends of Charlie's, made note of his influence on Montana history.

In the following pages, you can judge for yourself the proof of each of the descriptive adjectives used to define Charlie and also expand on anecdotal evidence in this document, some of which has never before been reported about his life. Each adjective has a story to tell. Here are just a few of the quotes describing Charlie. Many more are included in the narrative.

*"...a man of sterling character, a keen judge of humanity, charitable in his judgment of his fellowmen, and one whose **life was one of ceaseless toil and endeavor** ..."*

Written by Marion Ulmer Brown
Charlie's granddaughter

Source: Custer County History, *"As We Recall"*, Pg. 222 (1990)

*"Not many persons have led a more eventful life than Charlie Brown--and during a period when America had so much to offer to one with his **adventurous spirit**...Perhaps no man in Montana was more thoroughly acquainted with the West than Charlie Brown, because over the years his field of operations, as prospector, horseman, veterinarian, and so on, extended from Old Mexico to British Columbia and even Alaska..."*

Written by Jane Brown Jones, Daughter of Marion Ulmer Brown.
Charlie's great-granddaughter.

Source: *"Fanning the Embers"*, Pgs. 47-48 (1971)

Perhaps the most revealing and accurate extant descriptions of Charlie's early life were given by Charles Beehrer, a German-born pioneer friend in Montana's early days. Charlie's lineage, in particular, was proven to be absolutely correct:

*"There were two men who were the most active in helping to rid this country of the tough element. X. Beidler has had his praise, but **Charley Brown (Dutch Charley), never received at the hands of the writer, or historians, his dues.** Charley Brown, that was **not his real name**, was a **highly educated** German gentleman -- in fact was a **nobleman**. He was at one time **a page at the Bavarian Court**, and was one of the four boys that rode the horses when the Queen took a ride. She had eight Shetland ponies, and four boys rode them, and cared for them. None, but those of noble birth, could become a courtier..."*

Quote from Charles Beehrer

Source: *"History of Southern Montana"*, Chapter 24, by A. J. Noyes (1915)

Nannie Alderson, an early Montana pioneer, details the death of her husband Walt, and mentions Charlie's role in her husband's life, both as devoted friend and as a **talented and very persuasive auctioneer**:

"Now, as before, we were buying only what we absolutely needed and we had to do without a great deal of that. So no wonder I was dismayed when Mr. Alderson said: 'What do you think I

PART 1: 1834-1876

bought today?’ He went on to tell me that on his way home he had passed the sale corrals on Main Street, where Judge Brown, the livery stable keeper and a great friend of his, was holding an auction...Mr. Alderson climbed up on the fence along with others to watch the sale, when Judge Brown turned to him and said: ‘Just look at this Walt. Here is a four-year-old, not a blemish on him, gentle, and I’m only offered five dollars for him.’ Mr. Alderson said: ‘Why I’d give you seven.’ It was the highest bid--and he came home leading the horse...”

Later, as Walt Alderson’s dear friend, Charlie stood by Walt’s bed for six days as his friend slowly died from a horse kick to the head. This portrays the great heart of Charlie and the respect he commanded in the community. Nannie Alderson wrote:

*“...People were so kind, so incredibly kind; and one of the most faithful was our dear friend, Judge Brown, the auctioneer. He was at my husband’s bedside from morning till night, it seemed, to the neglect of his business; there were still no nurses in Miles City, and strange as it may seem, **the doctors turned to the big, uncouth-looking livery-stable keeper, rather than to some woman**, when my husband had to be moved or an operation attempted...”*

Source: Nannie Alderson in her book, “A Bride Goes West” (1942)

*“As a frontiersman Brown had few equals. As an executive officer of the [Vigilante] committee he ranked with the men I have named as an enterprising citizen he was at the top...**Magnanimous, but stern, as an avenger of outraged law he will hold a high place in the history of Montana...One of the greatest story tellers Montana ever produced...**”*

Source: George Irwin, Butte Postmaster, writing upon hearing of Charlie’s death

*“In fact, this implacable foe of evil was on occasion as **tender hearted as a woman...**”*

Source: George Irwin, Butte Postmaster, writing upon hearing of Charlie’s death

*“One of the first men from whom I could get an intelligent account of the condition of things was Quartermaster’s Agent Charles Brown, whose salutation to me was, ‘**My God, Captain, it has been clear hell!**’ I tell you the early days of Montana were not a marker to what I have gone through this winter! It was awful!”*

Source: Captain William R. Abercrombie, Valdez, Alaska

*“...Charley was **one of the healthiest men, and one of the toughest men I ever saw.** Nothing could tire him. He was in the habit of taking a bath every night before he went to bed, in cold water...”*

Quote from Charles Beehrer

Source: “History of Southern Montana”, Chapter 24, by A. J. Noyes (1915)

“...a whole-souled, generous gentleman who has hosts of friends”

Source: Helena Herald, June 17, 1880

STARTING AT THE END...

Charlie's obituary and the honor bestowed him at the time of his funeral give you a glimpse into the warm memories his name evoked among the citizens of the little town he loved and called home for 20 years, Miles City, Montana. To this day, Charlie Brown's name is instantly recognized by local history lovers as one of its very earliest pioneers and much-loved characters with a big heart. He always had the best interests of the town and its inhabitants at heart.

FUNERAL OF A PIONEER

*Charles Brown, Well Known, Laid to Rest
Stockgrowers Journal [1901]*

*"Adolph Brown returned from Valdez [Alaska] on Thursday with the remains of his father, Charles Brown. The funeral was conducted from the Brown residence on Pleasant street Friday at 2 p.m. Business was suspended in the city from 2 until 4 o'clock p.m. It is eminently proper and creditable that Miles City should honor the memory of her pioneers. The familiar face and figure of 'Charley' Brown will be seen no more on our streets, nor his **cheery voice** heard in our city. He will ever be remembered for his helpful participation in all things which made for Miles City's advantage and for his unostentatious **charity to the troubled, the sick, the destitute and unjustly accused**. He was a **strong man**, physically and mentally, and as **courageous** as he was strong. He hated pretense and cant and admired genuine manhood. Though somewhat rough if not ***uncouth of exterior**, he was himself a notable example of **honest manliness**. He died in Alaska, October 9, 1900, and his remains have been returned to his home in Montana for decent interment. May he rest in peace!"*

*Dress definitely did not make the man. He was so much more than his outer attire. His inner heart was what made him so memorable.

BUT WAIT...

The BEGINNING and the MIDDLE of his life were even more fascinating. If there was anything exciting happening where Charlie was located at the time, he was in the thick of it. He was always memorable and admired by friends and noted by newspaper editors. **He drank in life in great gulps, never staying in one place too long, except for nearly 20 years in Miles City.** If you are a descendant, you can be very proud to be related. If you are a Miles City native, you can be just as proud of his life's achievements in your own hometown.

He was said to be a storyteller extraordinaire; however, I believe he seldom told tall tales about anything important. He did have a wonderful sense of humor and a sense of mischief, but his life was filled with enough reality to provide more than enough material for truthful and spellbinding story telling. He was a man of straightforward honesty without braggadocio, which probably contributed to how little his family knew of his early life. And, sadly, what we know about him is largely anecdotal. For example, when it was written that he drove a circus wagon down Broadway (probably New York City), I do not doubt it. Most of what stories indicate, I found to

PART 1: 1834-1876

be substantiated by others or in print somewhere. His name can be found in early newspapers in Montana, Utah, Colorado, South Dakota and North Dakota, and St. Louis and New York.

Anytime you see the word ‘mule’ or ‘horse’ in these pages, consider that Charlie knew as much, or more, about either as anyone on the planet. His abilities with animals were universally acknowledged and lauded by everyone who knew him. His considerable veterinary skills were also counted on in early Miles City, and even indispensable in Alaska at the end of his life, when he was called by the Army to treat reindeer (and men).

Charlie’s taste in friends ran to both great and small throughout his lifetime. From his emigration shipmate, Carl Schurz, who went on to hold positions of great prominence in the US Government and who was a friend of Lincoln, to down-and-outs he befriended in his saloon, Charlie was at ease with everyone, not in the least intimidated by a soul. **He was always his own man and in charge of his own destiny. His diverse portfolio of talents allowed for always having ‘Plan B’, and he never backed down from any challenge!**

Since there are few detailed extant records of his entire life [and much of what does exist has errors], I have pieced together original German records, US biographical anecdotes and newspaper articles, censuses and emigration records, as well as talked to some present-day descendants. All information is presented in **chronological order**. In some places, I have had to make an educated guess, most often based on historical fact.

I believe a great share of this information is presented for the first time, particularly his early life in Germany and his last days in Alaska. I worked with German friends and a professional researcher in Germany, as well as searched the German digital archives myself, to obtain additional and previously unknown personal family details of his hugely interesting family history.

**TAKE A WALK WITH CHARLIE....
EXPERIENCE HIS LIFE FROM 1834-1900...**

THE BEGINNING...GERMANY

To understand Charlie, it is necessary to begin with his birth and early life in a family of privilege in Germany at a pivotal time in the 19th century that shaped the history of his native country--history that undoubtedly had a life-long effect on who he later became in America.

When I wrote my own family's history, I found not a single connection to royalty; few families have one, in reality, but I'm making up for that now. Although not royalty, per se, Charlie came from a bonafide family of highly respected noblemen who played major roles in 18th and 19th century German court life. I don't believe there is a single person, including his children and grandchildren, with the possible exception of his wife, who ever knew all of the interesting details of Charlie's childhood, and **I feel especially proud to present this material for the first time**. Since he was so young when he emigrated, it's possible that even he did not know his family history well. On the other hand, it is truly sad that there seem to be so few descendants left to appreciate Charlie's story. If only I were related to this fascinating man!!

My research in Germany...

It was my distinct pleasure and good luck to find Dinah Rottschäfer to help me with local research and translations in the area of Öhringen, GER, Charlie's childhood hometown. She had the qualifications, the ability and, most importantly, the heart to find Charlie's early footprint in Germany. I am truly indebted to her and also to Jan Wiechert.

DINAH ROTTSCHÄFER, MA, Schwäbisch Hall GER

Areas of Activity / Services: Archive, exhibitions, cultural management, art and cultural mediation, museum and collection management, text production / publications.

Degrees in Art History / Art Sciences; Mag. Artium / Master

Special fields / technical focus Epochs: 16th century, 17th century, 18th century, 19th century

Genres: Architecture / architecture, painting, furniture, other antiques

Regional Priorities: Art and cultural history of Baden-Württemberg, in particular former county Hohenlohe.

Thematic priorities: Historical equipment of monuments, cultural history profiles. Creates media-educational concepts for media units (e.g. audio guide, screenplay) and exhibitions. Advises in all matters of art and cultural mediation and computerized inventory. Creates transcriptions of historical writings from the 17th to the 19th century. Develops scientific texts that are tailored to the respective addressee for exhibitions, media stations, radio productions, newspaper articles, essays.

JAN WIECHERT, who works in the Hohenlohe Central Archive in Neuenstein, near Charlie's birthplace, was also of tremendous help. Thank you! Jan was born in 1982 in Riedlingen, has considered Schwäbisch Hall GER his home since he was a boy. He is not a trained historian, but a trained educator, now working as a cultural worker and freelance journalist in Berlin and Schwabisch Hall, as well as in the **Hohenlohe Central Archive**. **The criminal history of the region is one of his specialties. His work in the Hohenlohe Zentralarchiv Neuenstein** could not be more varied--from archiving historical documents to activities in the PR sector to teaching and speaking on topics of Hohenlohe history. In the MOMENTE and the regional daily press, the author regularly publishes articles on current cultural topics. Under the title, "From Mauserei to Assassination," Jan offers themed tours in the **Neuenstein Castle**. Since 2010 he has worked mainly as a specialist author for regional history and as a genealogical service provider. His research deals mostly with the living conditions of the "ordinary people," but also with church and judicial history. While he turned to private family research at the age of 15, he has only recently published in local history books and regional newspapers.

1834

THE BIRTH OF CHARLES BROWN

THE MANY DIVISIONS OF GERMANY DURING CHARLIE'S CHILDHOOD

Germany did not exist as one unified nation until 1871; before, there were many small autonomous states/kingdoms/duchys, each self-governed with its own name and ruler, and borders and alliances constantly changed due to the politics of the time.



★ ÖHRINGEN, CHARLIE'S BIRTHPLACE

Located on this map in the 'Kgr Württemberg'--Kingdom of Württemberg. Today Öhringen is part of Baden-Württemberg GER and can be Googled and found on any map.

BIRTHDATE: 24 Dec 1834

PLACE OF BIRTH: Öehringen [town], Württemberg [area of], Germany

Öehringen (spelled Öhringen today) is located about 70 miles northeast of Stuttgart.

Below is an 1823 painting of the Öehringen Evangelical Protestant [Lutheran] Church where all of Charlie's many siblings were baptized. Charlie himself was baptized at home, for some reason, on Jan 23, 1835, one month after his birth. Perhaps either he or his mother was unable to go to the church for the baptism due to health risks. This is what the church, built between 1454 and 1497, looked like when Charlie was born in 1834, only 11 years after the painting was completed in 1823. The church and castle, called **SCHLOSS [CASTLE] ÖHRINGEN**, were on the same grounds on the banks of the **OHRN RIVER** and were home to the **PRINCELY DYNASTY OF HOHENLOHE** in which Charlie's great-grandfather, grandfather, and father served as noblemen in high official bureaucratic positions in this dynastic government. Hohenlohe, ruled by a Prince, was one of the many small historic divisions of the country now known in whole as Germany. After the Hohenlohe Dynasty was swept away in 1806, Öehringen belonged to Württemberg and today it is in Baden-Württemberg. Charlie referred to both as the place of his birth on several US Census records. **Stuttgart was the capital of both areas. Öehringen was one of the towns in Württemberg.**



FAMILY TITLE

“EDLER VON” BRAUN

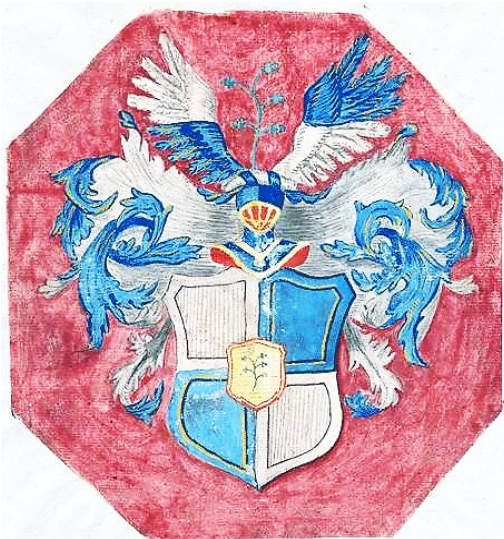
...meaning ‘Noble Person’

This noble title was first decreed on Charlie's respected grandfather, Ludwig Wolfgang 'Hiskias' von Braun by **King Maximilian Joseph I of Bavaria on 31 Mar 1808**. Only Heskias himself rose to the title of "Edler von Braun" at that time; however, the **King of Württemberg [King Wilhelm I]** later reconfirmed the family nobility title for the children in a document dated 6 Jun 1834, just six months before Charlie's birth. In the Württemberg court in Stuttgart, Charlie would later learn horsemanship as a young boy.

The family surname was originally **BRAUN** [Brown in English]; however, Charlie's father and grandfather, as well as Charlie himself and all of his siblings, both male and female, used a **special title at the end of their given names**. The title was granted by a royal decree to several generations of the Braun family. For example, Charlie's father was Adolph Karl Georg **Edler von Braun**.

Edler (German for 'noble') was used until 1919 for the lowest rank of nobility in Austria-Hungary and Germany, just beneath a Ritter (hereditary knight), but above **untitled nobles, who used only the 'von' before their surname**. It was mostly given to **civil servants** and military officers, as well as those upon whom the lower rank of an Order had been conferred. Translated, it literally means "noble person". In accordance with the rules of German grammar, the word can also appear as Edle, Edlem, or Edlen depending on case, gender, and number.

In the Middle Ages, under the feudal system in Europe and elsewhere, the nobility were generally those who held a fief, often in the form of heritable land worked by vassals. To preserve the feudal naming practice, even in cases where **upper-ranking bureaucrats** [such as Charlie's grandfather, uncle and father who held such positions in a royal dynasty] **received patents of nobility for long service and/or merit**, as in the 18th, 19th, and early 20th centuries (see noblesse de robe), the old practice of denoting a noble with a territorial designation was continued out of a sense of tradition.



COAT OF ARMS OF THE FAMILY "EDLER VON BRAUN"

"...consisting [off] a quartered main shield of silver (1 & 4) and blue (2 & 3) colour and a golden middle centered shield containing a five-tined pollinated oaktreebranch. The shield is crowned by a helmet with an opened eagle-wing, in between an oaktree-branch is growing; the cover of the helmet is silver and blue coloured."

This is an ORIGINAL COPY from the archives in Germany. Hand colored in the day.

[Found in the archives by German researcher Dinah Rottschäfer.]

Below is perhaps the most revealing piece of information about Charlie's life in Germany that is in existence today. On first glance, it appeared to me to be just another family story about imagined ties to royalty--there are many of those to be found, and few of them hold up under research scrutiny. I began by reviewing decades of online German church parish records for Öhringen, based on a birthdate and town name associated with Charlie which I found in the records of the **SOCIETY OF MONTANA PIONEERS**, located at the Montana Historical Society in Helena, Montana. **Each highlighted word proved true.**

“...Charley Brown, that was not his real name, was a highly educated German gentleman -- in fact was a nobleman. He was at one time a page at the Bavarian Court, and was one of the four boys that rode the horses when the Queen took a ride. She had eight Shetland ponies, and four boys rode them, and cared for them. None, but those of noble birth, could become a courtier...” [Source: Charles Beehrer, Chapter 24, “History of Southern Montana”, by A. J. Noyes, 1915]

The statement above was made nearly two decades later in Montana by a close pioneer friend, **Charles Beehrer**, himself a German emigrant born in 1836 in Stuttgart, not far from Charlie's hometown of Öhringen, although I saw no evidence they knew one another until they met in America, despite both having roots in the Stuttgart area. However, German-born Beehrer, who was known to converse in German to Charlie during their Vigilante days, did fully understand the ethnic importance of the ‘Edler von Braun’ title and understood, more than others not German born, that Charlie's family was of noble lineage. **My research corroborated Beehrer's statement entirely.** And, because the family had high social status, I was able to find original Braun family records in Germany, as well as mention of the family in historical German books.

I personally reviewed original online Protestant (Lutheran) church parish birth/baptismal/death and family registers in Öhringen for a span of about 30 years, just to be sure I didn't miss Charlie's birth year, reported in wide-ranging variations in American sources (censuses, bio's, etc.) as between 1822 and 1834. In those days, Germany was either Catholic or Lutheran--after all, the country was the birthplace of former monk-turned-religious-agitator, Martin Luther. Whatever religion the Braun family practiced in Montana, and that seems to have been Presbyterian, it had no bearing on Charlie's German upbringing, which was definitely Lutheran.

My research of the church records quickly found and focused on Charlie's high-born family history and confirmed part of what exists anecdotally about Charlie having **governesses and tutors and being well educated.** Now highly intrigued but lacking translation skills and local research abilities, I hired a very competent professional German history researcher named Dinah Rottschäfer to supplement my own research--she went above and beyond my wildest expectations.

IMPORTANT NOTE:

Charlie indicated on different U. S. records over the years that he was born in **Stuttgart, Württemberg** or **Baden** [**Stuttgart was the capital city of each.**]. Württemberg and Baden are geographical areas reflecting boundary changes at various political times during the 1800's, and both are also correct locations for the town of **Öhringen, Charlie's actual birthplace.**

Stuttgart was of great importance in Charlie's life, to be discussed later. Stuttgart has an Edler von Braun family record [next page] on file in its archives which matches the family record sheet in Öhringen. Unusual to have a family registered in two different cities; however, considering the family's ties to various royal households in both places, it is understandable. Stuttgart likely represented the place where Charlie's training in horsemanship was obtained, starting as a young child, and there were several important family contacts living there who had some influence in his upbringing, discussed later.

BAPTISMAL NAME

Parish and family registers I read for the town of Öhringen, Württemberg , Germany, firmly establish Charlie's birth as 24 December 1834, the same year and town as listed in the records of the SOCIETY OF MONTANA PIONEERS held by the Montana Historical Society....**there was only one BIG difference.**

CHARLES BROWN, born at Oehringen, Wurtemberg, Germany, in 1834. Came to the United States. Place of departure for Montana, Salt Lake City, Utah; route traveled, *via* Malad Valley; arrived at Bannack in 1863. Occupation, miner. Residence, Miles City.

Page 71, Society of Montana Pioneers

<https://archive.org/stream/societyofmontana01soci#page/n91/search/charles+brown>

Charlie was a member of the **Society of Montana Pioneers representing Custer County** in 1895. As such, he provided his birth year and birth town in the Society's biographical records. [See year 1895 in Part 2 for more information on the Society.]

His year of birth does NOT match his tombstone. This is not particularly of significance because many old-timers either did not know the exact details of their birth--or did not care. Small details were not of any great importance to many pioneers.

THE BIG REVEAL!

Charlie Brown's Baptismal Name in Lutheran Parish Church Records Was Listed As...

MAX EDLER VON BRAUN

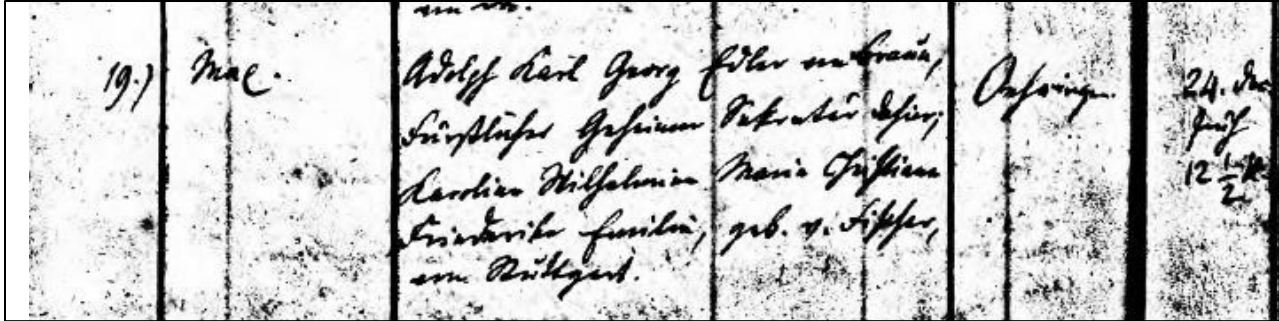
[See Beehrer's statement above... Charles was not his real name]

Below is the BIRTH REGISTER for December 1834 in Öhringen.

Item #19 (last entry) is 'Max Edler von Braun', aka Charles Brown in America. A larger blowup is shown on the next page. The birth record confirms parents' names, birth/baptismal dates and also the many church sponsors for Charlie's birth, many of whom were relatives.

Landesk. Archiv Stgt. 19fach
Bez. Öhringen verkl.
ÖHRINGEN Bd. 10 G

1834				38.				
Nr.	Zeitraum	Ort	Ort	Ort	Ort	Ort	Ort	
der	bei	der	der	der	der	der	der	
Geb.	geb.	geb.	geb.	geb.	geb.	geb.	geb.	
ort.	ort.	ort.	ort.	ort.	ort.	ort.	ort.	
16.)	Margelane Siedl wie Christmaler fina. / inoffiz. 22. Jan. 1834.	Widder: fca Maria Siedler, geb. 17. Jan. 1800 Siedler, geb. 17. Jan. 1800 Siedler, geb. 17. Jan. 1800 Siedler, geb. 17. Jan. 1800	Widder Siedler	18. Jan. 1834 9 U.	Öhringen 22. Jan.	Öhringen	1) Margelane Siedler, geb. 17. Jan. 1800 2) Siedler, geb. 17. Jan. 1800 3) Siedler, geb. 17. Jan. 1800 4) Siedler, geb. 17. Jan. 1800	Widder 72.
17.)	Karl Siedler Christm.	Siedler: fca Maria Siedler, geb. 17. Jan. 1800 Siedler, geb. 17. Jan. 1800 Siedler, geb. 17. Jan. 1800	Widder	11. Jan. 1834 2 U.	Öhringen 22. Jan.	Öhringen	1) Siedler, geb. 17. Jan. 1800 2) Siedler, geb. 17. Jan. 1800 3) Siedler, geb. 17. Jan. 1800	Widder 222.
18.)	Greg. Siedler	Siedler: fca Maria Siedler, geb. 17. Jan. 1800 Siedler, geb. 17. Jan. 1800 Siedler, geb. 17. Jan. 1800	Widder	21. Jan. 1834 10 U.	Öhringen 22. Jan.	Öhringen	1) Siedler, geb. 17. Jan. 1800 2) Siedler, geb. 17. Jan. 1800 3) Siedler, geb. 17. Jan. 1800	Widder 99.
19.)	Max	Siedler: fca Maria Siedler, geb. 17. Jan. 1800 Siedler, geb. 17. Jan. 1800 Siedler, geb. 17. Jan. 1800	Widder	24. Jan. 1834 12 U.	Öhringen 22. Jan.	Öhringen	1) Siedler, geb. 17. Jan. 1800 2) Siedler, geb. 17. Jan. 1800 3) Siedler, geb. 17. Jan. 1800 4) Siedler, geb. 17. Jan. 1800 5) Siedler, geb. 17. Jan. 1800 6) Siedler, geb. 17. Jan. 1800 7) Siedler, geb. 17. Jan. 1800 8) Siedler, geb. 17. Jan. 1800 9) Siedler, geb. 17. Jan. 1800 10) Siedler, geb. 17. Jan. 1800	Widder 222.



It is hard to believe that Max and Charlie are the same person; however, all records confirm it. From the time of his emigration to America in 1852, he did not use 'Max' again; he became Charles Brown (Karl Braun in German). There were many political and personal reasons for Charlie to use a different name when escaping compulsory German military service at age 17 in 1852, to be discussed later.

So, Charlie was known to his parents and siblings at home as 'Max'. In America, he used only Charles Brown [no middle initial]. His baptismal record used no middle names either. The fact that Charlie did not have a middle name is important in later research about his life in America and in Miles City, where there was more than one Charles Brown, most using a middle initial, making it easier to differentiate 'our' Charlie.

The name 'Max' was likely bestowed in honor of King Maximilian I Joseph who was responsible in 1808 for honoring the von Braun family (because of the exemplary duties performed by Ludwig Wolfgang Hiskias Edler von Braun, Charlie's grandfather) with a higher title of nobility. Karl, the name Charlie ultimately chose to use, was a much-used family name, including that of his father, **Adolph Karl Georg Edler von Braun** and for an older brother by the same name, who died just before Charlie emigrated. Charlie used his father's name when naming his own son, **George Adolph Brown [aka 'Kid' Brown]**. Further establishing Max as Charlie was information within the official German parish family record (#305B in Öehringen) for 'Max' Edler von Braun which noted the year he emigrated to 'Amerika'--1852. That year corresponds directly to the ship's passenger list for 1852 [shown later in this document] I found on Ancestry.com showing both Charles Braun and his friend Carl Schurz on the same ship, again matching family stories that he emigrated with Schurz, who later became an eminent German-American. Schurz' own autobiography gives the exact same year of emigration, 1852. Additionally, the 1900 US Census for Alaska shows Charlie's emigration year as 1852. **Different sources in the US over the years gave varying information regarding his birth year.** However, at his death in 1900, the local Miles City newspaper obituary said Charlie was 66 years old--again reaffirming the 1834 year of birth. One daughter also mentioned his birthday was in December. Like a puzzle, all the pieces fit.

Charlie sometimes mentioned Stuttgart as his place of birth, other times Württemberg, other times Baden. He seems to have kept up with the ever-changing political landscape and geographical boundary changes of his birthplace later in his life in America.

Both Öehringen and Stuttgart show family records for the Edler von Braun family. Max's name is listed in both places. **The Family Record, in German, is shown on the next page.**

Die adelige Familie **Braun**, von welcher hier die Rede ist, gehört Württemberg, zunächst dem Hohenlohischen an!, wo ihre Vorfahren die ersten fürstlichen Aemter und Würden bekleideten. Der Grossvater der jetzt lebenden Generation, **Johann Balthasar Braun** (geb. 1710, † 1799), war fürstl. Hofrath und Kammerdirector zu Ingelfingen. Dessen zwei Söhne 1) **Georg Ernst Friedrich**, württ. Geh.-Rath und Kreis-Gesandter zu Nürnberg, 2) **Ludwig Wolfgang Hiskias**, fürstl. Geh.-Rath und Regierungsdirector zu Ingelfingen und Oehringen (geb. 28. Dec. 1770, † 26. Jan. 1831.), wurden von dem König Maximilian Joseph von Bayern unterm 31. März des Jahres 1808, in den bayerischen Adelstand erhoben, mit dem Prädikat **Edle von Braun**. Der ältere von diesen zwei Brüdern starb ohne Erben, der jüngere dagegen, hinterliess von seiner, im Tode ihm vorangegangenen Gattin **Louise Charlotte Gebhardt** (geb. 28. Dec. 1770, † 1. Juni 1799), drei Söhne und eine Tochter, welchen von Sr. Majestät dem König von Württemberg, die Adelswürde durch eine besondere Urkunde vom 6. Juni 1834 bestätigt worden ist. Der zweitältere Sohn **Friedrich Carl Gottfried v. B.** (geb. 12. Juni 1793.), starb als fürstl. hohenl. Rath zu Gleichen am 22. April 1833. Die noch lebenden Mitglieder der Familie (sämmtlich der evangelischen Religion zugethan) sind folgende :

- I. **Johann Christian Gustav Friedrich, Edler von Braun**, geb. 8. Oct. 1789, k. württ. Major (a. D.) und Finanzrath zu Stuttgart, WMV3 und Inhaber des silbernen Ehrenkreuzes für den Feldzug 1815, RW14, HDMV3; verm. 5. Oct. 1826 mit **Caroline**, Tochter des vorm. kön. Ober-Hofpredigers und Prälaten d'Autel.
- II. **Sophie Christiane Charlotte**, geb. 22. April 1792, verm. 24. Nov. 1812, mit dem Oberamtmann **Geiger** zu Gerabronn.
- III. **Carl Adolph Georg, Edler von Braun**, geb. 7. Mai 1797, fürstl. hohenlohe-öhringen. Archiv-Rath, verm. 1) am 6. Sept. 1829, mit **Caroline Emilie Fischer**, geb. 6. Sept. 1812, † 3. März 1837; 2) am 17. Sept. 1837, mit **Bertha Kern**, des Pfarrers zu Untersteinbach Tochter, geb. 6. Oct. 1812.

Kinder.

- 1) **August Wolfgang**, geb. 23. Aug. 1830.
- 2) **Carl**, geb. 8. April 1832.
- 3) **Caroline**, geb. 16. Juni 1833.
- 4) **Max**, geb. 24. Dec. 1834.
- 5) **Emilie**, geb. 16. Febr. 1837.

BRAUN FAMILY HISTORY

From A German Book Dated 1839 by Friedrich Cast
(Translation on next page...)

Born 24 Dec 1834 as Max Edler von Braun, his name appears as #4 at the bottom.
His father, Carl Adolph Georg, Edler von Braun (Title), appears as III.

CHARLIE'S GERMAN FAMILY TREE

Charlie's mother, **Caroline Emilie (née von Fischer) Edle von Braun**, his father's first wife, died at age 24 in Mar 1837 shortly after giving birth to her 5th child (Emelie) when Charlie was three years old. His father remarried a second time shortly afterward and six more half-siblings were added to Charlie's family, a total of (11) children by both wives. His father, **Carl Adolph Georg, Edler von Braun**, died in Nov 1854, two years after Charlie's emigration to 'Amerika' in 1852. His oldest brother, AUGUST WOLFGANG, b. 1830, married a Baroness and left Germany to live/die in Lyon, France; another brother, KARL, b. 1832, two years older than Charlie, died at the age of 17 in 1849 in a military hospital in Algiers while serving in the French Foreign Legion. His death was likely a blow to Charlie, his closest brother in age, and may have also been one of the reasons why he chose to use 'Karl' [Charles] as his name for the rest of his life in America. After Charlie's emigration to the US in 1852, several of his siblings (two sisters and a brother) emigrated as well. One sister who emigrated to Michigan was close in age; the other two were much younger than Charlie.

HERE IS CHARLIE'S FAMILY AS SHOWN IN A GERMAN BOOK LISTING THE GENEALOGY OF THE EDLER VON BRAUN FAMILY

“Süddeutscher Adelsheros oder Geschichte und Genealogie. Historisches und genealogisches Adelsbuch des Königreichs Württemberg”, Volume 1, Issue 1, by Friedrich Cast, Stuttgart
Published in 1839, p. 412f. [Can be viewed by Googling a few words of the title]

[Translation of German from Page 24, by Dinah Rottschäfer]

“The noble family Braun, of which we talk about here, belong to Württemberg, first of all to the territory of Hohenlohe, whereas their ancestors were entitled to hold high offices and were dignitaries. The grandfather of the now living generation, **Johann Balthasar Braun** (born 1710 - †1799) [**Charlie's great-grandfather**], was Court Counselor and Director of the Chamber in Ingelfingen¹.

His two sons...

- 1) Georg Ernst Friedrich (1751-1821), Counselor of Württemberg and minister at Nuremberg. [**Charlie's Great Uncle**] b. 1751, Stuttgart (Württemberg) d. 1821 in Nuremberg (Bavaria).
- 2) Ludwig Wolfgang Hiskias [**Charlie's grandfather**], Court Counselor and Government Official at Ingelfingen and Oehringen (born 28. Dec. 1770 - †26. Jan. 1831), received their noble title „Edle von Braun“² by King Maximilian Joseph of Bavaria on the 31st March of the year 1808³. The older brother died without heir, the younger one had three sons and one

¹ At that time Hohenlohe-Ingelfingen was an autonomus principality.

² The title „Edler“ was mostly given by Bavaria and Austria in the 1800s until 1918. The title stands as the simple knighthood in the hierarchy of nobilities. The children are allowed to bear the title, but it has to be confirmed.

³ **Sovereign administration of the Princes of Hohenlohe ended in 1806**. Their territory became part of the Kingdom of **Württemberg** – Nuremberg became part of Bavaria. The Princes of Hohenlohe

daughter of his wife **Louise Charlotte GEBHARDT** (born 28 Dec. 1770 - † 1st June 1799), which has gone before him to death. **His majesty of Württemberg⁴ confirmed the title of the children** in a special certificate on the 6th of June 1834 [**shortly before Max/Charlie's birth in December 1834**]. The second-born son **Friedrich Carl Gottfried of Braun** (born 12th of June 1793), died as court council of Hohenlohe at Gleichen on the 22nd April 1833.

The living family members (all members of the **Protestant [Lutheran]** Church) are:

- I. Johann Christian Gustav Friedrich, Edler von Braun, born 8. Oct. 1789, royal Major of Württemberg (out of duty) and Counselor of Finances at Stuttgart, WMV3 (?) and holder of the Silver Honor Cross for the military campaign in 1815, RWI4, HDMV3⁵; married 5. Oct. 1826 with Caroline d'Autel, daughter of the former major court chaplain and prelate of Württemberg
- II. Sophie Christiane Charlotte, born 22. April 1792, married 24 Nov. 1812, with the major administrator (/civil servant) Geiger of Gerabronn
- III. **Adolph Carl Georg, Edler von Braun [Charlie's father]**, born 7. May 1797, counselor of the archive at the court, **married 1**) 6. Sept. 1829, with **Caroline Emilie (née von Fischer) [Charlie's mother]**, born 6. Sept. 1812, †3. March 1837; **married 2**) 17. Sept. 1837, Bertha Kern **[Charlie's stepmother]**, daughter of the chaplain at Untersteinbach, born 6. Oct. 1812

Children: Full blood siblings...

- 1) August Wolfgang, b. 23. Aug. 1830
- 2) Carl/Karl, b. 8. April 1832
- 3) Caroline, b. 16. June 1833
- 4) **Max, b. 24. Dec.1834 [aka Charles Brown in America]**
- 5) Emilie, b. 16. Feb. 1837.

After the death of father Adolph's first wife, Caroline Emilie (née von **FISCHER**) in 1837, there were six more children, half siblings to Charlie, born to a second wife, Bertha (née **KERN**).



THE FAMILY TREE
PATERNAL GREAT-GRANDFATHER
JOHANN BALTHASAR BRAUN
(b. 1710 Baumerlenbach, Württemberg [near Öhringen]
(d. 1799) Ingelfingen, Württemberg [near Öhringen])

still owned some political privileges, but lost their sovereign power. The princes became more private than public persons, which changed the court life.

⁴ Wilhelm I. of Württemberg (1781-1864), second king of Württemberg, before 1803 they were dukes and counts of Württemberg

⁵ These are military ranks and orders I couldn't verify.

Johann Balthasar Braun (born 1710 - †1799), was Court Counselor and Director of the Chamber in Ingelfingen. **House of Hohenlohe**. He married a **FISCHER**.

CHILDREN OF JOHANN BALTHASAR BRAUN:

1. Maria Albertina Christiana Braun. Unmarried. **Wrote poem about Hiskias, shown below.**
2. Georg Ernst Friedrich Edler von Braun (1751-1821) *Württ. Geh.-Rath and district envoy to Nuremberg*, [The highest Court official/Privy Councillor.] As the oldest son of Hiskias, he held similar positions of great influence like his father, but was located in Württemberg (State) (Capital City: Stuttgart). He had no children and died in Nuremberg (Bavaria)
3. **Ludwig Wolfgang Hiskias Edler von Braun**, (1770-1931) **Charlie's Grandfather**, see below.
4. Karoline Auguste 'Christiane' Braun (m. Karl Heinrich Zeller). Two children died young. **Charlie's great aunt, pictured right.**



PATERNAL GRANDFATHER

LUDWIG WOLFGANG "HISKIAS" EDLER von BRAUN

The first Braun to be titled 'Edler'

Ludwig Wolfgang 'Hiskias', [TITLE] Fürstl. Geheimrat, -Rath and government director to Ingelfingen and Öehringen. Worked in the House of Hohenlohe for 53 years under (3) rulers.

Fürstlich [Fürstl]: *Princely, stately, nobly, aristocratically, as a member of the ruling class.*

Geheimrat: *"Title of the highest advising officials at the Imperial, royal or princely courts of the Holy Roman Empire, who jointly formed the Geheimer Rat [rat=councilor] reporting to the ruler. The term remained in use during subsequent monarchic reigns in German-speaking areas of Europe until the end of WWI. At its origin the literal meaning of the word in German was 'trusted advisor'. The English-language equivalent is Privy Councillor. In Germany, the title largely disappeared after the fall of the German Empire in 1918.*

b. 28 Dec 1770, Ingelfingen [near Öehringen], Württemberg, GER

d. 26 Jan 1831, Öehringen

Marriage: **Maria Louise Charlotte [née GEBHARDT]**

[Charlie's Paternal Grandmother]

b. 28 Dec 1770

d. 1 Jun 1799, mother to all of Ludwig's children.

Here is a translation of the funeral sermon for **Charlie's grandfather, Ludwig Wolfgang 'Hiskias' Edler von Braun**. He was held in high esteem and died in 1831, three years before Charlie was born. This reflects the character of the family in which Charlie was raised.

GA 90 Nr. 1898: [All translations by Dinah Rottschäfer]

Funeral Sermon held by Dean Diezsch in Öhringen, 19 January 1831 [three years before Charlie's birth]:

*"He had reached and fulfilled the stage of life with 75 years, 4 months and 4 days, but was wrested from his loved ones far too early [...] There will be a wide gap, in Öhringen especially, where he stayed 24 years, he wasn't the highest after his rank, but after his character **he was the crown of the town.**"*

The dean says Hiskias was awe-inspiring and always attending the word of God. In the arms of the family he found sweet calmness, serenity and solace, because his loyal companion [wife] left him so early [in 1799]. So he had no other choice than turning to the sister, who was the same in heart and soul. [Referring to his sister, Christiane v. Braun, pictured previous page] She also left this world 5 years ago. Also three of his sons-in-law, who he loved like his own children, and a daughter deceased unexpected. [...] His death was a travel to peace in the circle of his loved siblings.

*Our **Serene Highness** [Title of August, then the current **Prince of Hohenloe**] worshipped the deceased more as a fatherly friend than a loyal servant, who was given from the dead **Heinrich Augustus** [d. 1796, father of August] to his son [**August**] and his grandson [**Hugo**, son of August] like a royal jewel. In his **53 years of service**, he had a deeply founded knowledge of and sense of business, also for his **deep deep loyalty to the princely House of Hohenlohe** for which he had high respect of high statesmen in difficult negotiations. For sure the Noble Prince [deceased Heinrich Augustus, above] is now here with us and shouting with watery eyes the deceased: **'Rest in Peace', Father Braun!***

Whoever got in in contact with the deceased was compelled by his kindness he received everyone and his readiness to serve. [...] His gentle commands and friendly behaviour even compelled every domestic [servant]. If we could hear the voice of every one of them, whom he supported, delighted, made happy, it would be found that the nobles' friend of human kind is going in peace with everyone. [Then the parable of the Vineyard was given].

Other interesting translated notes re. Charlie's grandfather:

*"Ludwig Wolfgang Hiskias von Braun, the grandfather of Max [**Charlie**], did have a high position at the administration of Öehringen. The position he reached in May 1777 was the status as an **Regierungs Assessor**', which can be translated as high administration assessor, due to his scholarship of jurisprudence. He was well respected and a high valued person at the administration. For this reasons there have been printed*

*funeral sermons or jubilee publications which were spreaded [distributed] for remembrance. There are both found in the archive of Neuenstein as well (Ga 97 Nr. 471, Ga 97 Nr. 890 and Ga 90 Nr. 1898) for Ludwig Wolfgang Hiskias von Braun. **These printed memoranda are reserved only for high or noble persons and show the high status of the (deceased) person.** They are very rare to find because of the small number of editions. They contain some personal steps of the life, the sermon of the priest or some times poems of honour. “*

Ga 97 Nr. 471:

Jubilee publication on his 50th working anniversary - 23 April 1827.

*Devoted [dedicated] by **August, prince of Hohenlohe** [Current Prince of Hohenlohe in 1831. See his photo below.]*

Christiane, Hiskias' sister, wrote this little poem commemorating her brother's 50th Jubilee of working in 1827:

*“50 years surround your profession
Every year given you the crown of Honor as a reward for your virtue
Some Happiness, that the band of prudence, coiled around your silver hair with blessing.”*

CHARLIE'S FATHER, SON OF 'HISKIAS'

ADOLPH KARL GEORG EDLER von BRAUN

Princely Archivist at Öhringen.

Loyal employee and trusted friend of the Princes of the **Dynasty of Hohenlohe**.

b. 7 May 1797, Ingelfingen, Württemberg

d. 21 Nov 1854, Öhringen. Cause of death was heart disease.

CHARLIE'S MOTHER (Wife #1)

Mother to children #1-5

KAROLINA WILHELMINA MARIA CHRISTIANA FREDERIKA

EMILIA (née von FISCHER) EDLE von BRAUN

*[Daughter of a high official of the administration of the ***Kingdom of Württemberg**]*

b. 6 Sep 1812, Mergentheim [town], per church death register

Marriage: 6 Sep 1829

d. 3 Mar 1837; buried 6 Mar 1837, Öhringen

Died at age 24, shortly after the birth of her 5th child.

***Charlie's mother had high connections** in the royal court at Württemberg. They would prove very helpful to her son Max in the coming years.

CHARLIE'S FULL SIBLINGS: #1-5

1) **AUGUST WOLFGANG EDLER von BRAUN**

b. 23 April 1830, Öhringen

The oldest son, he emigrated to Lyon FR in 1850 and then came back to Germany and married; then returned again to Lyon, where he spent the rest of his life. His occupation was some sort of trade/dealer in France.

Married: 28 Mar 1859, Stuttgart

Spouse: Anna **Forstner Von Dambenoy** (12 Apr 1840–1902)

d. 6 Jul 1867, Lyon, France

Below is a French translation of the 1867 Lyon FR death record of Charlie's oldest brother, August Wolfgang Edler von Braun, **who died at age 37**.

Auguste de Braun [French spelling] - #1010 Death Certificate

Archives municipales de Lyon - Registres paroissiaux et d'état civil Lyon - 3e arrondissement Décès: 01/01/1867-31/12/1867 (vue 117) 2E903

*"This 7 July 1867, at 9 AM, here in front of us, Mayor of the 3rd Precinct of Lyon, Knight of the Legion of Honor, have appeared the Sirs Boule, Essemond, merchant, residing in Lyon, Street Puit Gaillot 1, aged 46, and **Fiedermann, Robert [uncle]**, merchant, residing in the same city, Street Monsieur no 6, aged 39, who have declared that Mr. de Braun, August, merchant, residing in this city, Street Montbernard no 7, born in Oehringen (Würtemberg) on 27 August 1831 [error April 1830], lawful son of the deceased **Adolphe and Emelie Fischer**, husband of Anna Forstner de Dambenois, unrelated to the first declaring person, **nephew by alliance [marriage] to the second**, is deceased as we could witness at his above-mentioned domicile, yesterday evening at 3 o'clock, as by this deed that the declaring persons have signed with us after review."*

[Translation by my Swiss exchange son, Stephan Aepli.

It was an old and hard-to-read document.]

2) **KARL EDLER von BRAUN**

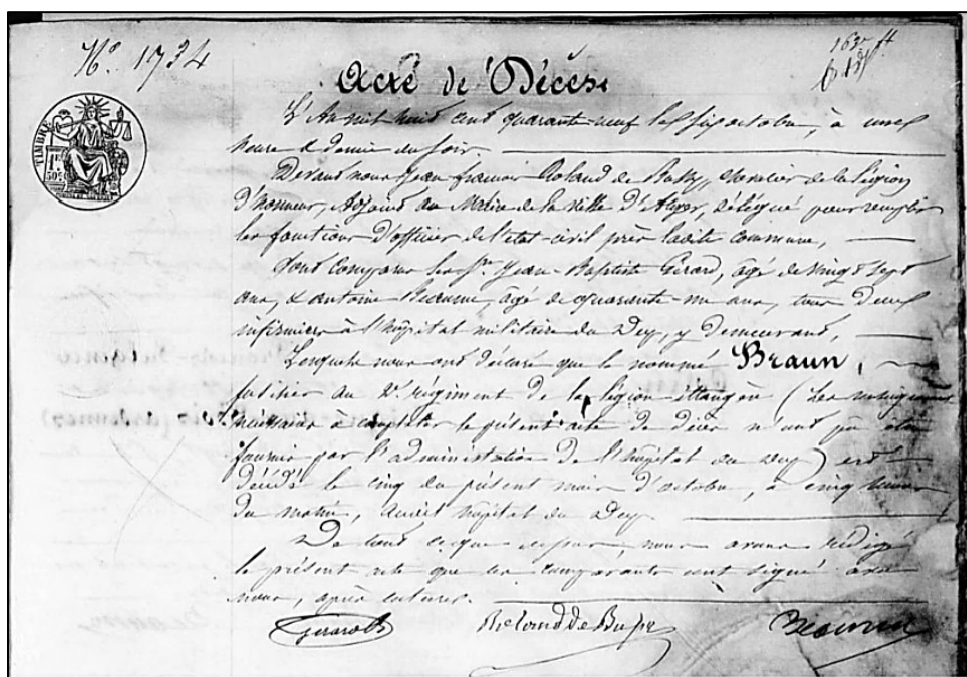
Charlie's closest older brother who **died in 1849 in Algiers at age 17** while serving as a fusilier/foot soldier in the **French Foreign Legion's 2nd Batt**. The 2nd Battalion was comprised mostly of **conscripted** German volunteers. Karl's death, as well as other political factors, may have been a large influence on Charlie's avoidance of military service in Germany, eventually leading to his emigration prior to turning 18, the eligibility age for **compulsory** German military service.

b. 8 April 1832, Öhringen

d. 5 Oct 1849 in a military hospital in Algiers.

Death notice [See next page] found in French National Archives dated 11 Jun 1850. Death due to 'catarrh', a severe mucous disease often leading to tuberculosis. The L'Hopital Militaire du Dey building in Algiers was reserved for officers only; lower-ranking infantry soldiers [**Charlie's bro**] were housed outdoors in crowded conditions: "...fifty or sixty wooden sheds have been erected in the vast garden, and constitute the **actual hospital**. These are capable of containing eight thousand men..." [Lamping, 1839] **Temperatures reached 140° F in the summer**. Easy to see that Charlie's

brother did not have good care. It must have broken Charlie's warm heart when his nearest brother died. **This perhaps solidified in him the desire NOT to serve in the rigorous and compulsory German military service.**



<http://anom.archivesnationales.culture.gouv.fr/osdanom/print.php>

- 3) **EMELIA MAGDALENA "LENA"**
KAROLINA LOUISA PAULINE EMMA
EDLE von BRAUN
 b. 16 Jun 1833, Öhringen
 [Confirmed by both obit and birth register]
Emigrated: March 1854 to Brooklyn NY
 Marriage: 17 Jul 1854, Newark NJ to
 Friedrich **DURHEIM**
 d. 23 Aug 1897, Ann Arbor MI [Tumor]
 Buried: Forest Hill Cemetery
Ann Arbor, Washtenaw Co., Michigan, USA
Findagrave.com Memorial #113520603

Obituary:

Father's name in error: Adolph, not August

Note: Obit says she first came to America to an 'aunt' in Newark NJ. A sister of her father or mother? Note: Daughter named 'Mrs. Kellogg' was named Annie [1868-1908]. Findagrave.com Memorial #125805261, Center Cemetery, New Salem, Franklin County, MA. Husband, Nathaniel P. Kellogg, is buried under the same marker. At Findagrave.com, there appear

Death of Mrs. Lena Durheim.
 Mrs. Lena Durheim died at her home on S. Division st., on Monday morning after a long and painful illness. She was the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. August von Braun and was born at Oehringen, Wurtemberg, June 16, 1833. In 1854 she came to America to an aunt who lived at Newark, New Jersey. There she was married to Mr. Frederick Durheim who had come to this country some time before from Switzerland. He had prepared a home for her in Tennessee where they lived until 1869, when they came to Ann Arbor. Mr. Durheim died in March, 1890.
 Mrs. Durheim was the mother of seven children, six of whom are living, Charles and Frederick Durheim, of Muskegon, the Misses Emilie, Marie and Ruth, of Ann Arbor, and Mrs. Kellogg, of Orange, Mass.
 A sister of Mrs. Durheim, Mrs. Syvarth, of Brooklyn, N. Y., has been at her bedside for the past six weeks.
 The funeral was held at the residence at 4 o'clock Wednesday afternoon.



to be a considerable number of descendants. Daughter **Emelie** married a dentist named Wilbur Buzzell in Port Clinton OH at the age of 49 in 1906 and died in Seattle in 1949. Another daughter, **Sophie** Durham, married a physician named David G. Coolidge in June of 1891 in Port Clinton OH. She died two years later of TB. Another sister, **Ruth B. Durham (pictured), Charlie's niece**, was a well-known music educator and graduate of the University of Michigan at

Ann Arbor who lived with a lesbian partner.

4) **MAX EDLER von BRAUN - (aka Charles Brown)**

b. 24 Dec 1834, Öhringen

Baptized: 23 Jan 1835, Öhringen, at home at the age of one month

Likely named for King Maximilian I Joseph of Bavaria who first gave Charlie's grandfather, Ludwig Wolfgang Hiskias, their noble title (Edler von Braun) in 1808.

Baptismal Sponsors/Godparents: [referred to by husband's title]. Many are family.

1. Mrs. Emilia **BAUER**, born **MAIER** from Stuttgart
2. Mrs. Jurisdiction-Consultant ('Rechts Consulent') **TAFEL**, born **DUTTENHOFER**
3. Ms. Sophie **BREITSCHWERDT** from Ingelfingen
4. Mr. Jurisdiction-Consultant ('Rechts Consulent') **FEYERABEND** from Öhringen
5. Mr. Paul **FISCHER**, 'Zögling der Reitkunst at Stuttgart' pupil of horsemanship at Stuttgart [Charlie's mother's family name was Fischer; brother/cousin/uncle]
6. Adolph **FISCHER**, assistant at the 'Hofbank' royal-bank at Stuttgart [More of Charlie's mother's relatives; brothers/cousins/uncle?]

Emigrated: September 1852 to NYC

The 1st in his family to emigrate. Two sisters and a brother would follow.

Marriage: 31 Dec 1870, **Fredericka (née Lange) (widow Manderscheid)**

Sioux City, Iowa, USA

d. 9 October, 1900, Valdez, AK

Buried 21 October, 1901, Custer County Cemetery, Miles City, Montana

Findagrave.com Memorial # 88219162

5) **EMELIA EDLE von BRAUN**

b. 16 Feb 1837, Öhringen [Her mother died about a month after her birth]

Emigrated: NO

Marriage: 20 Feb 1873, Adolzfurt, Württemberg

to Max Ernst **FISCHER**, a manufacturer in Wiesenthal [b. 1823, Stuttgart]

d. Est. 04/23/1897, Ludwigsburg, Baden-Wuerttemberg, Germany

[Note: Emelia and husband Ernst Fischer owned a silk spinning factory in Wiesenthal that hired deaf girls who were supervised by Emelia.]

CHARLIE'S STEPMOTHER (Wife #2)

Mother to children #6-11

BERTHA (née KERN/KORN) EDLE von BRAUN - *Daughter of a Pastor*

Marriage: 17 Sep 1837, Eckartsweiler [or Untersteinbach], Württemberg [near Öhringen]

b. 4 Oct 1813, Bergisch Gladbach

d. 10 Sept 1865 in Bad Canstaadt [Stuttgart suburb]

CHARLIE'S HALF-SIBLINGS: #6-11

6) **ANA EDLE von BRAUN**

b. 16 May 1839, Öhringen

Emigration: NO

Marriage: 05 Dec 1861, Cannstadt [or Stuttgart] to

Captain Carl August Hermann von **RAMPACHER** - [See photo Part 4]

d. Jul 12, 1902, Germany

Note: <https://www2.landesarchiv-bw.de/ofs21/olf/einfueh.php?bestand=24412>

“...Hermann Rampacher was married three times: 1. 1851-1858 with Pauline Katharina, b. Kornbeck (1827-1858), 2nd 1859 with Sophie Amalie, b. Kornbeck and 3. Since 1861 with **Anna, b. von Braun (1839 -1902)**, daughter of the princely Hohenlohe archivist Adolf Karl Georg Edler von Braun in Öhringen. He had three children, Julia and Hermann from the first marriage and **Anne/Anni** (b. 1862) **from the third...**” Anni Rampacher m. Zorer.

There are many Rampacher/Braun family letters, 800 or more, in the archive at Hohenlohe Central Archive at Neuenstein. It would be interesting to be able to read them for mention of Charlie or his brothers and sisters in America.

Rampacher Family Letters

<https://www.archivportal-d.de/item/OKZP6CDW7G7BNULNSA0OZTYYZBAN43WZ?isThumbnailFiltered=false&rows=20&offset=0&viewType=list&hitNumber=10>

Rampacher Family Letters

<https://www.archivportal-d.de/item/J42DNSPFOZOFISIVG2IU5RU3MFVERA54F?isThumbnailFiltered=false&rows=20&offset=0&viewType=list&hitNumber=11>

Rampacher Family Letters

<https://www.archivportal-d.de/item/NKZEV2OZLXQ25ESUMS3ZDLUAMTI6J7R?isThumbnailFiltered=false&rows=20&offset=0&viewType=list&hitNumber=18>

Ana's illustrated poetry book found at the Duchess Anna Amalia Library in Weimar GER

<https://haab-digital.klassik-stiftung.de/viewer/epnresolver?id=1506665500>

- 7) **Charlie's half-sibling - Died as an infant**
- 8) **Charlie's half-sibling - Died as an infant**
- 9) **Charlie's half-sibling - Died as an infant**

10) **SOPHIE EDLE von BRAUN**

b. 28 Jun 1844, Öhringen

Emigrated: 16 Sep 1869 to NY

Marriage: 1876 in Brooklyn NY to Henry **SYVARTH**, Druggist

d. 1914, Haverstraw NY

Buried: Mount Repose Cemetery

Haverstraw, Rockland County, New York, USA

Findagrave.com Memorial #: 69206585

11) **ADOLPH FRIEDRICK EDLER von BRAUN**

b. 25 Jan 1846, Öhringen [or 25 Jun 1846??]

Emigrated: 1866

Marriage: 1 March 1872, Ann Arbor MI to Emilie Rachel **BIESECKER or**

BICKSECKER or BUCHSCHACHER (b. est. 1849 in PA)

Michigan, Marriage Records, 1867-1952 for Adolf Frederick Von Braun

Registers, 1868 - 1886 - 1868 - 1875 - 1872 Tuscola - 1873 Montcalm [A.com]

Lived in Brooklyn NY as of 1880 and 1900 Census; widower with (3) daughters

Occupation: Sometimes 'florist' sometimes 'gardener'

Used 'Adolph von Braun' on 1900 US Census for Brooklyn NY

d. 10 Nov 1904, Brooklyn NY (record says occupation was 'stamp buyer'.)

Buried: Green-Wood Cemetery, Lot 31394, Section 128, Grave 34

Findagrave Memorial # 57316565

His daughter Alice, who died of TB in 1913, lies in the same cemetery.

His other daughters named on 1900 Census: Gertrude and Ellice [Elise?]

Elsie/Elise was living in 1910 with her aunt and uncle, Henry/Sophie Syvarth in

Rockland, Stony Point, New York. A son, Robert, may have died young.

Here is where I found the German birth records. Money is required for use.

ARCHION - Digital German Church Records

https://www.archion.de/en/browse/?no_cache=1&path=121390-704320&cHash=18eae0429b8656063b6e80facebfff67#https://www.archion.de/en/browse/?no_cache=1&path=121390-702518-702519

Charlie's full sister (same mother and father) was **Lena von Braun Durheim** (see above). She lived/died in **Ann Arbor Michigan**, a city with a high number of German citizens, many coming from the Baden-Württemberg area where Charlie and she were born. This link is an interesting look at the German immigrant population of Ann Arbor. Many of the Germans landed in the port of Philadelphia before traveling to Michigan. It may be of interest to anyone related:

<http://sites.rootsweb.com/~miwashte/washtenawgermansettlerhistory.pdf>

[Note: I also found it interesting that **Charles Beehrer**, Charlie's pioneer friend who wrote so much about Charlie's life and who was born in Stuttgart, also went to Ann

PART 1: 1834-1876

Arbor MI before Montana. He emigrated in 1854, two years after Charlie. German life was close-knit, even in Miles City. These two always had a lot to talk about.]

DID CHARLIE EVER VISIT HIS SIBLINGS IN THE US?

His father died two years after his emigration; his mother had been dead since he was age three. There is no evidence he ever went home again. [Fredericka, however, had a visit from her brother Ernst in Miles City and also made one trip back to Germany, see 1888-89 in Part 2]

Charlie had several siblings, both male and female. Some stayed in Germany, some emigrated. (See Family Tree, above)

One of his full-blood sisters, Lena/Lina/Caroline von Braun Durheim, b. 1833, left Germany and lived/died in Ann Arbor Michigan. She emigrated and married in the same year, 1854--two years after Charlie's emigration in 1852. Her obituary says she married in New Jersey, just after arriving from Germany, then moved to Tennessee with her new husband (Frederick Durheim) until 1869, at which time the family made a final move to Ann Arbor MI.

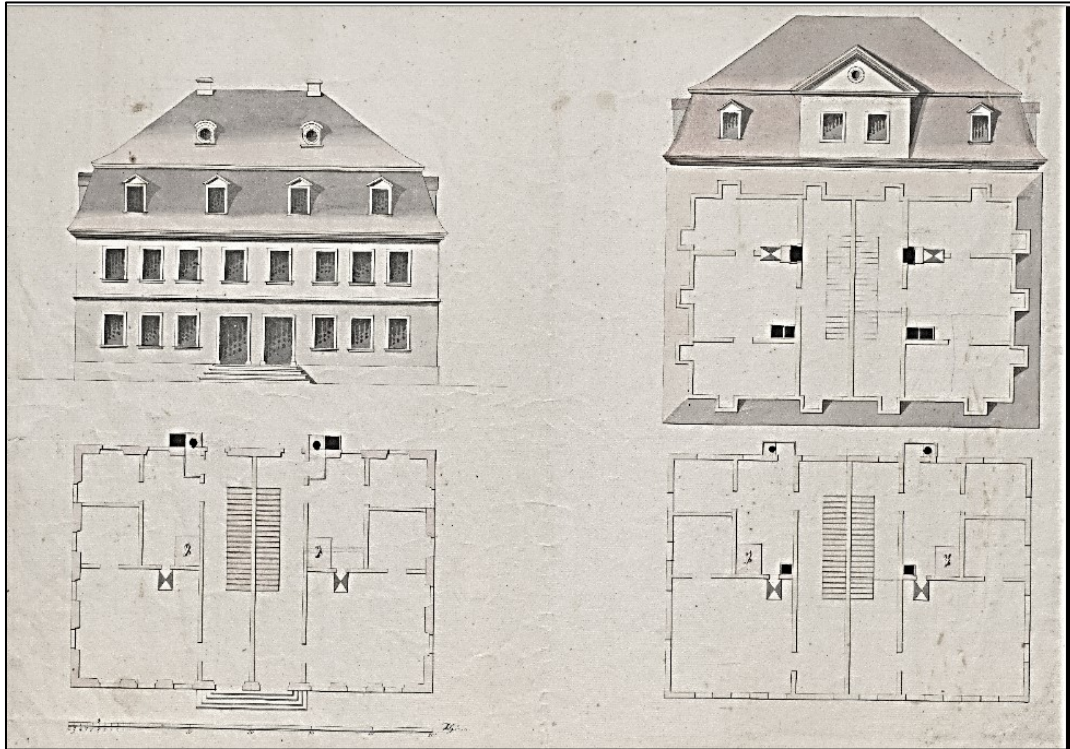
It is my feeling that while Lina, just one year older than Charlie and likely to have had a much closer relationship with him, was living in Tennessee, he may have visited her at some point. If you look at my timeline for his life at the beginning of this document, you will see a period of time from about 1866-1870 that is unaccounted for; he may have gone to Tennessee. **It is also quite possible that Tennessee is where he met Jacob Manderscheid, first husband of Charlie's later wife, Fredericka.** Family stories indicate Jacob and Charlie were good friends. Jacob and Fredericka lived in Tennessee for some years, and their first child, daughter Emma (later to become Charlie's stepdaughter), was born in Tennessee. A visit to Lina, perhaps living in the same area as the Manderscheid family, would have given Charlie time enough to establish a close friendship with Jacob and Fredericka, a friendship that would come into play again after Jacob's death in 1869. By that time, both Charlie and the Manderscheid family were living in different places, far apart, but notice of Jacob's death is said to have brought Charlie back east to Sioux City IA to marry the widow Fredericka in 1870.

Charlie also had two other half-siblings, Sophie and Frederick, both much younger, who emigrated in 1866 and 1869 to the state of New York. Frederick went to Ann Arbor for a short period of time, presumably to his sister Lena's, married in Michigan, and then went back to New York, where he died. Sophie married a druggist and always lived in New York. Charlie may not have been particularly close to the two much-younger half-siblings. He left home in Öhringen for Stuttgart at a fairly young age (perhaps 7) and may not have had an intimate relationship with his youngest half-siblings.

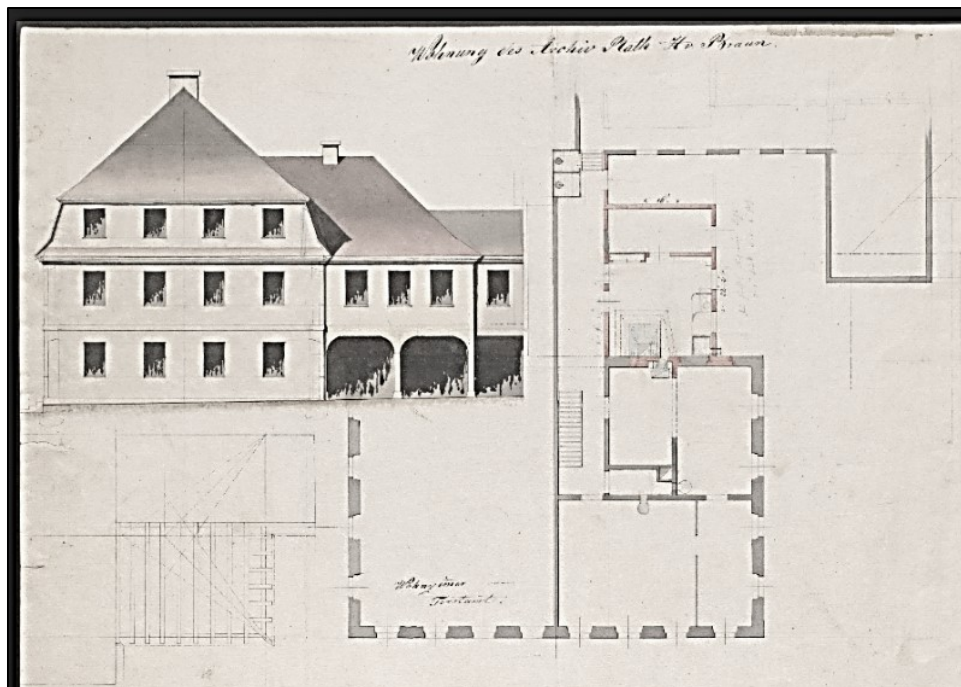
My personal opinion. I have no solid evidence for any of the above; however, the Tennessee connection seems to support my supposition regarding the question of 'where' he and Jacob Manderscheid met and became good friends. Again, it's only a guess.

CHILDHOOD HOME - 1831

**ARCHITECTURAL PLANS DATED 1831
HOME OF THE EDLER VON BRAUN FAMILY**



ABOVE: House Front/Inside BELOW: House Back (with stables)



2018
HOUSE WHERE CHARLIE WAS BORN IN 1834

Today the house address is 'Karlsvorstadt 37'

Photo Courtesy of Dinah Rottschäfer, German researcher who helped me identify Charlie's German family. She personally took time to visit Öhringen to take this photo.



The house has (2) front doors. At one time before his death, Charlie's father, **Adolph Edler von Braun, the Princely Archivist**, shared the house with the **Princely Forester, Friedrich Gantz**, (1809-1879). [Information from the Hohenlohe Archive at Neuenstein.]

The house had a **stables** associated with it in the back [see the architectural plan on previous page]. Charlie would have spent time there. Likely his first up-close introduction to horses!

HOMELIFE, EDUCATION & HORSES

The Edler von Braun family was not of the land, farmers or laborers, they were members of the noble elite where education would have been highly prized. Anecdotal evidence all says Charlie was highly educated and **raised with governesses and tutors**. You can see from his written reports from Alaska as Army Quartermaster Agent in 1898-99, discussed in Part 3, that he was very organized and could write and speak with great skill. As a Judge in Miles City in the 1880's, he was a careful and thorough reader of the law in applying local justice, see Part 2.

In the 19th century, many schools in Europe followed the Prussian model of teaching, which included reading, writing and arithmetic and a "*strict education in ethics, duty, discipline and obedience.*" Manners and social graces would have been taught at home. Religious studies

[Lutheran] were an important part of his education, as well as some history, much of it probably focused on the military. In this period, after Napoleon, schooling had become more nationalistic.

All in all, he likely had a fairly well-rounded education common in highly educated families, including some training or appreciation of music, literature and philosophy and politics, as well as the natural sciences. He probably knew at least a smattering of French, as his father would have been brought up in a household with the grandfather, Hiskias Edler von Braun, speaking French as the Dynasty's Privy Counsellor. According to Charlie's emigration shipmate, Carl Schurz, in his biography, German-speaking families practiced social and political intercourse regularly in their homes. Newspapers were read and discussed, and life in America was a topic of much discussion. Of course, there were no telephones, televisions or social media--life was family and community centered. Social mores were followed and strict adherence to family duty and political loyalty would have been expected.

Charlie may have learned the ways of nature by learning to trap and hunt in the forest near Öhringen or in the **Black Forest near Stuttgart**. Rivers and forests were there for him to explore the natural wonders of the world. His upbringing was focused not only on the three R's but on manly activities, including boxing, swimming and gymnastics. Other physical sports emphasizing **bravery and manliness**, such as horseracing and hunting, would also have been included in his education. Gambling, horse racing and card playing, if not taught, were probably skills he picked up early from the military men at court who would have been his horsemanship instructors.

All of these, directed by his father or other influential family members, were preparing him for an upper-class working life. He likely had little expectation of a university education, even if he were inclined to do so--and I really doubt Charlie was yearning for a university life. His was an adventurous spirit, likely not compliant in or tamed by the classroom. **I see him as highly intelligent and lively, with an irrepressible spirit, not quietly studious.** He needed action.

But, in the end, his German education and training prepared him well for a frontier life in America. He was known to be *'tough'*, *'nothing scared him'*, *'he took cold baths every day'*, etc.

HORSE TRAINING - "The Horse Whisperer"

At least to me, one of the great questions surrounding Charlie is 'where' he received such a thorough grounding in horsemanship and his love and respect of animals in general. By virtue of the noble status of his family, he would have had access to the Princely stables in both Öhringen and at Court in Stuttgart where he would have been surrounded with superb German military horse flesh and learned horsemanship from excellent teachers from a very young age. ***Prince Hugo of the Hohenlohe Dynasty, for example, for whom several generations of Charlie's family worked, was said to be "The most enterprising breeder of racehorses in Germany."** Time after time during Charlie's life, he exhibited an interest (and ownership) in racehorses. While in Miles City, horse racing was regularly executed down the middle of Main Street in the early days. Charlie at one time owned and raced and cared for one of the oldest famous racehorses in America (see news article in Part 2 dated Jun 21 1887). In addition, a brother of his mother (née FISCHER) was a trained horseman in Stuttgart. As families do, his mother's family would undoubtedly have had Charlie's welfare at heart after her death at a young age

when Charlie was only three. They likely provided whatever support to him that they could during his youth. And, of course, there were those high diplomatic connections working in his favor.

Like all young men, Charlie needed a profession, and I doubt university life was his calling, even if he was able to obtain one. He likely had a natural propensity towards the physicality of the outdoors and animals, and the family status got him into some prestigious stables where his training propelled him forward. He learned his lessons well, and this talent became his passion and the working backbone of the rest of his life. **I feel very strongly that Charlie's horsemanship skills were learned very young in the Court of King Wilhelm I in Stuttgart. (See German history timeline for 1841-1844, below)**

ÖEHRINGEN: HOMETOWN HISTORY

(See sketches in Part 4-Photo Section)

Öehringen (modern spelling Öhringen) was an ancient town, first gaining historical significance after the construction of the *limes around 155 AD during the Roman occupation in the era of the Holy Roman Empire. During this time, approximately 1,000 Roman soldiers were stationed in Öhringen, staying in two forts. The town, which was of military and economic importance, was named "Vicus Aurelianus" after the Roman emperor Marcus Aurelius. In 260 AD, the Alemannians overran the limes and the Roman town of Öhringen with its forts, baths, handicraft businesses and mansions fell apart. 800 years later, the post-Roman Öhringen was referred to in historical records as "Oringowe". In 1037, the settlement at the river Ohrn is mentioned in the deed of foundation of Öhringen, the "Öhringer Stiftungsbrief". Around 1240, individual settlement areas were incorporated into the town. The "Öhringer Weistum", a deed from 1253, includes details about the municipal situation; it is the first documentation relating to Öhringen as a town.

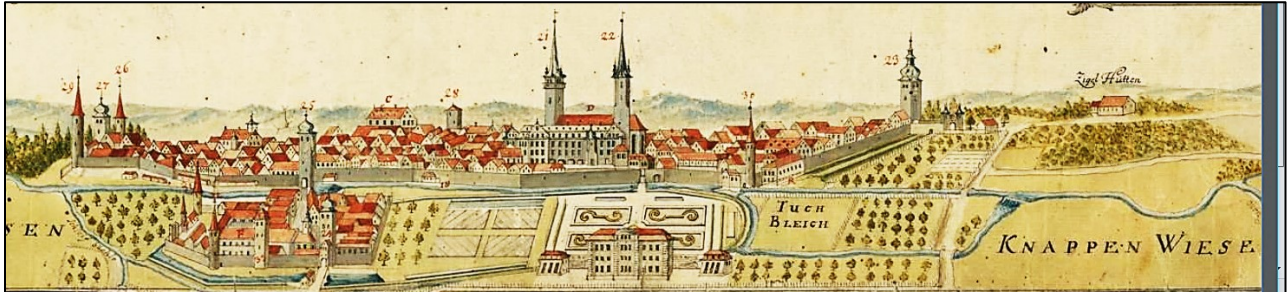
**Limes - Roman military roads, fortified with watchtowers and forts.*

From 1253 to 1806, **Öhringen was ruled in its earliest days by the Holy Roman Empire and then the PRINCELY HOUSE OF HOHENLOHE-ÖHRINGEN**, in which the Edler von Braun family was employed. Öhringen was the largest and most important of 17 rural towns in Hohenlohe territory. During the 17th century it became a Princely residence (Hohenlohe), and by 1806 was incorporated into the new kingdom of Württemberg. The **Kingdom of Württemberg** (German: Königreich Württemberg), a German state that existed from 1805 to 1918, is located within the area that is today's Baden-Württemberg. **In Charlie's youth, the Kingdom of Württemberg was ruled by King Wilhelm I, whose castle, Neues Schloss, was located in Stuttgart. It was here he would receive training in horsemanship.**

One of the several castles [schlosses] owned by the ruling House of Hohenlohe was **SCHLOSS ÖHRINGEN**, located on the banks of the Ohrn River. Schloss Öhringen was built in Renaissance style in 1611 according to plans of architect Georg Kern [**Charlie's stepmother's family**] from Hohenlohe and served as the widow's seat for Countess Magdalena from Hohenlohe, half-sister of Wilhelm [William] of Orange, until 1633. The schloss lies in the heart of the city directly on the town marketplace. Today, Schloss Öhringen serves as the seat of the city administration. The population of Öhringen in the mid-1850's was about 3,500 while Charlie was growing up; today it is estimated at 23,000.

1774 View of Charlie's Hometown, Öehringen

The town's castle, Schloss Öehringen, is in the bottom/center; formal gardens behind.



<http://www.landesarchiv-bw.de/plink/?f=3-556152-1>

There were **(2) Castles [schlosses]** that played important roles in Charlie's youth:

- 1) **Schloss Öehringen** in his hometown of Öehringen, where his titled family held high ranking positions in government for several generations. Home to Prince August II of Hohenlohe-Öehringen and his son, Crown Prince Hugo. This German Princely Dynasty had royal blood ties in England, The Netherlands, France, Austria and Russia.
<http://www.almanachdegotha.org/id77.html>
- 2) **Neues Schloss** (New Castle) was in Stuttgart, about 70 miles distant. This was the home of the **King of Württemberg, Wilhelm I**. It is my belief that Charlie was apprenticed by the age of 7 or 8 to the Court at Württemberg to learn horsemanship.

SCHLOSS ÖHRINGEN



The workplace of Charlie's father.

During Charlie's childhood, Schloss Öehringen was ruled by **AUGUST II, PRINCE OF HOHENLOHE-ÖHRINGEN. (1784-1853)**

Prince August II was a German general of the Napoleonic Wars and nobleman of the House of Hohenlohe. August was the third generation of members of the House of Hohenlohe for whom the



Edler von Braun family worked, including Charlie's father, who was the Princely Archivist in Öhringen. **As a child, Charlie would have been well known to the Prince and his family. The Edler von Braun family residence was only about a 5-minute walk from the Schloss.**

Note:

Prince August's father, Frederick Louis, Prince of Hohenlohe-Ingelfingen and also his grandfather, Heinrich August, Prince of Hohenlohe-Ingelfingen were earlier rulers of this dynasty who employed both **Charlie's grandfather and great-grandfather.**



Charlie's father, Adolph von Braun, was a trusted member of Prince August's family. When his son, **CROWN PRINCE HUGO (1816-1897) [Pictured left]**, became ill at age 24 in 1840 with some illness, Adolph was entrusted to take Hugo to a popular spa to recover. Spas were common in that time, and it was supposed they cured many illnesses. The letter below, one of several I have obtained, shows Adolph's character and his love and respect for the Hohenlohe family-- as well as his careful attention to expenditures of the dynasty's treasury, as any loyal employee would.

[More correspondence in Part 4, Misc.]

Hugo was sent by his father to Amalienbad in the town of Langenbrücken to a medicinal spa, and Charlie's father accompanied him as a companion and overseer. He occasionally wrote reports to Hugo's father during their time at the spa.

Charlie's father's report to Prince August II [Father of Hugo, above]

[Translated by Dinah Rottschäfer]

1840

Your Serene Highness!

Gracious Prince

Your Serene Highness would have received my report dated on the 16th of the month by now. Two days went by since that, due to your request receiving a report whilst you're in Kissingen I have to do it today, because the mail takes more time from here. My dear Prince is – thanks god – very healthy and has already received the devotion and respect by our small spa circle due to his friendly, cheerful and still serious behavior.

*We're getting up early half past 5, drinking the water till half past 7 and are taking [a bath], like our Prince says jump into the waters out of desperation. The prince and I are bathing in a cabinet, where we are shortening the time by **singing, making rhymes or good and bad jokes.***

*The getting-up-early is not doing so well by now, but **I'm not leaving his bed, until he is wearing one of the 19 trousers of his luggage he brought with** by half past 5. After the spa we are lying between 15 minutes and half an hour in bed, while we are speaking for entertainment. Then we are going to take our breakfast on the terrace with coffee and smoking our pipes. Then we go for a walk, playing billiard, making music, speak to each other until 12.30, where we are going in very ordinary wardrobe. We are dining at 1 o'clock. The meals are good, and I can assure you my Serene Highness, that we are obtaining a **very strict spa-diet, without plates of fruit or sour food**, living just after the doctor's instructions. After that we are smoking cigars with a cup of coffee, then reading in our rooms and, as now I am writing, cultivating the calm. At 6 o'clock there's music in the garden, which nobody is listening to, whilst you are strolling along; at 8 o'clock we are dining 'à la carte' and around 10 o'clock all the staff is sleeping to begin the next morning their daily work again. The Prince is allowed to drink wine, beside the hard water, we're drinking a strong bottle at the table, from which the prince is drinking roundabout half a pint, whereas I'm drinking the other one and a half. We are drinking 5 glasses of the (mineral) water in the morning, but we'll have to strengthen this up to 8. The doctor, Mr. Roes thinks that the treatment of the prince will be completed after **28 baths**, because he is drinking and bathing and will be using the spa treatments regularly.*

*So the prince could be back in **Stuttgart** until the 14th of July, without requesting an extension of his vacation days, which he seems to be uncomfortable with, but will be heard positively. Should there be, what I don't think, an interrupt of his cure when the prince is feeling unwell or ill, I would have had a difficult position in convincing him to ask for an extension of his free time; in that case I'm asking your Serene Highness to support me with fatherly admonition; I can't be offended by him that he only wants to be here as long he has to, while he only has my companionship, and **I can't and don't want to compliment myself to be able to entertain such a witty and vivid young man all alone by myself**. Until that moment there are mainly ill people that are partly in their rooms, partly outwards, so we are most of the time alone with ourselves. From time to time Dr. Roes has time to accompany the prince.*

*I can't hide from you, your Serene Highness, that the budget for the cure of 600 'Gulden', that was sent to me by Mangold yesterday, would embarrass me in case of an extension of the cure. I calculated after the currency of Wuerttemberg, but here is the common currency the 'Rheinische' [currency used along the states by the Rhine], I've calculated the gratuity too low by half, because every spa guest is giving that amount of gratuity what I thought the prince to give. The same for the music, for which I calculated 80 Gulden, for the fact that most of the guests giving weekly 2 Gulden and 2 Kreuzer (=like pennies), which is more than the half of what I was calculating. For that reason, there will be nothing left for rides, when the prince is staying for 10 weeks. But I think that your Serene Highness wanted to – whilst **we are following every thrift** – to act the prince like a prince – the servants of the house do show of course the appropriate amount of thoughtfulness and honour. You'll see your Serene Highness we are forced to live in bourgeois fashion, due to the fact we have to give the doctor 50 Gulden, the tips will take the double amount of money and the postal service does cost more. **That won't harm the cure – just in opposite, we have to live a simple way of life, but I had to mention it, to free me of every accusation which might be coming of someone in the future.***

In the last letter from Kissingen your Serene Highness had thanked me for accompanying the prince. Well, therefore I have to thank, for once I'm having the chance to take a curing bath for myself and on the other hand I'm fortunate to be near your dear prince, whom I have to love more and more each day and I find your judgement on him more and more reasonable. Your Serene Highness knows that I never bootlick, and in opposite I was harmed for doing not, but I can truly say – the prince is everyone's favorite, who get to know him and for that reason I was very happy to see him loved and respected in Stuttgart. Everyone has mistakes – and youth has rarely virtue and wants to be lived. When the heart is good and the head is clear. Both are found at the prince's person. But I tell you, what you already known for long, that's enough.

God give that we share good news from your Serene Highness soon and will be your cure be blessed in every part and your journey happy. The prince wanted to write to you by himself, but due to the heat I do not know if this is happening, for that reason I want to be the interpreter of his childlike feelings he expresses every day. If there's no other order, which would be no good sign that you interrupted your cure, I'll send the next report to Slawentzitz [Sławięcice, today in Poland, the Hohenlohe home after their lands were confiscated in 1806].

I recommend myself in your grace, Your Serene Highness

Langenbrücken, the 8 June 1840

*With all of my devotion yours - /s/ **COUNCILLOR A. BRAUN** [Adolph Braun, Charlie's father]*

Some royal connections to the Hohenlohe Dynasty.

One branch was Catholic; the other Lutheran

<http://www.almanachdegotha.org/id318.html>

NEUES SCHLOSS

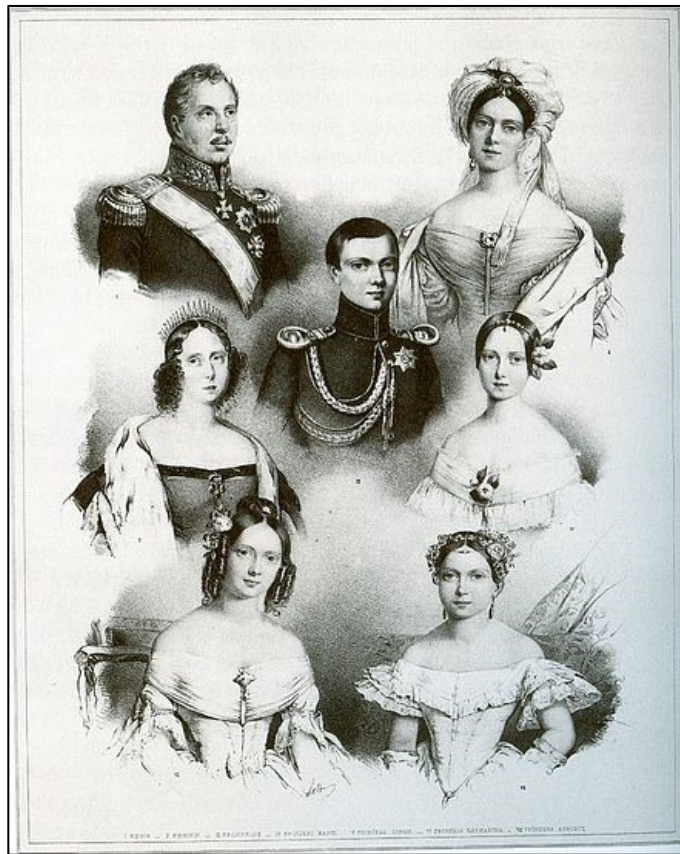
The second schloss familiar to **Charlie** was called **NEUES SCHLOSS (NEW CASTLE)**. It was located in nearby **Stuttgart**, less than 70 miles distant from Öhringen. On at least one U. S. census, Charlie indicated he was born in Stuttgart, so he had some kind of attachment/affection for Neues Schloss, and the Edler von Braun family had many family connections there. Since his mother died when he was age three, I believe he may have near Neues Schloss from a fairly young age, perhaps as young as seven. **It is my feeling that his training in horsemanship was obtained in Stuttgart**, home of **KING WILHELM I AND HIS WIFE PAULINE**. According to Beehrer, Charlie became a young page working with horses and riding with the Queen (Pauline, last wife of King Wilhelm I).

“...Charley Brown, that was not his real name, was a highly educated German gentleman -- in fact was a nobleman. He was at one time a page at the Bavarian Court, and was one of the four boys that rode the horses when the Queen took a ride. She had eight Shetland ponies, and four boys rode them, and cared for them. None, but those of noble birth, could become a courtier...”

Source: “History of Southern Montana”, Chapter 24, by A. J. Noyes (1915)

Quote from Charles Beehrer

**1830 RESIDENCE OF KING WILHELM I
NEUES SCHLOSS, STUTTART, IN THE KINGDOM OF WÜRTTEMBERG**



HOME OF KING WILHELM I (1781-1864), who conferred the noble title [Edler] to the von Braun children in 1834. **Charlie's family was beholden to this king.** The picture shows the schloss in 1830, four years before Charlie's birth but appearing as he would have recognized it. **This is the castle where I firmly believe Charlie served as a young page to the King and Queen and where he acquired the expert knowledge of horsemanship that played such an important role in the rest of his life.** One of his baptism sponsors, Paul **FISCHER** [a family member], was involved with horsemanship training in Stuttgart; other family held high positions in the Court. King Wilhelm I, a military man himself, had a royal stable with high-quality horseflesh and many fine teachers for a young boy.

**THE ROYAL FAMILY OF
KING WILHELM I.**

Residents of Neues Schloss (New Castle) during Charlie's boyhood.

*Pictured: King William [Wilhelm I] and **Queen Pauline** (above), Crown Prince Charles (Center), Princesses Sophie (Center left), Marie (Center right), Catherine (Bottom left) and Augusta (Bottom right)*



It is my belief, after research, that this is the royal family who Charlie rode for as a page in Stuttgart. He is said to have accompanied the Queen (her name was Pauline, shown left) on rides with her Shetland ponies. (Note: Schloss Öhringen did not have a King, only a Prince, so Behrer's statement about a Queen did not fit that castle.)

Wilhelm I was a military horseman known for his Arabian stallions; his sister married Napoleon's brother Jerome, and his mother-in-law was the Empress of Russia. The King was not a faithful husband, and Queen Pauline was very unhappy. *"Pauline had been very popular, not only for the kindness she showed to her subjects but also for the devotion she showed to the poor."* (Wiki) She died in 1873. **Charlie would have been influenced by her as a very young boy at court. In 1852, the year of Charlie's emigration, Wilhelm I reinstated corporal punishment and the death penalty, as well as swearing in the army to the King, not the Constitution--both good reasons for Charlie to leave for America before he reached the age of 18. See below.**

Photo Below, taken in 1889, shows a close-up of the highly decorated peaked area shown in the center area of Neues Schloss' structure, seen in whole on the previous page. The castle sustained major damage in WWII and had to be rebuilt, but these two photos show it as Charlie would have known it from his boyhood when he trained in the stables.



Napoleon once entered through these doors on a visit and the **Czar of Russia** also made a call. **Charlie's** highly respected great-uncle (brother to his grandfather Hiskias), was a valued court emissary in Württemberg and in Nuremberg, and was in attendance here during this period of German history called "The French Time".

[https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Neues_Schloss_\(Stuttgart\)#%C3%84itere_Literatur](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Neues_Schloss_(Stuttgart)#%C3%84itere_Literatur)

No chance Charlie ever walked through this front door, however!

HISTORICAL TIMELINE
Impacting the Edler von Braun Family
And Influencing Charlie's Decision to Emigrate

1806

The year 1806 brought an abrupt change for the later prospects of the Edler von Braun family, and Charlie's destiny was also shaped at this time, even though he was yet unborn.

Until 1806, the Princely Dynasty of Hohenlohe-Öhringen, home to Charlie's family, was a self-governing territory considered part of the Holy Roman Empire and aligned with Napoleon's France. After the dissolution of the HRE by Napoleon, Hohenlohe, as well as many other small autonomous German-speaking states, were absorbed into larger and more powerful German states in order to insulate Napoleon's forces from other European adversaries. The amalgamation also benefitted the military conscription possibilities for Napoleon's army.

Hohenlohe territories were absorbed into Württemberg at this time.
Capital city: Stuttgart

During this absorption process (called *mediatisation*), the Princely Dynasty of Hohenlohe-Öhringen was dispossessed of all but their family properties and lost their status as members of the ruling class. They were allowed to keep their personal possessions and their social status and titles, and some had limited voting rights in the new 'Confederation of the Rhine', but they became, for all intents and purposes, private citizens, no longer part of the ruling class.

Charlie's grandfather, Hiskias Edler von Braun, had an important diplomatic role to play in the fate of Hohenlohe during this time, as noted in his funeral eulogy, shown earlier. **Hiskias, worked for the Hohenlohe Dynasty for 53 years**, retiring in 1830 and dying in 1831. After 1806, he would have had diplomatic and family duties yet to perform on behalf of the now-private Hohenlohe family in the 'Confederation of the Rhine' and other treaties, but his son Adolph's later chances of a high position similar to his father's were vastly diminished. Adolph, only around nine years of age in 1806, eventually found employment in the Hohenlohe family as the Princely Archivist at Schloss Öhringen, a position granted to repay the loyal service of his respected father, no doubt. But Adolph's children were not to be so lucky in the future. They would have to make their own way in life--**including Charlie.**

1808

Grandfather Hiskias' considerable influence in those shifting political times was recognized when **King Maximilian I Joseph (Pictured)** granted Hiskias royal authority to use the title 'Edler von Braun'. This did not extend to include his children in 1808, however; that happened later under another King (see 1834). Maximilian was a supporter of Napoleon and a staunch critic of any trend toward nationalism. **King Maximilian was most likely the person for whom Charlie was named.**



PART 1: 1834-1876

Hiskias' older brother, Georg Ernst Friedrich Edler von Braun (1751-1821), Counselor of Württemberg and administrator at Nuremberg (Bavaria) was a high-ranking diplomat who may have also played an even larger part in getting the family recognized at Court.

1815

Defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo.

By this time, Württemberg military forces were aligned against France and allied with England and Prussia, among others.

1832

On May 27, 1832 **two years before Charlie's birth**, a gathering at the hilltop ruins of Hambacher Schloss, about 70 miles west of Öhringen, became the "**Cradle of German Democracy**" when 30,000 people marched up a hill path 'bedecked with garlands' and black, red and gold colors, later recognized as **the first appearance of the colors of the current German flag**. Charlie grew up in a period of true political upheaval and a trend towards nationalism.

Their invitation read:

"Arise German men and boys of every rank, ablaze with the sacred spark of the fatherland and liberty, gather together."

"... [an] endless procession of festively clad men and woman could be seen winding its way up the hill [from] Neustadt to nearby Hambach Castle. Bear aloft the black, red and gold tricolor of the German democratic movement, together with the flag of Poland, they were intent on demonstrating popular support for the causes of national unity, civil liberty and common understanding and political representation...it was an impressive sight..."

I would imagine **Charlie's family did not attend this gathering**, but you can be sure it was a topic of intense discussion everywhere in Öhringen. Family sympathies would have been with the Prince of Hohenlohe, who buttered their bread and gave them employment and a comfortable home in which to live. The Hambacher Castle event was considered an insurrection by the rulers, and military force was used to quell the uprising. Subversion of the press further quashed the dissidents' ability to organize. The uprising did not succeed that year, but changes were coming later. [Note: I visited Hambacher Castle ruins in 2017; a wonderful old castle high on a hill.]

1834

March

King Wilhelm I of Württemberg granted the title of 'Edler von Braun' to all members of the Edler von Braun family, including its children. Charlie would be born later that year as an Edler von Braun child. His mother's family [von FISCHER] held high positions in the Württemberg Court and in banking and the military in Stuttgart, helping to influence the King's decision.

December 24

Birth of Max Edler von Braun (aka Charles Brown)

1841-1844

WHY WAS CHARLIE SENT TO STUTTGART AS A CHILD?

Charlie's father knew there was no suitable future position for his son in tiny Öhringen in the former Hohenlohe Dynasty. The political times had changed, and father Adolph would be the last of the Edler von Braun family to have a position of importance there. All of his children, including Charlie, would need to find their way in life somewhere else. Additionally, Adolph had remarried after the death of Charlie's mother, and more children were already born to the second wife. Even space in the house was probably at a premium. There were more mouths to feed and other children to be educated. I'm sure Adolph felt sending Charlie off to family in Stuttgart was the best way to be sure his son succeeded in life.

Interesting to note that **Charlie's father received his salary in several ways**, including payment in firewood, free accommodation, 8 bushels of grain, 12 bushels of spelt (type of ancient wheat), 2 bushels of oats and 1 shed full of hay and 4 buckets of wine. He was also paid a sum of German money in florins, a gold standard from the days of the Holy Roman Empire. The florins were paid partially from the 'court cash box' and also from the 'administrative cash box'. His firewood came cut and loaded, and he was also allowed 1 3/10 ruten (rod) of garden space and the benefit of a 'path' (perhaps access to the garden and/or home). **This all represented payment for Adolph's position of respectability--but not necessarily money or power. Charlie's father seems to have been able to support his family comfortably, but not lavishly.**

Sons were always favored in those days, and Adolph undoubtedly wanted the best for his remaining two sons by his deceased first wife. The middle son (Karl) had already died in the French Foreign Legion, and the oldest son, August Wolfgang, stood to inherit whatever remained of his father's estate after his death. Max/Charlie, now the 2nd oldest son, would not inherit, so sending him to his mother's well-connected family [von FISCHER] in the city of Stuttgart at a very young age seemed the best way to ensure the boy had better opportunities than could be found in Öhringen. The Stuttgart family would prove to be of considerable help to him.

Charlie likely lived with some influential family member and received a top-notch education, complete with governesses and tutors, as mentioned in family stories later told in Montana, and took advantage of the privileges afforded him there. **I believe he arrived in Stuttgart by at least the age of seven, perhaps earlier.** Charlie occasionally noted that he was born in Stuttgart on later documents in America. Because he left Öhringen at such a young age, Stuttgart was where he did most of his growing up, and he may have considered it his home.

Stuttgart, **70 miles distant**, had many more opportunities than small Öhringen for occupational training; and again, his high-ranking family was probably instrumental in paving the way for his placement as a young page in the court of King Wilhelm I. However, since he was chosen as a court page, which entailed direct contact with the royal family, he must have presented himself very positively in the eyes of the King and

PART 1: 1834-1876

Queen from the start. As Charlie usually did, his intellect and personality shone brightly, I'm sure, even at such a young age.

His stable teachers at Court would have been exceptional military horsemen, imparting all facets of horsemanship to the young apprentice. This is where he became "*one of the four boys that rode the horses when the Queen took a ride,*" as stated by his friend Charles Beehrer in Montana many decades later. It was where he received the exacting training which would play such an important role in the rest of his life. He also probably received an education in self-discipline and duty to country among the many military men he encountered during his time there. He may also have chafed at some of the military restrictions placed on him. He was, after all, a young teen with a large streak of independence which showed itself time and time again in his later life. At any rate, a military life was not for him because he soon escaped compulsory service by changing his name and heading off to America.

1848-1852

THE FORMATION OF CHARLIE BROWN

I feel this was the period that shaped the future destiny of Max Edler von Braun into Charles Brown, American immigrant. Several events in this timeframe combined to become a catalyst for Charlie's emigration.

During serious political uprising in 1848, the Princely Family Hohenlohe transferred their residence to Slawentzitz in Upper Silesia (now Poland), a move made out of a fear for family safety. Their leaving Öhringen must have affected Charlie's family a great deal, although the Prince still retained ownership of the castle, and father Adolph's job was retained and the family home and attendant privileges were still allowed.

The Edler von Braun family had begun working in the Hohenlohe Princely Dynasty in the 1700's. They were firmly established nobility and likely content with their place in life. But the general citizenry, descended from centuries of serfs, were not as happy with their lot in life. The ruling philosophy was, '*Think what you please; do as I say.*' Wars and bickering were everywhere--it was costly and bloody and brutal warfare; and in this ever-changing landscape, the common citizens of these small kingdoms were not the winners, ever.

STUDENT UPRISING - The '48'ers'

In 1848, when Charlie was around 14 years of age and one year before his brother Karl was killed fighting in the French Foreign Legion in 1849, another, more serious, uprising occurred which spilled German-speaking blood over the desire for unification.

Württemberg was not affected by the uprisings as much as its neighbor Baden, where the uprisings both began and ended; however, the Württemberg army under King Wilhelm I, to whom the Edler von Braun family owed their allegiance, had involvement in putting down the insurgents. **By 1849, the rebellion was lost, put down with harsh military force,** and the individual German states once more returned to autocratic rule, not the

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unified and democratic Germany dreamed of by the revolutionaries. [Not until 1871 did Germany finally achieve one-nation status.]

Student participants in the 1848-49 insurrection were later called *Forty-Eight'ers*, and thousands were either jailed or escaped afterward into Switzerland, France or England before they could be arrested. Many went to America. **Charlie's friend and emigration shipmate, Carl Schurz, was one of the student leaders (see below).**

I believe **Charlie** might have had sympathies with those in the revolution but dared not express them out loud because of family loyalties. He was always for the little guy, the protector of those down and out--and of women and children. It was one of the basic tenants of his life, exemplified over and over again during his lifetime. He took part in political processes, exercised his right to vote and held positions of trust and responsibility in America, especially in Miles City. He appreciated liberty. However, as his family had many ties to the ruling class in Stuttgart and in Öhringen, I do not feel he was an active participant in the 1848 uprising. Besides, at only age 14 that year, he was still obtaining a practical education in horsemanship in Stuttgart at the Court of Württemberg. Later, he left for America from England, not Stuttgart, so he made his way out of Württemberg's sphere at some point, probably as the date for his mandatory military conscription came nearer his 18th birthday in 1852.

Additionally, a Lutheran confirmation for Charlie should have taken place when he reached age 14, but there is no record. I found all of the confirmation records for Charlie's siblings, all confirmed in the Öhringen Lutheran church at age 14. There is no confirmation record for Max/Charlie, who would have reached confirmation age in 1848, the year of the tumultuous uprisings. The 1848 rebellion may be the reason he was never confirmed. Somehow, I can't see Charlie working very hard on his religious studies, no matter the circumstances.

Of great importance in 1849 was the death of Charlie's closest brother, Karl, age 17, who died in Algiers while fighting in the French Foreign Legion. This undoubtedly had a negative impact on Charlie's view of the military. That, combined with the military force used to quash the 1848 uprisings, were perhaps two of the main catalysts heading him towards emigration to America. Another important catalyst was the looming prospect of mandatory military conscription at age 18.

Current events were always on the minds of everyone in those days. Charlie's father, always a loyalist to the dynasty that had provided him and earlier generations with a respectable living, would have undoubtedly been at least outwardly in support of 'no change' to the current way of life. The many kingdoms and their rulers wanted their authority and land holdings to remain the same, if not increase. However, others did want change, and they wanted it soon. Most had no loyalty to a way of life that excluded them and brought only hardship to their lives.

Charlie's exact movements are not known between the 1848 uprisings and his emigration in 1852. Presumably, his schooling and horsemanship training continued in Stuttgart.

As the age of 18 grew closer, mandatory military conscription became a very real concern for Charlie. The Napoleonic Wars of the early 1800's introduced conscription across most of Europe in one form or another, and the German-speaking kingdoms were forced to resort to **conscription** to raise enough fighting men to fulfill treaty obligations and to use in police actions against the citizenry who wanted more democratic liberties.

In 1852, as mentioned previously, King Wilhelm I reinstated corporal punishment and the death penalty, as well as swearing in the army to the King, not the Constitution. **Both of these actions would have made a young man about to be forced into military service sit up and take notice.**

December of 1852 is the date Charlie would have reached his majority (Age 18) and military service would have been unavoidable. His emigration took place in September of that same year, while he was still age 17. Family stories say he emigrated to avoid compulsory military service, which was not uncommon. [In this writer's own family, two young ancestors of this exact same time period were shipped out of Germany hiding in barrels to avoid the grueling military service.] There was no glory in military service there! Many soldiers were members of the old and new nobility and often exhibited overbearing conduct and high-handed lawlessness. One of the prevailing attitudes of the day was, *'If you don't serve your country, you should leave'*. Many young men did just that.

https://ulib.iupui.edu/static/exhibits/circle/exhibit1_2.html

*"A fourth important cause for the German immigration was the requirement of long military service. During the first half of the nineteenth century, German young men were compelled to serve up to five years in the army for the handsome sum of **four cents a day**. The army was full of hardships for those who were not among the officers. In order to avoid military service, some peasants resorted to various methods, such as cutting off a finger or toe. Other young men preferred to leave home rather than to serve for so many years."*

This is probably the route of escape Charlie took, to England first, then hiding his identity as much as possible to avoid arrest before boarding his transatlantic ship. **He lied about his age and name on the ship's manifest (see below).** He may have discussed his impending departure with his father; but I believe that is not likely, as his father might have tried to dissuade him, I'm sure, and may have even needed deniability. It seems Charlie had good relations with Adolph, however, later naming his only son in America after his own father. I am guessing they parted as loving family members. Unfortunately, his father died from heart problems and pneumonia in 1854, just two years after Charlie left, and he never went home again. [Adolph's diagnosis was on his death certificate.]

Charlie was a kind-hearted man--always! Forever standing up for the little guy who needed help. It's my own inclination that he may have had personal sympathies for the 1848 uprising, even

PART 1: 1834-1876

though he may not have been able to publicly support the cause of unification in the open. It would have been hard to go against his father's loyalties or disappoint him.

Really, there was nothing to keep Charlie in Württemberg any more. There was no longer a chance of a prestigious position, like his father or grandfather or great-grandfather, within the House of Hohenlohe, even if he had aspired to that type of administrative work, which I doubt. He had a good education and superb horsemanship training in an occupation that was his passion, and he could now support himself. Only harsh military duty awaited him at home.

His adventurous spirit was about to begin its journey.

*I hear the tread of pioneers
Of nations yet to be,
The first low wash of waves where soon
Shall roll a human sea...*

John Greenleaf Whittier

1. Max Wolfgang	— 23 Aug. 1830.	eingewendet 1850 auf d. g. b. v.
2. Carl,	— 8 Apr. 1832.	F. S. B. K. 1849 in Algier.
3. Lina,	— 16 Dec. 1833.	eingewendet 1854.
4. Max,	— 24 Dec. 1834.	eingewendet 1852.
5. Anton	— 16 Feb. 1837.	resp. 1851
6. Luia,	— 16 Mai 1839.	resp. 1853. — 1861 in Gunglshausen Kriegsopfer d. Rev. Krieg
7. Josef	— 28 Juni 1844	
8. Adolph Friedrich	— 25 Jan. 1846	1844 resp. 1849 eingewendet &

ANCESTRY.COM

[Württemberg, Germany, Family Tables, 1550-1985](#) for Max Edler

Cannstatt u. Stuttgart - Familienbuch 1848-1864

THIS RECORD SHOWS MAX (#4) WAS BORN 24 DEC 1834 AND EMIGRATED TO AMERICA 1852.

MAX'S SIBLINGS: HIS BROTHER CARL (#2) IS LISTED AS HAVING DIED IN 1849 IN ALGIERS, AND HIS OLDEST BROTHER, AUGUST WOLFGANG (#1) AS LIVING IN LYON FRANCE. SISTER LINA (#3) IS SHOWN AS EMIGRATING IN 1854, HALF-SISTER SOPHIE (#7) EMIGRATED IN 1869 (year not noted on this record), AND THE YOUNGEST HALF-SIBLING, ADOLPH FREDERICK (#8) EMIGRATED TO AMERICA IN 1866.

1852

EMIGRATION

*“...Meanwhile, things American were eagerly discussed by my father and my uncles. Then I heard for the first time of that immeasurable country on the other side of the ocean, its great forest, its magnificent rivers and lakes--**of that young republic where the people were free, without kings, without counts, without military service ...**”* [Source: “*The Reminiscences of Carl Schurz*”, Vol. 1.]

*“From 1848-1854, approximately 773,000 Germans emigrated to America, with nearly 2/3 of them from Hesse-Kassel, Hesse-Darmstadt, the Palatinate, Baden and **Württemberg**.”* [Württemberg, territory containing both Öhringen and Stuttgart]

Family stories say Charlie came to America in 1852 with a friend named Karl Schurz [also documented by me]. This was not just any friend. Schurz was a true 48'er, a student revolutionary leader during the significant upheaval in 1848-49. He later achieved high public office in America after his emigration and became a friend of Lincoln and many other notable personages. Charlie had friends in high places, both in Germany and in America.

“...he came to America in company with Carl Schurz, the distinguished editor and statesman, remaining for a few years in the East...” [Source: Granddaughter Marion Ulmer Brown writing in ‘*As We Recall*’.]

Charlie, born 1834, was 17 years old and just three months short of his 18th birthday when he emigrated in 1852--the year noted in the German von Braun family register [preceding page] and confirmed in the autobiography of Carl Schurz, as well as in the ship's passenger record from 1852. **He was the first sibling in his family to emigrate**; two sisters followed in 1854 [Lina] and 1869 [Sophie] and a brother [Adolph Friedrich] in 1866. Family stories indicate he left to avoid compulsory German military service upon reaching his majority (Age 18). He fled Germany to England, then he and Schurz left London in 1852, **arriving New York City on 16 September 1852**. Even though Charlie and Schurz emigrated on the same ship, it is my feeling that they did not know one another until then. Schurz was older than Charlie by five years, married already, and had escaped into Switzerland and France and then to England shortly after the 1848-49 uprisings.

For political and military reasons stated previously, the 1852 passenger list [below] showed Karl Brown's age as 28 instead of 18. He was trying to mask both his identity [using the name of Charles Braun instead of his real name, Max Edler von Braun] and his age [28 vs 18] with very good reason. Charlie, like many other young German males about to turn 18, did not want to be drafted into military service and be forced to become part of the harsh life in either the German Prussian Army or Imperial Army. After his brother's untimely death in the French Foreign Legion, joining the military would have had little appeal. Better to escape than submit. Off to America he went, with or without his father's approval.

https://www.genealoger.com/german/ger_emigration_records.htm

“Compulsory military conscription was unpopular. Many young men emigrated without permission in order to avoid military service. It has been estimated that more than fifty percent of young men of military age emigrated illegally.”

The exact route he used to escape his homeland is unknown, but his ship eventually sailed from London, so he would have had to cross somewhere between the English Channel and the North Sea, perhaps at the Strait of Dover, the shortest distance between mainland Europe and England. It is possible he went to France to visit his oldest brother, August Wolfgang, then went on to England from there. In 1852, his brother had already been living in France for two years.

Imagine London in 1852, its population only about 1 million at that time. Queen Victoria had already been on the throne 15 years. How overwhelming, but exciting, this city would have been for a young boy of 17! The ship’s record indicates he is a passenger, not a crew member, so he did not work his way across the ocean. He may have been provided with family money at home to make his escape--or maybe received help from his older brother Wolfgang in France. Perhaps there was a sham visit from Germany to France for a brotherly visit, and then it was off for England and the ship to America. Hard to imagine the thoughts of his various family members, especially his father, when he left. Were they sad, angry, glad, surprised? Maybe all of those, depending on the personal and political inclinations of each.

SHIP’S PASSENGER LIST

Ancestry.com

[New York, Passenger Lists, 1820-1957](#)

Roll - M237, 1820-1897 - Roll 119

Made by McLaughlin & Baker, Stationers, 25 Pine Street, adjoining the Custom House, N. Y.

DISTRICT OF NEW YORK—PORT OF NEW YORK.

I, *J. H. Rehman* do solemnly, sincerely and truly *swear* that the following List or Manifest of Passengers, subscribed with my name, and now delivered by me to the Collector of the Customs for the District of New York, contains, to the best of my knowledge and belief, a just and true account of all the Passengers received on board the *Ship London* whereof I am Master, from *London*

Sworn to this *16* day of *Sept* 18 *52*
Before me *J. H. Rehman*
Master, Manifest of ALL THE PASSENGERS taken on board the *Ship London* whereof *Rehman* is Master, from *London* burthen *1145* tons.

NAME	Age	SEX	OCCUPATION	The country to which they severally belong	The country in which they intend to become inhabitants	Died on the Voyage
	Years	Months				

ARRIVAL SEP 16 1852 ON THE SHIP 'LONDON'

<i>Carl Schurz</i>	<i>23</i>	<i>M</i>				
<i>Margaret</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>F</i>				

KARL SCHURZ & WIFE MARGARET - Pg. 311

<i>Charles Braun</i>	<i>28</i>	<i>M</i>				
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CHARLES BRAUN, AGE 28 - Pg. 317

Page 317, Passenger List

NAME: CHARLES BRAUN, AGE 28

[Name changed, added 10 years to his age to avoid compulsory military service and confuse anyone looking for him.]

Port of Embarkation: London

Ship Name: 'London'

Date of Arrival at NYC harbor: 16 Sep 1852

[28-day voyage on a sailing ship, not a steamer]

*"...But a friend of ours who had visited this country several times had told us that a good, large sailing-ship was safer than a steamer, and more comfortable to persons liable to sea-sickness. Thus persuaded, we chose the packet "**City of London**," a fine ship of about two thousand tons, magnificent to look at..."* [*'Reminiscences of Carl Schurz', Volume 2*]

Schurz' memory was off a bit regarding the name of the ship. The 1852 passenger list for Schurz and his wife and Charles Braun show the packet ship's name as the **'London'**, not the **'City of London'**, which was a steamer not built until 1863.

Packet boats were medium-sized boats designed for domestic mail, passenger, and freight transportation in European countries and their colonies, including North American rivers and canals. They were used extensively during the 18th and 19th centuries and featured regularly scheduled service.

Per Schurz' autobiography, Charlie had a beautiful day on September 16, 1852 to start the rest of his life...



**CARL SCHURZ (1829-1906)
AS CHARLIE WOULD HAVE KNOWN HIM**

"The day on which we arrived in New York harbor could not have been more glorious. The bay and the islands surrounding it were radiant with sunlit splendor. When we beheld this spectacle, so surprisingly entrancing after a four-weeks journey over the waste of waters, our hearts fairly leaped with joy. We felt as if we were entering, through this gorgeous portal, a world of peace and happiness. As we skirted the shore of Staten Island, with its fine country houses and green lawns and massive clumps of shade trees, a delightful picture of comfort and contentment--Staten Island was then still a favorite summering place--I asked one of my fellow-passengers

what kind of people lived in those charming dwellings. "Rich New Yorkers," said he. "And how much must a man have to be called a rich New Yorker?" I asked. "Well," he answered, "a man who has something like \$150,000 or \$200,000 or an assured income of \$10,000 or \$12,000 would be considered wealthy. Of course, there are men who have more than that as much as a million or two, or even more." "Are there many such in New York?" "Oh, no, not many;

PART 1: 1834-1876

perhaps a dozen. But the number of people who might be called well to do is large." "And are there many poor people in New York?" "Yes, some; mostly new-comers, I think.

*But what is called poverty here would, in many cases, hardly be called poverty in London or Paris. **There are scarcely any hopelessly poor here. It is generally thought here that nobody need be poor.**" [‘Reminiscences of Carl Schurz’, Volume 2]*

Carl Schurz was frequently mentioned by the later Brown family as emigrating on the same ship as Charlie. As one of the student leaders during the 1848 German uprisings, discussed earlier in this document, he avoided arrest by hiding in a sewer for several days without food and eventually making his way to the Rhine River. He reentered later, under cover, to mastermind a daring made-for-the-movies plot to rescue his mentor, Prof. Kinkel, from Spandau prison in Berlin. (Read about it in Vol 1, below)

Schurz and another man named Franz Sigel were two of the instigators of the 1848-49 rebellion who afterward made their way to America in 1852. Both became leaders of the German-American community and played distinguished roles in later American history. **Schurz served as a Senator, Ambassador, Secretary of the Interior and Civil War Major-General under the command of his friend, Franz Sigel. He gave speeches in German in support of Lincoln during the Civil War and later became editor of newspapers in Detroit, St. Louis and the ‘Evening Post’ in New York City. His wife, Margarethe Schurz, is considered to be the founder of the first kindergarten in America.**

Although we don’t have Charlie’s own story in detail during that period, we can read Schurz’ detailed autobiography, which describes the turbulent era of the 1848-49 uprising in Germany, as well as his necessary escape from his homeland and subsequent voyage to America.

Schurz was a gifted writer, and if you have any German heritage, his three-volume autobiography will give you an excellent peek into the life of the middle-class German-speaking people of the 19th century.

VOLUME 1 - LIFE STORY OF KARL SCHURZ

Volume 1, especially, is of interest in seeing what middle-class German family life was like in the early 1800’s. Charlie would have been at home in many of the pages of this volume. Anyone with German heritage would find this interesting. His escape from Germany reads like a good thriller.

<https://archive.org/stream/reminiscencesca11dunngoog#page/n19/mode/2up/search/braun>

VOLUME 2 - REMINISENCES OF KARL SCHURZ

https://archive.org/stream/reminisccarlschurz02schurich/reminisccarlschurz02schurich_djvu.txt

This volume describes what he and Charlie saw as they first entered New York Harbor and had their first glimpse of America. Also talks about his move from NY to Philadelphia a short while later. Charlie, too, is said to have been in Philadelphia shortly after arriving.

VOLUME 3 - REMINISENCES OF KARL SCHURZ

https://archive.org/stream/reminiscencesofc03inschu/reminiscencesofc03inschu_djvu.txt

This volume was compiled by Schurz but was in a draft stage when he died in 1906. Not as interesting

I found Schurz’ **Description of Lincoln** in his autobiography riveting, one of the best I’ve ever read. Not a subject particularly directly related to Charlie, but of historical importance anyway...and these were the times Charlie lived in, regardless. **Take time to read Schurz’ description in Part 4.**

NATURALIZATION

Although I have solid emigration information; unfortunately, **I am unable to pinpoint any naturalization record for Charlie.** Naturalization in those years took five years from the time of filing papers with the ‘intent’ to become a citizen after arrival in America. When and where Charlie did that is unknown. He may have naturalized in either New York or Pennsylvania, where he spent his earliest years in America. He didn’t stay long enough in any one place to complete the process in most instances. He did stay (6) years in Moorhead MN from 1872 to 1878, but I found no record there. **The 1900 US Census for Alaska, where Charlie was living at that time just prior to his death, shows him as a naturalized citizen.** He was involved and voted in many elections in Montana, which could not have occurred if he were not naturalized. He ranged all over the country in those early years; and, again, there were so many Charles Browns and so little detailed information to pinpoint the correct one that I came to a brick wall in finding the actual naturalization record. One clue to the approximate time of his naturalization came in the form of a Valentine poem written to Charlie (**See Apr 1885 in Part 2**) indicating his first votes may have been for Ulysses S. Grant, who served two terms beginning in March of 1869, just after the Civil War. Five years waiting time, subtracted from 1869 is 1864--shortly after he arrived in Montana in 1863. It’s possible he may have naturalized in Montana Territory in Alder Gulch or Helena.

During the 19th century [1800’s], **the only reason for an alien to become a citizen was in order to achieve the right to vote.** He (or she) did not need to become a citizen in order to buy or sell property, hold a job, get married, or to do anything of a personal or social nature. Many aliens lived most of their lives in this country and never began and/or completed the process of naturalization. This connection between naturalization and the franchise explains why the **majority of naturalizations occur during Presidential-election years.** During any year, the majority of petitions are filed in the weeks just before the primary or general election. <http://www.phila.gov/phils/docs/inventor/natz.htm> As with most wives of emigrants, Charlie’s German-born wife, Fredericka, never had to apply for citizenship herself--she gained automatic citizenship by virtue of her husband’s citizenship.

Early life in Wisconsin for German Emigrants: Good info, plus emigration routes from Germany to America: [Louisiana, where Fredericka entered, was not recommended, read why, Pg. 5]
https://mki.wisc.edu/sites/mki.wisc.edu/files/Newsletter/MKI_Newsletter_Winter_2011-Spring_2012.pdf

Historical Note:

Both F. W. **Woolworth** and **Calamity Jane** were born in 1852. Charlie would eventually be acquainted with Calamity in Miles City. “**Uncle Tom’s Cabin**” was published the same year, and the **14th President**, Franklin Pierce, was elected in 1852. Also established in 1852 were **Smith and Wesson** and the **Studebaker Brothers Wagon Co.** “Uncle Tom’s Cabin” would later be performed by a traveling troupe in Charlie’s Saloon in Miles City.

1852-late 1850's

IMMIGRANT LIFE IN THE EAST

About the new American immigrants, Schurz said:

“...They were mostly high-spirited young people, inspired by fresh ideals which they had failed to realize in the old world, but hoped to realize here; ready to enter upon any activity they might be capable of; and eager not only to make that activity profitable but also to render life merry and beautiful; and, withal, full of enthusiasm for the great American Republic which was to be their home and the home of their children. Some had brought money with them; others had not. Some had been educated at German universities for learned professions; some were artists, some literary men, some merchants. Others had grown up in more humble walks of life, but, a very few drones excepted, all went to work with a cheerful purpose to make the best of everything“

Like Schurz later wrote in his own autobiography, **Charlie probably did not speak any English upon his arrival.** There was certainly an initial difficult period of adjustment to learn the language and culture of America after his arrival. Since he was an adult when he arrived in this country, many anecdotal references point to the fact that he **never lost his heavy German accent** over the next 50 years, not unlike many other ethnicities.

Family stories say Charlie went to Philadelphia after his arrival in New York. This would fit perfectly with his emigration shipmate, Karl Schurz, who left NYC for Philadelphia shortly after their ship landed [based on his autobiography]. Pennsylvania was likely a safe haven for German emigrants. It had a well-established German population, some having been in America for several generations already. **The well-known phrase, ‘Pennsylvania Dutch’ refers not to people from Holland but German [Deutsch] immigrants.** It was just an easier way to pronounce and spell Deutsch. He undoubtedly had lots of ethnic German support upon his arrival in Pennsylvania; he could assimilate slowly. **He was the first of his family to emigrate,** so there was probably no immediate family to help him out.

[Note: Schurz shows on the 1854 Philadelphia directory; but there were a number of Charles Browns, so I am unable to substantiate him living there for sure; however, family stories say he did.]

By 1855, Schurz and his wife had left Philadelphia and settled in Watertown, Wisconsin. I do not believe **Charlie** was near that family any longer. Both men were following their own destiny in opposite directions by then. Charlie’s personality was too restless and energized to stay anywhere for very long; he would need to be on the move exploring and trying out life in America nearly from the moment he set foot off the emigrant ship. His stay in Philadelphia was likely not very long, but I believe he did travel in the state of Pennsylvania afterward, as well as other states east of the Mississippi. **His entire life after emigration was one of constant movement,** the reason why I named him the ‘*Pioneer Energizer Bunny*’.

JOINING THE CIRCUS

Of course, he needed to find a job, and his skill with animals, especially horses and mules, came into play quickly. Stories by family and friends relate that he drove a circus bandwagon for a preeminent historical circus persona named Dan Rice.

“He was a splendid horseman, and drove the band wagon down Broadway for DAN RICE'S CIRCUS when he was east. There were 48 [perhaps only 40] horses hitched to this wagon, and Charlie was in his glory on the box.” [Behrer]



DAN RICE (1823-1900)
(aka Daniel McLaren)
*“The Most Famous Man
You’ve Never Heard Of”*

And what better way to make use of his equestrian skills and experience the entire eastern half of the United States than traveling with a circus. Imagine the pageantry and energy! We can only speculate how long Charlie worked for the circus, but it would have had great appeal to a restless young German immigrant with a passion for animals and anxious to get a start and learn more about his new country. I think it is possible Charlie’s booming personality and later auctioneering skills may have been influenced greatly by the showy and colorful spectacle of circus life. Dan Rice was, by all accounts, a bigger-than-life entertainer and a mesmerizing personality while

performing on stage. He was a fascinating circus showman in the 19th century, a precursor to P.T. Barnum. He began as a clown with the **Spalding & Rogers Circus [see advertisements below]** before he had his own company. Rice also once ran for President of the United States and studied law under Aaron Burr. His circus wintered in Girard PA, near Lake Erie, and traveled both overland by wagon and by riverboat on other major waterways, including the Mississippi and the Ohio. After several years with Spalding, Dan started his own show which toured from New Orleans to St. Louis to Illinois and Michigan and to the New England states. The circus traveled by wagon in the north and by river barges in the south. In 1853 Dan began wintering his circus in Girard where a monument to the circus pioneer still stands today. **It might have been in Pennsylvania where Charlie, then living in Philadelphia, first hired on with the circus.**

Assuming Charlie did drive a team down **BROADWAY**, as Behrer said, there was only one instantly-recognized street by that name--the one in New York City, which also happened to be the birthplace of Dan Rice. Rice and his circus had strong ties to both NY and PA, states where Charlie spent the earliest days of his new life in America.

Rice’s circus, and the Spalding & Rogers Circus for which Rice first worked, are part of circus history and are well documented. Although it is entirely supposition, I feel that I may have found circus bills (advertisements) mentioning Charlie in the mid-late 1850’s. The **advertisements proclaim Charles Brown as both an equestrian and gymnast.** It could certainly be there was another Charles Brown; however, considering the dates in the 1850’s, the

locations of the circus compared to Charlie's known whereabouts in those days and his skill set, I feel in my gut that the Charles Brown advertised in this circus could possibly be 'our' Charlie. One billing even mentions that this is his first appearance. He always made a splash, no matter where he was or what he was doing.

Equestrian billing is quite understandable, but why gymnastics? Gymnastics was a part of German education in the 19th century. Friedrich Jahn, called the father of modern gymnastics, started teaching gymnastic skills in the 1800's as part of **nationalistic military training** to accustom the body to rigorous exercise in warfare, as well as to recognize German identity and to provide a way to express liberal views after Napoleon. Pommel horse, uneven bars, rope climbing and balancing exercises, among others, were all part of the skills taught to Germanic youth in that era. Therefore, seeing Charlie billed as both equestrian and gymnast, if it is him, doesn't seem especially surprising. It was particularly popular among upper middle class families, such as Charlie's, and would also have appealed to King Wilhelm's military in Stuttgart. Always a physical man, Charlie might well have excelled in this training of mind and body.

DAN RICE'S

AND MENAGERIE.



GREAT HIPPODROME

The Most Stupendous Concern in the World.

WILL EXHIBIT IN NASHVILLE, on Market Street, on **THURSDAY, FRIDAY and SATURDAY, May 14, 20 and 21.**

After most arduous labor and an enormous outlay, Mr. **Rice** has succeeded in thoroughly organizing this extensive establishment on a scale of unparalleled magnificence, and, anticipating an increase of patronage, offers his friends, instead of the ordinary Circus performance, a **Hippodrome and Menagerie.** The former combining all the best features of the Circus and Gymnasium, Vocal and Terpsichorean entertainments, military school of the manege by Mrs. **Dan Rice**, and the greatest stud of horses and ponies in the world, and the latter a **Magnificent Collection of Animals and Birds**, native and foreign, consisting of Leopards, Tigers, Tiger Cats, Panthers, Wolves, Black and Grizzly Bears, (one of the latter the largest ever seen this side of the Rocky Mountains,) Ostriches, Monkeys, Orang outangs, and the remarkable *Luens Natura*, known as the **wild Boy of Ceylon**; The "Happy Family," and one of the most extraordinary ones ever collected, numbering over one thousand Beasts and Birds, native and foreign, living together in perfect harmony; the celebrated *Brahmin Cattle.*

In addition to these and many other attractions in this part of the establishment **The Renowned Chinese Family**, consisting of five persons, including the Royal Princess *Pusa Yeko*, the most beautiful creature of her high class who ever escaped from the Celestial Empire, her feet being only two inches and a half in length, will appear and give Concerts, both vocal and instrumental, using their native instruments.

A **Monkey and Pony Performance** will be given at each exhibition, and Mr. **GEORGE NUTTER**, the Lion Tamer, will enter the cage of the large and beautiful **BRAZILLIAN TIGER**, and those of several other ferocious Animals.

Persons can visit the Menagerie without entering the Hippodrome, if so disposed.

Price to both is only *fifty cents.* Children and servants half price.

The newly designed and magnificent Pavillion is capable of seating five thousand persons comfortably

may 5-4td **C. H. CASTLE, Agent.**

This Company will perform at Dover Tuesday 17th and Clarksville Wednesday 18th.

13 May, 1853
 The Nashville Union
CIRCUS BILL
FOR DAN RICE'S CIRCUS

Charlie had been in America for only a few months when this circus bill appeared in Nashville, Tennessee.

SPALDING & ROGERS'
TWO CIRCUSES.



**E. MAGILTON,
J. DONALDSON
C. BROWN
W. KINEADE.**



M'LLE AGNES



NED KENDALL.



MAD. ORMOND.



**Consolidating their celebrated
Floating Palaco Circus!**
From their Palatial Aquatic
Amphitheatae, on the Missis-
sippi & Ohio rivers, and their
North American Circus,
so celebrated in the North and
East, into one
MONSTER CONCERN!
WITH THE
TWO COMPANIES!
Comprising respectfully the
most distinguished
Northern & Southern
performers in the same Ring in
FRIENDLY STRIFE!
In presence of the audience;
both under one tent, with
2 SETS of PERFORMERS!
Two Sets of Clowns!
2 SETS of RING HORSES!
Pantomime every afternoon!
Spectacle every Night!
NED NENDALL, the Bugler!
Kendall's Brass Band!
Drawn in Triumphal Proces-
sion on the morning of arrival
in every place of Exhibition,
by
Forty Horses!
DRIVEN BY ONE MAN!
Choate's String Band!
A Stud of Trick Ponies!
DANCING and WAR HORSES!
And everything else upon the
same elaborate scale, with the

'C. Brown' is billed as a gymnast at the top/left...under the stilt legs.

...And a 40-horse hitch is also mentioned at the bottom/right of the bill. (Arrow)

18 Aug. 1855

Bradford reporter (Towanda, Pa.)

<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lc/sn/84024558/1855-08-18/ed-1/seq-3/>

1855

FORTY HORSES DRIVEN BY ONE MAN IN A 2-RING CIRCUS


This advertisement for Spalding & Rogers Floating Palace Circus is only one of several to be found in period newspapers of that time.

Dan Rice Toured With This Circus, As Well As His Own.



**“C. BROWN, THE SKILLFUL EQUESTRIAN AND GYMNAST,
AND FIRST APPEARANCE HERE.”**

H. HAMILTON,
F. DONALDSON.



the Revolving Globe in mid-air. Sur la percha Equipoise.
T. GRAVEN, the Champion Tumbler, and first appearance here.
KINKADE, the well known Equestrian and Gymnast.
J. W. PAUL, the Modern Jehu and 40 horse driver.
C. BROWN, the skillful Equestrian & Gymnast, and first appearance here.
C. CROSBY, the well known Pantomimist.
I. GINTY, the wonderful Hurdle Racer, and “Wildfire,” his untameable Georgian Pony, now first appearance here.
T. ARMSTRONG, the talented Gymnast.
ROBERT WHITE, the accomplished *maitre de cirque*.
The famous trick Ponies, *Pegasus* and *Tarter*, and the war horse *Jucephalus*, &c.
The distinguishing features of this establishment are:
1st. It is the largest Circus ever in this State.
2d. It is the best Circus ever in this State.
3d. It is the most costly Circus ever in this State.
4th. Many of the best performers were never North before.
5th. One third of the acts are entirely new, and never done here before.
6th. One-third of the acts are so rare and difficult that they can be executed by the performers of no other company.
Admission 25 cents to both Companies.
Will be exhibited afternoon and night at
Belvidere, Friday October 10th.
Stroudsburg, Saturday October 20th.
October 11, 1855.

J. W. Paul, called the “Modern Jehu”, was a well-documented 40-horse hitch circus driver; however, he also had helpers who performed duties while he drove from the wagon box.

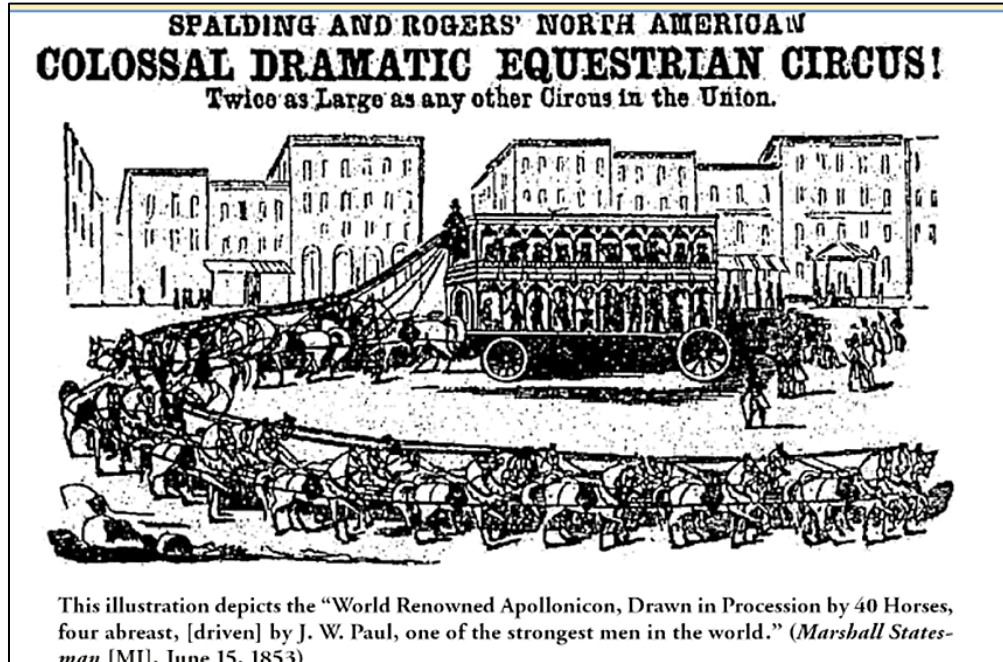
Did Charlie learn from him?

Was he one of the helpers?

Did he graduate to driving this 40-horse hitch himself?

IS THIS ‘OUR’ CHARLIE?

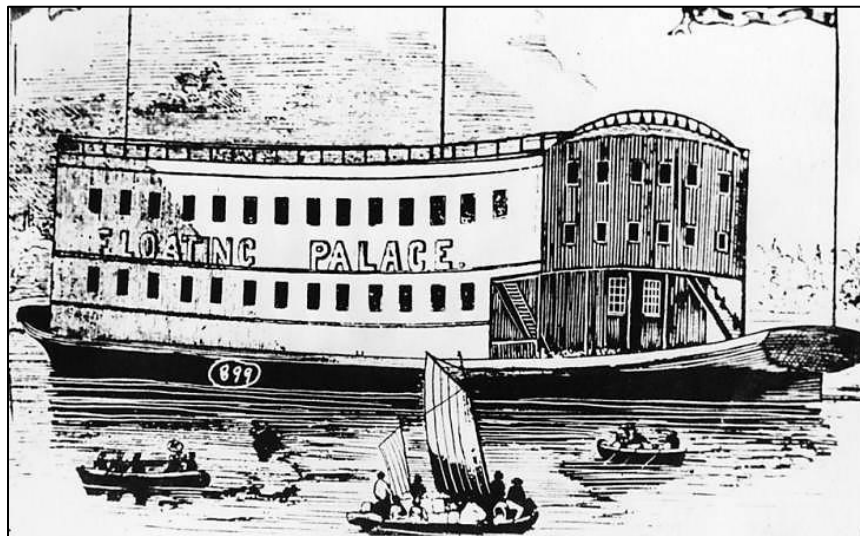
It’s speculation only, but much of the story fits. At the very least, it describes the flavor of Charlie’s life in an early circus.



APPOLONICON
LARGE CIRCUS ORGAN PULLED BY A 40-HORSE HITCH
This exactly fits Beehrer's description...

"He [Charlie] was a splendid horseman, and drove the band wagon down Broadway for **Dan Rice's Circus** when he was east. There were 48 [perhaps only 40] horses hitched to this wagon, and Charlie was in his glory on the box." [Beehrer]

SPALDING & ROGERS CIRCUS - THE FLOATING PALACE
Source: Cincinnati Public Library



<http://www.peoriamagazines.com/as/2017/nov-dec/floating-circus>

In the mid-1800s, dozens of traveling circuses arrived in Peoria IL—years before the first visits of P.T. Barnum (in 1872) and the Ringling brothers (in 1885)...The river afforded easy transportation so exhibiting on circus boats (aka showboats) became popular. With no unloading or setup time, they were ready to please the crowd as soon as they tied to shore. **Of all the circus boats traversing the Mississippi and Ohio River systems, the largest was Spalding and Rogers' Floating Circus Palace—200 feet long, 35 feet wide—which docked in Peoria on at least four occasions between 1853 and 1858. Perhaps with Charlie onboard.**

The Aquatic Amphitheatre...

"It was billed as "the most elegant and comfortable amphitheatre in the world... surpassing all American theatres in spaciousness, sumptuousness and comfort." Surrounding its arena, the main deck included 1,000 cane-seat armchairs; the first gallery, another 1,500 cushioned settees; and a second gallery had seating for another 900 more—a total capacity of 3,400, not counting the standing room outside the windows, which sold for half-price.

The Floating Circus Palace featured a wide range of performers: acrobats and tightrope walkers; clowns and comedians; singers and actors; and even a **40-horse equestrian act**. Music was ubiquitous, courtesy of a large pipe organ, a 12-piece brass band, and a calliope proclaiming its arrival for miles and miles inland. All this entertainment for just 50 cents or a quarter per show.

Just off the main arena, a museum showcased over 100,000 *curiosities and wonders*—from stuffed tigers and wax figures to sideshows like the "Invisible Lady Act"—alongside dressing rooms and horse stalls. Nearly 100 people lived and worked on board; the boat even printed its own daily newspaper.

A Novel Act

In September, 1857, five years after Charlie's arrival in America, the Floating Circus Palace docked at the foot of Main Street, holding performances concurrent with the Illinois State Fair. It was only one of a dozen steamers docked in Peoria that week—where *"the streets were thronged with visitors"*—and it boasted of *"three circuses in one"* (including the *Great Monkey Circus and Burlesque Dramatic Troupe, featuring acts by monkeys, dogs and goats*). According to a review in the Peoria Daily Transcript: *"The performance was varied, novel and exciting—in a word, superior to any such exhibition we ever before witnessed, East, West, South or North."*

The Floating Circus Palace continued operations until 1862, when it was seized by the Confederacy after a performance in New Orleans, and the circus troupe was ordered to leave. **While performing in the South, the circus band played 'Dixie'; when in the North, they played "Yankee Doodle"**. Appropriate flags were hoisted, depending on which side of the Mason-Dixon Line they were on. Dan Rice was branded a traitor for performing in both places.

Charlie was probably not with the circus by the time the Civil War broke out. His life was now in the West.

**What was a 40-horse bandwagon hitch in the circus?
40 Horses, 4 abreast--80,000 lbs. of horseflesh.**

“...The greatest hitches of them all were the 40-horse circus hitches that wound through city streets before the troupe set up their tents.” [Equine Journal 2008]

*“The acts were gaudy and fascinating, typified by a **carriage holding 50 musicians pulled by 40 horses.**” [The Washington Times 2018]*

*“The lines alone weighed more than 100 pounds, and to turn a corner, the reins had to let out sometimes as much as 20-35 feet. To manage the team without losing control, Big Jake [Posey, a famous driver for Barnum and Bailey] had **assistants who would help feed the line** in and out through his hands without getting tangled. **The lead horses were more than 80 feet from the seat board...** Big Jake once drove the hitch for seven straight hours through the streets of Paris, and at the end of the night, his hands and arms were so swollen that they had to cut his uniform off him to get it off.” [Horse Nation Magazine]*

Imagine the skill and strength Charlie needed to drive a hitch of this size.
This required someone with supreme self-confidence.

“...He was in his glory on the box,” [Behrer]

1859 (Approx.) California Gold

Mark Twain: *“A mine is a hole in the ground, owned by a liar.”*

But the circus couldn't hold a candle to newspapers full of the news of the California Gold Rush, and **25-year-old Charlie** apparently liked what he heard. The next leg of his American adventure was about to begin. After the first taste of prospecting, his life would never be the same again--gold dust was in his veins to the end, and the East was in the rearview mirror.

Emigrating in 1852 at age 17, and after spending some time in the East in NY and later in Philadelphia before setting out westward, Charlie probably arrived in California after the primary **Gold Rush Years (1848-1855)**. Family stories say he didn't stay in the gold fields long, and the attempt was unsuccessful. But it wouldn't be his last try either.

How he traveled from his earliest days in the East to the gold fields of California in the West is a guess. From what point and on what date he began his journey westward is also conjecture. His mode of transportation could have been overland from some point on the Mississippi or Missouri Rivers where the circus was performing (my personal guess); or he might also have taken a ship from Philadelphia, e.g., to New Orleans, then headed cross country. Or left the circus to head west via the Great Lakes. There is also the possibility that he went the entire distance from east to west by ship, traveling by water along a lesser-used route to California through Panama or around Cape Horn as some gold seekers did. This would have been much more expensive and seems the least likely to me, although it would have been the easiest and quickest. In much of

his life, Charlie traveled at the expense of others, hiring out his services as a teamster in most cases. He did not have the personal finances to allow him to travel independently. He always worked his way toward his next goal.

My personal guess is that in the late 1850's he left the circus on the Mississippi River somewhere between New Orleans and St. Louis. In St. Louis, there was a large German population; and, considering the confluence of the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers was just above the city, he would have been well positioned to travel to Independence or St. Joseph MO, where he could have taken either the Santa Fe Trail (more southerly) or the Oregon-California Trail to meet the Central Overland Trail further west, which would have taken him directly into the California gold fields. **There were (17) different jumping off areas on the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers between Omaha and Independence.** (Source: NPS, Map of the California Trail)

The Oregon Trail and the California Trail shared about half of their distance along the same route. By 1859, 20,000 travelers were on the trail during the peak of migration. Most of the traffic on these trails ceased to exist with the coming of the Transcontinental Railroad in 1869, but while Charlie was on the road, these trails were in their heyday.

OREGON-CALIFORNIA TRAIL (Established 1830's)

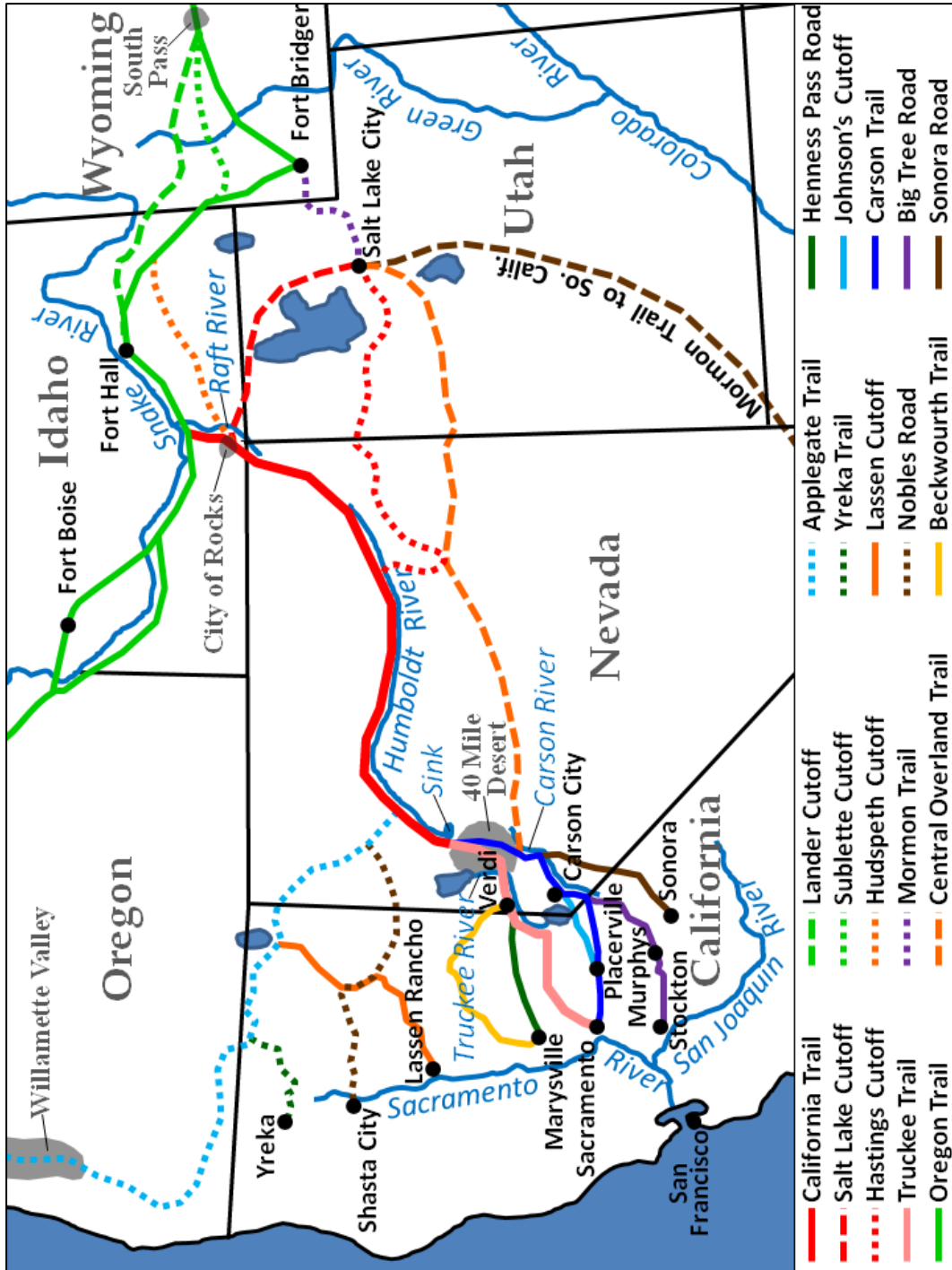
Distance: 1,900+ miles - Estimated Travel Time: 3 to 7 months

*"Most of the Forty-niners that were from the midwest or the east traveled on this trail. 32,000 gold-seekers traveled through present day Nebraska, Wyoming, Idaho, and Nevada. Traveling on a ship was costly so many traveled by wagons pulled by oxes or mules, but very few came by horse. **Countless were afraid of Native Americans attacking them, but it rarely happened.** The most cause of death was by diseases and sicknesses such as cholera, mountain fever, pneumonia, and diphtheria."* <https://goldrushofcalifornia.weebly.com/travel-routes.html>

CENTRAL OVERLAND TRAIL (Used 1859-1869) (*aka Pony Express Trail*) "...left a branch of the California Trail at Salt Lake City, Utah headed south and then west into the central Nevada desert toward Carson City, Nevada. At the base of each desert range of mountains was usually a small swamp surrounded by enough forage for animals. The Central Overland Route followed a series of passes over the mountain ranges between these oasis swamp areas, or mountain springs. There were also occasional army forts for protection from hostile Indians. This dusty route shaved 200 miles and over ten-days' travel time off the more northern California Trail route." **This route, improved by the Army in 1859-1860, served immigrants, freight, mail and passengers. Stagecoaches could reach from Missouri to California in 25-28 days.** The first transcontinental telegraph line also followed the trail by 1861.

*[Note: At some point traveling east to west in the late 1850's, he may have encountered and befriended **Jacob Manderscheid**, the first husband of Charlie's wife Fredericka. Jacob had an early history in both New Orleans (his port of entry when he emigrated) and in Memphis TN, both along the Mississippi River. Jacob died in Sioux City IA in 1869 and widow Fredericka soon married Charlie, reported to be Jacob's friend, in 1870 in Sioux City. Although both men were born in Europe, Charlie in Württemberg and Jacob in neighboring Alsace-Lorraine, I do not feel they knew one another until they arrived in America. I have yet to resolve the crossroads of their apparent friendship.] See the section on Charlie visiting his sister in Tennessee in an earlier section; another theory.*

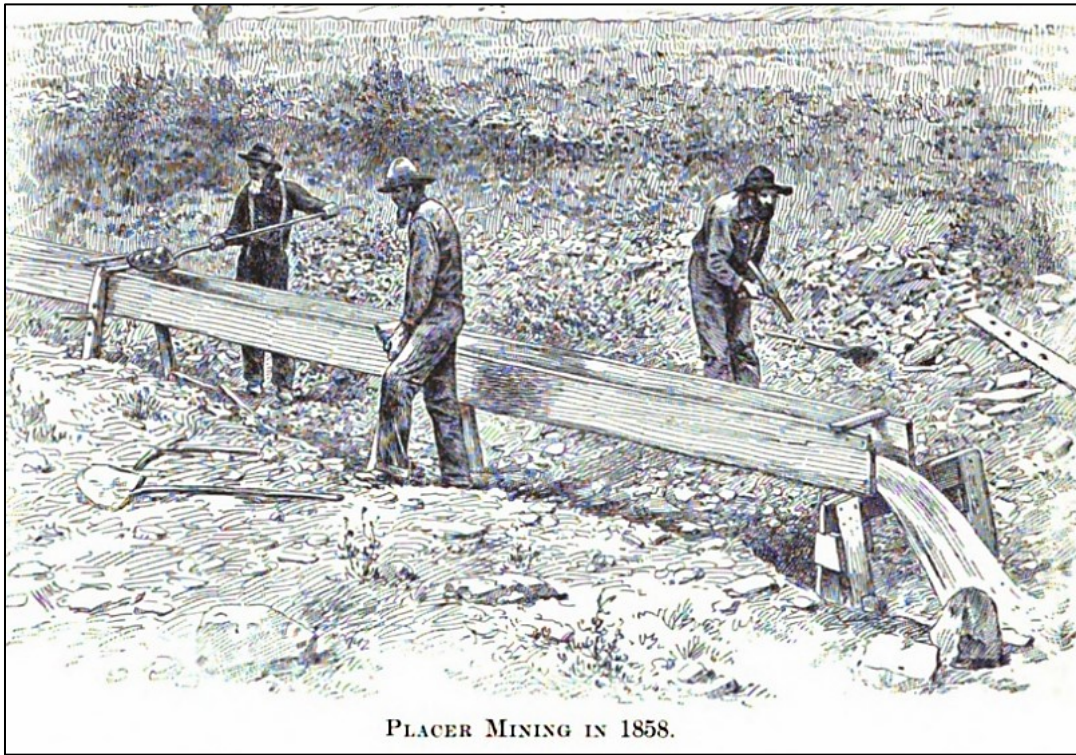
SOME OF THE MANY ROUTES CHARLIE MIGHT HAVE CHOSEN TO GET TO THE CALIFORNIA GOLD FIELDS.



Charlie likely hired out on a wagon train as a teamster to get him across these trails. He probably prospected at least a year in California sometime between 1859-1861. It was not successful--nor was it his last attempt at prospecting for gold. Mining was in his veins until the end. Stories say Charlie had a short stay in the CA gold fields. When he was working, this is a

PART 1: 1834-1876

good description of how the process worked: Edward Gould Buffum, *Six Months in the Gold Mines* (Philadelphia, Lea and Blanchard, 1850), 49–58. <http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/6513/>



PLACER MINING IN 1858.



Illustrations from Gen. Nelson Miles' book, "Personal Recollections..." (1896)

The 1860's

WESTWARD HO!

A decade of non-stop adventure throughout the American West

I can't find definitive proof of Charlie on any 1860 U. S. Census. He should have still been in California, but I can't find him on any census record anywhere. There were many men by the same name.

The 1860's put Charlie, according to family stories and newspaper articles, in California, Old Mexico, Colorado and Utah. That was a hugely circuitous route from north to south and east to west. I can only speculate on his route to all of these places in the first three years of this decade.

“...He went to California shortly after the Gold Rush of 1849, came back as far as Colorado within a few years and in 1861 [Error: Arrived 1863] crossed over into Montana. He was in the Alder Gulch area before the discovery of gold and later engaged in placer mining along that course. Moving to the north he was a member of the party seeking new gold fields who gave the name of Last Chance Gulch to a new placer mining field, the present site of Helena...” [Source: Obituary of stepdaughter Laura Manderscheid Brown Zook, 1944]

His route from the Eastern US to California, discussed previously, seems clearer cut, but how he got from California to New Mexico in 1862, where he was present at the Battle of Glorieta Pass that year, and then into Utah as part of the Bear River Massacre by 1863, and into Montana later that same year, is less understandable, at least to me. When did Old Mexico enter the picture? I wonder if the story about Mexico, told long after he died, perhaps referred to New Mexico instead. Colorado and New Mexico we can substantiate.

An important clue to Charlie's whereabouts in the early 1860's is found in a 1900 military report from Alaska, where Charlie was then working for the US Army. The report noted that he was **“...an old Government employee of some forty years standing...”** This indicates Charlie was in the employ of the US Gov't sometime between 1858 and 1860. As you read below, you can see that information proves true. [Read the entire Alaska section in Part 3 for more information.]

There were so many trails which carried pioneers north and south and east and west in those days, I am at a loss to know which ones he took. The old El Camino Real might have taken him into Old Mexico from California, and the Gila Trail, the Cimarron Trail and the Santa Fe Trails were also possibilities into New Mexico. Colorado and Utah and Montana followed, in that order. Much of this period was as a teamster with the U. S. Army, traveling for wages wherever the Army directed him to go and whenever he wasn't mining.

I have an **outstanding map** of U. S. trail routes between 1820 and 1870 that I would highly recommend to anyone with an interest. It is a huge 2x2 ½ foot wall map, but it marks all of the trails and indicates the years each was established, plus shows cities, forts and other sites of historical interest. This is the best map of its kind I have ever seen. Well researched.

WESTERN EMIGRANT TRAILS

1820-1870

Historic Trails, Cutoffs, and Alternates
Western Emigrant Trails Research Center
5806 Spaulding St. - Omaha, NE 68104
<http://www.westernemigranttrails.com/>

1861

BEGINNING OF THE CIVIL WAR

1862

COLORADO - PIKES PEAK

NEW MEXICO - BATTLE OF GLORIETA PASS

“Shortly after the memorable gold excitement of 1849 in California, he went thither in the early [late] ‘fifties. From California he went to Colorado...” [Source: Granddaughter Marion Ulmer Brown, writing in ‘As We Recall’]

It is my belief that Charlie, like many other miners, followed the gold dust from California to the next big gold rush at Pike’s Peak (1858-1861) by some unknown route. The gold rush slogan “Pikes’ Peak or Bust” was used by the **Fifty-Niners**, the men who had come to find gold in Colorado--many of them disappointed **Forty-Niners** from California rushing to a new promised land. **Charlie, now in his late 20’s, certainly would have fit that description. By now, gold fever had struck and would remain firmly imbedded in his soul until his death.**

MARCH 26-28, 1862

BATTLE OF GLORIETA PASS

New Mexico Territory

Called the ‘*Gettysburg of the West*’.

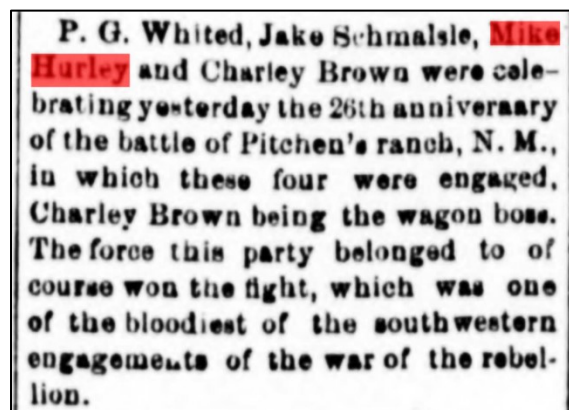
Union Commander Col. John P. Slough

PIGEON’S RANCH [Not Pitchen’s]

Originally known as Rancho de la Glorieta, it later became known as Pigeon’s Ranch--a popular stage stop on the Santa Fe Trail. During the Civil War, some of the heaviest fighting in the western U. S.

happened here. An article from a Miles City newspaper dated 29 Mar 1888 [Above] says

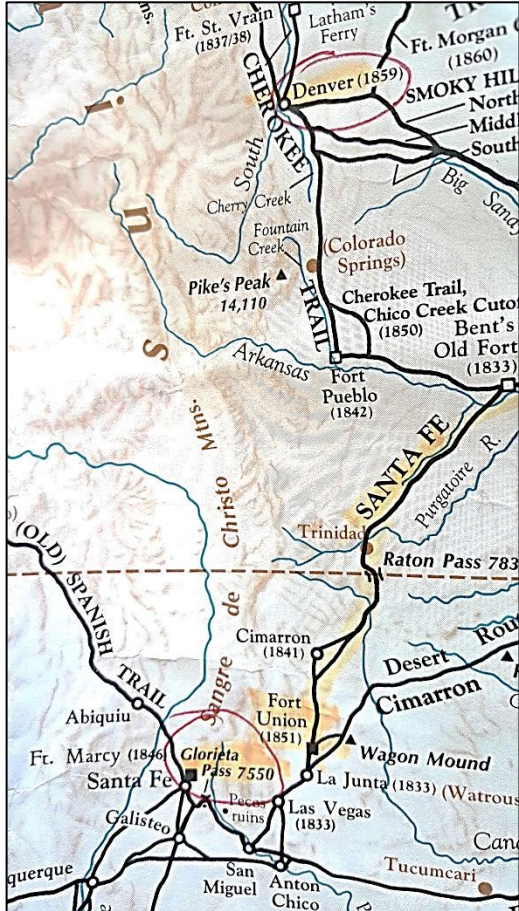
Charlie was Wagon Master during this conflict, along with two other later Fort Keogh



P. G. Whited, Jake Schmalsie, **Mike Hurley** and Charley Brown were celebrating yesterday the 26th anniversary of the battle of Pitchen’s ranch, N. M., in which these four were engaged, Charley Brown being the wagon boss. The force this party belonged to of course won the fight, which was one of the bloodiest of the southwestern engagements of the war of the rebellion.

PART 1: 1834-1876

soldiers, **Patton G. Whited** and **Jacob Schmalsie**. To my knowledge, Charlie never formally enlisted in the military; he always acted in a civilian capacity, usually as a teamster or wagon boss. It is also possible he had not yet naturalized and could not legally enlist. **This bloody battle may have been his first military hire and probably shaped his view of battle from then on.**



Map Source: Western Emigrant Trails Research Center, Omaha NE. <http://www.westernemigranttrails.com/>

Up to this point, the West was not particularly disturbed by the Civil War. Colorado was designated as a Union territory--mostly in name only. Many Southern sympathizers lived there and supported the Confederacy. In 1862, the territory was suddenly under threat. Confederate Gen. Henry Sibley devised a plan to follow the Santa Fe Trail north from Texas to capture the supply hub at Fort Union in New Mexico Territory. He would then march further north to invade the Pike's Peak area, rich with gold and silver mines, seize them, and replenish the Confederate war coffers. Now, Colorado's mining population had a very good reason to get involved. The plan to defeat Sibley began by Union Gen. John P. Slough organizing the 1st Colorado Volunteers in Denver. **One of the companies formed was Company I, comprised mainly of German miners, which is where Charlie probably enters the picture.** The Colorado Volunteers were recruited to travel south on the Santa Fe Trail towards Fort Union and intercept and engage Sibley's force. The troops were accompanied by a **100-wagon train** at the rear. And guess who the wagon boss was.

In Feb 1862, after training and receiving supplies, the 1st Colorado moved south from Denver towards Fort Union, NMT, to head off Sibley. Confederate forces had already taken Albuquerque and Santa Fe, just south of Ft. Union, so time was of the essence, and the foot troops had to move at an exhausting pace of 40 miles per day in hurricane force winds and blizzard conditions. The Colorado volunteers traveled south to Fort Union, then west on March 22nd toward Glorieta Pass, a gap in the Sangre de Cristo Mountains in New Mexico Territory. On the 25th they camped on the Kozlowski ranch, which became Gen. Slough's command headquarters. On the 26th of March, 1862, the first skirmish of the 3-day conflict began in Apache Canyon at the top of Glorieta Pass between advance forces called '**Baylor's Babes**' and the '**Pet Lambs**' of Colorado, so named because few of them had any fighting experience. The first 3-hour encounter was a decisive victory for the Union. A truce ensued in the evening for burial of the dead and care of the wounded, who were taken back to **Pigeon's Ranch, a nearby stage station** on the Santa Fe Trail. The 27th saw mostly preparation for the following day. On the 28th, a **6-hour battle** raged at Pigeon's Ranch between the Confederate and Union forces. In the end, the Union destroyed Sibley's wagons and food supplies and confiscated and/or killed

100's of their mules, which drove the Confederates out of the area on foot, a decisive win for the Union once again.

“The fighting was among the rocks and trees. Cavalry could not be used. Rifle and small arms fire was deadly. The odds were against the Union troops. The Texans had a superior position and a greater number of men. The battle raged for more than six hours... Fighting was desperate and sometimes fiercely hand-to-hand when the German Co. I engaged a Texan column...” [NPS]

Colorado Volunteers in the Civil War: The New Mexico Campaign in 1862

By William Clarke Whitford (1906)

<https://books.google.com/books?id=lbg-AAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=Colorado+Volunteers+in+the+Civil+War&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKewi00duwoL7hAhUSnawKHTgEDaUO6AEIKjAA#v=onepage&q=Colorado%20Volunteers%20in%20the%20Civil%20War&f=false>

[AAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=Colorado+Volunteers+in+the+Civil+War&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKewi00duwoL7hAhUSnawKHTgEDaUO6AEIKjAA#v=onepage&q=Colorado%20Volunteers%20in%20the%20Civil%20War&f=false](https://books.google.com/books?id=lbg-AAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=Colorado+Volunteers+in+the+Civil+War&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKewi00duwoL7hAhUSnawKHTgEDaUO6AEIKjAA#v=onepage&q=Colorado%20Volunteers%20in%20the%20Civil%20War&f=false)

The morning of the 28th, Confederate forces started out west of Glorieta Pass and Federal troops started out from Kozlowski's Ranch towards Pigeon's Ranch, east of the pass. Part of the Union troops were sent on a circuitous route formulated to get behind the Confederate forces and observe their foe from a nearby mountaintop. **The rest of the troops, including Company I with the German contingent and the wagon train, headed straight ahead toward the enemy.** They arrived at Pigeon's Ranch between 8:30 and 10:00 AM and began to fill their canteens from the ranch well. *“Very soon [a scout] rushed back with the information that the Texans in force were about to attack, about 800 yards in front, and hidden in a thick grove...the battle opened in a gulch, about a half a mile west of Pigeon's Ranch...”* **Charlie was in the middle of this one. The wagon train was only a short distance behind the troops, and strategies were employed to keep the Confederates from attacking and destroying the wagons. At one point, Charlie's train was only 40 yards from the main battle He undoubtedly had his guns out and was using them to defend himself. Years later, a Miles City news article said he bore scars from battle in New Mexico--this was undoubtedly where it happened. “...So near together were these contending ranks at times that the muzzles of their guns passed by each other over the top of the loosened rocks, and some of them shot at each other from opposite sides of the same clump of cedar bushes...A German officer in the Colorado volunteers shouted in broken but emphatic English to his men standing in a huddle near the artillery, ‘Poys, lay down flat dere; does you vant to go died?’...”** By 5:00 PM the action was over.

Story told by a Confederate soldier after the battle of March 28th...*“It snowed like hell all night and with morning here comes (the Confederate main force) right over the mountains, running. Had to run or freeze. Well, we sat up there all day (27th), thawing out and looking for them Yankees to come fight, but they dug in up to Pigeon's Ranch where the pass tops in them big rocks and red cliffs, fort-like kind of place. Directly (28th) we went up and hit them, and there warn't time for no cliff-climbing, everybody just jammed in them big red rocks, slipping and sliding in the snow in **one awful free-for-all**. We druv them to the ranch and they purely didn't go easy. They got behind a big adobe wall and in a gully, and we jumped in the gully with them, and stayed till we was all that was left. Then there was a big rock ledge and a hill and that's where it was the worst, bashing each other with boulders, knifing, gouging, packed so close and*

dressed alike, you couldn't tell who was who." [Source: 'Pigeon's Ranch', by Ruth W. Armstrong, 1986]

A Confederate soldier described the Union rear attack, towards the end of the day, that destroyed all of Sibley's supplies and left the Confederates with nothing to do but retreat: ***"They circled right over the top of them mountains ...seven miles from Pigeon's Ranch where we was supposed to be winning. Burnt them wagons, bayoneted them mules. Just a hell of a mess, snow and red mud and looked like a thousand mules and a hundred wagons down in them ashes--everything we had, tents, blankets, and near every morsel of food . It was all gone."*** Bayoneting animals must have been difficult, but ammunition was precious and could not be used unless in battle. [Source: 'Pigeon's Ranch', by Ruth W. Armstrong, 1986]

A month afterward, a paroled Confederate prisoner wrote about the battle at Glorieta Pass. After taking Albuquerque and Santa Fe, the Confederates thought a win at Fort Union was a given. They were surprised at the pluck of the Union volunteers. ***"We marched up the country with the fixed determination to wrench this country from the United States government, and we all thought it would soon be in our hands. But what a mistake!...Out we marched with the two cannons, expecting an easy victory; but what a mistake! Instead of Mexicans and regulars, they were regular demons, upon whom iron and lead had no effect in the shape of Pike's Peakers from the Denver City gold mines..."*** And Charlie was there.

Charlie's Miles City friend in this battle, Jake Schmalsie, later became Charlie's Clerk of Court during his time as a Miles City Justice of the Peace. **Patton Whited** went on to receive the **Congressional Medal of Honor** for his bravery in action later near Cedar Creek MT; it was presented in person in July of 1877 at Fort Keogh by Generals Sherman and Terry.

Historical note: *Gen. Sibley, despite his drinking problems, designed a new easy-to-pack 12-man bell tent and stove that was used for many years by American and British armies.*

1863

BEAR CREEK MASSACRE

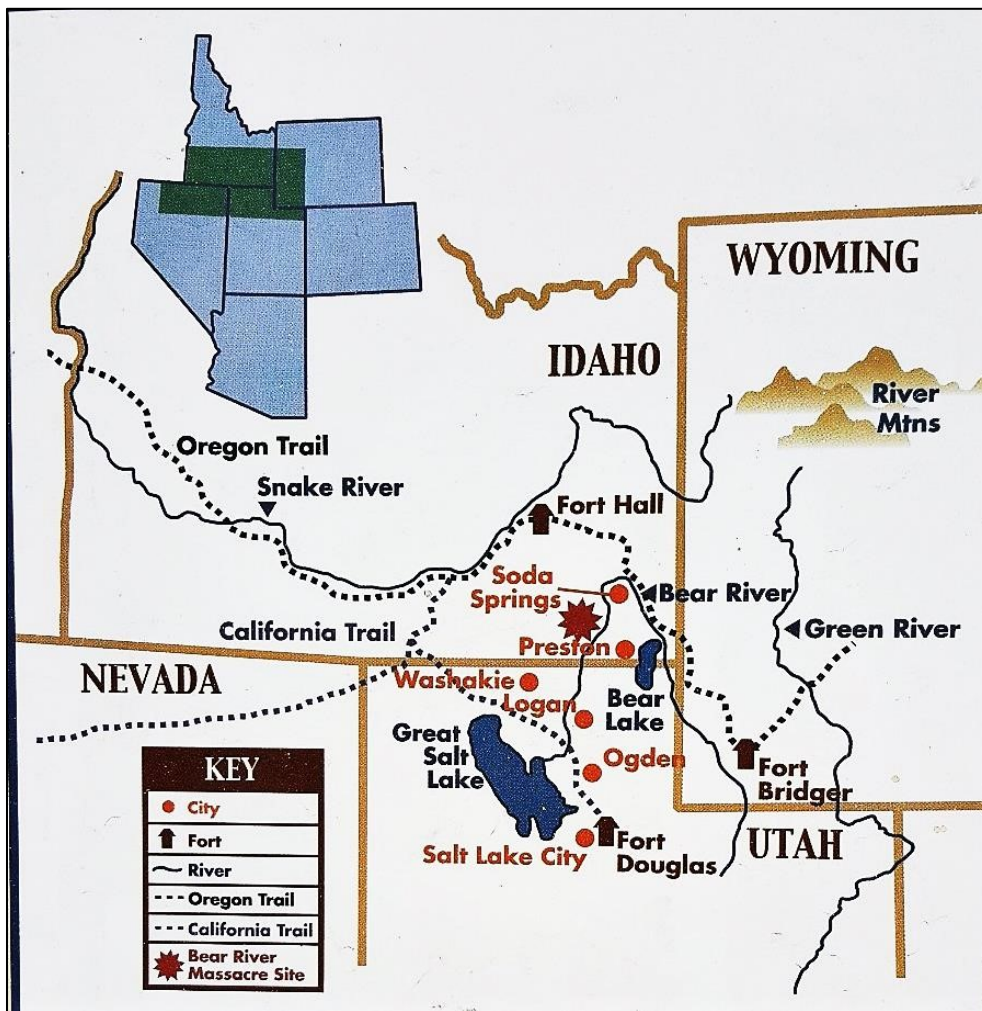
January 29, 1863

Nine months after Glorieta Pass, Charlie was involved in yet another military engagement, **The Bear Creek Massacre**. This event is considered by many historians to be the ***"Greatest massacre of Native Americans by U.S. troops in American history"***. The military called it the Battle of Bear Creek. The Indians, and historians, found another name better suited, the Bear Creek Massacre. Charlie was there as a civilian teamster.

The conflict took place at the confluence of Bear Creek and Bear River in eastern Idaho Territory, about 140 miles north of Salt Lake City. Bear River is the largest tributary of the Great Salt Lake.

"...Brown came to Montana from Gen. Connor's great battlefield at Battle Creek [Error: Bear Creek], a tributary of the Bear River in Idaho, on

which occasion Connors exterminated every hostile Snake Indian belonging to the tribe. It is said by many people that the slogan of the fighters was, 'Where there are no nits there will be no lice'. In consequence, women and children were exterminated with the braves. In Gen. Connors report the last suggestion is not borne out, however. At this fight Brown was the greatest of all the boomers. He was having more fun than anybody, and he didn't speak about bullies either...' [Source: George Irwin, Butte Postmaster, writing after Charlie's death]



Further proof of Charlie being in this area is shown in his biography for the Society of Montana Pioneers in which he stated his route to Montana was...the Malad Valley.

CHARLES BROWN, born at Oehringen, Wurtemberg, Germany, in 1834. Came to the United States. Place of departure for Montana, Salt Lake City, Utah; route traveled, *via* Malad Valley; arrived at Bannack in 1863. Occupation, miner. Residence, Miles City.



Col. Patrick Edward Connor (1820-1891)
Library of Congress

Bear River runs through both the Cache Valley and the **Malad Valley** (noted on Charlie's Montana Pioneer bio). Military units who fought at the **Battle of Bear Creek** were commanded by *Col. Patrick Edward Connor, a fiery personality of Irish birth and a veteran of the Florida and Mexican Wars. He commanded California Volunteers of the 2nd and 3rd Regiments who mustered into service at Camp Alert in San Francisco in October of 1861, shortly after the beginning of the Civil War and after a second call by Lincoln for additional volunteers. Connor's troops were immediately ordered to Utah Territory *"to protect the Overland Stage and Pacific Telegraph rights of way, and to act as a force of observation in order to forestall any joint activity between Mormon recalcitrants and Southern sympathizers seeking to secure the Southwest for the Confederacy..."* <http://www.militarymuseum.org/Conner.html>

**Note:* Col. Connor later established Ft. Connor (later Ft. Reno) at the junction of the Bozeman Trail and the Powder River in Wyoming in 1865. From there he conducted the unsuccessful Powder River Expedition with Jim Bridger as his guide.

Connor's troops left the San Francisco area during the summer and fall of 1862 heading for the Great Salt Lake Valley, arriving in Utah Territory in late October of that year. Charlie was likely already in the vicinity after leaving Colorado--headed west toward the newest rumor of gold. The colonel's headquarters, **Camp Douglas, Utah Territory**, was established shortly thereafter. Camp Douglas was a small military garrison built three miles east of Salt Lake City on a high vantage point above the city in order to keep an eye on the Mormon leader, Brigham Young. **It was at Camp Douglas where Charlie was probably hired on**, once again on the basis of his experience with wagons and animals and his earlier participation/experience at the Battle of Glorieta Pass. **His resume was expanding.** He may have had a **secondary reason for hiring on**--he was ultimately headed for southwestern Montana (then in Idaho Territory) where there was word of more gold. Working for the Army, whose objective was 'north' of Salt Lake City, he had the opportunity to get paid for at least part of his passage in the same direction of a promising new gold bonanza.

Col. Connor had a **special vitriol**, not only for the Indians, but for the Mormons, as shown in this military report dated Sep 14, 1862. Brigham Young was incensed at being constantly observed.

with comparative composure.
It will be impossible for me to describe what I saw and heard in Salt Lake, so as to make you realize the enormity of Mormonism; suffice it, that I found them a community of traitors, murderers, fanatics, and whores. The people publicly rejoice at reverses to our arms, and thank God that the American Government is gone, as they term it, while their prophet and bishops preach treason from the pulpit. The Federal officers are entirely powerless, and talk in whispers, for fear of being overheard by Brigham's spies. Brigham Young rules with despotic sway, and death by assassination is the penalty of disobedience to his commands.

There were many factors, on both sides, that ultimately provoked this bloody clash.

“The Bear River Massacre and the American Civil War”

An Online Historical Essay

By: Lonny Grout (2008)

<http://www.militaryhistoryonline.com/civilwar/articles/bearriver.aspx>

“In the earliest parts of the Civil War, the Confederate Government moved quickly to annex the Indian Territory in an attempt to use the natives against the Union. It is true that Native Americans fought on both sides of the war... however there were no formal alliances between the Shoshone of Cache Valley and the Confederacy. It is evident that the Shoshone were interested in protecting their own interests. However, the inciting of the American Indians against the Union caused the Federal government to take a harsher stance against the natives. ...the American government still did not trust that the Mormon settlers in the Utah territory under Brigham Young, would continue to stay loyal to the Union...It appeared that the Federal government perceived both the Mormons of the region and the American Indians of the region to be a possible threat to the Union cause. ...Cache Valley was the hunting grounds for a group of Northwestern Shoshone...the Shoshone gathered grain and grass seeds, as well as hunting both small game as well as large game including deer, elk and buffalo, and were able to fish for trout in the streams and rivers...” [Grout]

*“This band of 450 Shoshoni under war chief Bear Hunter had watched uneasily as Mormon farmers had moved into their home of Cache Valley in the spring of 1860 and three years later had **appropriated all the land and water** of the verdant mountain valley. In fact, the first town officially founded in present day Idaho (at that time part of the Washington territory) was the town of Franklin. The settlement was so close to the Utah border that the Mormon settlers believed that they were in Utah, until later surveying showed that they were not. **Pressure was put on the Shoshone of the valley by both the continued movement of Mormon settlers northward as well as the establishment of the Oregon and California trails which put this Shoshone group in constant contact with settlers.** Brigham Young encouraged peaceful relations with the surrounding Native American tribes, especially with his policy to, “feed them rather than fight them”. Even with this policy, the competition for the food and resources of the valley intensified. This problem was recognized by Jacob Forney, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Territory of Utah in 1859 when he wrote, **“The Indians...have become impoverished by the introduction of a white population”** in a letter to his superiors. He further recommended that an Indian Reservation be established in Cache Valley to protect resources for the Shoshone. This recommendation was ignored by the U.S. Dept. of Interior and his superiors. It is likely that general indifference to Indian affairs was the reason the recommendation was ignored, however it is also likely that superiors in Washington were also busy with a looming Civil War they were soon to face. Once the war started, this type of solution was taken from the table and replaced with Union troops.” [Grout]*

*“These conditions were just ripe for conflict to occur between the Shoshone of the valley and the settlers. **The Shoshone were desperate and struck back by attacking nearby farms and ranches, not as a revenge mechanism, but rather as a matter of survival.** Add to this problem that gold was discovered In July of 1862 in the southwestern mountains of Montana, just north of Cache Valley. **Miners with dreams of striking it rich established a migration trail between the***

mining camp and Salt Lake City which went right through Cache Valley. [One of those hopeful miners was Charlie.] The Shoshone were now competing with pioneers moving west on the Oregon and California trails; miners going to Montana, and Mormon settlers moving further north. With the Shoshone starting to strike back, it would not be long before some settlers would start to pressure Col Connor to act." [Grout]

"The final action that incited Connor to take action against the Shoshone was an incident that took place along the Montana Trail. A group of miners traveling generally along the trail got lost and found themselves on the western side of the Bear River. This was unfortunately just two miles from the main Shoshone winter encampment in the Valley...The Shoshone attacked this group, killing John Henry Smith of Walla Walla. The rest of the group did make it back to Salt Lake City where they gave an affidavit to the chief justice John F. Kinney on the murder of Smith. Kinney issued warrants for the Shoshone Chiefs Sanpitch, Sagwitch, and Bear Hunter. Col. Connor was sought out for assistance in carrying out the warrants. For Connor, the warrants were merely another reason to perform an attack he already wished to conduct..." [Grout]

Being slower, the infantry and **wagon train** (with howitzers) departed Camp Douglas first. **It was six days' winter travel to where the wagons and infantry would wait for the Colonel,** who would arrive with his contingent of cavalry soldiers after a four-day horseback ride from the camp.

**Records of California Men in the War of the Rebellion 1861 to 1867
by the California. Adjutant General's Office:**

<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=loc.ark:/13960/t6d22bv2x;view=1up;seq=178>

*"On Thursday, January twenty-second [1863], Captain Samuel N. Hoyt, with forty men of Company K... accompanied by **a train of fifteen wagons [including Charlie]** taking with them two howitzers, left Camp Douglas [Utah Territory], with secret instructions, secret as far as his duties, etc., were concerned, but public enough for the 'Indian runners' to know that the camp on Bear River was the destination of the troops. Through the snow the infantry plodded along, till beyond the confines of the city on the west, where the train received the Volunteers. Taking into account the recent snows, the northerly climate, and the road that would have to be made over the summit of the mountains, separating Cache and Box Elder Valleys, the infantry were to pursue their march leisurely, with the view also that the Indians might learn the strength of the Volunteers, and, basing calculations thereon, would gather in their stronghold and have a little battle. The ruse was successful...The same evening, after a four days' ride, one of sixty miles and the other of easier marches, **over the mountains, in deep snow and with a piercing cold, bitter wind that nearly disabled a third of the command,** Major McGarry, with two hundred cavalry, accompanied by Colonel Connor and his aids, at midnight rode into the settlement and fraternized with the infantry [**Charlie and the wagon train would already have been there in the harsh weather for several days under the command of Capt. Hoyt.**] The Indians could know nothing of the approach of any cavalry, and thus far the plan for their destruction had been successfully concealed. Intelligence reports had correctly located **Bear Hunter's village on Bear River about 140 miles north of Salt Lake City, near present Preston, Idaho...**"*

The narrative below was written 16 days after the battle by Sergeant W. L. Beach. In later years he could never forget the details of this horrendous time in his life.

<https://rsc.byu.edu/sites/default/files/pubs/pdf/chaps/CWS%2013%20Schindler.pdf>

*“...It was hardly daylight when the fight commenced and freezing cold the valley was covered with Snow—one foot deep which made it very uncomfortable to the wounded who had to lay until the fight was over. The fight lasted four hours and appeared more like a frolick than a fight the wounded cracking jokes with the frozen some frozen so bad that they could not load their guns used them as clubs No distinction was made between Officers and Privates each fought where he thought he was most needed. The report is currant that their was three hundred of the Volunteers engaged That is in correct one fourth of the Cavalry present had to hold Horses part of the Infantry were on guard with the **waggon**s While others were left behind some sick with frozen hands and feet. Only three hundred started on the expedition. Our loss—fourteen killed and forty two wounded Indian Loss two hundred and eighty Killed. The Indians had a very strong natural fortification as you will percieve by the sketch within it is a deep ravine (with thick willows and vines so thick that it was difficult to see an Indian from the banks) running across a smooth flat about half a mile in width. Had the Volunteers been in their position all h—I could not have whipped them. **The hills around the Valley are about six hundred feet high with two feet of snow on them...**” [Beach]*

*[During the battle] ...After [a] failed charge, Connor decided that a change of tactic was needed and instead chose to flank the village. Connor sent several small groups to attack the village from the flanks as well as from behind in a total envelopment of the village. This tactic was also to ensure that none of the Shoshone escaped. This tactic proved to be much more effective, but was aided by the fact that at about 8:00 A.M. **the Shoshone defenders had ran out of ammunition.** In fact some reports claimed that the soldiers found Shoshone attempting to cast lead bullets during the battle and died with the molds still in the hands...” [Grout]*

The resulting massacre:

*“It was at this point that Battle of Bear River had ended and the Bear River Massacre had begun. **Col. Connor lost control of his soldiers,** and by his previous statement he likely did not care. Either way, he bears the responsibility of the poor behavior of his Californians. The Shoshone became more desperate once their ammunition ran out and continued to fight by any means including the use of tomahawks and bows. At least one soldier was reportedly injured by an arrow. The soldiers seemed to lose all sense of control and discipline. After most of the men were killed, soldiers proceeded to kill men, women and children indiscriminately to include reports of raping and molesting women. Those who resisted or refused to abide by the soldiers’ wishes were killed. There were even reports that soldiers had held infants by their heels and then “beat their brains out on any hard substance they could find.” One local resident stated that many soldiers pulled out their pistols and shot several Shoshoni people at point blank range. The soldiers also destroyed the village by burning many of the Shoshoni possessions and dwelling structures to include killing anyone who was still left inside. Other reports stated that some soldiers went through the village bashing the heads of the wounded with axes to include women and children...Sources seem to differ on the total number of Shoshoni killed in the massacre, with the number varying between 200 and 400. **However the most reliable sources put the***

PART 1: 1834-1876

Note: In 2018, I visited the beautiful and panoramic site of the Bear River Massacre about two miles north of Preston ID. The Shoshone Tribe has erected an historic site with picnic tables and significant interpretive signage on a high hill above the area where the massacre took place. Pictures and diagrams make it easy to follow the events as reported in the day. Very well done and totally worth a visit. Two miles south, in the town of Preston, another pioneer monument can be found.

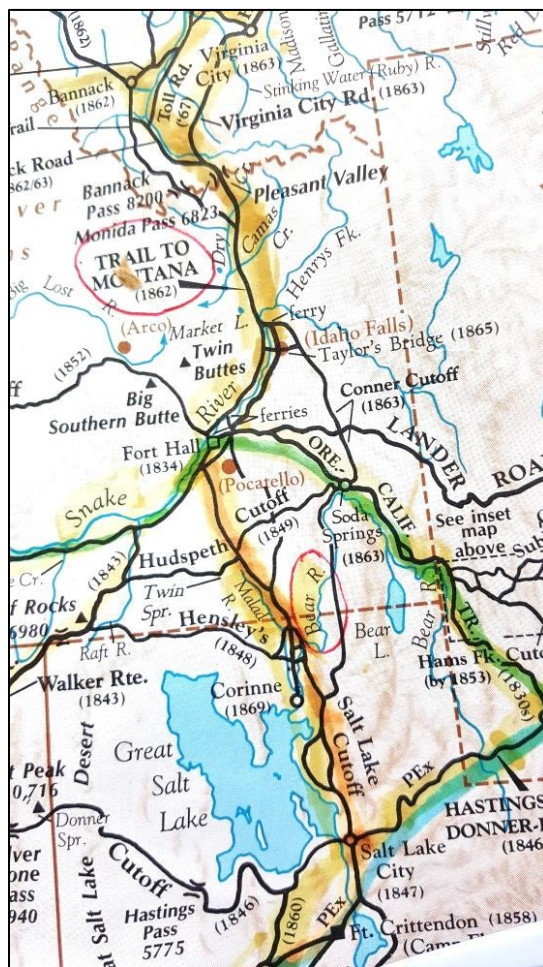
Further reading:

THE SHOSHONE FRONTIER AND THE BEAR RIVER MASSACRE

Author: Brigham Madsen (1985)

[https://thc.utah.edu/teacher-workshops/neh/Madsen-](https://thc.utah.edu/teacher-workshops/neh/Madsen-The%20Shoshoni%20Frontier%20and%20the%20BRM-WITH%20PARRY.pdf)

[The%20Shoshoni%20Frontier%20and%20the%20BRM-WITH%20PARRY.pdf](https://thc.utah.edu/teacher-workshops/neh/Madsen-The%20Shoshoni%20Frontier%20and%20the%20BRM-WITH%20PARRY.pdf)



Map Source: Western Emigrant Trails Research Center, Omaha NE. <http://www.westernemigranttrails.com/>

May 26 1863

MONTANA - GOLD - ALDER GULCH

Then part of Idaho Territory.

Charlie was a seasoned frontiersman long before he came to Montana.

Before the creation of Montana Territory (1864–1889), various parts of what is now Montana were parts of Oregon Territory (1848–1859), Washington Territory (1853–1863), Idaho Territory (1863–1864), and Dakota Territory (1861–1864).

“... [Charlie] crossed the plains to Montana, arriving there before the discovery of gold in Alder Gulch, and was one of the first to work in the placer mines. Later he was one of the party which gave the suggestive name to Last Chance Gulch...” [Source:

Granddaughter Marion Ulmer Brown writing in ‘As We Recall’]

After leaving Col. Connor’s Army after Bear Creek in January of 1863, Charlie would have had to return to Camp Douglas in order to receive his wages from the Army paymaster. Winter was still very much in full effect, so he probably waited at least a month or two for the weather to moderate before heading north toward Bannack (*as stated in his pioneer bio*), this time traveling on the **MONTANA TRAIL** (Map Above).

Charlie traveled the first 180 or so miles north of Salt Lake City on what was called the Salt Lake Cutoff Road, a branch of the Overland Trail, which would have taken him back over the same route he traveled to the Bear Creek Massacre. The Cutoff Road met with the Montana Trail near Fort Hall in Idaho Territory, near a junction with the Oregon Trail. **[See Bear Creek Massacre Map in previous section]** The Montana Trail was one of a multitude of emigrant pathways across America. It was shorter than most and one of the few running north to south. It took Charlie directly to Bannack, Virginia City, and further on to Helena. If you continued north, variations of the trail led you finally to Fort Benton on the Missouri River, known as the ‘Big Muddy’ because of the enormous load of silt it carried. From there, travelers had contact with the rest of the world via key waterways--at least in the high water season. **The early Montana Trail carried freight and was a major supply route for disappointed miners, like Charlie, from California and Colorado who were headed to newly discovered gold in this isolated part of Idaho Territory.** He quite likely hired on again in Salt Lake City as some sort of freighter. Once he got to the Bannack area, he struck out on his own to begin looking for his own personal mother lode. After Bannack, his history included both Virginia City and Alder Gulch, where stories say he arrived before gold was discovered in May of 1863.

Dec 23 1863

VIGILANTE DAYS

“...There were two men who were the most active in helping to rid this country of the tough element. X. Beidler has had his praise, but Charley Brown (Dutch Charley), never received at the hands of the writer, or historians, his dues...” [Charles Beehrer, pioneer story in “*History of Southwestern Montana*” by A. J. Noyes]

The excerpt below was part of an interview done at the time of Charlie’s funeral. George Irwin, an old friend of Charlie’s and then the Butte Postmaster, was quoted regarding Charlie’s involvement with the Vigilantes. The Butte Inter Mountain Newspaper, Oct. 25, 1901.

<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83025294/1901-10-25/ed-1/seq-3/>

either. Brown was one of the best chief executive officers of the vigilance committee and performed prodigious feats in the pursuit and execution of the road agents, entitling him, with Colonel Sanders, Hill, Howie, Beidler and John Featherstone to an enduring state monument.

Charlie is said by some to have been the ‘secretary’ of the Vigilantes; but, of course, there were no neatly penned written record books found to prove it. Some were willing to sign the oath, others were not. Secrecy was maintained in many cases.

The Vigilantes were viewed by many, then and now, as murdering criminals, no better than those they frequently hung. Some readers may be horrified at the gruesome details of their actions, noted in the stories below. However, in those days, the men who acted as part of a vigilance committee clearly viewed themselves as protecting the general population from thieves, murderers, rapists and horse thieves, among other criminal acts. Some of the things thieves stole were life threatening to their owners. And, because there was little to no official law yet established anywhere in the Territory, or any sworn law enforcement representatives present to carry out any needed assistance, many citizens were grateful for Vigilante help in ridding the area of the undesirable elements who threatened their existence. Something had to be done to protect the law-abiding public. The Vigilantes themselves were survivalists, honorable men trying to tame a wild country, under extremely challenging circumstances, into becoming a place where they could raise families safely and make a living. They refused to be bullied into submission by the underbelly who had come into the country to murder and steal for a living, not to do honorable work. Stealing a horse or someone's cattle, e.g., could be life-threatening on several levels, and it could not be tolerated. In their own eyes, the Vigilantes wore the white hats. Charlie was one of them. **I can easily see his outrage and his need to protect. He always stood for those in need of help. He never backed down when threatened. He would have had a strong sense of moral indignation for these criminal acts.**

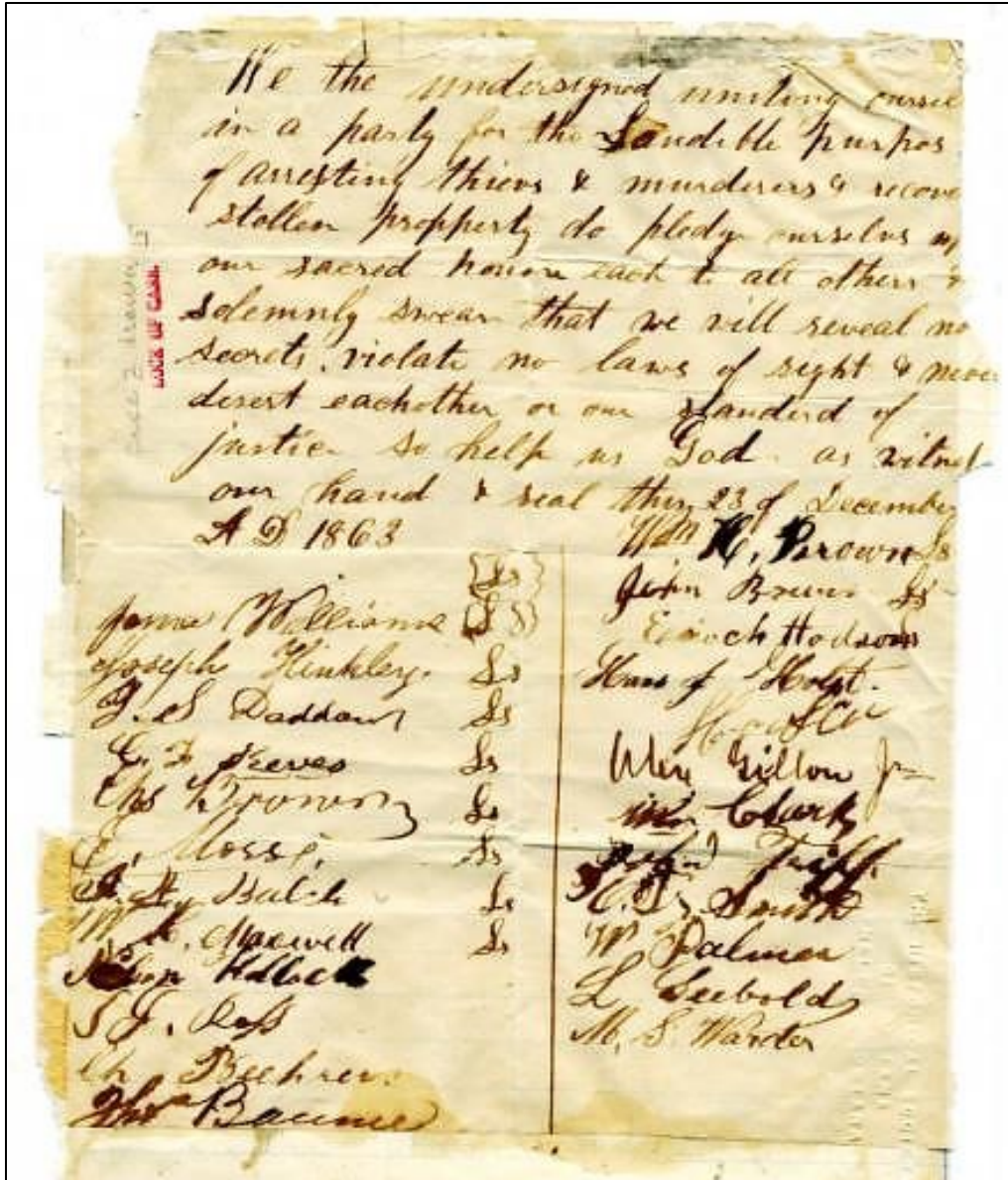
VIGILANTE OATH

“During the fall and early winter of 1863, at the height of the gold rush, the Bannack and Virginia City, Montana Territory areas were plagued with theft and murder. A group of citizens banded together to take extralegal action. By April 1864, 32 road agents were hanged, including the outlaw-sheriff Henry Plummer, and the reign of the road agents was ended. Although the complete list of vigilantes has never been known, it was reputed to include many of the people who became the most prominent leaders of the Territory.”

Montana Memory Project: <http://mtmemory.org/digital/collection/p267301coll2/id/247/>

Not all of the Vigilante members were willing to sign on the dotted line; but, true to his character, Charlie Brown had no trouble adding his name to this oath. His German friend, Charles Behrer, who knew him so well, also appears six lines below Charlie's signature.

THE VIGILANTE OATH....NEXT PAGE



[Charlie's name is 5th down in left column..."Chs Brown"]

"We, the undersigned, uniting ourselves in a party for the purpose of arresting thieves and murderers and recovering stolen property, do pledge ourselves upon our sacred honor, each to all others, and solemnly swear that we will reveal no secrets, violate no laws of right and not desert each other or our standards of justice, so help me God, as witness our hand and seals this 23rd day of December, A. D. 1863." [Courtesy of the Montana Historical Society]

/s/

James Williams, Joseph Hinkley, J. S. Daddow, C. F. Keves, **Charles Brown (aka Dutch Charlie)**, E(ik) Morse, J. H. Balch, W. C. Maxwell, Nelson Kellock, S. J. Ross, **Chas. Beehrer**, Thomas Baume, Wm. H. Brown, Sr., Jno. Brown, Jr., Enoch Hodson, Hans J. Holst, Hoofen,* Alex Gillon, Jr., Wm. Clark, John Triff, A. D. Smith, W. Palmer, L. Seibold, M. S. Warder.

*[Note: Can't make out this name as it is so poorly written.]

December, 1863

A HISTORY OF MONTANA

Helen Fitzgerald Sanders - Vol. 2 (1913)

Story told by Nelson Story, Sr., a well known Montana pioneer and contemporary of Charlie's.

<https://archive.org/details/historyofmontanab02sand/page/n9>

STORY OF THE MAN WHO HUNG GEORGE IVES

The hanging of George Ives in 1863, was one of the most exciting events which stirred the new country of that day. Nelson Story, Sr., of Bozeman, is the man who took the place of the over-awed sheriff and carried out the stern edicts of the law, and he it is who tells the following story, taken from the Republican Courier of February 16, 1909 :

(By Nelson Story, Sr.)

"[sic] Much has already been written concerning events of the early days of Montana and although the general field has been pretty thoroughly covered and the events very correctly narrated, there are still many thrilling incidents which occurred but have never been in print. "Doctor Deams, Mr. N. P. Langford, and others, have given interesting facts in their accounts of the settlement of eastern Idaho, the discovery of gold, and the formation of vigilance committees, etc."

"The writer was a resident of Summit, Alder Gulch, in the summer of 1863, occupied in the packing of supplies and selling them to the miners of the gulch. About the first of December, 1863, a man appeared in Summit. He had come from the Bitter Root valley with a wagonload of potatoes to the Nevada, or Lower Town, some two miles below Virginia City, which he wished to sell."

"I bought the potatoes, went the following day with my pack outfit, consisting of about fourteen Mexican boros, to the Lower Town, where I arrived about the middle of the afternoon. After depositing my pack outfit in a hay corral I procured my dinner and then went to about the center of the town, then consisting of a row of one-story log buildings upon either side of the one street for a distance, parallel with Alder Gulch, of a quarter of a mile."

"Here the trial of Geo. Ives was in progress. He was being tried for the killing of a German by the name of Nicholas Tabault, in the Stinkingwater valley, near the ranch of Roger Dempsey. [The murder victim was a German immigrant; this would have been personal for Charlie.] "The jury consisted of twenty-four members. Colonel Sanders was prosecutor, Robert Hereford acting sheriff. The trial took place in the open, out of doors, in front of log buildings, on the west side of the street. Benches and logs served as seats; a wagon body for the judge's stand. Guarding this honorable court some hundred men, with guns in their hands, stood and sat in a circle around the prisoner and jury."

"About five o'clock the jury retired to a nearby cabin. They were out but a short time. It was fast growing dark. As they took their seats again upon the jury bench. Col. W. F. Sanders immediately stepped forth upon a bench and in a clear tone of voice announced the decision of the jury — which was 'guilty' — twenty-three deciding in the affirmative — one dissenting."

"Sanders spoke for a few minutes about as follows: 'The dissenting juror is one of the road agents, beyond all reasonable doubt,' and advised hanging the prisoner, Ives, immediately. He further said that a move would be made to rescue the prisoner; that there were many lawless people there and more were assembling."

"At this time a crowd of spectators numbering several thousand had gathered and before this gathering the attorney defending the prisoner asked that Ives might have time to fix up his business affairs, which was consented to. This took up about one hour and by the time he had finished, darkness had set in upon us, it being about seven o'clock."

"The air was filled with apprehension and upon hearing Sander's speech and warning of rescue, the writer, being fully equipped with pistol and carbine, stepped forth into the guard without being invited, for all the guard were made up of volunteers. Hereford ordered a hollow square to be made around the prisoner, marched us with the prisoner up the road to the east some two hundred yards, then side stepped us to the west into a vacant space about twenty feet square, and between two one-story log buildings. Two logs were extended across from one building to the other forming ridge-poles. From about the center of these logs was suspended a rope with noose affixed and a large dry goods box for a drop."

"We formed in rank upon either side of the open space facing outward to keep the crowd from invading the inclosure. The adjoining buildings were soon covered with people. Hereford put Ives upon the box immediately with his hands pinioned behind him, facing east. The writer stood about in the center of the line on the west. At my left shoulder stood Benjamin Ezekiel, a boarding house keeper for miners in Summit. Upon my right stood a boy not over twenty-one. Some one of the guard asked Ives if he killed the Dutchman. 'No, I did not,' he answered. 'Who did?' was asked. 'Alex. Carter,' he replied."

"Sheriff Hereford then got upon the big box, adjusted the noose around Ives' neck, while upon the east building and directly over Hereford's head, a rescuing party made up of a number of men, stood with their revolvers in their hands making threats."

"One fellow said that he would shoot the rope off. Another that he would shoot Hereford. One man stepped out upon the two logs as if to carry out his threat. Hereford jumped down from the box, dodged under the projecting gable end of the east building from where he shouted, 'What do you say boys, shall we hang him? No one responded."

"I took Ezekiel by the right shoulder, gave him the order to take hold of the box upon which Ives stood. Quick as thought we took the box from under Ives and down he came with a crash into the rope. Ezekiel and I stepped back to our places, our guns in our hands cocked, ready for action."

"The crowd threw themselves upon the ground, falling over each other as the [?] came down, for they feared the guns of the guard who were now much excited. A shot, purposely or accidentally fired, would have caused the guard to shoot into the crowd, although in the darkness they could

not have distinguished friend from foe. It was so dark that only well-known acquaintances could with difficulty apprehend each other close by."

"The would-be assassins upon the roof of the east cabin quickly disappeared. The crowd melted away. A doctor was brought in who pronounced Ives dead. When Ives, the day before, was arrested near the ranch of Robert Dempsey, Dempsey and a tall cadaverous looking man carrying the name of Long John, were arrested as participants. They were put under guard in a cabin adjoining the place where court proceedings were being held to try Ives."

"There were several log fires burning. Our guard retraced their steps to these fires. The rough element, those dissatisfied with the hanging of Ives, were doing some loud talking. An old lawyer filled with booze was leading in denunciations of the hanging. We took him and put him in the improvised jail with Dempsey and Long John."

"About ten o'clock, one Bill Hunter, who ran a saloon situated on the west side of the street some two hundred yards below our camp fires (said saloon was noted as being the headquarters for the road agents) came out of his front door with hat and coat off and in a loud voice denounced the stranglers [vigilantes] who had hung Geo. Ives."

*"With one impulse to put him in with Dempsey and Long John, a dozen of us started to, arrest him — we were on the double quick and got almost upon him before he saw us. **Charles Brown was in the lead**, I was next. Brown carried a double barreled shot gun and I a carbine (an army affair) which loaded at the breech with fixed ammunition and a large hat cap upon a tube."*

"Hunter sprang for the door of his saloon — Brown grabbing to get hold of him and I bringing up behind Brown in order to assist in case of a catch. Into the saloon through the northwest corner of the building (a log one-story affair somewhat spacious in size) we went. The bar was in the southeast corner of the building, the stove in about the center of the room. There was a door in the southwest corner of this room leading to an adjoining apartment. This door opened outward and Hunter made for it with Brown reaching for him. As Hunter and Brown passed the west end of the bar counter, out jumped a man, the bar keeper, his hat and coat off, with a big revolver in his hand pressed close to Brown's back. I gave him a vigorous thrust with my carbine which brought him to a right about face looking into the muzzle of my gun. I ordered him to give up the pistol. He held up both hands. As I reached to take the pistol my carbine slipped in my left hand and being at full cock my little finger displaced the hat cap. I then drew my revolver. A bystander took the pistol from his hand."

*"Brown pursued Hunter to the back door and Hunter, after passing through, slammed the door back against Brown. **Brown, with one thrust of his double barreled gun knocked the door from its hinges into the next room where there was no light**. Brown did not pursue further but turned to see the bar keeper give up his pistol."*

"No less than one hundred people were in the saloon at the time, many of whom were road agents. Brown and I kept our guns presented at the crowd as we backed to the door which had been closed behind us. Brown opened the door as both my hands were full (a gun in one and a

pistol in the other) then we stepped out. Our companions had balked at the door and did not come into the saloon."

"We were obliged to return to the camp fires without our prisoner, but very thankful to return with whole bodies for one slip or mistake or the least bit of hesitation on our part would have brought many pistols to bear upon us. We were the aggressors ready to shoot at the first demonstration."

"Alexander Carter, who killed the Dutchman [German Nicholas Tabault], and four others, road agents, left for Deer Lodge that night. They were all hung before spring. Bill Hunter was hung that winter near Manhattan, in Gallatin valley."

"The next day after the execution of Ives, Robert Dempsey and Long John were examined by the court, found innocent of any wrong doing and released. Dempsey had an Indian woman and family and had been in the country some years. Long John possessed an Indian woman and little else of this world's goods. Sheriff Robert Hereford was then upwards of fifty years of age. I do not now recall to mind the judge who tried the case against Ives, or the attorney who defended him."

"At the break of day the following morning after the hanging, I was packing my potatoes for the Summit, some ten miles away, over a trail where one boro followed another in single file. These events occurred before vigilance committees had been formed."

"Charles Brown was a portly young German, about twenty-seven years of age, lived in Miles City where he kept a livery for many years after. He died in Klondike some seven years ago."

1864

March 1864

TWO MEN HANG A MAN

Story told by Charles Beehrer, aka Charlie the Brewer, a German friend of Charlie Brown's, to A. J. Noyes, author of the "History of Southern Montana".

<http://library.umwestern.edu/images/library/mhd/vigilantes/noyes/chapters/chap25.html>

"This is a remarkable story. It needs no embellishment from the pen of any man to make it of peculiar interest." [Comment by Author Noyes]

*"If I remember, it was sometime in March, 1864, that **Charlie Brown** came to me and said that he wanted me to make one of a party of eight, that was to go to Deer Lodge, Hell Gate, etc., for highwaymen. I do not remember all the names, but **Charlie Brown**, Louis Hooker, J. X. Beidler, and a young man about twenty, named Ike, was along. This young fellow, though a boy, was one of the bravest men I ever saw. When we arrived at the mouth of Rock Creek, near Hell Gate, **Charley Brown** said: 'It will not do for us all to go together; Charlie the Brewer [Beehrer], and I, will go up Rock Creek to the cabin, we have been told may be the rendezvous of the robbers. If we find too many of them, we will come back and overtake you.' We left the party, as they were to go straight down the river. **(I never suffered so much in my life with the cold. He showed***

*me his hands; all the fingers, **over fifty years afterwards**, showed signs of the fearful cold of that night, as they had no gloves.)*

*"It was about five miles up Rock Creek to the cabin. We had to pass through deep snow, but it was soft and we did not make any noise. We soon saw that there was a light in the cabin. **Charley** said to me, 'We will advance; if you see me fall on my knees, you do the same.' I said: 'I will have to thaw out my hands before I can do anything.' So I began to rub them with snow, and soon had the frost out. We soon got to the cabin, and looking in the window, we saw that there was probably but one man in it. Charley told me to open the door, and that he would rush in and cover the fellow. **He always carried two elk skin strings, with which to tie a man if need be.** We found that there was only one man, and he was in bed asleep. Charley soon had him covered and tied. The fellow said, 'I have been expecting you fellows for some time, and have not been able to sleep, and I just did go to sleep when you came.' **I asked Charley in German** what we should do, and he said, we will hang him. I was sent out doors to see if one of the roof logs was sticking out far enough for our purpose. I found one that was, and we led the fellow out and hung him. As the cabin was nice and comfortable, we barricaded the door and piled into bed and slept for several hours, with the fellow hanging on one end of the house."*
[*"History of Southern Montana"* by A. J. Noyes]

Mar 10, 1864

THE HANGING OF JACK SLADE

Story told by Charles Beehrer, aka Charlie the Brewer, a German friend of Charlie Brown's, to A. J. Noyes, author of the *"History of Southern Montana"*.

<http://library.umwestern.edu/images/library/mhd/vigilantes/noves/chapters/chap24.html>

About the same time as "Two Men Hang A Man" [previous story], Charlie Brown and his friend Charles Beehrer participated in another historical hanging--that of Jack Slade. Slade had once been a successful owner of a WY stage station on a Pony Express route and is said to have been the man who first hired William F. Cody as a rider. His character had always leaned towards violence; however, after becoming an alcoholic, his behavior was erratic and unpredictably frightening. The citizens of Virginia City became weary of being terrorized, and a group of Vigilantes finally took matters into their own hands.

*"... If Slade had only acted a little decent, we would have turned him loose, but when the Sheriff came up, and went to him with a summons, he took it and tore it up, and said he would kill every Vigilante in the Gulch. When we had the gallows up, I looked for Mrs. Slade to come, as some one had gone for her. We were down in the gulch, and on the hills around us were what we called the minute men—men who sympathized with the highwaymen. If Mrs. Slade should come, she could have had those men against us, and many would be killed. All at once I saw her coming down a steep hill just as fast as her horse could run. I stood by the gallows and said to the Captain, "Captain, do you see her coming?" Then I pointed to Mrs. Slade, and told them not to waste any more time. **Charley Brown got up then and put the rope around his neck.** I never saw a man beg so in all my life. He told us to cut his arms off above the elbows, his legs above the knees, and made all kinds of promises that could be imagined. He could not help but see me there, and because we had always been good friends, he said: "Charlie, can't you do something for me?" I said: "Slade, I am sorry to say I cannot." Mrs. Slade was coming from their ranch*

home, which was a stone building about four miles from Virginia City, on the road to Madison Valley..”

...”He [Charlie] was about six feet one inch, and weighed 220 pounds, and was a nice looking man when young. He was the man who put the rope around Slade's neck...He was also the man who led the ball with Mrs. Slade, about three weeks after, at Adelphia Hall, at *Nevada. This was after Mrs. Slade had said that she would cut the heart out of the man who had placed the rope around her husband's neck...”

“...Nobody could scare Charley Brown, either. He had a little cabin just below the brewery, and he came up and asked me if I was going to the ball. I told him that I would probably go down and look on a little while. Charley never did care for good clothes; so when he told me that he was going to lead the ball with Mrs. Slade, I said: "How dare you? You are not dressed fit to go to a ball." He said: "I will be the best dressed man in that ball room." I asked him how he made that out, and he said: "I will go down and make Lewis go to bed, and I will take his clothes." Lewis was a man about Charley's size, who had just bought the store of the Lott Brothers. He was probably the best dressed man in Nevada. Charley went down and persuaded him to go to bed, and in that way Charley became the best dressed man at the ball, and actually led the grand march with Mrs. Slade...” [Whose husband he had recently helped hang]

Charley was one of the healthiest men, and one of the toughest men I ever saw. *Nothing could tire him. He was in the habit of taking a bath every night before he went to bed, in cold water. I had tried to get him to come up and live with me, because I was afraid that some of the band would kill him. These minute men, as we called them, came down one night, and I noticed they stopped -- and I looked out, it was moonlight -- and saw them in front of Charley's cabin. He was taking a bath when the minute men knocked at the door. He said: "Come in," and four or five rushed in, and found him standing ready for his bath, with a gun in each hand. And he said: "Gentlemen, what can I do for you?" That outfit was down to get him, but Charley Brown never allowed anyone to take him by surprise.”*

Charley Brown died in Alaska, where he was sent by the United States government, as an expert veterinarian, to examine into the cause of disease among the reindeer. He has a son, and one or two daughters living in Miles City...” [**Charles Beehrer in “History of Southern Montana” by Noyes]

*Nevada City, early mining town located a short distance from Virginia City, Montana

**As well as being Charlie Brown’s friend, German-born Charles Beehrer was a well-known early Helena MT brewer who later sold his brewery to a friend named Kessler. Some of the historic buildings still stand at the west end of Helena. In operation into the 1950’s.

Mar 1864

The Helena independent [Story told in the newspaper dated Dec 15, 1890]

<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83025308/1890-12-15/ed-1/seq-5/>

NOT ALL VIGILANTE ACTIONS RESULTED IN A HANGING....

<p>AN OLD-TIME REFORMER.</p> <hr/> <p>How the Vigilance Committee's Envoys Dealt With a Suspected Horse Thief.</p> <hr/> <p>Morgan Heeded the Warning and Afterward Was Elected Sheriff of Choteau.</p> <hr/> <p>The Party Crossed Lower Main Street When There Was Not a Cabin in Last Chance.</p>

In March, 1864, old man Clark, Jim Balch, Dutch Charlie Brown, Capt. Jim Williams and John X. Beidler were ordered by the vigilance committee to go down on the Fort Benton road and hang a man named Morgan. It seems Morgan came overland from the states with a party of emigrants bound for Washington Territory. He had a wife and children whom he abandoned and left to make their [way] with the emigrants over the rough country as best they could. He stopped on the Dearborn, married a Black foot squaw and commenced a career of crime by driving emigrant teams into the mountains and stealing them and aiding the road agents in their plans and depredations until the vigilantes were compelled to take notice of him. The party, consisting of the five men

above named, left Virginia City on horseback, with two pack animals to carry their blankets and provisions. It was in early March and the weather was cold and disagreeable. On arriving at the Jefferson river they found it partly frozen over at the old Indian ford, so that it was dangerous to cross, but they finally effected a passage near Jefferson canyon. There were no ranches, pleasant homes, flocks and herds in the valleys of Montana then, and the traveler had to shift for himself. After crossing they followed the Jefferson until they struck the mouth of the Boulder, then followed up that stream to where the capital of Jefferson county now stands and camped overnight three miles above there. In the afternoon, as they were traveling along, they saw six horses feeding in the foot-hills, and finding no owners for them they took the animals along. The horses were fat and sleek and looked fine. The party had instructions to look out for all stray horses and for any remaining road agents that might be encamped in the mountains. A great many had been hanged, it is true, but it was thought that others of the same gang might be lurking about, ready to rob and murder at the first opportunity.

They had to remain in camp the next day on account of a terrific storm, and were without shelter other than that afforded by the old cottonwood trees that stood on the banks by the stream. Next morning, just at break of day, they were aroused by a loud and angry voice asking why they had stolen his horses, and on looking out it was discovered that they were surrounded by three men who had the camp covered with their rifles. The voice of the leader of the attacking party was recognized by X. Beidler and they were invited to come into camp, which they did. It proved to be Ed Thomas and two companions, who were prospecting and who lived in a cabin close to where the horses were found grazing the day before. Thomas and party missed the horses and followed the trail immediately, supposing they had been stolen by horse thieves. Mutual explanation followed and all sat down and took breakfast together. After bidding each other goodbye the party, with X. Biedler, went on up the Boulder, intending to cross into Deer Lodge

PART 1: 1834-1876

pass and look out for stragglers, but were obliged to turn back on account of snow. Up in Boulder canyon they found a party consisting of Sam McCain, Judge Irvin, Bob Coburn and H. P. A. Smith, trying to mine. X. and his party came down the Boulder and crossed over the range where the old stage road is and camped. During all this time it was snowing heavily. Next day they followed down the Prickly Pear and camped eight miles from Helena. At this point they met Judge Corbett and a party endeavoring to prospect the ground. Corbett's camp was about starved out and they were living on venison straight. X. and his party had bought a hog previous to their departure from Virginia, from a Mormon freighter, and had most of it with them. In the morning when breakfast was over, they had a frying-pan about half full of grease, and having no further use for it, were on the point of throwing it away, when the judge's party called out to them to hold on, that the grease was just what they wanted to fry venison in. X. said it was duck soup for them. They got the grease and were welcome to it. Leaving here the party crossed Last Chance gulch near the lower end of Main street and went over to Ten Mile, about where the fair grounds are now situated, and camped for the night. There was plenty of deer and antelope, but they were on business and had no time to hunt. They crossed Last Chance before it was known by that name. Gold was not discovered by John Cowan and party until late in the fall of 1864, and but little mining was attempted until the spring of 1865, when a number of other rich gulches were discovered and the town of Helena became an important center of trade. The Prickly Pear valley was a barren waste so far as human habitation was concerned. Not a soul lived there, nor was there a single cabin in what is now the capital of Montana.

Next day they saddled up and went by the way of Diamond Springs as far as Basin, but there was no habitation there then. They camped at the Little Prickly Pear for the night and pulled out the next morning by way of Lion Hill and reached Wolf Creek by sundown. They were then on the Old Mullan road, which was built from Butte to Walla Walla. This road followed an old Indian trail nearly all the way. The trail was doubtless originally made by game in their semi-annual migrations, and was afterwards followed by the Indians, then enlarged into a wagon road and now the Northern Pacific has the right of way—a regular progression from the lowest to the highest.

Lion Hill afterwards derived its name from the fact that a man named Lion accidentally shot himself there while in the act of taking a gun out of a wagon. It is a tough old hill of smooth, solid slate, with just enough loose sand to make it very difficult for an ox team to ascend. It is nearly a mile long. How the old freighters used to swear and whoop, and yell at their teams till the summit was reached.

At the foot of Lion Hill is Medicine Rock creek. A traveler passing down the well kept road of Prickly Pear canyon to-day would hardly see it, but it has been a witness to many a curious orgie. On its banks stood the old medicine tree of the Blackfeet, around which they danced in wild delight, and to which they made their offerings. The medicine man who chose this weird spot for his strange incantations must have been a cunning man indeed, for a better place to excite the imagination and wicked passions of savagery could hardly be found.

They went on to the Dearborn next day and there found the home of Morgan, but he was not at home. A Blackfoot squaw and several children were at the cabin, which composed the family of the much desired man. There was one white man at the ranch and the Indians were coming and

PART 1: 1834-1876

*going all the time. The white man was very anxious to know what Biedler's party were "out on" and then endeavored to quiet his suspicious by telling him that they were going to Benton for supplies. But he evidently informed Morgan of their presence by Indian runners, and he kept out of their way, fearing his sets had been noted by the vigilantes and that they were after him. After remaining at the ranch a couple of days they became satisfied that he had been posted and was on the alert, and there was little prospect of catching him, so they told the white man at the ranch what they had come for; that they were after Morgan and had come there for the purpose of hanging him, but if Morgan would mend his ways and report to the committee at Virginia City they would spare his life. They then left on their return trip to Virginia City. A strong chinook wind was blowing and the spring thaw had set in, making the roads bad and covering the country with water. Arriving at Virginia **their action was sanctioned by the committee.** Their course proved to be wise and humane in the end, for Morgan did report to the vigilance committee and afterward became a good citizen and was elected sheriff of Choteau county. He is dead now, having passed "over the river" quietly at Fort Benton some years ago. **They saw only six or eight white men on the entire trip. It was a hard and almost thankless task, undertaken in the interest of justice, and was but one of many expeditions which ended differently for the parties sought.**"*

May 26, 1864

By 1864, Alder Gulch alone had a population of around 14,000 [Lt. Bradley's diary]. The miners helped kick the territorial population to a level where Montana became a United States territory. The first territorial capital was at Bannack. The capital moved to Virginia City in 1865 and to Helena in 1875. Statehood was achieved on **November 8, 1889** when Montana became the 41st state.

July 1864

Gold Discovered In Last Chance Gulch [Helena]

Charlie had been in Montana over a year by this time. He was now 29 years of age.

"Later he was one of the party which gave the suggestive name to Last Chance Gulch..."

[Source: Marion Ulmer Brown, Granddaughter, writing in 'As We Recall']

1865

6 Apr 1865

Wife Fredericka's 1st marriage to Jacob Mandercheid

Tennessee, County Marriages, 1790-1950

<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QKH9-JNTZ>

SEE A PICTURE OF THE ORIGINAL MARRIAGE LICENSE IN PART 4 - PHOTOS

Marriage Date: 06 Apr 1865

Occurring 3 days before Robert E. Lee surrendered to Ulysses S. Grant

Event Place: Shelby County, [Memphis] Tennessee, United States

Jacob's original signature appears on the document.

Writing in “*As We Recall*”, Laura Manderscheid Brown Zook notes the following re. her father Jacob and her mother Fredericka (née Lange): “*Mother was the real pioneer in our family. I have heard her tell many times of the ocean voyage in an open sailing vessel out from Bremen, Germany, to New Orleans, North America, ’40 days and 40 nights with no assurance of reaching port. ’...Mother and her brother just younger came over in the care of a minister and his family...At New Orleans a lower Mississippi River boat was taken that brought them to Memphis, Tennessee where they all stopped for a while. Later Uncle Ernest [aka *ERNST LANGE] went to St. Louis where in time he became a wholesale grocer, married and had a family of 10 children...Mother sympathized with the slaves--never quite feeling the abuse of the overseers as was either humane or necessary. She was married to Jacob Manderscheid in 1864 [Error: 1865] and lived in Memphis until 1867 when finally they settled in Sioux City [IA]. My father [**JACOB] was born in Alsace Lorraine about in 1834 [same year as Charlie]. The mother [Jacob’s] and four children died in an epidemic when he was only a boy and shortly after grandfather came to this country, married again and had two more boys and a girl. Of that family I knew nothing except of my father’s youngest half-brother--UNCLE JOHN [Manderscheid, see bio on next page] who had three daughters and two sons. At one time, they all lived in Sioux City. My father passed away--as did my twin brother--early in 1869, leaving Mother, my sister Emma, born Jan. 16, 1865 [in TN] and myself, born Nov. 15, 1868 [in IA]. Evidently I was not considered worth raising since Mother always said I was laid aside on a pillow for 6 weeks before they took the trouble to weigh me, which was exactly 2 ½ pounds...my head fitted into a teacup...*

***Fredericka’s brother Ernst. [More about Ernst in Part 4]**

<https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/70274709/ernst-f-lange>

I have the will of Ernst Lange, in which his father’s name is given: Wilhelm Lange, “late of Nord Hanstedt.” This would be the **father of Fredericka** and, perhaps, her hometown. Nord Hanstedt is a town in Lower Saxony, about 20 miles south of Hamburg. I have done some small research on the Lange’s, not included here.

“Mother was married to Jacob Manderscheid in 1864 [1865] and lived in Memphis until 1867, when they finally settled in Sioux City. My father was born in Alsace-Lorraine about 1834. His mother and four of her children died in an epidemic when he was only a boy. My father and my twin brother passed away in 1869, leaving Mother, my sister Emma, born January 16, 1865, and myself, born November 25, 1868...” [LEWIS]

****This could be Jacob Manderscheid’s passenger list...**

You may need a subscription to view it.

https://www.ancestry.com/interactive/7484/LAM259_44-0094?pid=561349&treeid=&personid=&usePUB=true&phsrc=SZt4406&phstart=successSource

Ancestry.com: [New Orleans, Passenger Lists, 1813-1963](#)

M259 - New Orleans, 1820-1902 - 44

Name: Jacques Manderscheid -

[First name was written in French by French port authorities. He is listed on the manifest as originally being from Luxembourg. [See Iowa bio below.]

Arrival Date: 30 Mar 1857 - Port of Arrival: United States

Birth Date: abt 1837 - Age: 20 - Gender: Male

Port of Departure: Le Havre, France

Ship Name: Cynosure

Alsace-Lorraine had shared German and French history and bordered both countries, so Jacob's departure from LeHavre in France and the spelling of his name, *Jacques*, in French, would not be unusual. Luxembourg, see below, is also a close neighbor with a shared history.

I feel the information from Iowa (below) has a direct relationship to Jacob, although I have not researched it any further. Possibility....**Could this be 'our' Jacob Manderscheid [read the last paragraph] <http://iagenweb.org/boards/jackson/biographies/index.cgi?read=46542>**

“Hon. John Manderscheid is a fine representative of the German element that has done so much toward the development of Jackson County [Iowa], and is an important factor in its present material prosperity. He was a pioneer of the county, and is one of the most prominent and influential of the German settlers in the northwestern part of the county. He has for many years been closely connected with its agricultural interests, and owns and occupies one of the finest farms in Richland Township.

*Our subject [Hon. John Manderscheid] was born May 12, 1833, in the village of Neudorff, in the German Province of Luxembourg [located next to Alsace-Lorraine]. His father, Henry Manderscheid, was a native of the same village, where his father, also named Henry, a farmer, passed his life. The father of our subject was a stonemason by trade, and became a contractor in that line. In the year 1856 he left his native land forever to found a new home for himself and family in the United States of America, and, locating in Tete des Morts Township, this State [Iowa], bought 100 acres of land, and devoted the remainder of his life to agricultural pursuits, excepting the last year of it, which he spent in retirement in Le Mars, where he rounded out eighty-two years of existence, in 1877. Politically, he was a supporter of the Democratic party; religiously, he was a Catholic, firm in the faith of his fathers. **The mother of our subject died in Germany while yet a young woman, in 1840.** Her maiden name was Mary Margaret ANSCH, and she was born in the German Province of Luxembourg, where her father, Henry Ansch, was a farmer. Four children were born of her marriage: Peter and Henry died in Germany; **Jacob was a victim of the late war, in which he served three years, and contracted a disease, of which he died.**” [I believe the Hon. John Manderscheid in this bio was the ‘Uncle John’ referred to by Laura on the previous page.] Like many Civil War soldiers, Jacob Manderscheid may have contracted a disease during the war, lived with it for a few years, then finally succumbed. This was not uncommon.*

One more bio of John Manderscheid, as well as his [photo](#), appears at this Iowa Legislative site. <https://www.legis.iowa.gov/legislators/legislator?ga=20&personID=4223>

The above might help any family member wishing to research further.

April 15, 1865

LINCOLN ASSASSINATED

July 13, 1865

“THE PORT NEUF AFFAIR” - MORE VIGILANTE BUSINESS

In July of 1865 a stagecoach running between the goldmines in Helena, Montana Territory, and Salt Lake City, Utah Territory, was held up and its several passengers murdered. The coach was carrying about \$60,000 in gold dust. The driver, a man named Williams, had collaborated with the robbers and purposefully drove the stage into an ambush in an area of thick sagebrush in Port Neuf Canyon where the road agents were waiting. Afterward, driver Williams, the only survivor, was cleared of suspicion; however, he later was noted to be spending large sums of money in Denver and came to the attention of Montana’s Vigilantes, who immediately set out after him. **Charlie rode with them on a horse named ‘Dime’.**

[Story told by Charles Beehrer, aka Charlie the Brewer, a German friend of Charlie Brown’s, to A. J. Noyes, author of the “History of Southern Montana”]

*“Charlie Brown came into my room in my brewery, which was afterward the Kessler [in Helena], and told me he wanted “Dime,” a fine thoroughbred mare. I believe she was as nice a mare as ever came to Montana. He took the mare and rode to Blackfoot. I did not see him for a little while, until I had returned to Nevada [Nevada City, Montana Territory, not state], - when he came in and said: “Hello, Charlie.” I said: “Where’s Dime!” “Oh, she is all right,” he said. I had four guns hanging on the wall, and he picked out the best one, and said: **“I want this gun, and your best revolver.”** I asked him if some other would not do as well, and he said, “No, this is what I want. Is it loaded?” I said: “Yes.” “Well, give me \$50.00 also.” “Is that all you want!” I asked indignantly. His reply was yes. I asked him what he was going to do, and he said that he was going to Denver after Williams, the man that drove the coach in the Port Neuf robbery. This man Williams had driven my team from Denver to Virginia [City], and had come to me and told me that he was going on the road. **Brown did not return to Montana for several months.** When he came back, he reported that he had caught Williams and hung him to a cottonwood, about five miles from Denver.”*

This story is corroborated by a story told by pioneer John C. Innes in the same book, “History of Southern Montana” by A. J. Noyes: **“I was with Charlie Brown when he arrested [Fred] Williams, the driver of the stage that was held up at Port Neuf, near Denver, 1865, late in the fall, November or December.”**

ROBBERY, ARREST AND CONFESSION.—Charley Brown, “the easy-going, but expert Montana Detective,” says the “Vedette” of the 10th inst., arrested Frank Avery, late of Montana, for robbing Mr. John Gibson, late of Fort Hall Station, of \$3 000 in gold. At a faro table, Avery produced a sack which excited Charley’s suspicion, and he pressed him so shrewdly that he confessed it was Gibson’s. The purse contained \$1,200; the remaining \$1,800 he had doubtless spent. Avery was lodged in jail; and this isn’t all—“thereby hangs a tale,” as the phrase goes.

1866

While in Denver, shortly after Port Neuf...

February 17, 1866

The Montana Post

The easy-going but expert
Montana Detective...



A scant two weeks later,
Charlie was again in the news.
The last line of the news item
indicates that perhaps Mr. Avery from the
preceding page was hanged.

<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83025293/1866-02-17/ed-1/seq-2/>

FAIR PLAY.—We are requested to give place to the following "card" and the reply. No person who knows **Charley Brown** will believe him guilty of what the card sets forth. He has resided in this city, off and on, since the 26th day of July last, and no one here ever heard him make such a representation. We think the Montana Marshals have been imposed upon:

A CARD.

Whereas, one **Charley Brown**, alias "Dutch Charley," formerly of this Territory, has represented himself to persons in Utah and Nevada to be a Deputy of the United States Marshal of this Territory, for wrongful and improper purposes. Now, therefore, we, the undersigned, who are the only persons holding appointments from George M. Pinney, United States Marshal, as Deputies, give notice to all persons whom it may concern, that said **Chas. Brown** is not now and never has been employed by the said United States Marshal to perform any service whatever.

Dated, Helena, M. T., April 6th, 1866.
NEIL HOWIE,
J. X. BIEDLER,
J. H. FEATHERSTUN,
N. T. LAWRENCE,
Deputy United States Marshals.

Salt Lake City, U. T., April 17th, 1866.
EDITOR **VEDETTE**: In reference to the above card, I will simply state that I never represented myself to any person or persons, either in Utah or Nevada, as a Deputy United States Marshal of either Idaho or any other Territory. The signers of the "card" should have known me better than to believe the report upon which they base so serious a charge. My business is honorable—I have no need to pass myself off as any one other than what I am.

Yours truly,
CHAS. BROWN.

—["*Vedette*," April 19th.]

NEWS FROM COLORADO.—We learn from the Denver "News" that on the night of the 30th, small pieces of white paper, cut in the shape of a coffin, were pasted by some unknown persons on the doors and windows of nearly every house in Denver, and that the body of a man was found hanging from a tree up Cherry creek, "having an enlarged counterpart of the mysterious coffin and a cross pinned to its breast." A letter from John G. Stevens, of Walker & Bro.'s train, dated "In Camp, near Fort Lupton, C. T., January 31st, 1866," states that on the previous evening, a wooding party discovered the bodies of three men hanging to the branches of a cottonwood tree. No papers were found on them by which they could be identified. Two were dressed in dark, citizen's clothing; the other had military pants, and a civilian's coat and vest. A man of the train declared that he had often seen one of them in Denver, but didn't know him. On the breast of each was painted a black coffin and red cross. They were buried at the foot of the tree. A large crowd of mounted Vigilantes had been there, and from the horse tracks it appeared that they had come from, and departed in, the direction of the city. Those who have reason to fear the Vigilantes are trembling in their boots.

May 5, 1866

The Vedette

**"...I have no need to pass myself off
as any one other than what I am."
[Chas. Brown]**

Left is Charlie's Utah newspaper response to a claim that he had falsely presented himself as a U. S. Marshall, which was highly offensive to him. Printed in the *Vedette* in UT. It was republished in the *Montana Post* in Virginia City, MT Territory.

Charlie made sure his response was published in Utah's first daily non-Mormon newspaper, the *Vedette* (see last line). Although he didn't have many to choose from, he likely had a little pull at this particular paper. It was published by soldiers at Camp Douglas, Utah Territory, near Salt Lake City. The military newspaper was named the *Vedette*, referring to a mounted sentry or picket who has the function of bringing information, giving signals, or warnings of danger, etc., to a main body of troops. In modern terms, the

soldiers who man listening-posts are the equivalent of vedettes. Charlie would have known Camp Douglas well and likely had been there previously while with Col. Patrick Connor, who established the camp and newspaper just before the Bear River Massacre, in which Charlie was a civilian participant in 1863. Utah digital newspapers had an interesting online excerpt: "*The Union Vedette of Salt Lake is a thorn in the side of Mormonism. It is a Daily journal, published*

under the guns of Camp Douglas, and the 'Destroying Angels' are not disposed to molest the audacious little sheet. It is the enemy of polygamy and the affects of its broadsides are beginning to be seen and felt. Were the Federal Troops to be withdrawn from Salt Lake City, the Vedette would not long be permitted to assault the sacred symbols of Mormonism." In February 1866, the Enterprise added: **"The Vedette is the Wooden Horse entered into the Troy of Polygamy."** We know that Brigham Young did not like Col. Connor or the Fort he built overlooking SLC; he considered Connor to be spying on the Mormons, which he was.

May 1866 - Jul 1870

There is no documentation for this 4-year period of Charlie's life that I could find. However, by Dec 1870 he had married the widow of his friend, Jacob Manderscheid, in Sioux City IA. Since he was at Camp Douglas, near Salt Lake City, in the spring of 1866, it is possible he headed back to Montana where he kept busy until he received notification of the death of Jacob in 1869. The fastest way for him to get to Sioux City would have been to head north to the Missouri River, which would have taken him by steamboat directly to Sioux City. Or he could have gone to SLC and taken a train east. It is also possible he visited his sister Lena Durheim and her family, still living in Tennessee at that time (see discussion earlier). His whereabouts are unknown for sure.

1869

Charlie's future wife, Fredericka (née Lange) Manderscheid, is widowed in Sioux City, Iowa.

1870

1870 US Census [Dated July]

Ancestry.com

Just a few months prior to his marriage to Fredericka in December of 1870, Charlie appeared on a July census for 1870 in **Sioux City IA**. His occupation is listed as, **"Working in Stable"**. Of course, what else! His birth year is correctly calculated as 1834 on this census. Württemberg [a German state] is shown as his place of birth, which is also correct.

Fredericka and the girls do not appear on the 1870 Census for Sioux City. Perhaps they are with her brother near St. Louis or are living in a smaller town near Sioux City. Can't find them anywhere.

Name:	Charles Brown
Age in 1870:	36
Birth Year:	abt 1834
Birthplace:	Württemberg /
Home in 1870:	Sioux City, Woodbury, Iowa

By now, Charlie has spent one-half of his life in Germany, the other half in America. Time for another major change.

MARRIAGE

In 1870, **at the age of 36**, Charlie returned to 'the States' from one of the territories (Montana/Dakota/Utah?) to marry a woman said by his family to be the widow of a good friend. Jacob Manderscheid died in 1869 near Sioux City IA where his family [wife Fredericka and two daughters, Emma and Laura] were living at the time. Charlie had been in the Salt Lake City area in 1866, so I'm not sure when or where he started his trip east to Iowa. As well, I cannot find either a death record or a cemetery record near Sioux City for Jacob Manderscheid, or an infant unnamed child [twin brother to Laura], who apparently died about the same time, per Laura's memoirs. It's possible an epidemic of some disease, perhaps typhoid or cholera, took them both. **The name is spelled Mandercheit on the fuzzy old one-line marriage record, below.**

22 REGISTER OF MARRIAGES.		
Date of License.	Names of Parties.	Age or Consent.

51	John H. Campbell	Mary E. Allen
	Charles Brown	Fredericka Manderscheid
	Wm. H. Allen	Mary E. Allen

"Iowa, County Marriages, 1838-1934," (<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QJDS-WSPJ> : 26 September 2017), **Charles Brown and Fredericka Manderscheid, 31 Dec 1870, Woodbury County, Iowa**, United States; Citing reference, County courthouses, Iowa; FHL microfilm 1,451,551.

Fredericka may have gotten more than she bargained for in her second marriage. There is little evidence of her life or personality other than she had a storefront and sold ice cream in early Miles City, and she may have been the keeper of the family dairy herd. An obituary written by a family member appears in Part 4 which gives us a small taste of her personality. Obviously, she was as hard-working and enterprising as Charlie; but perhaps she thought that after the hardship of her first husband's death, as well as the death around the same time of a baby boy, life was going to be much more stable with Charlie home to take care of them all. I'm sure life was much better; but, nevertheless, she spent a good deal of the rest of her marriage alone while Charlie was away working at diverse occupations or on a new adventure somewhere. She had to have been a very independent woman. I'm sure Charlie saw to it that his wife and children were well provided for, but he was absent a good deal of the time while accomplishing that objective. At least in Miles City, she had her children and friends around her to cushion the loneliness that must have existed. The same for many pioneer women, I'm sure.

They apparently lived in Sioux City only a short time after their marriage, because Laura's memoirs begin in Moorhead MN by 1872.

1871

Democratic **German unification was achieved**, 19 years after Charlie left his homeland. A good thing he didn't wait around!

MOORHEAD MINNESOTA 1872-1878

Moorhead was located on the old stage road from St. Paul to Fort Garry, then a Hudson Bay Company location (now named Winnipeg). Charlie drove his freight team on the 250-mile route for several years. The town was laid out in September of 1871 and issued its first newspaper on July 6, 1872; one month later, we can find the first written mention of Charlie Brown. At that time, Moorhead's population was about 700-800 hardy pioneers.

*"In late 1871 [1872] we came to Moorhead, Minn...I can see the train yet, guarded by soldiers...the Indians had tried to ditch the train by placing grass ropes across the tracks and [therefore the reason for] the [military] guards with their funny visored hats and guns held straight in front of them...**Pa Brown was waiting for us.** Moorhead was only a handful but situated on the Red River of the North on which we were to have many a canoe ride...it was there we saw immense sheets of dough baked upon the top of the stove and hung upon a line among the rafters to dry, to be used as bread during the season. Flaat Brod [Ed. Norwegian Flatbrød/flatbread] is the nearest I can spell its name...we used to love it...we gathered nuts for winter use, fruits and berries for jams and jellies. Here too we had brought our big shepherd dog from Sioux City to pull our sleds up and down the toboggan slides." They went over into ND at Fargo, just across the Red River from Moorhead, for a farm life in the summers. "...I can taste the turtle soup yet made from turtles caught on the place and the delicious fish and ducks from the same small lake...**Pa Brown had a freighting outfit between Moorhead and Old Ft. Gerry [Garry], Canada...**Kid was born May 1, 1873 I think [aka George Adolph Brown, Charlie's only son]. ...**Our summers were spent on a farm on the Fargo side of the river.** There we saw Mennonites from Canada who harvested the wheat. We were introduced to an eye-opener in the etiquette of eating food from a kettle with the fingers (a la Eskimos, I fancy) even though the table was set and there were implements that could be used. Afterwards when we were old enough to understand, Mother told us these people preferred to cook and eat their food in their own fashion. I wonder what they thought of four sturdy youngsters standing watching goggle-eyed at their table manners..." [LEWIS]*

Charlie lived apart from his family much of the time while hustling up a living. Wife Fredericka and four children (Emma, Laura, Flora and Adolph) lived in **Moorhead MN between 1872 and 1878** before moving permanently to Milestown at the confluence of the Tongue and Yellowstone. Charlie spent a good deal of time near Bismarck and Fort Abraham Lincoln, beginning around 1874; but his years in Miles City, from 1877 to 1898, would be the most constant of their marriage, as well as the most settled of Charlie's life.

1872

Fort Abraham Lincoln was built. Custer was its first commanding officer. Dakota Territory was setting up to become Charlie's home away from home.

Spring 1872

*"...my earliest recollection is that of setting beside my mother in a railroad coach watching some men in uniform standing with guns in their hands at each end of the coach and some inside. Too young to know the reason, was later told they were guarding the train against attack of Indians. **This was between Sioux City, Iowa and Moorhead, Minn. which we reached in the spring of 1872...**"* [KAMPSCHROR]

Aug 31, 1872

Red River Star [Moorhead]

The first mention of Charlie in the Moorhead area.

The newspaper indicates he has a letter being held for him.

Sep 1872

Red River Star [Moorhead]

"1,008,690 pounds of freight passed through our warehouse, destined for Fort Gerry way in the month of August last. This freight was hauled from here to Frog Point in wagons. The long string of teams seen in our streets every day gives a business look to our town not seen elsewhere west of the Mississippi." Looks like Charlie had good prospects for freighting!

1873

Stanley Expedition - Testing out Charlie's later route to Montana.

Designed to protect engineers surveying a route west from the Missouri at Bismarck for the Northern Pacific Railroad. This was an important expedition whose maps had later bearing on the route to the Battle of Little Big Horn. Col. David S. Stanley was commanding, and Lt. Col. G. A. Custer's 7th Cavalry, and others, also participated. It was a large wagon train expedition over previously unknown country along the Yellowstone River. Custer made good use of this information when he again traveled part of the Stanley Route in 1876, **accompanied by Charlie and the wagon train.**

May 1873

Railroad track layers are within 24 miles of Bismarck. Soon, Charlie can head further west from Moorhead, but only if a bridge across the Missouri is completed...In the end, that wasn't to happen for several more years.

May 3, 1873

Red River Star [Moorhead]

Birth of son Adolph in Moorhead. [Actual DOB was May 1]

PART 1: 1834-1876

“Charley Brown must be a happy creature. It’s a young teamster weighing twelve pounds. Who wouldn’t be a father?” I have included additional information about Kid Brown’s life later in this document. Like his father, Kid also led an adventurous life. (See Part 3)

June 1873

Red River Star [Moorhead]

“Co’s D and I of the 7th U. S. Cavalry, Col. Reno commanding, are at present writing, encamped near this place [Moorhead]. It is a fine body, with an able set of officers.”

July 12, 1873

Red River Star [Moorhead]

Starting his livery business with good wishes

“Charles Brown recently returned from St. Paul, whither he went in quest of a complete outfit for a first class livery stable. One light wagon and one carriage have arrived and are essentially just the thing. We know of no one who is more deserving of success than ‘whispering Charley’ and wish for him full reward for his enterprise.” Interesting he is called ‘whispering’, because later, in Montana, his voice was also referred to as quiet while storytelling. As an acclaimed auctioneer in Miles City, his voice must have carried into a crowd with full effect, so maybe this reference to ‘whispering’ refers to his rapport with horses.

Aug 2, 1873

Red River Star [Moorhead]

ADVERTISEMENT: *“A large supply of meats, fish and vegetables. If you wish to take a drive, Charley Brown’s”*

Sept 6, 1873

Red River Star [Moorhead]

Now moving west into Dakota Territory

“Charley Brown is extending his drayage business to Bismarck on the Missouri.”

Oct 11, 1873

Red River Star [Moorhead]

Cass County Fair Results - [Fargo, across the river from Moorhead]

Races...1st Place Trotting: Charley Brown; 2nd Place Running: Charley Brown

Dec 20, 1873

Red River Star [Moorhead]

“Chas. Brown and Lon Allen in the livery and team-keeping business, are doing well and will succeed, according to the ‘measure’ of their merit, which, by the way, is as great as they individually are great citizens.”

1874

Black Hills Expedition - The catalyst to the road to the Little Big Horn Battlefield.

Charlie did not accompany this wagon train, led by Custer, to my knowledge; although he was in Bismarck by this time. See a great photo of this wagon train in the 1876 section.

The Black Hills of Dakota were [and are] sacred to the Sioux Indians. **In the 1868 treaty, signed at Fort Laramie and other military posts in Sioux country, the United States recognized the Black Hills as part of the Great Sioux Reservation, set aside for exclusive use by the Sioux people.** In 1874, however, General George A. Custer led an expedition into the Black Hills accompanied by miners who were seeking gold. Once gold was found in the Black Hills, miners were soon moving into the Sioux hunting grounds and demanding protection from the United States Army. Soon, the Army was ordered to move against wandering bands of Sioux hunting on the range in accordance with their treaty rights. In 1876, Custer, leading an army detachment, encountered the encampment of Sioux and Cheyenne at the Little Bighorn River. Custer's detachment was annihilated, but the United States would continue its battle against the Sioux in the Black Hills until the government confiscated the land in 1877. To this day, ownership of the Black Hills remains the subject of a legal dispute between the U.S. government and the Sioux. <https://www.archives.gov/education/lessons/sioux-treaty>

Mar 7, 1874

Red River Star [Moorhead]

*“Charley Brown has a **gum boil on the south side of his eye**. This, in addition to the old top-knot, sets him off handsomely. Whether these afflictions are the occasion of eating too much sourkraut, betting on horse racing or telling truthful yarns, the writer knoweth not”* [Written by Moorhead newspaper editor, W. B. Nickles, who is obviously joshing him once again.]

May 16, 1874

Red River Star [Moorhead]

Emma Brown, Charlie’s stepdaughter, is on the “Roll of Honor” for no tardies or absences.

Jun 6, 1874

Red River Star [Moorhead]

If it isn’t gold, it’s oil; Charlie still has prospecting in his blood!!

“Charley Brown was seen digging for oil on the levee this week...”

ADVERTISEMENT

*“The latest drink in Moorhead is **“Cremation Whiskey”**. It requires but a single draught to set the imbiber on fire. If it don’t burn him up in this world, it will in the next.”*

July 24, 1874

Red River Star [Moorhead]

Charlie buys a farm and a new suit of clothes! The Editor is delighted to rib him.

*“Chas. Brown has hay seed in his hair, has deserted his first love--has turned granger--has turned inside out, appearing in a new suit of ‘cloz’. Having no respect for his hereafter and totally disregarding the good opinion of his friends, has been and gone and done it--has bought a farm! **He will henceforth raise stock--by planting horse radish--on F. Pinkham’s claim, on the Dakota side, where all wishing onions and things will find him. Good bye Charlie, etc.”***

Sep 5 1874

Red River Star [Moorhead]

"Custer's great traveling humbug has returned from the Black Hills."

[Black Hills Expedition of 1874] Charlie did not travel on this one.

Sep 25, 1874

Red River Star [Moorhead]

"Charles Brown has moved his family residence upon lots lately purchased North of the Court House, on the corner, where he will build a neat and comfortable front residence." I would assume his livery business was located at the back of the same property.

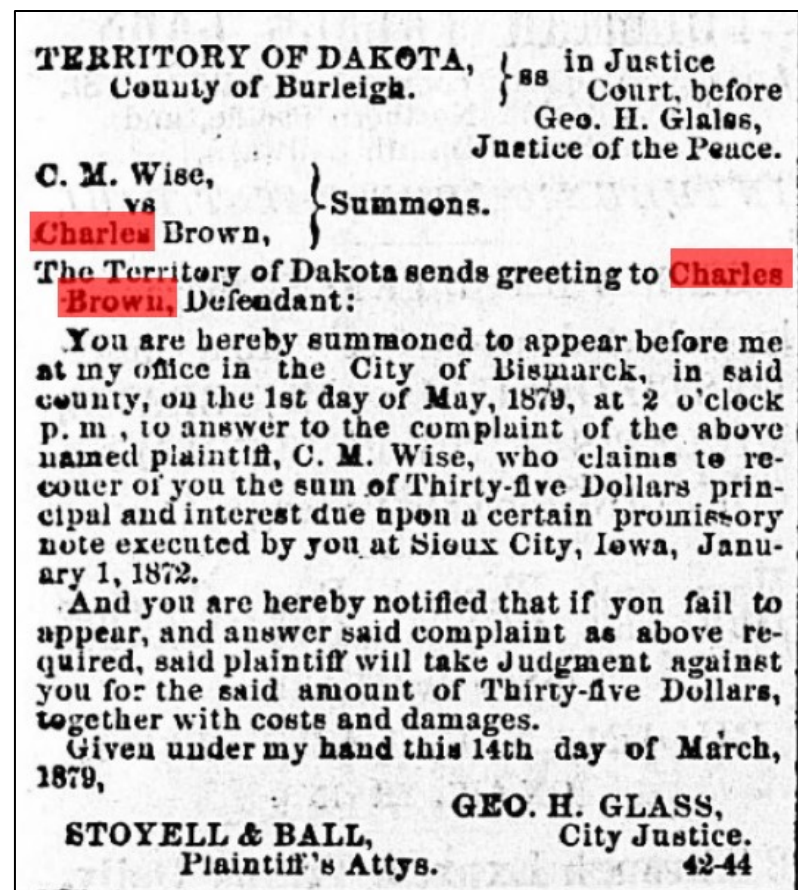
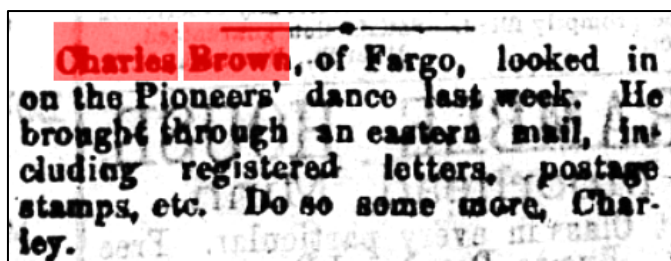
Dec 16, 1874

Bismarck Tribune

"...Do some more Charley"

Charles Brown looked in on a dance and brought the eastern mail... He was then living in Moorhead MN, across the river from Fargo.

<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84022127/1874-12-16/ed-1/seq-4/>



Charlie has apparently forgotten to square up with a man in Sioux City IA before he left for Moorhead MN. The man hasn't forgotten him! I don't know whether the judge found for Charlie or the Plaintiff, but it would have been unlike Charlie to not make good on his debts. He was very principled. Perhaps there was more to the story.

1875

Feb 6, 1875

Red River Star [Moorhead]

Moorhead House Built

Newspaper building stats mention Chas. Brown is building a residence. An earlier article, dated Sept. 25, 1874, places the house on the corner north of the courthouse.

Jun 1875

Minnesota State Census - Moorhead, Clay County, MN

Charlie indicates he was born in Württemberg, GER; his age is given as 48 on this census [41 would have been correct]. One of several sources over the years that differ as to his year of birth. Fredericka is shown to be Age 35. No POB is shown for her. Emma, Age 11, b. Tennessee - Laura, Age 9, b. Iowa - Flora, Age 7, b. Minnesota; Adolph, b. Minnesota. On the 1875 census, living in close proximity to the Brown family, are three more names I recognize from Miles City history: The **LARKIN** family, **COMSTOCK** family, and the family of **CHARLES SAVAGE**. Charles Savage and Charlie Brown were known as the “**Two Charlies**” in an 1878 Moorhead newspaper article [see below] as their families began their journey together from MN to Miles City in 1878.

Jul 31, 1875

Red River Star [Moorhead]

Runaway Horses

“Charley Brown’s horses, on Monday last, had Goose Rapids on the brain.”

Sep 11, 1875

Red River Star [Moorhead]

“Charley Brown has the lumber on the ground ready for building the main part to his present residence.” Appears that he built his house in stages, beginning the previous year in September, and now adding to it. As money and time allowed, I’m sure.

Oct 20 1875

The Bismarck Tribune

*“Richard Marvin, P. M. [Postmaster?] at Duluth, and **Chas. Brown** of Moorhead are in town visiting.”* He’s beginning to spend larger amounts of time west of Moorhead, in Bismarck, DT.

Dec 24 1875 - Charlie’s 41st birthday

Yankton [SD] Press and Dakotian

“Charley Brown has men and teams at work cutting and storing ice for the railroad company. He will put up about 400 tons for them.” **Christmas or not--Birthday or not, Charlie was out hustling up a living, far from his family in Minnesota.**

December 1875

THE BEGINNING OF THE ROAD TO THE LITTLE BIG HORN....

Of course, the finding of gold, the coming of the railroad across the treaty lands and westward-moving pioneers looking for land, plus a few of the Indians who refused to adhere to the boundaries of the treaty lands entirely and who were seen as encroaching on settlers off the ceded land--all made for a situation of unrest. Eventually, President Grant used these as a convenient reason to forcefully make the Sioux return to the reservations. **In December 1875 he dictated that all Indians must return to the established reservations prior to January 31--a nearly impossible feat considering the short time allowed and the wintery conditions.** When

some Indians either could not, or would not, comply, Grant ordered the military intervention that paved the way to the Little Big Horn.

New Indian policy: Return to reservations before January 31st

“... In the 1868 treaty, signed at Fort Laramie and other military posts in Sioux country, the United States recognized the Black Hills as part of the Great Sioux Reservation, set aside for exclusive use by the Sioux people. In 1874, however, Gen. [Lt. Col.] George A. Custer led an expedition into the Black Hills accompanied by miners who were seeking gold. Once gold was found in the Black Hills, miners were soon moving into the Sioux hunting grounds and demanding protection from the U.S. Army...”

<https://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=false&doc=42>

Five months later, in May of 1876, **Charlie** was off on an entirely different adventure as Chief Wagon Master on his way into history as part of the ‘Big Horn Expedition’ in Montana Territory. Grass never grew under his feet! And a diary never entered his mind either!

1876

CHARLIE AS MASTER OF TRANSPORTATION FOR THE LITTLE BIG HORN EXPEDITION

TRAVEL WITH CHARLES BROWN AND A HOST OF OTHER HISTORICAL FIGURES IN THE SUMMER OF 1876.

MUCH OF THIS ENTIRE SECTION IS BASED ON QUOTED EXCERPTS
FROM BOOKS AND DIARIES. EACH SELECTION IS AIMED AT LETTING THE
READER VISUALIZE CHARLIE’S CHALLENGES ON AN ARMY WAGON TRAIN.

AS YOU READ EACH DAY, IMAGINE WHERE HE WAS AND
WHAT HE WAS EXPERIENCING IN THE MOMENT.

I’ve learned one important fact in researching an historical event such as the Little Big Horn. Many accounts, written long after the event, are sometimes suspect with regard to accuracy. Firsthand accounts, such as diaries written in the immediacy after an incident, are many times more likely to be correct in detail because of the fact that the writer’s opinions and politics have not swayed his views over time. No time to rearrange the story to suit a personal agenda. Of course, you have to take what you get, as many accounts of 1876 were, indeed, written long after the battle. I’ve learned to accept information cautiously, and from more than one source. My personal approach is to try to find at least three sources that agree before I consider the information likely accurate.

Family stories said Charlie was the wagon boss with Custer. In my research I’ve found documentary evidence of the truth of that story, including his hiring records from Fort Abraham Lincoln, where this historic expedition set out in May of 1876.

Primary Sourcing Used...

1. [CLARK]
“**Supplying Custer--The Powder River Depot, 1876**” (2014) by **Gerald R. Clark**.
Most especially, I am indebted to Mr. Clark, the author, who so ably placed a timeline on Charlie’s wagon train and helped me accurately place the locations of the depots. This was a fascinating book carefully researched and written by a retired BLM archaeologist. Personal copy.

2. [ESG]
“**The Godfrey Diary**” - **The Field Diary of Lt. Edward Settle Godfrey...**”
Big Byte Books (2016). A Medal of Honor winner and survivor of Benteen’s company of the 7th Cavalry. Considered to be one of the most detailed and accurate accounts of the LBH. This paperback also includes an interesting article written by Godfrey in *Century Magazine* in January 1892. Also online at:
<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015008302633;view=1up;seq=25>

3. [GRAY]
“**Centennial Campaign - The Sioux War of 1876**” by **John S. Gray (1988)**
This is perhaps one of the most well researched and least biased accounts of the 1876 battle. A must read. Personal copy.

4. [BRADLEY] and [CARROLL]
Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana - Vol. II (1896)
Includes (2) sections written by LBH survivors Bradley and Carroll
https://books.google.com/books?id=l8E6AQAAMAJ&pg=PA140&dq=diary+of+matt+carroll&source=gbs_toc_r&cad=3#v=onepage&q=terry&f=false
 - A. [BRADLEY]
Diary of Lt. James H. Bradley, with Gen. Gibbon at the LBH. He was an amateur historian who survived the LBH but died just one year later, in August of 1877, at the Battle of the Big Hole in Montana. An outstanding diarist and a loss to frontier history! **Begin Pg. 140**

 - B. [CARROLL]
Diary of Matt Carroll of the Diamond R Freight Line - Civilian Master of Transportation for Gen. Gibbon [same job as **Charlie** had under Gen. Terry]. Matt Carroll spent time in Miles City later, and Charlie would have known him well; their businesses were across the street. **Begin Pg. 229**

In 1877, Carroll was appointed the first ‘Post’ trader at the new cantonment at the confluence of the Tongue and Yellowstone--soon to be **Fort Keogh**.
<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84036143/1877-02-22/ed-1/seq-7/>

Carroll Obituary:
<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85053157/1909-02-10/ed-1/seq-5/>

5. [DEWOLF]

1- Diary of Dr. James M. DeWolf

Transcribed and Editorial Notes by Edward S. Luce

<http://history.nd.gov/publications/dewolf-diary-letters.pdf>

Killed with Reno on the LBH Battlefield. DeWolf had served with the regular Army during the Civil War and entered Harvard Medical School at nearly over-age for the military. This was his first [and last] medical assignment after graduation. Although a greenhorn, he wrote descriptive letters to his wife.

2- “A Surgeon With Custer at the Little Big Horn.” James DeWolf’s Diary and Letters, 1876” Edited by Todd E. Harburn (2017). Personal copy.

6. [TERRY]

Diary of Gen. Alfred H. Terry

Big Byte Books (2016)

Commanding Officer of the Sioux Campaign of 1876. Charlie had direct contact with Terry, as well as Terry’s Quartermaster, Lt. Henry J. Nowlan, who was likely the person who hired Charlie as Chief Wagon Master. Personal copy.

7. [STANLEY]

Stanley Expedition of 1873 - War Dept. Correspondence (PDF Version)

https://archive.org/stream/reportonyellowst00unit/reportonyellowst00unit_djvu.txt

8. [MARSH]

“The Conquest of the Missouri, Being the Story of the Life and Exploits of Captain Grant Marsh” by Joseph Mills Hanson (1909)

Legendary riverboat captain on the Mississippi, Missouri and Yellowstone Rivers.

While transporting the wounded from the LBH to Ft. Lincoln, Marsh’s speed record was never broken. He was a good friend of Samuel Clemens/Mark Twain, who had served as his 2nd mate at one time and who thought highly of Marsh.

<https://archive.org/stream/conquestofmiss00hans#page/n11/mode/2up/search/powder>

9. [WAR DEPT]

War Department Correspondence

Good Military Reports from the War Department

Gen. Terry and Col. Nelson Miles reports, etc.

<https://books.google.com/books?id=D62lhPF-xugC&pg=PA473&lpg=PA473&dq=kirtland%27s+camp+gen+terry&source=bl&ots=WzZP7vKkS6&sig=vZKXfzIQ9J4W4G1c1ywU9751eDQ&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwiRgrqN18TbAhXG61MKHU9vAfMQ6AEwDHoECAEQAAQ#v=onepage&q=kirtland's%20camp%20gen%20terry&f=false>

10. [NPS]

National Park Service

Little Big Horn Battlefield National Monument - Historical Handbook

https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/hh/1a/hh1a.htm

11. [MEDDAUGH]

“Diary of S. L. [Samuel L.] Meddaugh, 6th U. S. Infantry, Covering the Indian Campaign Along the Yellowstone River from May to September, 1876.” Meddaugh’s commander was Maj. Orlando H. Moore, whose 6th Infantry troops remained as guards for Charlie’s wagon train at the PRSD when Terry and Custer headed toward the LBH.
[Copy courtesy of the North Dakota Historical Society]

12. [MILES - 1]

“The Unregimented General”. A biography of Gen. Nelson A. Miles by Virginia W. Johnson (1962). The lives of **Charlie** and Miles intertwined from the Powder River Depot and the Little Big Horn in 1876 to Alaska at the end of the 19th Century. Charlie worked and socialized at Fort Keogh and later traveled to Alaska under the supervision of Miles’ personal aide, Capt. William R. Abercrombie. Personal copy.

13. [MILES - 2]

“Personal Recollections of Gen. Nelson A. Miles” (1896)
Full of colorful, descriptive word pictures of the times Charlie lived in.
Miles was a very good writer with an appreciation of the times in which he lived.
<https://ia802703.us.archive.org/18/items/personalrecollec00milerich/personalrecollec00milerich.pdf>

14. [LEWIS]

“Sketches of Laura Brown Zook’s Early Life,” as reported by Mrs. Gene (Margaret Zook) Hoff. Written by Cheryl Dee Lewis, Montana State College History Class Paper (1964). Mrs. Hoff was a great-granddaughter to Charlie.
[Courtesy of the Montana State Historical Society]

15. [KAMPSCHROR]

“Laura Zook, Miles City Pioneer”
Term Paper Written by Janice Kampschorr, Montana State College (1953)
[Courtesy of the Montana State Historical Society]

16. [WARHANK]

“Abstract Fort Keogh: Cutting Edge of a Culture”
By Josef James Warhank [December 1983]
<https://www.ars.usda.gov/ARUserFiles/30300000/History/ftkeogh.pdf>

17. [GRAUMAN]

“Fort Keogh”
Written by Custer County High School student Kathy Grauman in 1965.
<https://mtmemory.org/digital/collection/p103401mck/id/52/>

18. [MAP]

Terrific 1878 Army Corps of Engineers map of Montana. Shows in detail the Yellowstone River country. University of Wisconsin-Madison.
<https://collections.lib.uwm.edu/digital/collection/agdm/id/8673/rec/9>

19. OTHER SOURCES ARE NOTED IN FULL WITHIN THE DOCUMENT

20. FORTS AND SUPPLY DEPOTS THAT PLAYED A PART IN 1876

A. STANLEY’S CROSSING, aka STANLEY’S STOCKADE. Located on the *right bank of the Yellowstone, approx. 8 miles upstream from the confluence with Glendive Creek. Site of an earlier 1873 supply depot used by Col. David Stanley while surveying for the Northern Pacific Railroad. First used by Gen. Terry in 1876, it was later deemed to be too far east logistically and was abandoned.

B. GLENDIVE CREEK SUPPLY DEPOT/CANTONMENT

Located on the *left bank of the Yellowstone at the confluence with Glendive Creek. It was mostly used at the end of the summer of 1876 as a supply point for materials being sent to establish the Tongue River Cantonment [later to become Fort Keogh].

C. [PRSD] POWDER RIVER SUPPLY DEPOT

Downstream and right bank from the confluence of the **Powder River** and Yellowstone River. Distance between the Powder River and the Tongue River confluences = 40 river miles. Pg. 232 [CARROLL] Approx. 35.5 miles today. **This is the supply depot where Charlie held the wagons during the battle on June 25-26, 1876.**

D. TONGUE RIVER CANTONMENT

Near the confluence of the **Tongue River** and Yellowstone River
The original cantonment was downstream from the confluence on the right bank. Later renamed **Fort Keogh** and moved upstream a bit.

E. ROSEBUD CAMP, later nicknamed FORT BEANS

Near the confluence of **Rosebud Creek** and the Yellowstone River
So named by the soldiers because there were already forts named Rice and Pease. The name ‘Fort Beans’ was not given to the Rosebud Creek Supply Depot until after the LBH Battle, per Gerald Clark, author of ‘Supplying Custer’.

F. BIG HORN CAMP near OLD FORT PEASE

Near the confluence of the **Big Horn River** and Yellowstone River
Old Fort Pease was located “...about three miles below the mouth of the Big Horn on the left bank of the Yellowstone...” [CLARK]
Another old newspaper source said 6 miles below the mouth and opposite the confluence.

The standard for determining *right bank vs. *left bank is the same today as it was in 1876. Both refer to the location on a river or stream in relation to an **observer facing downstream**. Always picture yourself facing downstream in order to determine left bank or right bank. There are many references in diaries in this document that denote one or the other.

In addition, I read at least **150 HOURS OF NEWSPAPERS**, both online (many at the Library of Congress site, ChroniclingAmerica.com) and in microfiche collections at the Miles City MT Carnegie Public Library and at the Clay Co., Minnesota, Historical Society in Moorhead MN. **My thanks to both libraries.**

OTHER RECOMMENDED READING....

Supplying the Frontier Military Posts

By Raymond L. Welty

May 1938 (Vol. VII, No. 2), pages 154 to 169

*Transcribed by Larry E. & Carolyn L. Mix; HTML editing by Tod Roberts;
digitized with permission of the Kansas Historical Society.*

<https://www.kshs.org/p/supplying-the-frontier-military-posts/12750>

**Participants in the Battle of the Little Big Horn: A Biographical Dictionary of Sioux,
Cheyenne and United States Military Personnel**

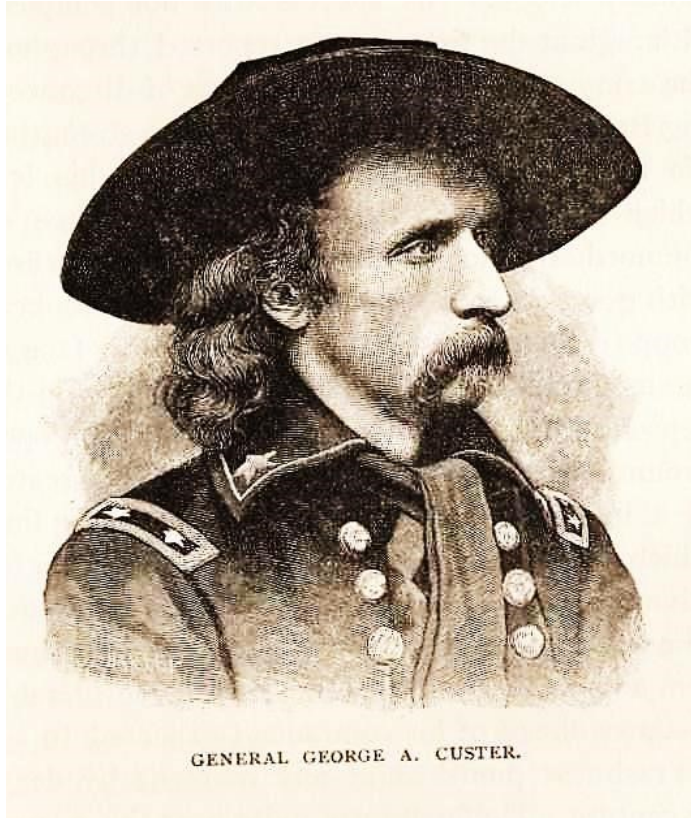
By Frederic C. Wagner III

List of searchable newspapers in Montana:

<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/newspapers/?state=Montanaðnicity=&language>

List of historical newspapers. University of Montana

<https://libguides.lib.umt.edu/newspapers/montana>



**BATTLE OF THE
LITTLE BIG HORN**

**Called the
'Battle of the Greasy Grass'
By the Indians**

**Fought on Jun 25-26, 1876
Near Present-Day Hardin MT**

*The Battle Was an Element of the
'Sioux Wars of 1876'
aka the
'Big Horn Expedition'*

*Picture as shown in the memoirs of
Gen. Philip H. Sheridan. (1888)*

Although often referred to as 'General' Custer, his permanent rank at the time of the Little Big Horn Battle was correctly **LT. COLONEL GEORGE A. CUSTER**. He had been given several brevet [temporary] promotions in the field for meritorious duty during the Civil War, and he is considered to be the youngest Brigadier General [Age 23], as well as the youngest Major General in the history of the Army.

He graduated dead last in his class at West Point in 1861 but fought with distinction during the Civil War and was present at Appomattox when Lee surrendered to Grant. (The table on which the surrender was signed by Grant and Lee was later given by Gen. Sheridan to Custer's wife, Elizabeth.) Custer's two brothers, Tom and Boston, were also killed at the Big Horn, as well as a nephew (Reed) and a brother-in-law (Calhoun).

Ten years after the formation of the U. S. Army's 7th Cavalry at Ft. Riley KS in 1866, troops personally led by Custer were all lost, to a man, on the battlefield at the Little Big Horn. An Indian scout, Curley, escaped to tell his story, as well as one horse named Comanche. The how's and why's of the battle are many--ultimately, much is still hotly debated today, especially regarding who was to blame. **I have no new insight into the battle. I am only interested in Charlie's part in the story.** Fortunately for Charlie, as the civilian chief wagon master [aka Master of Transportation], he was left with the wagon train at the Powder River Supply Depot [PRSD], located near the confluence of the Powder and Yellowstone Rivers, a good distance

downstream from the battle, and, therefore, did not meet the fate of the others. Once again, he was in the right place at the right time.

Charlie would have rubbed elbows with most of the major players in the historic battle:

Custer, Terry, Benteen, Nowlan, Reno, Keogh and Moore and many others. He knew the famous scout who died with Custer, “Lonesome” Charley Reynolds, as well as several of the Indian scouts, including Curley, the only Indian survivor with Custer who brought out the first news of the battle to the riverboat *Far West*. **Charlie** would have made passage on the steamers the *Far West* [piloted by Grant Marsh, legendary riverboat captain] and the *Josephine*, among many others. He may have met Buffalo Bill while Cody spent time scouting for Gen. Terry at the Powder River Depot after the battle...and numerous other personalities, including Yellowstone Kelly, who played a part at the Little Big Horn and in Alaska later in Charlie’s life. Col. Nelson A. Miles, Fort Keogh’s first commanding officer and later Commander of the US Army, was someone Charlie knew well in Montana and later in Alaska.

Charlie himself, however, did have his own opinions afterward on the outcome of the LBH, as noted by his stepdaughter, Laura Manderscheid Brown Zook, in her memoirs.

“...He [Charlie] always said Gen. Custer was neither long haired nor scalped, was a brave man, a smart Indian fighter and Pa blamed Reno and Benteen, especially Reno, for dismounting their men in spite of the fact the men begged them to let them go to Custer’s aid, if Reno and Benteen would not...there was no doubt in Pa Brown’s mind but that Custer did the right thing, for Reno and Benteen were plain cowards and so for lack of a little pluck nearly 300 men were sacrificed...”

Laura also noted Charlie’s presence after the battle...

“...Pa Brown had gone in 1876, was with Custer’s Wagon Train, camped on this spot--mouth of the *Tongue River--and so was among the first to be on the battleground of June 25, 1876. Think Pa said they reached it about July 6...” *[Discussed below, see Jul 6, 1876]*

*Powder River was the correct location of the wagon train

At the time of the Battle of the Little Big Horn, the military command structure was comprised mostly of veterans of the Civil War, most of whom knew each other well. Not all of them liked one another, however. Military politics and personalities clashed on many occasions. Custer had both his admirers and his detractors; Reno seems to have been the least liked by both officers and troops. **Charlie** apparently fit into the admiration category for Custer and in the ‘not-so-much’ category for Reno. General Terry seemed generally well liked by all, although he had little experience fighting Indians. For that, he depended on Custer.

1876 - COMMAND STRUCTURE

Ulysses S. Grant, President of the United States

Gen. William T. Sherman, General of the Army (4 Stars)

Lt. Gen. Philip H. Sheridan,

Commander of the Division of the Missouri, (3 Stars), Chicago IL

DAKOTA COLUMN - PRONG #1

Brig. Gen. Alfred H. Terry, Commanding the Dept. of Dakota, St. Paul MN



Gen. Alfred Howe Terry

The Dakota Column included Lt. Col. Custer, then Commander of Fort Abraham Lincoln in Dakota Territory. Major Marcus Reno and Capt. Frederick Benteen and the 7th Cavalry were all under Custer. **Charlie Brown led the wagon train accompanying the Dakota Column as they left Fort Lincoln on May 17, 1876.**

*“...The Dakota Column included all 12 companies of the 7th Cavalry. Numbering about 600 officers and troopers, the regiment stood at little more than half its authorized strength. In addition, there were **two companies of the 17th Infantry and one of the 6th to guard a train of 150 supply wagons [with Charlie as wagon master]**, a detachment of the 20th Infantry serving three rapid-fire Gatling guns, and about 35 Arikara [aka Ree] Indian scouts. Altogether, the Dakota Column numbered about 925 officers and enlisted men...”*

[A History and Guide to the Battle of the Little Bighorn by Robert M. Utley, 1988]

https://archive.org/stream/custerbattlefiel88nati/custerbattlefiel88nati_djvu.txt

WYOMING COLUMN - PRONG #2

Brig. Gen. George Crook, aka ‘the Gray Fox’, Commanding the Dept. of the Platte, Omaha NE.
Started from Fort Fetterman, Wyoming Territory on May 29.

MONTANA COLUMN - PRONG #3

Col. John Gibbon, Under Gen. Terry, Commanding the Montana Column

Started from Fort Ellis, Montana Territory about the first of April.

Matthew Carroll, of Diamond R Freight fame, was Charlie’s counterpart [Wagon Master] under Gen. Gibbon.

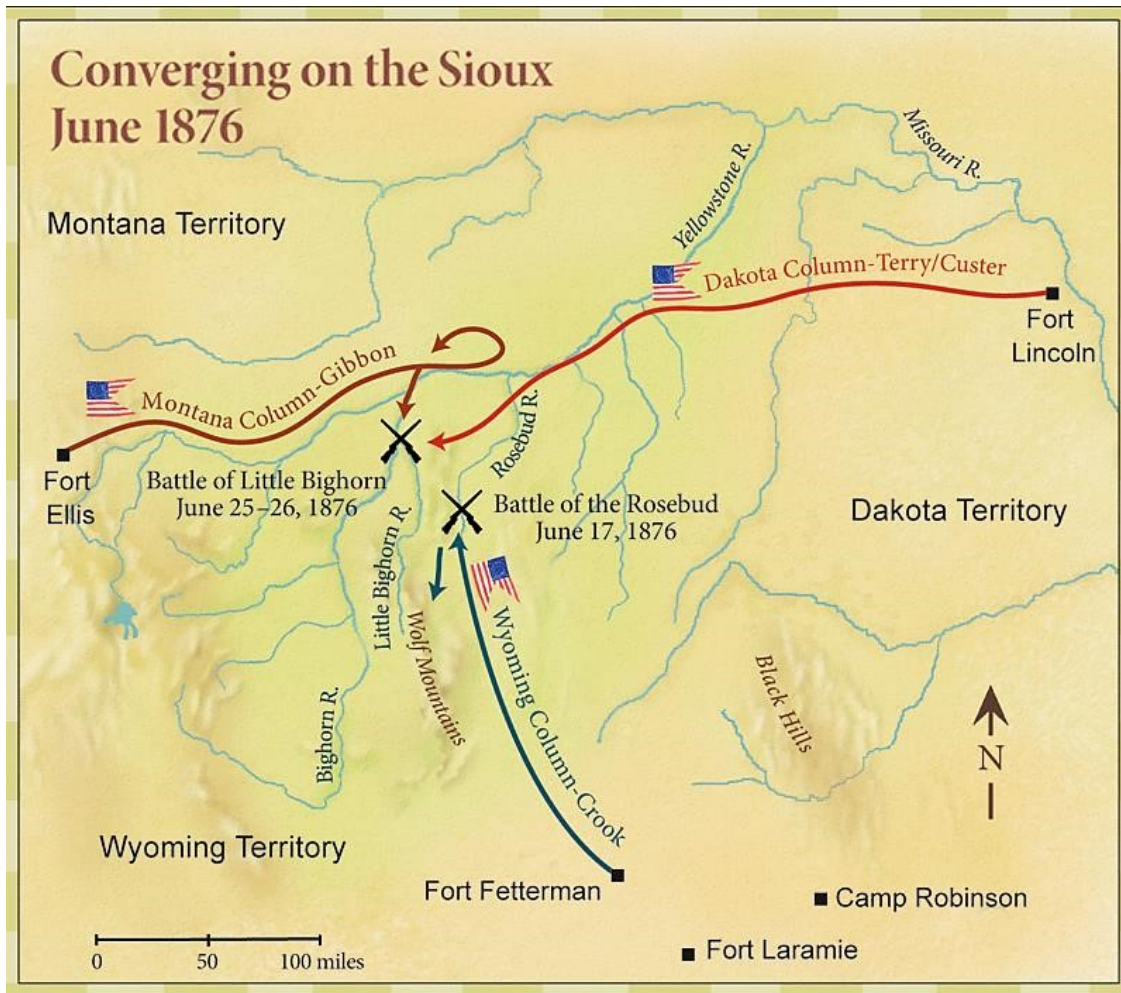
GEN. SHERIDAN'S 3-PRONGED STRATEGY (BACKGROUND)

General Terry's movements (map, next page)

https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/hh/1a/hh1b.htm

*“The plan of this campaign was to march into the hostile Indian territory with three separate expeditions from different directions. In the spring of 1876, a military force under the command of **Brig. Gen. George CROOK** moved northwest from Fort Fetterman, Wyo. Gen. Alfred H. Terry, Commander, Department of the Dakota, and in charge of the operations to the north, organized two separate columns. **Gen. John GIBBON**, with a force of cavalry from Fort Ellis, Mont., and infantry from Fort Shaw, Mont., started in April and moved slowly east down the Yellowstone River. **General TERRY** started from **Fort Abraham Lincoln, Dakota Territory, on May 17, 1876**, with two companies of the Seventeenth United States Infantry, one company of the Sixth United States Infantry, and the entire Seventh United States Cavalry, numbering in all about 925 men. Lt. Col. George A. Custer and his Seventh United States Cavalry headed the column as it left the fort at the beginning of the westward march...” [National Park Service]*

NOTE: Two prongs of this strategy, Gibbon's and Terry's, finally came together on June 21, 1876, four days prior to the Battle of the Little Big Horn. The third prong, that of Crook, coming from Wyoming, encountered a serious Indian attack on June 17 that sent his troops back to a camp near Sheridan WY with their dead and wounded, thus putting them well behind schedule to meet Gibbon and Terry and unable to be of any help at all during the battle. In fact, news of the battle did not even reach Crook until July 10. Even the prongs of Gibbon and Terry did not reach the battleground until June 27, after the battle was finished, and were also of no help to Custer's doomed command. Two hundred sixty-three **(263) men died in battle**; an additional five died from wounds afterward.



Source Unknown

March-April 1876

General Terry quietly heard in February 1876 from General Sheridan that a campaign against the Indians was being planned. **The Quartermaster at Fort Abraham Lincoln, near Bismarck, Dakota Territory, Lt. Henry J. Nowlan, began hiring civilian personnel and scouts for the expedition in early spring 1876.** The expedition had originally been scheduled to leave in early April, but weather and Custer's absence while testifying against President Grant's brother in Washington DC held up the expedition several times until mid-May.

HIRING AND PAY RECORDS FOR CHARLES BROWN

Charlie was chosen as the 'Master of Transportation' for the entire wagon train heading toward the Little Big Horn. I contacted the **National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) in Washington DC**, and they provided the following information regarding his hiring in March, 1876. It appears he first was hired on as a minor teamster contractor, but within six weeks he **gradually increased his prominence in the eyes of the military commanders**, finally becoming the 'Master of Transportation' for the entire wagon train of approximately 175-200 wagons under his supervision. His pay went up commensurate with his titles. This was typical Charlie. He made an impression on those who knew him, and his skills with animals (and people) made him a standout.

Information from the NARA:

“We searched under Army Reference Report # 31: War Department Records Relating to the Battle of The Little Big Horn, June 25-26, 1876.

Within Reference Report # 31, we searched Record Group 92: Records of the Office of the Quartermaster General, Entry 238: Reports of Persons and Articles Hired (1818-1905). More specifically, we searched Reports of Scouts and Civilians Hired for the Sioux Campaign. We were able to identify Brown under RG 92, Entry 238 File # 328-1876 (Bin 234) pertaining to Terry's Column.

Under File # 328, Bin 234, contained the *Report of Persons and Articles Hired by Lieutenant H. J. Nowlan [Quartermaster] at Fort Abraham Lincoln, Dakota Territory, 1876.*

This oversize volume indicates **Charles Brown was hired circa March 11-12, 1876 as Wagon Master** to be a part of driving trains in the Train for Lieutenant Colonel G. A. Custer's Expedition. Charles Brown was to receive about **\$15/month.**

Approximately April 11, 1876, Wagon Master Charles Brown was to be paid **\$20/month.** It appears by circa April 21, 1876 that **Charles Brown was promoted to Chief Wagon Master earning \$30/month.**

It appears that by June 1876 Charles Brown became the Master of Transportation, taking charge of the Wagon Train for the entire Custer Expedition. During June 1876, Charles Brown was to be paid \$100/month.

After the Battle of the Little Big Horn, this volume indicates that **Charles Brown remained the Master of Transportation through September 30, 1876** earning about **\$60/month.** Master of Transportation Charles Brown's Wagon Train operated in Montana Territory after being transferred to the A. A. Q. M. in the Tongue River region. [Ed: I note that the US Army was not going to pay Charlie one cent beyond what was needed after the battle. They handled their budget responsibly in those days. After the LBH, he worked for Col. Nelson A. Miles in the Tongue River District, an enduring association with Miles that would carry him to Alaska just before his death in 1900. See Part 3.]

It's not hard to see why **Charlie, then 42 years of age and at the prime of his life,** may have come to the attention of hiring Quartermaster Nowlan. Bismarck was a small community then, and word got around, I'm sure. It could have been through a contract for either water hauling or wood cutting at Fort Lincoln, not the first or last time he had done that. But his experience at handling wagons and animals for the military previously under Col. Patrick E. Connor in Utah and Idaho in the early 1860's and in New Mexico at Glorieta Pass during the Civil War probably set him up most favorably by the Army to ultimately be chosen as Master of Transportation for the expedition. He also had some experience within the territory the expedition would travel because of his days of mining and traveling east from western Montana to marry in Sioux City

PART 1: 1834-1876

IA in 1870. In addition, he had several years of freighting experience while living in Moorhead MN with his family in the early-to-late-1870s. **He was an experienced frontiersman.** Again, his superior skills, intelligence, organizational capabilities (shown again and again during his life in Miles City and later in Alaska), as well as his gregarious and social personality were usually well known within any community where he lived or did business. He was just that sort of man. Quartermaster Nowlan acted as such for both Custer, then the commanding officer of Fort Abraham Lincoln, and also for Gen. Alfred Terry, commander of the entire 1876 expedition. Since Charlie was not chosen as Master of Transportation initially, but instead advanced upward from March to June, 1876, he was likely not known personally by the command at Fort Lincoln prior to 1876; otherwise, his skills would have been utilized immediately. He had to prove himself, which he did rather quickly.

The images shown below are the actual 1876 Quartermaster records from Fort Abraham Lincoln, Dakota Territory, courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) in Washington DC. The Regimental Quartermaster was 1st Lt. H. J. Nowlan, the Custer Expedition's organizing and hiring officer, as well as the person responsible for retrieving and burying and otherwise laying to rest the bodies of those killed on the battlefield later.

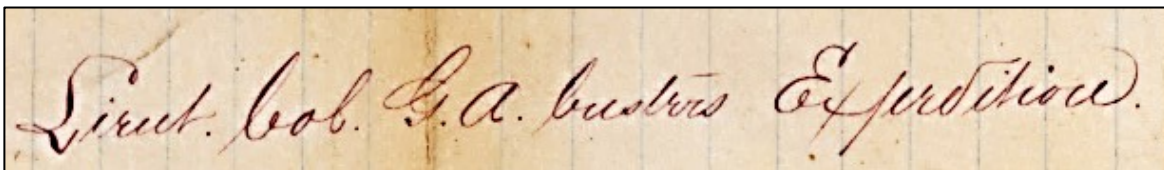
Charlie's hiring and pay records appear on the same pages as several of the quintessential figures of the Battle of the Little Big Horn, including guides/scouts W. F. Cody, Bloody Knife, Interpreter Girard and Scout Reynolds, as well as Custer's brother, Boston Custer. The records read across two long ledger book pages from L to R, so I've taken smaller pictures of specific areas that will allow the reader to see some of the pertinent information relating to Charlie's employment on the wagon train.

March 11, 1876 - [NARA Ledger Image #1]

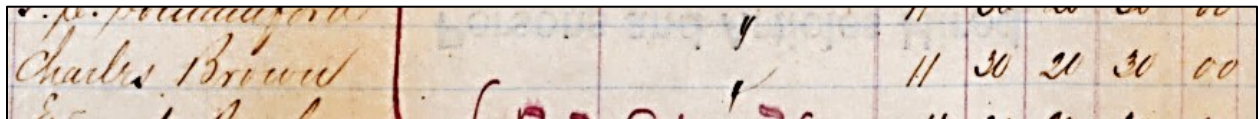
First Hired at Fort Abraham Lincoln, Dakota Territory

"Lieut. Col. G. A. Custer's Expedition"

First salary payment: Mar 11-30, 20 days, \$30.00



Lieut. Col. G. A. Custer's Expedition.



Charles Brown	11	30	20	30	00
---------------	----	----	----	----	----

Mar 25, 1876

Red River Star [Moorhead]

Charlie is on duty and hard at work shortly after his hire.

"Karl Brown, wagon master of the Indian Expedition is busily engaged in moving wagons and supplies from Fort Abercrombie to this place for shipment to Bismarck. Some fifteen 6-mule teams arrived Thursday. **Custer's expedition against the Indians in the Yellowstone is**

PART 1: 1834-1876

outfitting out here in Moorhead.” [Moorhead was Charlie’s home at the time, so he was well-positioned to work near home for a short while. Ft. Abercrombie is just south of Moorhead.]

April 1-30, 1876 - [NARA Ledger Image #2]

Title now “Wagon Master in Train for Expedition” - Pay now \$75.00/month

April 1-24, 1876 - [NARA Ledger Image #9]

The line below for April of 1876 seems to indicate that Charlie had been working at Fort Abercrombie (south of Moorhead where he lived) prior to being hired on at Ft. Abraham Lincoln. His hiring date is shown as March 12 on the same line.

ARTICLES AND NAMES OF PERSONS.	DESIGNATION AND OCCUPATION
Charles Brown	Wagon Master

DATE OF CONTRACT, AGREEMENT, OR ENTRY INTO SERVICE.	BY WHOM OWNED, AND WHERE
1876 March 12	Ft Abercrombie,

May, 1876 - [NARA Image #3]

“Expedition in the Field on the March Between Ft. Abm. Lincoln and Yellowstone Ri[ver]”

Charlie transitions from Wagon Master to Master of Transportation on May 13, 1876.

Pay goes from \$75/month to \$100/month.

Charles Brown	B 4	Wagonmaster	1	12	12
Charles Brown	B 4	Master of Transport.	13	31	18

PART 1: 1834-1876

In charge of train discharged
 Reorganizing train transf^d from Ft Abercrombie Disch^d 90

June 1876 - [NARA Image #5]

Those employed and hired at "Expedition in the Field Stationed at Mouth of the Powder River, Montana Territory"--Ledger heading.

(Form no. 1.)
 es employed and hired at Expedition in the Field Stationed at Mouth of Powder River A. M. during the month of June, 1876
 Lt. Col. N. S. Reynolds, Regimental Quartermaster 7th Cav. U. S. A.

Frederick	Albert	SB 96	Drum	76
Boston	Custer	237	Guide	
Charles	Reynolds	238	Guide	
Bloody	Knife	239	Guide	
F. J.	Guard	B	Step	Steps
Isaiah	Dorman	240	Interpreter	
Charles	Borowsky		Master Mechanic	
George	Macy		Blacksmith	
Patrick	Hickey		do	
George	Freshman		Wheelwright	

Included in the list above are **Boston Custer**, Lt. Col. Custer's brother; Guide 'Lonesome' **Charlie Reynolds**; and scout **Bloody Knife**, said to be Custer's favorite scout. All died on the battlefield. **Isaiah Dorman**, interpreter, was the only black man to die in the battle.

PART 1: 1834-1876

Charles	Brown	Master Transpt
John	Menson	Asst Wagonmst
Orange	Hadley	do
Oscar	Welsch	do
J. H.	Slack	do
James	Mc Gee	do
Campbell	Gordon	do
Charles	French	do

100 00	In charge of train
45 00	In charge of 25 teams
45 00	do do
45 00	do do
45 00	do do
45 00	do do
22 50	do do
22 50	do do

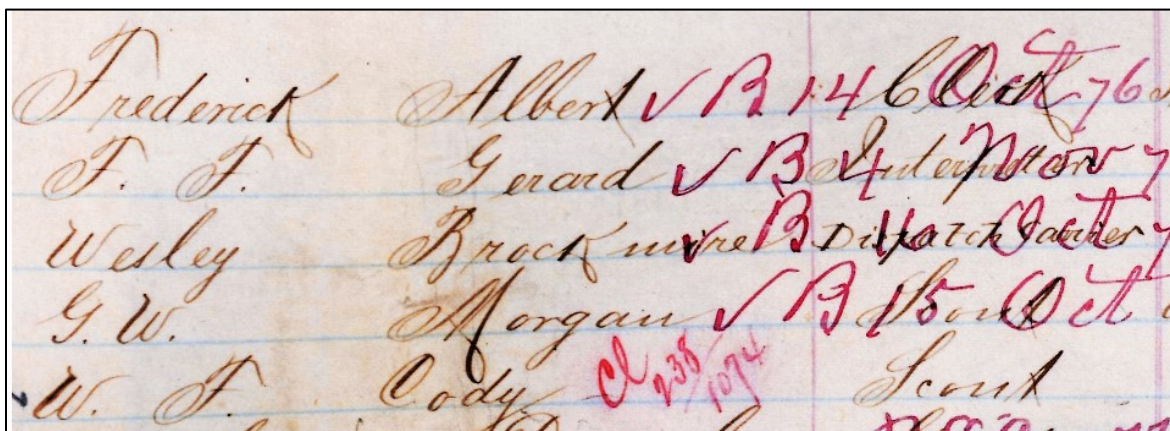
Above....Charlie (top line in both upper/lower photos) is in charge of the entire wagon train. The lines below him list seven additional assistant Wagon Masters, each in charge of 25 teams, a total of 175 wagons, the biggest share driven by civilian teamsters. Most of the wagons were either 6- or 2-mule teams, totaling over 1,000 mules in the entire train. Various sources list the number of wagon as from 150 to 200. The above math says 175 would be a middle ground.

PART 1: 1834-1876

This was a very big responsibility. The hiring Quartermaster recognized his exceptional organizational skills and abilities with people and animals and assigned him accordingly.

After the Battle - Sep 1876 - [NARA Image #7]

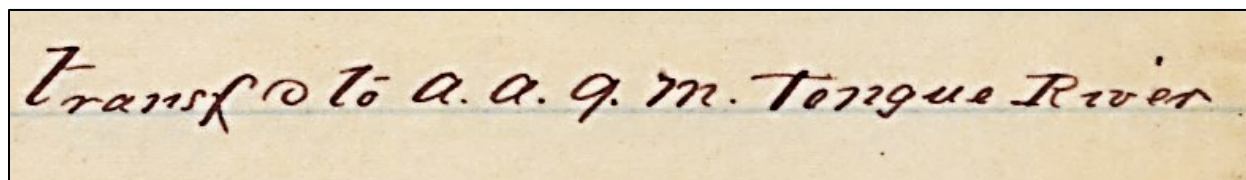
“Employed and Hired in Genl Terry’s Expedition Operating in Montana Territory”
 Quarter Ending September 30, 1876



Above, on this ledger sheet, **Interpreter Gerard** has survived the LBH Battle. **Wesley Brockmeyer**, listed here as a dispatch carrier, was killed at the Powder River Depot on Aug. 6 [See Pg. 164]. He was paid by the job, and his final wage in this ledger was \$100 for a job he completed on July 1, one month before his death. **W. F. Cody** [Buffalo Bill] was also paid by the job--he received \$200 in this ledger for a scout he performed on September 6 [See Pg. 170]. A note says all the above were employed by the Commanding Officer (Gen'l Terry). **Charlie** appears with his usual job description later on this same page.

July 1876 - [NARA Image #8]

After the LBH, Charlie’s ledger entry for July 1876 notes he was transferred to the command of Col. Nelson A. Miles in the Tongue River District. (AAQM is Acting Assistant Quartermaster)



The following are examples of yearly pay for infantry soldiers during the Indian Wars period.

Colonel	\$3500*
Major	\$2500*
Captain	\$1800*
First Lieutenant	\$1400*
Second Lieutenant	\$264
Corporal	\$180
Private	\$156

* An officer paid for his own allotted rations. The fort’s commissary billed him.

In contrast, this is the Army’s pay scale during the Indian Wars, in comparison to Charlie’s salary.

Source:
 Ft. Lincoln Visitor Center

FORT ABRAHAM LINCOLN

FORT LINCOLN. At the time of **Charlie's** association with the Fort, there was no bridge across the Missouri River to the west. The railroad had come to a standstill on the east bank of the river near Bismarck in 1873 due to a financial panic and the resulting bankruptcy of the Northern Pacific Railroad. It was not completed until October of 1882. After the bridge was in place and railroads took the place of riverboats, the Fort's importance slowly waned until 1891 when it was finally abandoned, also signaling the end of an era of steamboat trade. None of the original buildings remained by the 1930's. The area of the fort is now a ND State Park and some of the old Fort buildings have been recreated. The Visitor Center is well worth the trip.

The final journey for the men of the 7th Cavalry began at Fort Abraham Lincoln, situated five miles south of Bismarck, Dakota Territory, on the **right bank** side of the Missouri River. The town of Bismarck was located on the **left bank**. Riverboats and ferries carried men, supplies, wagons and animals back and forth between the two banks on a wide expanse of water. The Northern Pacific Railroad could bring supplies from the East to Bismarck via rail--but that's as far as they could go in 1876. Fort Lincoln, previously named Fort McKeen when created in 1872, was considered a premiere military facility in the Missouri Division in those days. **Its first commanding officer was Lt. Col. George Armstrong Custer**, and he and his wife Libby lived in a large home there. *“Among the 78 permanent wooden structures at Fort Lincoln were a post office, telegraph office, barracks for nine companies, seven officer's quarters, six cavalry stables, a guardhouse, granary, quartermaster storehouse, bakery, hospital, laundress quarters, and log scouts' quarters. Water was supplied to the fort by being hauled from the Missouri River in wagons, while wood was supplied by contract.”* (Wiki)



Fort Abraham Lincoln - 2019
Well worth a visit!

1874

**View of Fort Abraham Lincoln on the West/Right Bank of the Missouri River
5 Miles Below Bismarck, ND**

Photo by Wm. Illingworth - Broken Glass Plate, SD State Historical Society



<https://sddigitalarchives.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/photos/id/58369/rec/31>

May 3 1876

Bismarck Tribune

<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84022129/1876-05-03/ed-1/seq-4/>

“Charley Brown of Moorhead handles the mule train connected with the expedition with distinguished ability. Charles is the right man in the right place.”

Charlie’s credentials always glowed with praise. This is really saying something in an era where nearly everyone knew how to handle a team--his exceptional skills stood out. His talents knew few bounds when it came to animals.

May 10 1876

Bismarck Weekly Tribune

<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84022129/1876-05-10/ed-1/seq-2/>

Gen Terry will command the ‘Big Horn Expedition’, also called the ‘Sioux War of 1876’

*“...The expedition will consist of twelve companies of cavalry under command of Major M. A. Reno, six companies of infantry under command of Major [Capt.] L. H. Sanger, intended to guard the supplies, a battery of fully manned gatling guns, and about seventy-five Indian scouts. The train will consist of about **two hundred wagons**, and one hundred pack mules and will carry sixty days rations...”* [Various sources say from 150 to 200...175 of them were driven by paid contractors, per the NARA hiring records on previous pages; the rest were military.]

Bismarck Weekly Tribune
May 17, 1876 - OFF THEY GO!

Charles Brown is formally listed below as Chief Wagonmaster. Under him, according to this article [Pg. 126], were five assistant wagon masters and 162 civilian teamsters. The article shows troop rosters and statistics of the Expedition moving between Ft. Lincoln and Montana. Only one journalist, Mark Kellogg of Bismarck, was allowed to accompany the expedition, and he was later slain with Custer and his troops on the battlefield. **No photographer accompanied the expedition.** This particular article was said to have been ghost-written by Custer himself, who was known to occasionally submit articles to newspapers anonymously. Notice the flowery description of Custer.



TERRY'S EXPEDITION.
Off for the Big Horn--Roster of Troops--Strength of the Expedition--Notes, News and Jottings.
Special Correspondent of the Bismarck Tribune.
IN CAMP, May 14th 1876.—Your correspondent joined the expedition Sunday and went into camp. At that time the order for march was given for five o'clock Monday morning; but owing to the severity of the storm of Sunday evening, the order was countermanded, and the expedition will not move until Wednesday morning. The appearance of the camp is very inspiring, and brings vividly to mind days ago, during the "late unpleasantness," when grim visaged war stalked boldly over the land. Located three miles below Fort Lincoln, on a beautiful table of land, level as a floor, and on the banks of the Missouri on the east, with a range of coteaus on the west at a distance of two miles; overlooking a panoramic view that is peculiarly attractive. Officers and men

are in the best of health and spirits, notwithstanding the depressing effects of the weather, and eager to move. So far as I have as yet ascertained the outfitting is complete in detail as well as in the aggregate.

Roster.

IN COMMAND.

Gen. Alfred H. Terry.

STAFF.

Capt E W Smith, Adjutant General.
Capt O E Michales, Ordinance Corps.
Asst Surgeon J W Williams, Medical Director.
Lt H J Nolan, Q. M.
Lt R A Thompson, A. C. S.
Lt Edward Maguire, Engineer Officer.
Acting assistant surgeons, Ashton, Porter and Woolsey.

7TH CAVALRY.

Lt Col Geo A Custer, Commanding.
Lt W W Cook, Adjutant.
Lt H J Nowlan, Q. M.
Maj M A Reno, Com'd'g Right Wing.
Capt F W Benteen, Com'd'g Left Wing.
" M W Keogh " 1st Battillion.
" G W Yates, " 2d "
" T B Weir, " 3d "
" T H French, " 4th "
Capt. M. Moylan, commanding Co A;

Capt. T. W. Custer, com'd'g Co C; Capt. T M McDougall, com'd'g Co B; 1st Lt. E S Godfrey, com'd'g Co K; Lt A E Smith, c'm Co E; Lt D McInosh, c'm Co G; Lt E G Mathey, com'd'g Co M; Lt J Calhoun, com'd'g Co E; Lt F M Gibson, com'd'g Co H; Lt J E Porter, com'd'g Co I; Lt DeRudio, Co A; Lt B H Hodgson, com'd'g Co B; Lt W S Edgerly, com'd'g Co D; Lt G D Wallace, com'd'g Co G; Lt C A Varnum; Lt H M Harrington, Co C; Lt R R Nave, Co K; Lt J G Sturgis, attached to Co E; Lt W V W Riley, Co F.

17TH INFANTRY.

Capt L H Sanger Commanding Battalion.

Capt Malcolm McArthur, com'd'g Co C; Lt Josiah Chance, com'd'g Co G; Lts Frank Garretty and J Nickerson Co C; Lt H P Walker Co G.

6TH INFANTRY.

Capt S Baker, com'd'g Co B; Lt John Carland.

20TH INFANTRY.

Lt Low com'd'g Detachment; Lt F X McKinzie.

INDIAN SCOUTS.

Lt G D Wallace, com'd'g; Fred Girard, Interpreter.

BATTERY.

Consisting of four one inch and two 2½ inch Gattling Guns, Lt Low, commanding.

THE HEADQUARTERS GUARDS.

Consist of one company of the 6th Infantry, and are commanded by Capt S Baker.

THE TRAIN.

Chas Brown, Chief Wagonmaster, J C Waggoner Chief Packer, J M Ayers Chief Herder.

STRENGTH OF COMMAND.

1 General officer, 8 staff officers to the commanding General, 27 officers of the 7th cav., 2 officers with the Gattling Battery, 8 officers of inf'ty, 4 Acting Asst. Surgeons. Total, 50 officers.

750 men of the 7th cavalry, 32 men with the Gattling Battery, 128 Infantry, 1 Commisary Sergeant, 2 Hospital Stewards 45 Indian Scouts. Total number of enlisted men, 968.

CIVILIAN EMPLOYEES.

1 clerk, 3 guides, 2 interpreters, 1 master mechanic, 2 blacksmiths, 2 wheelwright, 1 chief packer, 9 assistant packer, 1 master of transportation, 5 assistant wagon masters, 162 civilian teamsters. Total, 190. Grand total, 1,207.

ANIMALS.

752 mules, 32 Q M horses, 695 Govt. horses, 26 battery horses, 95 pack horses, 74 hired horses. Total, 1694.

All of the seventh cavalry are connected with the expedition, including the three companies lately arrived from the south.

Gen Terry proposes to carry an ample supply of provisions with the marching column to provide against the possible failure of the supply boats to reach Glendive Creek, the position for the proposed depot of supplies on the Yellowstone. All available means of transportation is required for transporting,

and its organization has required much attention of the officers.

Gen. Terry informs me that the

LINE OF MARCH

will follow Gen. Stanley's trail of 1873. The hostile Indians are in camp on the Little Missouri, Big Horn and Powder rivers. The expedition will make a stand at the Missouri crossing on the Gen. Stanley trail. Gen. Gibbons' command are marching east from Ft. Ellis with two hundred cavalry. Gen. Terry sent orders Sunday, via Ft. Ellis, to Gen. Gibbons to move down the Yellowstone to Stanley's stockade, above Glendive Creek—if possible to cross over to attack the Indians at the mouth of the Powder River.

PERSONAL.

Gen. Alfred H. Terry is arranging for the campaign with all of his well known executive ability brought into play. His courteous manner and kindly tones win fast the affections of the men in his command. Nothing seems to escape his notice, not even the smallest detail, and I am safe in stating that no expedition

of the Government has ever excelled in preparation, and careful detail, the one now about to move.

Gen. Geo. A. Custer, dressed in a dashing suit of buckskin, is prominent everywhere. Here, there, flitting to and fro, in his quick eager way, taking in everything connected with his command, as well as generally, with the keen, incisive manner for which he is so well known. The General is full of perfect readiness for a fray with the hostile red devils, and woe to the body of scalp-lifters that comes within reach of himself and brave companions in arms.

Fearing to intrude too much upon your space at this time, I will omit further personal mention in this; but shall have occasion from time to time to make mention of the many gentlemanly officers and others connected with the expedition, as we move along.

JOTTINGS.

I have visited every department and every position of the camp, and find everywhere perfect preparation, order and system. Everything is moving along like clockwork. The citizen team-

sters, and other citizens connected, have "accepted the situation," are ready and anxious to move.

This morning some ambulance mules were missing. The scouts took the trail, and, after an hour or so, came upon them, securely fastened to trees in the dense forests about two miles south east of the camp, and brought them in. The thieves supposed the expedition would move at daybreak this morning; that there would not be time to hunt for lost stock, and after the soldiers were away they could take their mules in any direction they chose. It was a cunning scheme, but fell through.

We will break camp at three a. m., Wednesday, and move at 5 a. m., weather permitting; and now that all is ready everyone is anxious to start to be rid of the ennui of camp life.

And now, at this writing, two p. m., May 15th, the elements promise pouring rains, which may defer the proposed moving on the morning of the 17th. This days delay has allowed time for a fuller preparation, if that was necessary or possible; and if anything is left undone it will be something beyond the

comprehension of men whose experience and judgment have prepared in general and detail so completely that nothing seems remaining undone. During a short

INTERVIEW

held with Gen. Terry, to-day, he informed me that there was to be no child's play as regards the Indians. They must be taught that the Government was not to be trifled with, and such measures would be taken as would learn the Indians to feel and recognize that there existed in the land an arm and power which they must obey.

FRONTIER.

[The expedition moved this morning at 5 a. m. the band playing Garry Owen and the Girl I left Behind. Me as they disappeared in the distance.—Ed.]

Bismarck Newspaper Journalist Mark Kellogg's diary for May 17 reads...

"Broke camp May 17th. Early morning foggy, heavy [mud] roads. Formed in marching order 2 miles west Ft. L. Camped at 3 p.m. on the Big Heart. 13 1/2 miles travelled. Splendid camp, wood, grass & water plenty." <http://history.nd.gov/archives/Kelloggdiary.pdf>



Last paragraph of the above news story, previous page.

MUSIC, MUSIC, MUSIC!

The 16-member 7th Cav. Band accompanied Charlie's wagon train and the troops as far as the Powder River Depot, at which time Terry issued an order for the band to stay with the wagons and infantry guard as the cavalry officers and troops and mule trains marched on to the Little Big Horn. He took one member of the band with him--the bugler. The band performed military duties at various stages of the day, but they also provided music for the enjoyment of the soldiers to break the monotony of their solitude. Military bands assigned to remote forts were a welcome relief, and their talents were usually shared with the small communities that often grew up around them, such as Miles City MT, where **Charlie** settled for 20 years of his life. You will see many Miles City articles in Part 2 that note Fort Keogh's band playing.

"Garryowen" (news article, preceding page) is an old Irish quick-step that can be traced back to the early 1860s. The song "Garryowen" came informally into the Army between 1861 and 1866, but its use was first documented when the lively little ditty was adopted by the 7th US Cavalry Regiment as their official Regimental Air (tune). "...As it is generally portrayed, George Armstrong Custer himself brought the song to the regiment, but **Brevet Lieutenant Colonel (Captain) Myles W. Keogh** and several other officers with former ties to the Fifth Royal Irish Lancers and the Papal Guard, two Irish regiments in the British Army, were believed to be instrumental in bringing the tune to the regiment." The name of Myles Keogh, who died on the battlefield at the LBH, was later used to name Fort Keogh, outside Miles City, MT Territory.

Ed: On a visit to London in 2017, I was thrilled to hear "Garryowen" being played by the Irish Guard Band during the Changing of the Guard ceremony at Buckingham Palace. It is a bright and cheerful tune played mainly by bagpipers, flutes, piccolos and drums. The upbeat sound must have had a positive effect on the troops of the 7th Cavalry leaving their post. It is said that Custer liked to hum the tune regularly.

Unlike the Expedition's parting song, **LIBBIE CUSTER [Elizabeth Bacon Custer]**, wife of Lt. Col. George A. Custer, was not one of the "Girl(s) I Left Behind Me". She regularly accompanied her husband as much and as far as possible in his military duties. When Custer rode out of Fort A. Lincoln on Wednesday, May 17, 1876, Libbie was one of the officers' wives who accompanied the troops to the first night's camp on the Big Heart River, then returned under guard to the Fort the next day. Widowed at age 34, she lived 57 years beyond her husband's death and never remarried. She was born in Michigan to a wealthy family who adored her and, "At 5' 4" tall with chestnut brown hair and blue-grey eyes, Elizabeth was talented, beautiful and intelligent." [Mandan Historical Society]. She graduated her seminary class as valedictorian and was later married to Custer in 1864 in Monroe MI. While fighting off voracious mosquitoes at Ft. Lincoln, she dressed in a headscarf, her legs encased in newspapers, skirt tucked tightly around them. She was friendly, and as Ft. Lincoln's First Lady, she watched out for the other military wives. After leaving the expedition on the return to Ft. Lincoln on May 18th, Libbie and her sister-in-law, Margaret Calhoun, Custer's sister, returned to the post but "stopped on the summit of a small knoll to watch the column which was already under way. Custer had been watching, and when he saw them stop he waved his hat and rode to the head of the column. **This was Elizabeth Custer's last sight of her husband**, and it was a memory she cherished all her life." [Boots and Saddles, Introduction by Jane Stewart] **Charlie** may have at least seen Libbie Custer, if not met her, considering the time he would have spent at the Fort before departure.

LIFE ON AN ARMY WAGON TRAIN

In much of the rest of the **1876** information on Charlie, I am focusing on the everyday life of the wagon train, both troops and civilians like Charlie, not on the logistics of the battle itself, except where his story intersects. Charlie himself was not present at the battle on June 25-26 but is said to have arrived shortly after, perhaps in the first week of July (per stepdaughter Laura Zook).

Life on an Army wagon train was full of perils and hard work and eating dust in the rear. A special set of knowledge skills was required, much of it forgotten in history. Like the period of the American cowboy, cavalry life became romanticized in later years.



**COLUMN OF CAVALRY, ARTILLERY, AND WAGONS,
COMMANDED BY CUSTER IN 1874.**

CROSSING THE PLAINS OF DAKOTA TERRITORY.

Photographer: W. H. Illingworth, 1874 Black Hills Expedition.

(Restoration courtesy of Gary Coffrin)

Source: Department of the Army. Office of the Chief of Engineers - Record Group 77

National Archives & Records Administration (NARA) Identifier: [519427](#)

This is a great view of a real military wagon train taken just two years before Charlie became Chief Wagon Master in 1876, so it would be very similar to the train he supervised under General Alfred Terry out of Fort Lincoln. Interesting to see how the wagons maintained their organizational lines with cavalry troops guarding on either side (flankers)--all stringing along for a great distance behind the lead guard. The wagon train was positioned towards the end of the train and was protected by a rear infantry guard following behind. A large herd of cows for feeding the troops also trailed behind. At the **left edge**, you can see the covered ambulance and, **in the middle**, artillery Gatling guns can be seen on caissons with big wheels.

In 1876, Charlie was chosen as **Master of Transportation/Chief Wagon Master** in charge of a wagon train of about **175-200 WAGONS--over two miles long**, larger than the 110 wagons in the preceding photo. Some were military wagons, most belonged to civilian contractors. This was a huge responsibility, for which he was paid about \$100 a month, plus room and board. Room was a one-man tent. Board was hard tack, bacon and beans and coffee. He likely rode horseback, not in a wagon, as he would have had to troubleshoot by frequently riding from the front to the rear of the train during the day. Undoubtedly, he carried at least two weapons, a rifle and a pistol, and perhaps a shotgun as well. And plenty of military ammo. **As in his Vigilante days, he came prepared for any surprise or a fight.**

I found a 1916 Army manual detailing the duties of the Master of Transportation on a military wagon train. Although written 40 years after 1876, I would imagine that many of the same duties had been in place since the Civil War. **The skillset needed to take on the huge responsibility of managing a wagon train of the size Gen. Terry took into Montana Territory in 1876 over terrible terrain, much of it previously unknown, was considerable.** Charlie was chosen for his abilities as an organizer and problem solver, as well as for his knowledge of horses and mules--and people. Not just anyone would have filled the bill, and the Army was downright particular who got the job. **The military preferred civilian wagonmasters**, as they took better care of their own animals and equipment, resulting in fewer problems on the trail. Soldiers were not necessarily good with animals--especially if they hired on as infantrymen.

DUTIES OF THE WAGON TRAIN MASTER....ARMY MANUEL 1916

https://books.google.com/books?id=jFNmcPIdLO8C&pg=PA499&lpg=PA499&dq=wagon+master+duties&source=bl&ots=fb8Ufjs3Bu&sig=lnLnTqfDwJ-jWBvqtmZnZTKOzqc&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKewi2k4_V0cnaAhVHz1MKHVA_Cik4ChDoATAJegQIBBAB#v=onepage&q=wagon%20master%20duties&f=false

Some of Charlie's duties included supervision of the five assistant wagon masters and 162 civilian teamsters, as well as making sure all the animals were watered, fed, groomed and checked for skin problems every day. Too, he would need to help any overturned wagon in distress or one having a broken hitch or a harness in need of repair. Broken wheels needed quick repair to keep the train in motion. All these duties, and more, for a 175+-wagon train with four to six mules hitched to each wagon. The animals' care and comfort was a big priority, and any teamster who mistreated his animals was reprimanded by Charlie. If the animals tired out, the wagon master was tasked with lightening their load and redistributing the contents of the wagons. Charlie's considerable vet skills would also be needed. Along with the military command, he made sure the condition of the trails would safely support the weight of the wagons each day as the train traveled over hills and gullies and through mud and snow. He organized assistance for any wagons having equipment breakage or those unable to ford a body of water or get through a mud hole on the trail, or get up or down a steep hill. The job required a commanding presence in dealing with other teamsters. **In general, he was responsible for getting the job done.** It was a huge responsibility, necessary to get the Army where it needed to go and to complete its mission successfully.

Below: John S Gray, "The Pack Train on George A. Custer's Last Campaign," Nebraska History 57 (1976): 52-68. [18 pages]

<https://history.nebraska.gov/sites/history.nebraska.gov/files/doc/publications/NH1976PackTrain.pdf>

*"...In campaigning against the Indians of the Plains, the frontier cavalry faced continual frustration. It could fight but scarcely move, while its foe could do both. **The Indian was born to live off the land, but the trooper was anchored to his ration supply...** The warrior boasted many ponies capable of subsisting on cottonwood bark, while the cavalryman nursed a single grain-dependent horse throughout an entire campaign. An Indian village could easily cover thirty miles a day and a good deal more if pushed. **But even the best-managed supply train could hardly expect to maintain twenty miles a day.***

*The twelve-company cavalry regiment of 1876 was authorized at **three officers and seventy-two men per company, with field staff and band in addition.** Though the aggregate might reach 840, regiments were rarely at full strength and never so in the field. We may adopt a round number of 750 men and the same for horses, although officers [such as Custer] were permitted more than one mount. **Daily field rations consisted of one pound of hardtack, three-fourths of a pound of bacon, one-sixth pound of beans, and one-fourth pound of sugar and coffee.** As packed for transportation, they weighed 2.73 pounds on the scales, to say nothing of the stomach. On a long campaign scurvy became inevitable.*

The heaviest drag stemmed from the horses. Full daily forage for one horse amounted to twelve pounds of grain, or fourteen of hay. Ammunition for the Springfield carbine consisted of the light-charge, metallic cartridge of caliber .45, packed twenty to a paper carton and fifty cartons to a wooden box, making a gross weight of 105 pounds for 1,000 rounds.

*When such a regiment embarked on a summer campaign, fully rationed and foraged for thirty days and carrying 200 rounds of spare ammunition per man, even these incomplete supplies came to 175 tons! **Without considering similar support for teamsters [such as Charlie] and draft animals, they required a train of forty-three freight wagons, each loaded with four tons....***"

*This example should make it clear **why large supply depots had to be established in the field;** why steamboat transportation was called upon whenever possible; why the daily marches were restricted to leave time for grazing as a substitute for part of the forage; and why the column often trailed a beef herd to furnish rations-on-the-hoof. Yet all this may have accomplished no more than to deliver the regiment to the theater of operations. Once there, it became necessary to conduct seek-and-destroy missions..." [Gray]*

Charlie excelled at the handling of both horses and mules. What is the difference between a horse and a mule? **A mule is half horse and half donkey.** When a female horse—a mare—mates with a male donkey—a jack—the resulting offspring is a mule. Mules are sterile and are generally unable to reproduce. Mules are usually more aggressive and require specialized training. George Washington is frequently called *“The Father of the American Mule.”* He began breeding mules at Mount Vernon after he received a stud jack from the King of Spain in 1785. In 1786, the Marquis de Lafayette sent another jack and two jennets (female donkeys) to Mount Vernon. Washington was very fond of horses but became convinced that mules worked longer and harder than horses and required less feed.

CENTURY MAGAZINE - JANUARY 1892 - Volume 43 [Begin Pg. 358]

Comments on Custer Battle by Gen. James B. Frey, Page 385

<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015007006649;view=1up;seq=370>

If you want one account of the battle, click on the link above; however, in this document, I am only focusing on Charlie’s life on the wagon train, not the battle. The excerpts below pertain to what he would have likely experienced as Chief Wagon Master of the expedition. There were many exhausting and challenging ordeals to be suffered along the way, but also times of relaxation and camaraderie. **Matt Carroll**, Charlie’s counterpart attached to the Gibbon command, kept a detailed diary about his wagon train. **Lt. Bradley** was an officer in Gibbon’s command and also an experienced historian. His diary is fascinating in historical detail. Some of their observations are below.

Reveille was sounded at 3AM, and the wagon trains were on the move around 5AM, barring bad weather. The wagons, being slower, were also the last to arrive in camp at night. **Charlie** and his fellow teamsters were exhausted at the end of every day, to be sure.

The ‘Observations’ by Bradley and Carroll, below, are meant to convey the conditions under which Charlie and his train labored every day--the smell of the air, the feel of a soaking rain, the snow and cold, and the physical and mental discomforts and pleasures felt by the expedition members during the summer of 1876.

[BRADLEY]...OBSERVATIONS

Sioux sign, and did not see the despatch boat. In McCormick’s cargo was a limited quantity of whiskey and champagne cider, and convivial reunions are a natural consequence. Some of the gentlemen concocted a new drink that speedily won favor. In consideration of our near vicinity to the stream of that name it received the pleasant appellation of “Rosebud”. It continued a favorite throughout the campaign, or as long as the ingredients lasted, and ever since the return of the expedition old memories are occasionally revived by a recurrence thereto.

■ *“It was a bright day and the **dazzling glare from the snow** seriously affected the men’s eyes. The night was intensely cold, and all suffered much. There was no thermometer at hand, but experienced judges pronounced it as least **forty degrees below zero.**” [Gibbon’s command had started out from northern Montana in March of 1876, long before Terry and Custer’s command.]*

SNOW BLINDNESS, AS DESCRIBED BY LT. BRADLEY
 [Charlie would have known and practiced the blackening of the face.]

“... [I] found on getting up and going into the light that I was a victim of snow-blindness... I discovered my sight failing and was scarcely able to reach the hotel ere I became totally blind. The loss of sight comes on with a feeling such as is created by smoke in the eyes, that, if the case is a severe one, soon increases into the most intense burning pain. The eyes can not bear the light and the eyeballs seem to roll in liquid fire with a grating feeling as though in contact with particles of sand. The temptation to bandage them or apply water is great, but should be resisted, as one heats the eyes and the other increases the irritation, and the pain is only intensified...It is mainly brought on by the exposure of the eyes to the glare of the sun upon the snow, but is accelerated and aggravated by high wind and flying snow...early and mid-winter cases of snow blindness are extremely rare. The Indians and even wild animals are subject to it...a snow-blind rabbit or sage or prairie chicken is no uncommon sight. ...method of treatment is to drop into the corner of the eye a little skunk oil...but prevention is preferable to cure and may be affected by blacking the face to the distance of an inch or more around the eyes close up to the lids...a bit of wet powder or lampblack, the soot off the bottom of a kettle, a charred stick, or powdered charcoal will accomplish this...”

■ “Last night the *sentinels* were posted around the camp in groups of three, all lying down but only one required to remain awake at a time. Instead of challenging, the sentinel is directed to whistle to any one approaching his post and fire upon him if he receives no reply. It is an abominable system, more dangerous to ourselves than to the enemy...As we draw near the dangerous ground we are dropping into the methods that are to govern our conduct during the campaign.”

■ “Remained in camp today, officers and men fishing and securing some **300 pounds of trout**.” [On the Yellowstone River]

■ “Our boys have been busy all day transmitting their names to posterity by carving them in the soft sandstone of **Pompey’s Pillar**. A number of earlier visitors have done so, first among whom was Captain Clark...Wm. Clark July 25, 1806...a cavalry vandal to-day disfigured the inscription by carving his name over the letter ‘K’, for which he deserves to be pilloried...”

■ “Soon after camp was formed, a terrific hail-storm suddenly burst upon us accompanied by a high wind and followed by a deluge of rain. The herd stampeded to the camp and into the timber, tents were blown down, pools formed all through the camp, drowning out the occupants of **many tents which stood in some cases in nearly a foot of water**, everybody got wet and a good many lost their suppers...There was a busy time for the rest of the afternoon moving and repitching tents, fishing personal effects out of the water and mud, and reclaiming the stampeded animals...”

■ “It was two months to the day since we had left Ft. Shaw for the purpose of cleaning out the Sioux nation, and during that time we had done nothing but march, march and rest in camp...But now the enemy had been found and we were going over to whip them...but there came a sober serious time to most of us, and that was when **we sat down to pen to the far-off loved ones letters that might be the last they would ever receive from us...**”

■ “The crossing [of the Yellowstone] began about noon, perhaps a little earlier...and for four mortal hours it went on at a most tedious, discouraging rate, about ten animals being got over per hour...Everything worked at cross purposes, **accident succeeded accident**, and at last after many narrow escapes on the part of both men and horses, four of the latter were drowned...”

In the dusk of evening, when most of the officers were gathered in front of some of the tents, a chorus of cavalymen not far away burst forth with a round of merry camp songs, that came pleasantly to the ear and suspended for a time the conversation upon battles we haven't fought and victories we haven't won. And when "taps" imposed silence upon the enlisted men, the officers, who enjoyed larger liberties, took up the suspended harmony and woke the night air with many a song of sentiment and jollity. We have a number of very sweet singers in our command, and the music at times is of a delicious sort. But rest is needful

- *"The grass is heavy but provokingly matted with **prickly pears**, so that it was impossible to pitch tents in line..."*
 - *"The **water is horribly muddy** and all attempts to settle it failed. It answered neither for cooking nor washing, and we might almost as well been camped in a desert. Vinegar cleared it somewhat, and the addition of lemon-sugar made a fairly palatable **lemonade** that quenched thirst..."*
- *"We obtained water from stagnant pools and used sage-brush for fuel. The discovery of an occasional **rattlesnake** in camp enlivens our stay here."*
 - *"The afternoon was very warm, but by **rolling up the sides of the tents** and admitting the slight air, it was pleasant enough."*

[CARROLL]...OBSERVATIONS

- *"We have no guide and no one who knows the country..."*
 - *"No water for the mules, but enough to cook with"*
- *"No sutler here, hence everything very dry" [and we don't mean dirt dry]*
 - *"**Mosquitoes bad; very warm; no whiskey...**"*
- *"Kept mules out until 11:30 p.m." [grazing]*
 - *"Only made ten miles. Tomorrow we must make Pompey's Pillar. There is no water here."*
- *"Loaded train with about **8,200 pounds per team**"*
 - *"...camping at 2 p.m. at foot of a big hill. It will take us the greater part of tomorrow to get over this hill in any way."*
- *"As we turned mules out, had a heavy hailstorm. **Some hail-stones being larger than pigeon's eggs...** [mules] had no time to graze until morning"*
 - *"Took 3 hours to get up the big hill" - "Lost some two hours getting down big hill; roads heavy [meaning muddy]" ... "Used **sagebrush** for fuel" ... "took **inventory** of all stores in wagons showing some forty-eight thousand lbs.. Grain issue, however, will lighten the wagons very rapidly."*
 - *"Had very bad roads. The nameless **dry creek**, which we had so much difficulty in crossing going down, was a good sized river [coming back]."*
 - *"**Three and a half hours getting up the hill**, then for three miles had to follow a gravelly backbone..."*
- *"**Hottest day of the season so far**" [5 days before the LBH battle]*
 - *"Had to cross the river, which is **rough on the infantry**; any number of them gave out and had to be carried by the cavalry... Captain Goodlow was suddenly struck with paralysis."*
- *"Made camp at midnight. **No wood or water.**"*

PART 1: 1834-1876

- “Old Rambler, one of my mules, had his leg broken. I presume I will lose him.”
- “About 4 o’clock this morning [Major Thompson...] committed **suicide** by shooting himself through the heart with a pistol, causing death in about ten minutes. This has cast a gloom over the whole camp.”
 - “Reno loaned me two mules today. Old Madame was left behind at Dry Creek and shot by the rear guard. **Fact is, she could not travel**”
- “About 11 A. M. on the twenty-sixth [May] the **planet Venus** was discovered shining with a pale light, and continued visible through the remainder of the day. The day was intensely bright, the sun shining from a cloudless sky, and the appearance of the star excited wonder...”
 - “Sunday, 28 [May] Mr. McCormick [sutler], accompanied by two men, arrived today in a mackinaw [type of boat], bringing a cargo of vegetables, butter, tobacco, cigars, canned goods, etc. and a large mail...”

May 21, 1876, 11:45 PM

The guard on duty shot the Sergeant of the Guard in the head for **lack of protocol**.

“Understand orders were to shoot anyone outside the picket lines without challenging, two whistles being the challenge...”

7. Left camp at 8 A. M. Crossed three small ravines and then left bottom, going up a good grade on the Stanley road, but, owing to a spring in the coulee, the wagons sank deep in the mud, and we lost much time in doubling, and, upon reaching the bench, made a detour to a beautiful prairie with the best grass I ever saw. Had much difficulty in reaching the river, and finally succeeded in making camp at 8 P. M., two miles below the mouth of Tongue River, which, as far as could be seen, is heavily timbered. Made twenty-one and one-half miles. The bottoms are most all on opposite side of river, and we will have bad roads to Powder River, distant from Tongue River forty miles.

Jun 7, 1876

[CARROLL]

Tongue River Country

This would be quite close to the location of the first site of Miles City, called

Old Milestown.

STEAMBOATS SUPPORTING THE EXPEDITION

In addition to the many wagons lumbering slowly overland with the troops and supplies, two riverboats were tapped by General Terry to contract as both strategic and logistical tools for the Sioux Campaign. Riverboats could move much faster during high water periods, but were risky to use in the low water times of the later summer. The **FAR WEST** carried not only wagons, troops, mules and supplies, but was also the communication hub for the remote troops on campaign; there was no telegraph in Montana Territory at that time to carry important messages between military personnel. The steamer also carried mail, military dispatches and acted as headquarters for officers such as General Terry and Col. Miles. Another steamer, the **JOSEPHINE**, was also contracted by Terry to perform most of the same duties during the campaign of 1876. Both were used extensively to ferry entire commands back and forth across major rivers such as the Yellowstone. Capt. Grant Marsh of the *Far West* was considered to be the best river pilot in the U. S., and Terry trusted him implicitly. Marsh would prove to be invaluable after the battle. Of interest, Marsh once served on a Missouri River steamboat on which Samuel Clemens (Mark Twain) was his 2nd mate. Clemens held Marsh in very high esteem. Other steamers such as the **CARROLL**, the **DURFEE** and the **YELLOWSTONE**, and others, also plied the waters of the Missouri and Yellowstone in support of the Army. Their logistical help was invaluable in moving supplies and personnel.

MILITARY CAMP LAYOUT



A panoramic view of the expedition camp layout and wagon train at Hidden Wood Creek during Custer's Black Hills expedition in 1874. Slightly different layout from **Charlie's** 1876 wagon train described by Lt. Godfrey, next page, but shows command tents set apart at the far left.

Photograph by W. H. Illingworth
[He had quite a climb to take this one!]

Record Group 77: National Archives & Records Administration - Identifier: [519425](#)

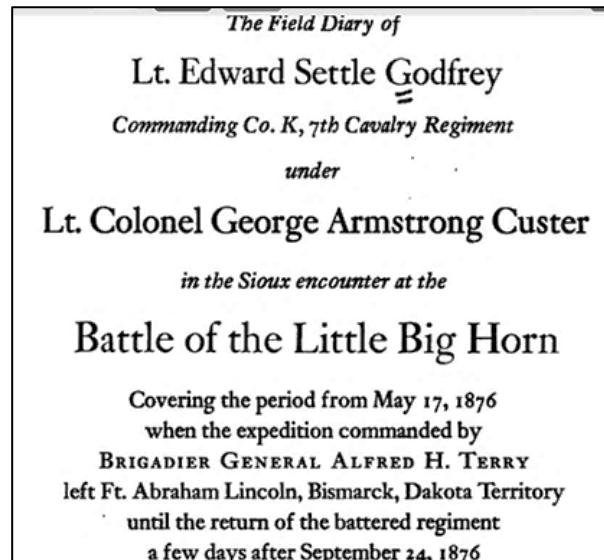
"...I should like if you could see us all after we get in camp the tents & wagons & animals all lariatied out completely cover the ground for about ½ mile square the horses are all hobbled to prevent a stampede. the wagons in the center the horses & mules around then comes the mens tents then the company officers then the staff officers then the march change of Guard then the Pickets & outside on high hills the mounted pickets so we cannot be surprised very easily..."

[DEWOLF, May 17, 1876, Letter to his wife]

Excerpt taken from the diary of Lt. Edward Settle Godfrey, Commanding Company K of the 7th Cavalry under Custer: [ESG]

<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015008302633;view=1up;seq=15>

“...The length of the day’s march, varying from ten to forty miles, was determined in a great measure by the difficulties or obstacles encountered, by wood, water, and grass... [when a spot was selected] The cavalry, excepting the rear-guard [infantry protecting the wagon train], would then cut loose from the train and go directly to camp...would send details to collect fuel and unpack their wagons. The adjutant showed the wing commanders the general direction their lines of tents were to run... **The general form of the camp was that of a parallelogram.** The wings camped on the long sides facing each other, and the headquarters and guard were located at one end nearest to the creek; the **wagon train was parked to close the other end and was guarded by the infantry battalion.** The troops, as they arrived at their places, were formed in line, facing inward, dismounted, unsaddled, and, if the weather was hot and the sun shining, the men rubbed the horses’ backs until dry. After this the horses were sent to water and put out to graze, with side-lines and lariats, under charge of the stable guard, consisting of one non-commissioned officer and three or six privates. The men of the troop then collected fuel, sometimes wood, often a mile or more distant from the camp; sometimes ‘buffalo chips’. The main guard consisting, usually, of four or five non-commissioned officers and twelve or fifteen privates, reported mounted at headquarters, and were directed to take posts on prominent points overlooking the camp and surrounding country, to guard against surprise. Each post consisted of one non-commissioned officer and three privates. The officer of the day, in addition to his ordinary duties in camp, had charge of the safety of the cavalry herds... When the train arrived [Charlie], the headquarters and troop wagons went directly to the camping-place of their respective commands. The officers’ baggage and tents were unloaded first; then the wagons went near the place where the troop kitchen was to be located, always on that flank of the troop farthest from headquarters. **The teamsters [and Charlie] unharnessed their mules and put them out to graze**...troop officers’ tents were usually placed twenty-five yards in rear of the line of men’s tents and facing toward them. Their cook or mess tent was placed about ten or fifteen yards further to the rear...The men put up their tents soon after caring for their horses. The fronts of their tents were placed on a line established by stretching a picket-rope. The first sergeant’s was on that flank of the line nearest to the headquarters. The horse equipments were placed on a line three yards in front of the tents. The men were not prohibited from using their saddles as pillows. A trench was dug for the mess fire, and the grass was burned around it for several yards to prevent prairie fires. After this the cooks busied themselves preparing supper. **Beef was issued soon after the wagon train came in,** and the necessary number of beeves was butchered for the next day’s issue; this was hauled in the wagons. **STABLE CALL** was sounded about an hour before sunset. The men of each troop



were formed on the parade and marched to the horse herds by the first sergeant. Each man went to his own horse, took off the sidelines and fastened them around the horse's neck, then pulled the picket-pin, coiled the lariat, noosed the end fastened to the head halter around the horse's muzzle, mounted, and assembled in line at a place indicated by the first sergeant. The troop then marched to the watering-place, which was usually selected with great care because of the boggy banks and miry, beds of the prairie streams. The ground directly in rear of the troop belonged to it, and was jealously guarded by those concerned against encroachment by others. After lariatting their horses, the men got their currycombs, brushes, and nose-bags, and went to the troop wagon, where the quartermaster-sergeant and farrier measured, with tin cups, the forage to each man, each watching jealously that he got as much for his horse as those before him. He then went to feed and groom his horse...examined each horse's back and feet carefully...immediately after stables, the cooks announced in a loud tone, "**SUPPER**". The men with haversack and tin cup went to the mess fire and got their hardtack, meat, and coffee. If game had been killed the men did a little extra cooking themselves...**RETREAT** was sounded a little after sunset, and the **ROLL WAS CALLED**, as much to insure the men having their equipments in place as to secure their presence...The stable guards began their tours of duty at this time. The non-commissioned officers reported to the troop commander for instructions for the night; these usually designated whether the horses were to be tied to the picket-line or kept out to graze, and included special instructions for the care of sick or weak horses. At dusk all horses were brought within the limits of the camp...During the evening the men grouped about the fires and sang songs and spun yarns until **TAPS**...The cooks prepared the breakfast, which usually consisted of hard bread, bacon, and coffee. If beans or fresh meat were to be cooked, the food was put into Dutch ovens or camp-kettles, which were placed in a fire trench, covered over with hot ashes and coals, and a fire built over them...[In the morning] The cooks were called an hour or an hour and a half before **REVILLE**... [3 a.m.]...Two hours after reveille, the command was on the march." [ESG]

However, **Charlie and the wagon train were on the road only one hour after reveille**. And, considering the exhausted teamsters on the wagon train often pulled into camp much later at night than the officers and forward troops, sometimes not until 9 p.m., it was a short night for those attached to the train!

HEAR THE BUGLE CALLS

Listen to some of the many bugle calls used by the Army and all very familiar to **Charlie** during his life working around the military and while living near Fort Keogh.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bugle_call

CHRONOLOGY OF THE WAGON TRAIN MOVEMENT

Charlie is the ‘Master of Transportation’ of this historic wagon train. He has been busy for several months previous gathering equipment and organizing the train, a hugely big and important accomplishment for the complex military task at hand, variously named the **Yellowstone Expedition** or the **Custer Expedition**. He experienced the same things as all the officers, troops and civilians, although his life was more equal to the foot soldier than the officer. Charlie did have a position of respect, however, and you will see as the months go by how his services are valued. Chronological excerpts from various sources are provided to give the reader an idea of life on a wagon train. His family? Left at home to worry in Moorhead MN.

May 17, 1876

Charlie’s wagon train left Fort Abraham Lincoln with much pageantry.

*“On the 17th day of May, at 5 a.m., the ‘GENERAL’ [signal to take down tents and break camp] was sounded, the wagons were packed and sent to the Quartermaster, and by six o’clock the wagon-train was on the road escorted by the infantry. By seven o’clock the 7th Cavalry was marching in column of platoon around the parade-ground of Fort Lincoln, headed by the band playing ‘Garry Owen’, the Seventh’s battle tune, first used when the regiment charged at the battle of Washita. The column was halted and dismounted just outside the garrison. The officers and married men were permitted to leave the ranks to say ‘good-bye’ to their families. General Terry, knowing the anxiety of the ladies, had assented to, or ordered, this demonstration, in order to allay their fears and satisfy them, by the formidable appearance we made, that we were able to cope with any enemy we might expect to meet. Not many came out to witness the pageant, but many tear-filled eyes looked from the windows. **During this halt the wagon-train was assembled on the plateau west of the post and formed in column of fours.** When it started off the ‘ASSEMBLY’ was sounded and absentees joined their commands. The signals ‘MOUNT’ and ‘FORWARD’ were sounded, and the regiment marched away, the band playing ‘The Girl I Left Behind Me.’ [ESG]*

*“The 7th Cavalry was divided into two columns, designated right and left wings, commanded by Major Marcus A. **Reno** and Captain F. W. **Benteen**. Each wing was subdivided into two battalions of three troops each. After the first day the following was the habitual order of march: One battalion was advance-guard, one was rear-guard, and one marched on each flank of the train and the camping-places at the end of the day’s march. The other two troops of the advance-guard reported at headquarters for pioneer or fatigue duty, to build bridges and creek crossings. **The rear-guard kept behind everything; when it came up to a wagon stalled in the mire, it helped to put the wagon forward.** The battalions on the flanks were to keep within five hundred yards of the trail and not to get more than half a mile in advance or rear of the train. To avoid dismounting any oftener than necessary, the march was conducted as follows: one troop marched until about half a mile in advance of the train, when it was dismounted, the horses unbitted and allowed to graze until the train had passed and was about half a mile in advance of it, when it took up the march again. [Ed: The wagon train got no rest, however; it just kept on going.] Each of the other two troops would conduct their march in the same manner, so that **two troops would be alongside the train all the time.** If the country was much broken, a half dozen flankers were thrown out to guard against surprise. The flankers regulated*

their march so as to keep abreast of their troop. The pack-animals and beef herd were driven alongside the train by the packers and herders.” [ESG]

*“One wagon was assigned to each troop, and transported five days’ rations and forage and the mess kit of the troop; also the mess kit, tents, and baggage of the troop officers and ten days’ supplies for the officers’ mess. The men were armed with the carbine and revolver; **no one, not even the officer of the day, carried the saber**...The wagon train consisted in all of about one hundred and fifty wheeled vehicles. In it were thirty days’ supplies of forage and rations (excepting beef) and two hundred rounds of ammunition per man. The **two-horse wagons**, hired by contract, carried from fifteen hundred to two thousand pounds. The **six-mule** government wagons carried from three to five thousand pounds, depending on the size and condition of the mules. The Gatling guns were each hauled by four condemned cavalry horses and marched in advance of the train. Two light wagons, loaded with axes, shovels, pickaxes and some pine boards, sufficient for a short bridge, accompanied the ‘pioneer’ troops. The ‘crossings’ as they are termed, were often very tedious and would frequently delay the train several hours. During this time the cavalry horses were unbitted and grazed, the men holding the reins...” [ESG]*

The expedition camped on the Heart River the **first night**, and Dr. DeWolf noted in his diary, “May 17th. Moved at 5 A.M. get in camp Camp No 2 at 2 P.M. 12 miles on the little [Big] Heart River Marched. Genl Custer went ahead & Scouts & Yates Comp 7 Cav Genl Terry Reno Band 3 Co Cav & Batty in front **train in centre** 3 Co Cav on each wing with flankers. Infantry behind train & 1 Co Cavalry rear guard & 1 Co - as flankers quite a grand march the **teams stuck in the mud frequently** some did not get in til 5 P.M. A nice camp on the south of the Heart river the troops are paid at evening. Mrs. Custer came this far.” [DEWOLF]

In his letter to his wife, also dated May 17, [DEWOLF] notes troubles for Charlie and the train: “Camp on Hart or Heart River D. T. May 17th 1876 In my tent again and after the first days march we moved out 12 miles to this River **had from 5 AM to 2 P.M. 9 hours waiting & laying in the sun for the wagons to pull out of the mud for the ground is soft for heavy teams yet**” [Ed: Like growing old, moving a wagon train in the mud is not for sissies!]

Officers had a much different life on the trail than did Charlie and the teamsters: “I am enjoying the march first rate & expect we shall have a nice time as can be had in the field I have my tent put up & taken down [by someone else] my bed made horse saddled &c and have a quart of nice whiskey in my valise in case of need the ground is getting warm & dry to lie on I have my coat & rubber leggins in case of rain a tolerable saddle & horse...” A bit of a greenhorn it seems. [DEWOLF, letter to his wife]

May 19, 1876

Although he portrays himself to his wife as having a grand old time, Dr. DeWolf was a bit nervous and also practical. “...darling I think you had better make out a power of Attorney... I had a nice march today & think I shall like Genl Custer. Genl Terry of course every body likes...” [DEWOLF, letter to his wife]

May 22, 1876

*"...while I am in tent writing to you one man accidentally shot himself through the heel yesterday while mounting flesh wound not much sickness though it has been wet & dreary except the first & today my nose & ears are nearly burned off we live on Antelope meat it is nice out in fair weather **there is some fun occasionally in seeing a team stick & the teamster swear** or see a mans horse get away & buck his saddle off a wagon upset & in the creek &c the second day a horse had the saddle turn going up a bank out of Heart River the horse bucked &c jumped into the river went out of sight twice the man of course fell off when the saddle turned tonight a horse ran away through the camp the man fell off & nearly busted him but not seriously hurt I have not been tired yet the horses get loose at night some times & make fun. I had a nice sponge bath tonight and changed all my clothes & feel nice & took a nasty pill." [DEWOLF, letter to his wife]*

The doctor tells about the wagon train crossing a bridge: *"...the right wing is supposed to be on the right of train & left on left they all march as shown as near as the country will admit in crossing bridge of course all come in to one column you can see **the train is the largest part of the expedition** on starting from camp when it is nice the band play & this evening they play are playing while I am in tent writing to you..." [DEWOLF, letter to his wife]*

May 23, 1876

"...my nose and ears are nearly burned off I am trying Glycerine & alum... Well darling I have marched 20 miles today had a good supper & feel splendid the sun has nearly burned my ears off but I guess they will get well soon. we crossed the heart river this morning or a branch of it had nice road & no dust much as yet we expect to reach the Little Missouri day after tomorrow Dr Porter has been out from the command today & killed an antelope." [DEWOLF, letter to his wife]

May 24, 1876

"...I have marched 20 miles today had a good supper & feel splendid the sun has nearly burned my ears off..." [DEWOLF, Letter to his wife]

May 26, 1876

*"...we have had a very easy march today or at least only marched about 10 miles had two bridges to lay & delayed about 2 1/2 hours at each **it takes a long time to get 100 wagons over a bridge when one or two runs off & has to be taken to pieces** which nearly always occurs the mosquitos have bit my hands badly my face they cannot get at for hair & dirt..." [A bit understated as to the number of wagons.] [DEWOLF, Letter to his wife]*

May 27, 1876

Struck the Badlands of the Little Missouri River {ESG}

*"...horses get stuck up with **wild cactus** & then don't they bound and make it merry for their riders it is sometimes fun to see a company march through a bed of it..." [DEWOLF, Letter to his wife]*

May 28, 1876

“...the train moved briskly for about three miles, and then work began on the crossings [bridges] of the creek which runs from the Bluffs on one side to bluffs on the other; **some seven had to be constructed** and then we went into camp...” The train carried boards to make bridges. [ESG]

May 29, 1876

“...got to the Little Missouri at 9:30 [PM]. The wagon train did not come in till an hour later.” [ESG]

May 30, 1876

“...have just got in have had nearly 50 miles ride today with Genl Custer & 4 Co Cav went up the Little Missouri 24 or 5 miles **crossed it 13 times each way 26 in all** had a great time lots of fun seeing the horses mire & throw their riders the Genls. nephew got thrown over his horses head into a mud hole...” [DEWOLF, Letter to his wife]

May 31, 1876

“We crossed the Little Mo. without difficulty, and the train moved up the gorge which is about two miles long very easily, **one wagon upset.**” [ESG]

“The **Yellowstone** has been rising rapidly for many days and is now very high. A measurement of the channel at this point makes its **breadth a little over three hundred yards...**” [BRADLEY]

June 1, 1876

SNOW in the Badlands!

“...I got in camp yesterday at 2 P.M. it commenced raining at 6 and rained through the night arose at 3 this morning found it snowing & the ground covered...snowed hard all day...the men in their dog tents have it the worst they have been standing around the fire most of the day...” [DEWOLF, Letter to his wife]

“Awoke at reveille and found the ground covered with snow and it continued snowing more or less all day and was cold & disagreeable. We occupied the cook tent nearly all day... We did not move camp on account of snow...” [ESG]

June 2, 1876 (Friday)

General Terry consults with Charlie and ‘Lonesome’ Charley Reynolds, the guide.

“Sent out Reynolds & **Chf Wagon Master [Charlie]** to examine road. Dr. Williams thinking that to move to-day would be likely to bring on sickness, diarrhea & colds inasmuch as the weather lately has been so very bad. A new camp would [illegible]. **Met *Brown Wagon Master & Reynolds the guide** sent out to examine road. Reported good for two miles & a half then bad for a short distance and then good over rolling prairie. Ordered train to cross stream which runs through camp so as to be ready for start in the morning...” [TERRY]

*This is the only time I found Charlie was ever mentioned by name in anyone’s diary.

“Still snowing a little & cold, passed time about as yesterday. Had water kegs filled with snow water.” [ESG]

Charlie isn't sitting around a fire keeping warm, he's on the move preparing for the next day. *“...It is **snowing** now and there are some of the wagons moving across on this side of a ravine to be ready for tomorrow and to get out of the mud so the animals can get better grass... Darling wife we have march over 25 miles but **took from 5 A.M. to 4 P.M. waiting for the wagons** &c it was dreadful cold this morning...” [DEWOLF, Letter to his wife]*

June 3, 1876

*“On the bright morning of June 3rd the column climbed the last few miles out of the badlands to strike across an open and rolling country. After a good march of twenty-five miles they camped on the north-flowing **Beaver Creek**, a major tributary of the Little Missouri...The next morning the Dakota column began its **92 mile march to Powder River**...The command was now blazing its own trail through **unknown country**, which became **daily rougher**...” [GRAY]*

June 4, 1876

Two days later it was scorching hot!

“Genl Terry had sunstroke today.” [ESG]

June 6, 1876

Ahead of the troops, the *Far West* arrived at the PRSD site with rations, medical supplies, forage and ammo for Terry's soon-to-arrive command, as well as personal packages for the officers. On this same day, Terry and the train were still camped on the Powder River, about 20 miles south of the Yellowstone. [CLARK]

*“The column carried with it only provisions enough to last to the Powder [River], where a supply steamer [The ‘Far West’ under Capt. Grant Marsh] had been ordered to meet it. **The provisions were transported in wagons drawn by mules, and 250 pack saddles were taken along to be used on these same animals** for carrying a few days' rations at a time when active campaigning should commence...” [MARSH]*

<https://archive.org/stream/conquestofmiss00hans#page/236/mode/2up/search/powder>

June 7, 1876

Terry's Dakota Column Arrives at the PRSD

*“Powder River, M.T. We left camp at the usual hour and made a long detour down the creek and then followed up a branch of O'Fallon's Creek and then struck to the Divide of the Powder River and followed that down several miles and then struck for the River. The Powder River hills are pretty high and are well wooded and afforded quite a relief to the monotony. We were unable to see the River or Its line until within two miles of it. **The road was very good for wagons with light loads but heavy loads would have consumed nearly two days and even more in bad weather.**” [ESG]*

Terry's diary measured time and mileage on the way to the PRSD as he repeatedly advanced and halted, building bridges, and repairing and cutting roads necessary for Charlie's train to pass. The badlands near the Little Missouri River in western NDT presented

a difficult area to traverse. “Advanced 4.50 Halt 6.45 A. 7.10 H 8.10 A 8.25 H 8.55 Bridge [built] A 9.25 Halt on wooded ridge 10.35 A 11.35 Halt to excavate road 12.45 A. 1.30 Halt 2.50 Ravine Advance. --Halt cut road--Advance--Halt cut road...Advance 4.40 Advanced at edge of bluff Sent escort & line down thence back to find road for wagons. Repaired road Arrived at camp 6.55 **Train arrived 9 o’clk** Camp on branch of Powder River [this was near Locate MT]. Sent Scouts to mouth of river 10 P.M.” [TERRY]

HOW THE ARMY MEASURED DISTANCE TRAVELED BY WAGONS [1877 Report of the U. S. Army Chief Engineer]

Three **odometers** were always used in the measurement of the routes, two of which were attached at the ends of the hubs of the front wheels of the ambulance, and one to the spokes of the off hind **wheel** of an **Army wagon** which was rarely locked. The mean of their results was adopted.

Surplus **odometers** were carried ; those in use were read about every half a mile, and whenever one was found to differ materially from the other two it was always detected in some way out of order and was at once replaced by another, when the indications of the three would

June 8, 1876

Terry command and troops are camped at the PRSD. [ESG] [CLARK]

Today, the command is **waiting for the wagon train** to be brought in to the PRSD camp. While they are waiting for it to arrive, plans are being made to train some company mules for duty as pack animals for use by the 7th Cavalry on a scouting party.

To supply a Reno scout up the Powder River, Gen. Terry ordered approximately **66 mules** (est. 11 per 6 companies of the 7th Cav.) to be trained to pull, not pack, became a considerable problem for the inexperienced cavalry over the next few days, as well as a source of amusement for those watching the process, as noted by Lt. Edward Settle Godfrey:

*“We remained in camp on the Powder River for three days. General Terry went to the Yellowstone to communicate with the supply steamer ‘Far West’, which was at the mouth of the Powder River...Before General Terry left it was given out that the 7th Cavalry would be sent to scout up the Powder River, while the **wagon-train**, escorted by the infantry, would be sent to establish a camp at the mouth of the Powder River...Eleven pack-mules, saddles, and aparejos [kind of packsaddle made of leather stuffed with hay] were issued to each troop for this scout [11x6 troops=66 total mules]. **This was a new departure; neither officers, men nor mules had had any experience with this method of transportation. There were few ‘packers’ (civilian employees) to give instructions.** Short, compactly built mules, the best for the purpose, were selected from the teams...After some instruction given by the professionals, especially how to tie a ***diamond hitch**, we concluded to make our maiden attempt by packing two empty water-casks. The mule was blinded and he submitted, with some uneasiness, to the packing. We supposed the packs were securely fastened and did not anticipate any trouble; but it is always the unexpected that happens with a mule. The blind was lifted; the mule gave a startled look first to one side, then to the other, at the two casks bandaged to his sides. He jumped to one side, causing to rattle a bung-plug that had fallen inside one of the casks. This startled him even more, and with*

*head and tail high in the air he jumped again. He snorted and brayed, bucked and kicked, until the casks fell off. One was fastened to the saddle by the sling-rope. He now began to run, braying and making such a 'rumpus' that the camp turned out as spectators. **The affair excited serious concern lest all the animals in camp would be stampeded.** When the cask was loose we got him back and made a second attempt with two sacks of grain. These he soon bucked off and then regaled himself with the spilt grain. As a final effort we concluded to try the aparejo, and pack two boxes of ammunition. This done, the mule walked off with as little concern as if he had been a pack-mule all his life..." [ESG]*

***Diamond Hitch:** a type of knot used in tying a pack of supplies on an animal so that the interlacing ropes form a diamond shape on the top of the pack when completed.

June 10, 1876

Reno's scouting party leaves PRSD. The Packmaster, John Wagoner, whose pay is commensurate with Charlie's, accompanies the troops and mules. After the scout: The reconnaissance covered some 240 miles in ten days. He later reported that the mounts were "*leg weary and in need of shoes*", but the **pack mules**, as [ESG] recalled, "*...were badly used up and promised seriously to embarrass the expedition.*" Packed by novices using inferior equipment, saddle sores were inevitable. The animals may also have deteriorated from undergrazing, for being untrained and without ***bell mares** they had to be close picketed [hobbled and unable to freely graze]. Meanwhile, the remainder of the Dakota column had proceeded on June 11th down to the mouth of Powder River where Major Orlando H. Moore's infantry battalion was busy organizing the PRSD with the aid of the steamboat *Far West*.

*** BELL MARE:** "*...By nature mules tend to be herd-bound and to establish a 'pecking' order, with one animal always leading the herd. Mares always dominated mules, even the geldings. The mare therefore, led her followers. Even when the mules were not able to see the mare, they followed the sound of her bell [Ed. including in the dark]. On most occasions packers needed only to ride alongside the packed mules who strode contentedly in single file. Packers all rode mules rather than horses because no packer wanted more than one leader of the train and knew that horses would tend to dominate. On those occasions when the bell mare was killed, the mules behaved like children who had lost their mother. Mules' grief, packers insisted, seemed almost human...*" **Charlie knew as much about mules as he did about horses, and all of his wagons were pulled by mules.**

[Shavetails and Bell Sharps: The History of the U.S. Army Mule" by Emmett M. Essin]

June 11, 1876

Charlie and the wagon train arrive at the Powder River Supply Depot. It took 294 miles and 26 days from Fort Lincoln to arrive overland at this point. Here, Charlie would stay until after the battle was over.

ARMY ENGINEER'S [MAP] OF MONTANA (1878)

Showing the site of the Powder River Supply Depot, located just across the Yellowstone River from Sheridan Butte and upstream from Wolf Rapids. Both 'old' and 'new' Miles City are also noted.



★ Powder River Supply Depot

[Note 'Tongue Butte' in the lower left corner of the map. Now called 'Signal Butte']

Jun 11, 1876, Continued...

"We have been ordered to accompany the wagon train down to the mouth of Powder River."
[ESG] From their previous camp, the distance was about 24 miles for the wagons to travel down to the supply depot on the banks of the Yellowstone River.

"...After passing through some perfectly terrible country, I finally struck a beautiful road along a high plateau and instead of guiding the command within ten miles of here, we have all arrived and the wagon train besides..." [CUSTER, Letter to his wife]

Arriving by boat at the PRSD on the same day as the wagon train was a special treat, likely appreciated by **Charlie** as well. *"The boat also brought a novelty, welcomed with unrestrained enthusiasm by the troops who had been traveling a dry trail for 294 miles and 26 days. *Sutler John W. Smith had hastily erected a tent to dispense a few necessities, such as straw hats to ward off sunstroke, and a few luxuries of the John Barleycorn variety to a throng of men whose pockets had been burning with useless greenbacks ever since the paymaster's discrete visit..."*
[GRAY]

*Sutler: Person approved by the War Dept. to sell goods to troops. Later called Post Traders, they sold at inflated prices and were both reviled and welcomed in these remote places without any luxuries. [Note: Smith would later build and become the owner of the fancy Cottage Saloon in Miles City, so business must have been booming.]

June 12-15, 1876

Terry and Custer and the wagon train remain camped at the PRSD waiting for the remaining supplies to come upriver from Stanley's Stockade. [See Pg. 110 for the location of the stockade]

June 12, 1876

Red River News, Moorhead MN (June 24 edition)

At home, Fredericka was reading welcome news in her own town's newspaper.

"A telegram has been received by Adjut-Gen Ruggles, from General Terry, dated the 12th from the junction of Powder River and the Yellowstone River. It is stated that no Indians have been seen east of Powder River, that he had met Gibbon (who led his column eastward from Fort Ellis, M.T.) and had concerted movements with him. Here [junction of the Powder and the Yellowstone] General Terry has established his depot of supplies and it will form his base of operations..."

June 14, 1876

Terry gives the order for the 7th Cavalry's musicians to remain with the wagon train at the PRSD. *"...Band of 7th to remain at depot"* [TERRY]

June 15, 1876

Charlie's last sight of Custer

"Custer started at 7 o'clk Boat started self & staff Baker's Co 6 infty on Board" [TERRY]

The 7th Cavalry leaves the PRSD, headed for their next camp on the Tongue River. Terry and his staff also leave that day on the *Far West*, **minus the wagon train** and the band, and head upstream on the Yellowstone toward the same Tongue River camp as Custer.

Nowhere in the mule train history [GRAY], or any other source I read, was the name of Charles Brown mentioned as accompanying the mule train out of PRSD to the Custer battle. John Wagoner was the packmaster heading up the mule pack train accompanying Custer. [Wagoner was later wounded at the battle.] Charlie was the Master of Transportation for the entire wagon train. **He did not accompany the pack train to the LBH.** His responsibilities remained with the wagons left at the PRSD when the cavalry headed out. After the battle, however, **Charlie** was at the battlefield in a fairly short period of time. **See July 6, below.** Between the shortage of ‘pullers’ due to some having been taken by Custer and the fact that the train itself was slow and cumbersome and could in no way keep up with the fast-moving mounted troops, it was a given that the train would remain at the supply depot, along with the musicians of the 7th Cavalry. Additionally, there were other foot soldiers without mounts who would also remain there. Left guarding the PRSD when the cavalry and the command left were troops under the command of **Maj. Orlando H. Moore of the 6th Inf. and Capt. Louis Sanger’s 17th Inf.**

June 17, 1876

Tongue River Camp

Both Terry and Custer are now camped on the Yellowstone near the confluence with the Tongue River near present-day Miles City. **The distance from Charlie’s wagon train at the PRSD to the command at the Tongue River camp is about 40 *river miles.**

*“I fear that my last letter, written from the mouth of Powder River, was not received in very good condition by you. The mail was sent in a rowboat from the stockade to Buford, under charge of a sergeant and three or four men of the 6th Infantry. Just as they were pushing off from the “Far West” the boat capsized, and **mail and soldiers were thrown into the rapid current**; the sergeant sank and was never seen again. The mail was recovered, after being submerged for five or ten minutes. Captain Marsh and several others sat up all night and dried it by the stove...”* [CUSTER, letter to his wife]

June 19, 1876

“Reno coming up the Yellowstone about 8 or 10 miles. Great excitement among the men. The command moved up the Yellowstone to the Tongue.” [ESG]

June 21, 1876

At the confluence of the Rosebud

While in camp, **Terry and Gibbon, two of the expedition prongs, meet at last.** [BRADLEY]

“...Look on my map and you will find our present location on the Yellowstone, about midway between Tongue River and the Big Horn...I now have some Crow scouts with me, as they are familiar with the country. They are magnificent-looking men, so much handsomer and more Indian-like than any we have ever seen, and so jolly and sportive; nothing of the gloomy, silent red-man about them...” [CUSTER, writing to his wife from the Mouth of Rosebud]

***Note :** River miles and land miles differed significantly. River miles were often much longer, but travel time on the water was often much shorter and safer than overland miles traveled.

Custer with the entire 7th Cavalry was reported near at hand, and soon after we started he appeared in view on the table-land across the river, marching toward the Rosebud. The steamboat met him at the mouth of that stream, when he drew rations for his command for sixteen days and struck out up the Rosebud with the design of following up the trail found by Major Reno. Prior to his departure a conference took place on the boat between Generals Terry, Gibbon and himself with reference to a combined movement between the two columns, and, though it is General Terry's expectation that we will arrive in the neighborhood of the Sioux village about the same time and assist each other in the attack, it is understood that if Custer arrives first he is at liberty to attack at once if he deems prudent. We have little hope of being in at the death, as Custer will undoubtedly exert himself to the utmost to get there first and win all the laurels for himself and his regiment. He is provided with Indian scouts, but from the superior knowledge possessed by the Crows of the country he is to traverse it was decided to furnish him with a part of ours, and I was directed to make a detail for that purpose. I selected my six best men, and they joined him at the mouth of the Rosebud. Our guide, Mitch Bouyer, accompanies him also. This leaves us wholly without a guide, while Custer has one of the very best that the country affords. Surely he is being afforded every facility to make a successful pursuit.

Excerpt....[BRADLEY]

"Yellowstone, Mouth of Rosebud Creek June 21st 76

*Since my last from Powder River we went up to the forks of the powder river 58 miles Crossed the country to Tongue River 72 miles down Tongue River 8 miles Crossed to Rosebud Creek about 25 miles up Rosebud creek 12 miles then back and followed it to its mouth from there down the Yellowstone 33 miles to near the mouth of Tongue River where we met Custer & the other Six Companies of Cavalry, General Terry & Staff Genl Terry & are on the "Far West" Steamer. last night we marched 14 miles up the Yellowstone & today we came up here 19 miles to where we left three days ago the mouth of the Rosebud Creek and are fitting up for a scout under Genl Custer with 12 Companies of Cavalry up the Rosebud across to the Bighorn River & down that to the Yellowstone or that is where we expect to go on our scout we marched about 25 miles a day in all about 285 miles. I and Dr. Porter messed together and had a nice time have just been getting a supply for the next scout the Commissary is a very good supply on the Boat. we found no Indians not one all old trails they seem to be moving west and are driving the Buffalo **I think it is very clear that we shall not see an Indian this summer** [Ed: **Not for four more days anyway**]. [DEWOLF, letter to his wife]*

June 22, 1876

Troops camped at Mouth of Rosebud River - Montana Territory

The 7th Cavalry leaves the Rosebud encampment midday, headed in the direction of the Little Big Horn. Custer writes his **last letter** to his wife: "...I have but a few moments to write,

as we move at twelve, and I have my hands full of preparations for the scout...a success will start us all towards [Fort] Lincoln..." [CUSTER]

No cheery band music is played to send off the 7th this time. The mood was somber. Some were tired after a night of poker on the *Far West*.

*“...as soon as it was determined that we were to go out, nearly **everyone took time to write letters home**, but I doubt very much if there were many of a cheerful nature. Some officers made their wills; others gave verbal instructions as to the disposition of personal property and distribution of mementos; they seemed to have a presentiment of their fate.”* [ESG]

Orders were given to **discontinue any trumpet calls or other noises** that might alert the Indians, unless it was an emergency.

*“At noon on June 22, the 7th Cavalry passed in review before Terry, Gibbon, and Custer, astride their mounts. The regimental band, Custer’s pride, had been left at the Powder River base but massed trumpets provided a measure of panoply. Company by company, they trooped in front of their commanders, each raising its own cloud of dust, each marked by a swallow-tail guidon in the pattern of an American flag...Custer’s command numbered 31 officers and 566 enlisted men, 35 Indian scouts (the Arikaras, four Sioux, and six Crows borrowed from Gibbon), and about a dozen packers, guides, and other civilian employees. Bringing up the rear, a train of pack-mules bore rations and forage for 15 days together with reserve carbine ammunition of 50 rounds per man. The train had already begun to give trouble, some of the mules breaking formation and throwing their packs...[Custer] wore his customary field gear--fringed buckskin jacket and trousers, knee-high troop shirt of Civil War memory, and a wide-brimmed white hat. Two holsters encased a pair of snub-nosed English revolvers. ***Close-cropped hair belied his Indian name, ‘Long Hair’...**A mounted orderly bore his personal pennant, displaying white crossed sabers against a red and blue field...”* [NPS]

***As Charlie related later to his daughter Laura, Custer’s hair was not long. Nor was he scalped during the battle.**

“At twelve o’clock, noon, on the 22nd of June, the ‘Forward’ was sounded, and the regiment marched out of camp in columns of fours, each troop followed by its pack-mules...General Terry had a pleasant word for each officer as he returned the salute...Custer’s manner and tone, usually brusque and aggressive, or somewhat rasping, was on this occasion conciliating and subdued...that made an impression on all present. We compared watches to get the official time, and separated to attend to our various duties...” [ESG]

June 24, 1876

Mouth of the Big Horn

*“General Gibbon, I am sorry to say, is very sick. General Terry and staff are now here. Scouts came in late last night and **report seeing buffalo about six miles from here with arrows sticking in them**, so we can’t be very far from Sioux camp. Tomorrow will surely clear up this uncertainty.”* [CARROLL]

*“While the officers were separating...Genl Custer’s guidon [swallow-tailed flag] fell down to the rear. I picked it up and stuck in the ground. Soon it fell again to the rear; this time I stuck it in some sage brush & ground so that it stuck. I never thought of it again till after the fight...regarded it as a **bad omen**.”* [ESG]

“The troops were required to march on separate trails so that the dust clouds would not rise so high...fires were ordered to be put out as soon as supper was over, and we were to be in readiness to march again at 11.30 p.m....[Custer] was anxious to get as near the divide as possible before daylight...We could not see the trail...the night was very calm...a little after 2 a.m., June 25, the command was halted...We started [again] promptly at eight o’clock and marched uninterruptedly until 10:30 a.m., when we halted in a ravine and were ordered to preserve quiet, keep concealed, and not do anything that would be likely to reveal our presence to the enemy; we had marched about ten miles...” [ESG]

Meanwhile, Lt. Bradley of Gibbon’s force crosses the Yellowstone and heads up Tullock’s Creek preparing to move toward the LBH in support of Custer... ”... *We are now fairly en route to the Indian village, which is supposed to be on the Little Big Horn. It is undoubtedly a large one, and should Custer’s command and ours unite, we, too, will have a large force numbering all told about one thousand men...Should we come to blows it will be one of the biggest Indian battles ever fought on this continent, and the most decisive in its results, for such a force as we shall have if united will be invincible, and the utter destruction of the Indian village and overthrow of Sioux power will be the certain result. **There is not much glory in Indian wars, but it will be worth while to have been present at such an affair as this...**” [BRADLEY]*

Gibbon and Terry’s troops will not reach Custer in time, but will play an historic role afterward--the first soldiers to come upon the battlefield and comprehend the horrific scene of death, a much different outcome than anyone thought possible.

June 25-26, 1876

Battle of the Little Big Horn

<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=pst.000023629585;view=2up;seq=6>

A History and Guide to the Battle of the Little Bighorn by Robert M. Utley, 1988

Trying to get as close to the troops as possible, Capt. Marsh and the *Far West* worked their way slowly up the Big Horn to the mouth of the Little Big Horn while noting heavy columns of smoke on the horizon, entirely unaware of the battle in progress.

June 25

After the first day’s fight

Account of 1st Sgt. John M. Ryan, Reno’s battalion...

*“...When dark set in, it closed the engagement on the twenty-fifth. We went to work with what tools we had, consisting of two spades, our knives and tin cups, and, in fact, we used pieces of hard tack boxes for spades, and commenced throwing up temporary works. **We also formed breastworks from boxes of hard bread, sacks of bacon, sacks of corn and oats, blankets, and in fact everything that we could get hold of...**” [NPS]*

The supplies Charlie hauled on his wagon train were later used in defense on the battlefield--a much different purpose than he could have ever imagined.

June 26, 1876

“Broke camp at 9 A.M., and after going two miles, discovered some of our Crow scouts [Gibbon’s command] who were with Custer. They reported a big fight on the Little Big Horn and Custer badly whipped. Our Crow scouts left us...Bostwick and Taylor were both sent with a note to Custer going by different routes, and if successful are to get \$200.00 each...”
[CARROLL]

June 27, 1876

Waiting for Terry to come up to the mouth of the Little Big Horn. [ESG]

*“...struck the battle-ground where the big camp had been, but the Indians had all left the night before...We saw at once that General Custer had been badly whipped. **Found Reno** some two or three miles higher up, fortified on a hill east of the river. **He was glad to see us...**The 7th is entirely used up...It must have been a horrible massacre...Had it not been for our command coming up, Reno would have been cleaned out...tomorrow will be devoted to burying the dead and destroying property...Soldiers were horribly mutilated. The entire affair is fearful to contemplate...”* [CARROLL]

June 28, 1876

*“On the morning of the 28th we left our entrenchments to bury the dead of Custer’s command. The morning was bright, and from the high bluffs we had a clear view of Custer’s battlefield. We saw a large number of objects that looked like white boulders scattered over the field. Glasses were brought into requisition, and it was announced that these were the dead bodies. Captain Weir exclaimed, ‘**Oh how white they look!**’ All the bodies, except a few, were stripped of their clothing. According to my recollection nearly all were scalped or mutilated, but there was one notable exception, that of General Custer, whose face and expression were natural...”* [ESG]

Although not at the battle himself, Regimental Quartermaster, Capt. Henry J. Nowlan, part of Terry’s command whose duty as Quartermaster it was to bury the dead, engaged in burial duty and transportation of the wounded by handmade litters. Other troops destroyed Indian property, lodge poles and camp utensils left behind when the Indians departed. Nowlan had been Charlie’s hiring officer at Fort Lincoln back in March.

June 30, 1876

First, hand litters were tried and found unsatisfactory to carry the wounded down to the *Far West*. After that, mule litters were made, which proved much more efficient and faster. Nevertheless, it took **three days**, from the 28th through June 30th, to get the wounded to the steamer and on their way to Fort Abraham Lincoln.



1856-1923

**CURLY - CROW SCOUT WHO BROUGHT THE
NEWS OF THE BATTLE TO THE STEAMER 'FAR WEST'**
[Photo by David F. Barry, 1878. Restoration Courtesy of Gary Coffrin]

*"The Conquest of the Missouri: Pg. 274
Being the Story of the Life and Exploits Of Captain Grant Marsh" By Joseph M. Hanson (1909)*
<https://archive.org/stream/conquestofmiss00hans#page/n11/mode/2up/search/powder>

THE FIRST NEWS...COMING ON JUNE 27

44 hours after the battle, but only 11 miles distance for the bearer of the sad news, Curley.

The 190 foot-long *Far West* was chosen by Capt. Grant Marsh for its ability to carry supplies and freight. It also had space for only 30 passengers, whose safety and comfort he did not want to deal with while staying close to the troops in the summer of 1876. Captain Marsh and his crew became the first to receive information of the fate of the cavalry losses and made navigation speed history while transporting the battle wounded to Fort A. Lincoln, over 700 miles away.

While tied up to the bank near the Little Big Horn, Captain Marsh and his crew were relaxing, unaware of the terrible battle that had just taken the lives of the 7th Cavalry... *“In order to keep her [Far West] safe from Indian attack she was tied to the shore of an island opposite the mouth of the tributary and the crew and escort then proceeded to pass the time as pleasantly as possible until tidings should come from the column...Along both its shores spread dense thickets of willow brush, while about its mouth and over the island where the boat lay, large cottonwood trees, their leaves rustling pleasantly in the summer wind, afforded shelter from the heat. The waters of the Big Horn, rippling over their gravel bed, were clear and cold and teemed with pike, salmon and channel cat-fish...A number of the men...cut willow poles and, scattering along the shore of the island, devoted themselves with great success to fishing...The smoke columns noticed along the southern horizon on the two previous days [June 25 and 26] had disappeared now, and the general opinion was that Custer and Terry had met the enemy and routed them, so little fear was felt of an Indian surprise...[they] noticed how close they were to the dense willow on the main shore and remarked to the others that it would be very easy for Indians to creep up and fire on them...without the least warning, the green thickets at which they were looking parted, and a mounted Indian warrior, of magnificent physique and stark naked save for a breech-clout, burst through and jerked up his sweating pony at the brink of the water...the Indian held aloft his carbine in sign of peace...**he was Curley, one of the scouts who had gone with Custer**...As soon as he was on board he gave way to the most violent demonstrations of grief. **Throwing himself down upon a medicine-chest on deck he began rocking to and fro, groaning and crying. For some time it was impossible to calm him.** When at length he had to some extent regained his self-control, the question arose as to how to communicate with him, for no one on board could understand the Crow language, while he spoke no English...Finally Captain Baker produced a piece of paper and a pencil and showed the Indian how to use them. Curley grasped the pencil firmly in his fist and dropping flat on his stomach on the deck, began drawing a rude diagram, while about him the army and steamboat officers gathered closely, waiting in silent suspense for his disclosures, for everyone guessed from his actions that he brought important news. The Crow drew first a circle and then, outside of it another. Then between the inner and outer circles he began making numerous dots, repeating as he did so in despairing accents: “Sioux! Sioux!” When he had quite filled the intervening space with dots, he glanced up at the intent faces around him and then slowly commenced filling the interior circle with similar marks, while his voice rose to a yet more dismal tone as he reiterated: “Absaroka! Absaroka!” ‘By Scotts!’ exclaimed Captain Marsh, ‘I know what that means. It means soldiers...He was interrupted by Curley, who suddenly sprang to his feet, faced the listeners and flung his arms wide. Then, swinging them back, he struck his breast repeatedly with his fingers, exclaiming at each blow, in imitation of rifle shots: “Poof! Poof! Poof! Absaroka!”...**The white men stood in tense silence, understood. Captain Baker was the first to speak: ‘We’re whipped!’ he said, hoarsely. ‘That’s what’s the matter.’** And he turned away. Curley continued his pantomime by grasping his scalplock with one hand while with the other he described a circle around it, then made as if to jerk it off and hang it at his belt, meantime executing a Sioux war dance. **But his absorbed observers already realized that they were receiving the first news of a great battle, in which many soldiers had been surrounded, slain and scalped by the Sioux...**The people on the boat could scarcely believe that the Crow’s story was true in all its dreadful particulars, though his grief was too genuine not to force some credence... [Captain Baker] tried to persuade the scout to return to Custer with a despatch telling him where the supply boat lay. But Curley refused to leave the steamer, refused to take*

food and retiring to a corner of the deck, squatted on his haunches and began mourning for the dead after the manner of his tribe. There was nothing to be done, therefore, but wait for the arrival of someone else from the columns with news and orders, and the men on the 'Far West' passed the remainder of the day in uneasy discussion of the possibilities suggested by Curley's story..." [From beginning to end, this book is highly interesting; I would encourage you to read it online.]

They soon had **further confirmation from another scout, Muggins Taylor**, who arrived at a fast gallop with Indians at his heels. His story confirmed Curley's, and now the crew of the *Far West* ...settled down to wait for whatever part they were to play in the later scenes of the drama of defeat..." It was to be a hugely important role, as it turned out.

Other messengers reported that '*over half a hundred*' wounded were coming to the *Far West*, which was quickly turned into a hospital ship by covering the floor "*to a depth of eighteen inches with fresh grass cut from the low marsh lands along the river. When it had been spread, enough new tarpaulins were taken from the quartermaster's stores on board to carpet the whole like an immense mattress. Around the sides were arranged the medicine chests...*"

Transportation of the wounded from the battlefield to the ship took **three days (Jun 28-30)** due to the rough country and the slow process of moving the wounded men, at first by hand litters. Finally, mule litters were constructed of tree poles and canvas and the evacuation started about 6 o'clock in the evening.

"...Two lodge poles taken from the abandoned hostile camp were used for each litter, and a piece of tent canvas was stretched between them and fastened with bits of rawhide and rope. They were then slung between two mules, but the animals proved so intractable that the attempt was abandoned and the wounded were placed on hand litters...So slow and exhausting was their progress through the rough country that they had covered less than five miles by midnight..."

By midnight it was so dark and stormy they found it was impossible to proceed further in the darkness. Again, the crew of the 'Far West' came to the rescue. Capt. Marsh "*...instantly ordered out his entire crew to build fires at frequent intervals along the trail and light the train forward".* **By 2 o'clock a.m.** "*...a hundred willing hands tenderly received the stricken men and placed them in rows on the grass-covered deck, where the surgeons, Doctors Williams and H. R. Porter [the only medical survivor of three doctors at the battle] set about examining and dressing their wounds. There were fifty-two injured men brought on board.*"

[Note: Included with the wounded men on the boat was the horse **Comanche**, belonging to Capt. Myles Keogh. Comanche, found with many wounds lying on the battlefield, was the only living horse on the field of battle that hadn't been ridden off by the Indians. The horse was tenderly cared for onboard the *Far West*. From that day on, orders were given that he was never to be ridden again. He died 12 years later.]

It would be some days after the battle before Charlie, whiling away his time as the Master of Transportation at the Powder River Depot on the Yellowstone River, about 150 miles downstream, would find out the terrible news.

The *Far West* started toward Fort Lincoln with its cargo of wounded men on June 30th. That evening, at the confluence of the Big Horn and Yellowstone, the boat had to wait two more days [July 1st and 2nd] to meet Gibbon's men and ferry them all from the south to the north side of the Yellowstone. The wounded had to be taken from the boat while the troops were transferred, then carried back again onto the riverboat when the transfer of troops was completed.

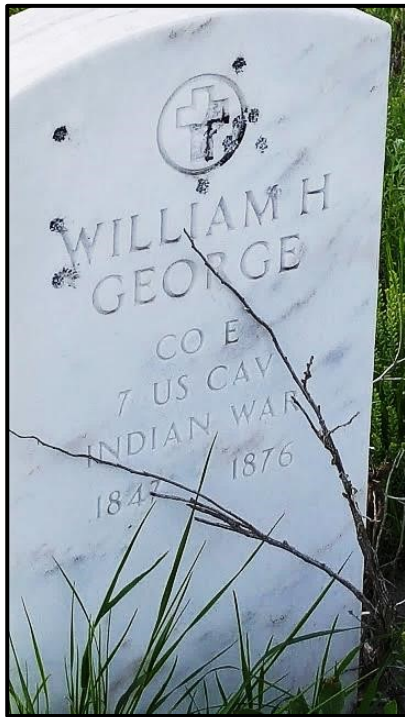
Jul 2, 1876

“At least a hundred horses are needed to mount the Cavalrymen now here” [TERRY]

Many horses, as well as mules, were killed at the battle. Charlie, still at the PRSD on July 2nd, may have been enlisted to help address the damage. It may have been one of the reasons he was called from the PRSD to the Big Horn area, as reported in stepdaughter Laura's memoirs

(See July 6, below).

July 3, 1876



At five o'clock p.m. on July 3, the *Far West* once again headed downstream on the Yellowstone toward Fort Lincoln, **700 miles away**. Some of the wounded had recovered enough to be removed at Terry's headquarters at the Rosebud camp at the confluence, but there were still (38) seriously injured men onboard toward Fort Lincoln. Captain Grant Marsh's orders were to reach Bismarck as quickly as possible, which he did in **record time** not ever surpassed by any other steamer of the day.

July 4, 1876

Across America, and in Philadelphia in particular, the Centennial of the Revolutionary War was being celebrated across the nation. However, the focus of the crew of the *Far West* was concentrated on the perils of the narrow channels and avoiding the islands and rocks and sand bars as they sped downstream at a record speed with their wounded. **The same day, the *Far West* stopped briefly at the Powder River Depot to bury one of the wounded (Private George) who had died enroute. This was the day Charlie and the 6th Infantry troops at the PRSD, received their first solid**

confirmation of the Little Big Horn massacre.

ABOVE: Pvt. William George's Tombstone in 2018 at the site of the Powder River Depot. [J. Swick photo]

“At Powder River the boat stopped long enough to have his body interred and to confirm the news of the battle to Major [Orlando] Moore's little garrison [including Charlie and the wagon train], still encamped there... Then, after taking on board the private property of the officers killed on the Little Big Horn, which had been left at the Powder with the wagons, she was off again... Then out of the Yellowstone she shot into the Missouri, whose channel seemed spacious indeed after the mountain stream she had been threading.” [MARSH]

NOTE: The wounded soldier who died enroute to Fort Lincoln and was buried with military honors at the PRSD site was PVT. WILLIAM GEORGE. **Charlie was there and would have attended the burial service.** Later, on Aug. 2, after the depot had been previously abandoned on July 20 in favor of the Rosebud Headquarters site/Fort Beans, the troops returned downriver for some excess grain left behind. At that time, they found Pvt. George's body had been removed from his grave by Indians and mutilated. [MIDDAUGH] So, even though there is a grave marker at the site of his burial, previous page, there are no remains there today.

July 5th - Steaming Toward Bismarck

*“...Captain Marsh, in accordance with General Terry's order, **draped the derrick and jack-staff of the boat with black and hoisted her flag at half-mast, in honor of the dead and wounded ...** But when through the darkness the lights of Bismarck loomed ahead, men looked at their watches and saw that it was eleven o'clock as her bow touched the bank and she came to rest at her journey's end, just fifty-four hours out from the mouth of the Big Horn. **She had covered 710 miles at the average rate of thirteen and one-seventh miles per hour and, though no one stopped to think of it then, she had made herself the speed champion of the Missouri River, with a record unequalled by any other craft that had ever floated on the turbulent stream or its tributaries from St. Louis to Fort Benton.** Her accomplishment had been performed in the line of duty alone, with no desire for the winning of laurels other than the gratitude of those she served. The boat had barely touched the bank when her officers and men were off, running up the streets and rousing the sleeping town. It was like the night that Concord was startled from slumber by the hoof-beats of Paul Revere's horse, galloping down the elm-shadowed streets on his mission of warning. Men ran from their houses half-dressed and disheveled, in every direction lights flashed at the windows. The first men routed from their beds were...the editor of the Bismarck Tribune and...the telegraph operator. They, together with Captain Marsh, Doctor Porter, Captain Smith, and a number of others from the boat, hurried to the telegraph office and Carnahan [telegraph operator] took his seat at the key, from which he scarcely raised himself for twenty-two hours.” [MARSH]*

“To send out news of the battle, J. M. Carnahan, the telegraph operator at Bismarck, took his seat at the telegraph key and for 22 hours he hardly moved from his chair. Upon completion of this message, he remained another 60-odd hours at the key without rest or sleep sending newspaper dispatches throughout the country.” [National Park Service]

CHARLIE'S ROLE AFTER THE BATTLE

“...Pa Brown had gone in 1876, was with Custer's Wagon Train, camped on this spot--mouth of the Tongue River--and so was among the first to be on the battleground of June 25, 1876. Think Pa said they reached it about July 6...” [Laura Manderscheid Brown Zook, Memoirs]

July 6, 1876

Charlie arrives on the Big Horn ten days after the battle.

Just two days after the *Far West* brought Charlie and the troops at the PRSD news of the battle on July 4th, a portion of the supply depot's 17th Infantry wagon train guard arrived on the

Josephine at Gen. Terry's headquarters camp on the Big Horn. Terry obviously needed more help, and some of it probably came from Charlie.

*"Steamer Josephine arrived with one hundred and ninety thousand pounds of rations, of which one hundred and sixty thousand are forage. One company of the **6th Infantry** came on the boat and will remain here. Cloudy and cool. River falling fast. Boats will have trouble in navigating the stream if the fall continues..."* [CARROLL] It was actually **Sanger's 17th Inf.** that arrived--part of Maj. Orlando Moore's wagon train guard command at the PRSD.

The 'fall' refers to the river level falling in the heat of the dry summer months--a serious issue for river transportation.

Carroll's diary entry for July 6 seems to confirm that Charlie could well have been at the Big Horn camp on July 6, just as his stepdaughter Laura Zook later recollected in her memoirs. He could easily have arrived via the *Josephine* with Sanger's company of the 17th Inf. The supplies which arrived may also have come from the PRSD.

But why?

Charlie may have come to help with the transportation of the supplies, but it is possible he came to help in other ways. Knowing Charlie, I would not be surprised if he requested this duty.

General Terry intimated a possible reason for needing Charlie's talents.

*"Steamer Josephine arrived at 9 o'clock A.M. with stores...Lt. Nowland [Nowlan] reports **only about 50 mules fit for service in 7th Cavalry** [Word missing] were killed & that the rest should be sent to Powder River."* [TERRY]

In addition to the loss of the men on the battlefield, both **horses** and **mules** were also **killed and wounded in large numbers** [Terry's diary, above]. Some of the mules had been taken earlier by Custer from the main wagon train at the PRSD to be used for the troops' pack trains on the way to the Little Big Horn. Many of these critically necessary animals were never to return to duty again. And, to complicate matters, the Head Packmaster who traveled with Custer's troops, **John Wagoner**, had been wounded and was of no help after the battle. Charlie must have been scrambling. He could possibly have been the go-to in place of Wagoner.

[Note: Wagoner received a head wound; the bullet lodged there for the rest of his life, and he committed suicide in St. Paul in 1899.]

In his role as Master of Transportation on the wagon train, and as a known expert on mules and horses--as well as being a skilled veterinarian--**Charlie's help may have been specifically requested.** Both Maj. Orlando Moore, commanding officer of the 6th Infantry at the PRSD, and Lt. Henry J. Nowlan, Quartermaster responsible for the battlefield burials, knew Charlie well and could have ordered him to accompany Capt. Sanger's 17th Infantry from the PRSD to the command camp to evaluate the condition of the remaining horses and mules injured in the battle

PART 1: 1834-1876

and perhaps help treat their wounds. The loss of these animals, some originally taken from the train by Custer, would have an impact on the future of the wagon train to move in any direction. A shortage of mounts would also affect the new recruits who would arrive soon. Charlie's talents made him well prepared for this duty.

Laura Brown Zook said her stepfather, ***"...was among the first to be on the battleground of June 25, 1876"***. If he was present at the military camp headquarters near the confluence of the Big Horn and Yellowstone by July 6, **did he also visit the battleground?** There was some distance between the Big Horn River camp and the LBH battleground and very real danger from Indians still present in the area only ten days after the battle, so it is unlikely that he would have taken a solo trip to the battlefield unless accompanied by a number of troops. However, it is possible that some of the wounded animals may have been under guard near the site yet, and he may have gone with their care in mind. In my mind, he may not have visited the actual battlefield, only the Big Horn command camp. But he certainly heard first-person stories of the battle shortly afterward.

July 7, 1876

The 4th of July is celebrated a bit late at the PRSD, considering the horrific news just received. Charlie is probably already at the Big Horn by July 6 and doesn't see this celebration. *"Corporal Adams, in charge of an illuminating party, crossed the river and climbed to the top of a high mountain, known as Sheridan's Butte [located directly across from the PRSD camp], where they gathered a large amount of wood which they set afire early in the evening, and called it a Fourth of July bonfire. It made a fine sight against the sky, and no doubt could be seen for many miles, much to the wonder of the Indians who may have seen it... To vary the monotony of the camp life all sorts of **athletic games and sports** are being indulged in..."* [MEDDAUGH] On any other 4th of July, Charlie would have enjoyed the festivities immensely had he been present. Seems like it also might have been a fire hazard on the open prairie in the heat of the summer. Doubtful anyone stayed around to be fire tender during the night!

July 8, 1876

Red River Star [Moorhead]

Fredericka receives a welcome letter from Charlie after the battle. Can you imagine her worry not knowing if Charlie was safe? *"...Mrs. Chas. Brown, whose husband is wagon master to Terry's Expedition, has received a letter in which Charley confirms the above statement, and adds that only 140 men were left of the gallant 7th Cavalry, and those were of Reno's charging party. All the Moorhead and Fargo boys were well when the letter was written."*

July 9, 1876

In order to remount the remaining troops of the 7th Cavalry, the *Far West* left Bismarck with a new supply of cavalry horses, 60 of them, according to [CARROLL] [MARSH].

July 16, 1876

Troops dispatched to PRSD to bring up the wagon train [ESG]

"Started on the Josephine down the river to meet the Far West...Sanger's Co 17th Infty on board Gibbs, Hughes, & Nowland with me" **This is the most likely time when Charlie returned to**

the supply depot; he had come with Sanger's troops from PRSD on the 6th of July and was now leaving with the same troops headed downstream once more. The wagon train was due to be moved upstream towards the command very shortly, and Charlie needed to be there.

July 17, 1876

"Arrived at Powder River 11.30. Commenced ferry our train in afternoon" [TERRY]
Paymaster arrived. Nowhere to spend it, but the money is in the pocket. The minute Charlie put foot on the ground at the supply depot, it was apparently time to begin the long and exhausting process of ferrying the train across the river once again.

July 17-20, 1876

Terry orders the PRSD wagon train to be ferried from the south side of the Yellowstone to the north, preparatory to moving. It will take four days and require both the steamers *Far West* and *Josephine* to accomplish the task of transferring the troops, wagons and animals. [TERRY] Both Gen. Terry and Charlie's wagon train from the Dakota column are now moving supplies away from the PRSD, headed upstream on the Yellowstone toward the Big Horn camp.

July 18, 1876

A plan for the wagon train! First to the Big Horn camp, then a change in orders to the Rosebud camp, due to lowering water levels. *"Late on the 18th ... (Terry) sent the Josephine back to Bismarck with his aide, Captain Robert P. Hughes, and a load of sick and wounded. Working alone, the Far West did not complete the ferry work until the 20th. To avoid overloads, tons of forage were left behind [at the PRSD] to be brought up later. Terry then steamed up for the Big Horn camp, leaving orders for the overland column to follow in the morning...Terry's plans at this time were outlined by Lt. Byrne of Moore's command and by Captain Hughes (Bismarck Tribune, July 26) [See article, next page]. It was expected to require some ten days to consolidate the forces at the Big Horn camp and to receive the expected infantry reinforcements [Including those of Col. Nelson A. Miles' 5th Infantry, which arrived on August 2]. Terry would then take the combined column eighty miles up the Big Horn to the base of the mountains, where he would park his wagon train. He would then lead his own and Crook's armies into the mountains to destroy the assembled hostiles. Terry did not reach the Big Horn until July 26th; for the river had fallen so low that it took the Far West six days to cover the 164 river-miles...He therefore decided to move his consolidated base down to the mouth of the Rosebud, since the trail from there would accommodate wagons."* [GRAY]

July 20, 1876

Ferrying is completed. Powder River Supply Depot abandoned. [CLARK] [MEDDAUGH]

The above description by [GRAY] explains why the PRSD wagon train was first headed for the Big Horn but was shortly thereafter redirected to the Rosebud camp instead. **But, either way, Charlie would not be headed upriver with the wagon train any time soon; Bismarck was his next assignment.** Before the ferrying was completed at the PRSD, he appears to have left the wagon train on July 18th, along with Capt. Hughes, noted earlier on July 18, headed for Bismarck. *"Far West & Josephine both engaged in ferrying train during morning. "Sent Josephine to Bismarck Hughes on board with despatches & orders for rations."* [TERRY]
Charlie was also on board. [See news article dated July 26]

PART 1: 1834-1876

Charlie is in Bismarck by July 21, and Col. Nelson A. Miles apparently arrives from Fort Leavenworth on Jul 23. The Bismarck newspaper notes Miles as having ‘*whiled away an hour or so*’ on Sunday evening, July 23. It’s unlikely he met Charlie then, as he probably only stayed overnight waiting for the *Durfee* to take him and his 5th Infantry command upstream on the Missouri the next day. Miles was headed to Gen. Terry’s new camp on the Rosebud, now called Fort Beans.

July 22, 1876

Lt. General Phil Sheridan’s report to Washington DC in November of 1876, says **Congress appropriated monies for two forts to be built on the Yellowstone [Custer and Keogh]** on this date. “...*Congress having at last passed the bill, late in the session, July 22, authorizing the construction of two posts in the Yellowstone country, preparations were made to build them at once and all the material was prepared as rapidly as possible, but the season had now become so far advanced that it was found impracticable to get this material up the Yellowstone River on account of low water, and the building of them was consequently deferred until next spring, when the work will be speedily done, as the material is now at the mouth of the Yellow stone ready for shipment; but as soon as I found the post could not be built this year, I directed a cantonment to be formed at the mouth of the Tongue River, the place selected for one of the two posts, and a strong garrison to be detailed under the command of Colonel Miles, Fifth Infantry, to occupy it...*”

Jul 23, 1876

Red River Star [Moorhead]

At home in Moorhead, Fredericka has her own worries and responsibilities while holding down her own fort. “*On Monday afternoon, a span of horses attached to a wagon (belonging to Charley Brown) took fright and ran away at a rapid pace through several streets of this town. A little boy, about five years old, the son of Mr. McKenzie, was in the wagon, and by sheer pluck of the little fellow, he escaped unhurt, with the exception of a slight bruise near his eye. The poor little child had the presence of mind to sit quite still in the bed of the wagon (after being thrown off the seat), otherwise an accident proving fatal might have resulted. The horses were caught in Mr. Campbell’s yard.*” [Possible this is the same Campbell family who, later in Miles City history, was accosted by a local scalawag named Rigney, who was promptly dispatched by Charlie and later hanged. See July, 1883.]

July 25, 1876

“*Struck camp at 3 a.m., marched 18 miles and camped in a very beautiful spot on the Yellowstone River. On our descent from the tableland we had to lower our wagons by ropes down a very steep mountain...*” [MEDDAUGH]

Charlie, currently in Bismarck on assignment, is not in command, but the train continues to move over rough country without him. This is at least 175 wagons being lowered--no small feat!

Traveling on the river in a steamboat was not necessarily safer than overland for Charlie. This is how Godfrey described the pilot house: “*The Pilot House is surrounded with 1’5 in oak, and there are cottonwood logs laid parallel & against the steam pipes. Cottonwood logs are placed*

vertically about the engineers stand--The cabin is really the most dangerous part to remain in in case of an attack by Indians as the thin pine boards would give little or no protection except to hide..." [ESG] Indians often fired into the boats. Steamboat passengers were always on the alert and accompanied by a military escort in most instances.

Expedition News.
 Capt. Hughes of Gen. Terry's staff, arrived from the Yellowstone Friday on the Josephine and at once put himself in communication with Headquarters. Supplies were accordingly hurried forward, the command was given some Rodman guns, additional troops ordered forward, etc. The Capt. says the supply depot at Powder river has been broken up and transferred to the mouth of the Big Horn preparatory to the location of the new posts. Gen. Terry awaits reinforcements and supplies and will move on the Indians who have taken to the Big Horn mountains as soon as arrangements are completed and there wont be any more massacring done either unless the white troops do it. Crook had not joined Terry yet but from the present outlook is disposed to do so and act in concert with him. The command is well. Charley Brown the wagon master came down on the Josephine, and reports the train in good condition and the men with it well. Advices received by telegraph to-day state that Gen. Crook sent couriers to Terry on the 16th, informing him that he would move as soon as Merrit joined him, which would be about August 1st. He had moved forward to a small tributary of Tongue river. The grass was getting very dry and the Indians were liable to burn it any day which would interfere seriously with military operations. In view of the recent massacre a resolution is before congress to prevent supplies of ammunition to the Sioux.

Bismarck Weekly Tribune

July 26, 1876

Article Left...

Charlie Is On Board

<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84022129/1876-07-26/ed-1/seq-4/>

Traveling to Bismarck on the Far West with the 'sick and wounded' [GRAY], the article shows both Charlie and Capt. Hughes arriving in Bismarck on the same day onboard the *Josephine*. He always had a compassionate way with the sick, both human and animal, and his skills may have been utilized on this trip. Additional duties must have been assigned--perhaps helping gather additional supplies for the train and the many new recruits recently arrived. He may have been sent in place of a needed soldier.

July 21 through August 2

Charlie is now in the area of Fort Lincoln. While there, he may have either met Fredericka for a day or two in Bismarck (similar to August 30, see below) or possibly even had a day or so at home in Moorhead (doubtful). He is still on the Army payroll as wagon master, so he must have had orders for those two weeks. What did he do? My guess is attending to duties pertaining to horses and mules. Col. Miles and Lt. Col. Otis would soon arrive with recruits needing mounts, and some of the horses from earlier had distemper and other health issues to be attended to--Charlie's forte. Col. Miles says in [MILES-2]

that he wanted some of the infantry to be mounted in order to act as couriers and messengers. Who better to pick out some good horse flesh than Charlie? This is speculation, of course, but seems plausible to me. From what I read, the one military vet available was frightened to death of the Indians and was fairly worthless; Charlie's skills would have been a valued improvement.

July 28, 1876

"...Major Moore [6th Inf.] with his command & the train arrived & went into camp." [TERRY]
Charlie's wagon train was now located at the Rosebud Camp, aka Fort Beans, down river from the Big Horn. Charlie himself is still in the Bismarck area.

PART 1: 1834-1876

Godfrey talks about some of the difficulties the wagon train experienced on the way. Again, Charlie was still in Bismarck, but Godfrey's diary tells of more problems moving a train "...*The train had to take to the table land & experienced some difficulty getting up the hill. Our progress was very slow on a/c of the Diamond R teams [Gibbon's command] which **moved like a water wagon train.** The teams are eight mules & two wagons coupled together. I think it requires an exceptionally good driver but fewer drivers are required...*" [ESG]

July 30, 1876

"*Column from Big Horn Arrived about noon [Gibbon's troops] Gave orders for work of outfitting to commence as actively to-morrow. Ordered 'Far West' to start to-morrow for Powder River [the abandoned PRSD] for grain there and to go help other boats if in trouble*" [TERRY] An Indian skirmish occurred while the *Far West* was there; see Aug 2nd.

Illness, in the form of **scurvy and typhoid**, is starting to plague the wagon train. "*A good many of the 2nd Cav & 7th Infty are being taken sick on a/c of **lack of vegetables.** They require 'anti-scorbutics' ...32 of 2nd Cav. Sick since leaving Big Horn on 27th.*" [ESG]

July 31, 1876

"*Far West left for Powder River at day break this morning.*" [TERRY]
[MARSH] says that it was a 65-mile one-way run to PRSD from the Rosebud Camp.

Aug 2 1876

Bismarck Weekly Tribune

A busy day! On August 2nd several important events come into play.

<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84022129/1876-08-02/ed-1/seq-1/>

The Bismarck Tribune reports, "***Charley Brown leaves [from Bismarck] for his post on the Yellowstone this evening.***" He's been in the area for nearly two weeks; time to meet the wagon train once more. It will take him about 10 days to return to the Rosebud camp via steamer.

At the Rosebud, the same day Charlie left Bismarck on Aug. 2nd; Col. Miles arrives at Terry's camp. Miles would have had to leave 10 days prior to Charlie. And, from his headquarters camp at Fort Beans on the Rosebud on Aug 2, Gen. Terry notes in his diary, "***...steamer Durfee arrived with Genl Miles six companies of 5th Inf & 150 cavalry recruits.***" [TERRY]

The *Durfee*, headed upstream (westbound), and the *Far West*, headed downstream (eastbound), pass each other on the river on Aug 2nd.

"*...also aboard [Durfee] were the General's nephew, *George M. Miles...*" [GRAY]

***George M. Miles** lived in Miles City for many years and was an integral part of early Miles City's business life. In 1895, he signed as a witness to the marriage of Charlie's daughter, Flora Brown, when she married George H. Ulmer, Miles' business partner.

The *Carroll* was also sailing downstream from the Rosebud camp toward Bismarck on August 2nd. She was carrying "***twenty soldiers sick with scurvy and typhoid fever.***" [GRAY]
On July 18, Charlie and Capt. Hughes had taken sick soldiers back to Bismarck. A lot of illness now appearing! Those recruits were needed quickly as replacements!

PART 1: 1834-1876

Also on the 2nd of August, two days after leaving the Rosebud camp on July 31, the *Far West* arrived back at the PRSD to pick up surplus grain that had been left when the depot was abandoned on July 20. While there, **Indians attacked** and one scout (Brockmeyer) was killed. *“...A scout known as ‘Yank’ was shot by a pursuing Indian and died soon after. One Indian was killed by Morgan; the rest escaped. The soldiers rushed out to Yank’s rescue took satisfaction by slashing the dead Indian with their knives. His head was cut off and used for a football in camp for several days.”* [MEDDAUGH]

Here is a memorial to Brockmeyer I wrote:

<https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/190405415/wesley-brockmeyer>

Historical note: Also on August 2, 1876, James Butler Hickok (aka Wild Bill) was shot and killed while playing poker in Deadwood SD.

August 6, 1876

“...98 in the shade...” [ESG]

“Chf Q. M. reports one more day necessary to put train in order announced march to begin on 8th.” [TERRY]

August 8, 1876

After four days spent moving across the river, the wagon train is now moving east from the Rosebud camp at about 10 miles a day.

[See July 18 ‘Plan’]

On the extremely hot morning of August 8th, Terry’s troops and train started up the Rosebud.

*“...A train of ***240 wagons** carried shelter tents, full rations for 35 days, and partial forage. The column was thus short on mobility, but long on endurance, as befitted his (Terry’s) intention of moving to the distant Big Horns to establish a base for swifter operations with Crook’s force...proved less suitable for wagons than expected, so that at day’s end they had covered only 9 ½ mile...”* [GRAY]

*This is a larger combined wagon train of both Terry and Gibbon.

Charlie is still enroute from Bismarck to meet the train once again. The heat has become dangerous for the infantry troops and the water is even worse. *“Reveille at 3 & moved promptly at 5am, but it was 6:30 before the Rear Guard [the infantry troops guarding the wagon train] got out of camp or the wagon train crossed the creek. This has been a dreadful hot one--**Several men had to be taken into the ambulances overcome by the heat**...The odometer indicates 10 miles. We find the water running above and some very cold springs but the **water is alkali**...A slight breeze sprang up in the evening but a lull during the night made us howl. The **mosquitoes went for us**...”* [ESG]

August 9, 1876

*“A falling temperature with a **change of eighty degrees** since yesterday.”* [CARROLL]

“...an overcoat feels comfortable...” [ESG]

August 10, 1876

GET READY, GET SET.....OH!

After only nine miles out up the Rosebud that morning and hyper alert for any sign of danger, some of the Crow Indians came and shouted that Sioux were approaching: “...*While the Crows and Rees made excited preparations for battle, Terry cracked out orders to his troops. With bugles blaring, the 7th Cavalry, hot for revenge, deployed in a skirmish line in the lead...the teamsters rushed their wagons up in tight formation, while the infantry moved on the double to protect its flanks and rear...Minutes later every eye discerned a lone rider emerge from the dust ahead, running his horse like a warrior on a suicide charge. Slowly the image enlarged, and on closer approach, the daring warrior began waving--a large white hat! In another moment he pulled up before the lead officer to announce himself as Buffalo Bill and to extend the compliments of General Crook...six miles ahead...*”

August 10, 1876

While the troops prepared to head off on a scout, “*We got orders to prepare to leave wagons...*” [ESG]. Col. Miles leaves via steamer downriver during the night for mouth of the Tongue River-**site of present-day Miles City**. He is charged to, “...*head off the Indians if possible.*” [ESG]

August 11, 1876

After Terry conferred with Gen. Crook the day previous, he ordered Col. Miles to escort the wagon train back to Fort Beans on the Rosebud. “*At 11 o’clock of the 11th, the mammoth command of twenty-five companies of infantry and thirty-six of cavalry launched the stern chase of the hostiles.*” [GRAY] From the Rosebud they headed over the divide into the Tongue River valley. The grass in the valley had been burned over by the Indians to prevent foraging by Army horses and mules.

August 12, 1876

Infantry troops in the field had no easy time of it. “...*followed the Indian trail along the Tongue River 13 miles. Rained all day; had only one blanket and no tents to sleep in, and every man has to cook for himself. On this day we crossed the Tongue River three times.*” [MEDDAUGH]

This is the day I estimate Charlie would have arrived back from Bismarck, about 10 days after leaving Bismarck on the evening of Aug. 2nd. Although there were troops, including Colonel Miles, camped nearby as he steamed up the Yellowstone past the Tongue confluence on Aug. 12, Charlie may have gone on just a bit further upstream to the point between the Rosebud and Tongue River camps where the wagons were left on August 10th. It is also possible that Charlie stopped at the Tongue camp to unload supplies he had brought onboard from Bismarck. Speculation only. Godfrey says it started to rain and continued all night; welcome back Charlie!

Note: **Around this time, he and Col. Miles likely met for the first time.** From then on, his life and fate would intertwine with that of Miles on more than one occasion, from Montana to Alaska.

August 12 and 13, 1876

His diary notes that on both days, two men had to be left behind as they “played out”.
[MEDDAUGH]

One explanation of the naming of the Tongue River: “...*The Tongue valley is a very fine one and the grazing is superb. Well wooded with ash and cottonwood. Except by making cuts to the river, a practicable road ‘is not’. The river runs to bluffs on either side and the curves of the river leaves necks of land shaped something like a tongue; it is easily imagined that may be the origin of the name ‘Tongue River’...*” [ESG]

August 14, 1876

Col. Miles was in several places on the Yellowstone. [ESG] diary indicated Miles had troops at the Tongue River, two companies at the Powder River, and yet another, presumably the Colonel himself, patrolling the river via steamboat.

August 15, 1876

Everyone is feeling lousy and at odds with one another. The men’s dislike for Reno is evident: “*The trail leaves Pumpkin Crk and strikes east. The canteens were ordered filled in anticipation of no water to perhaps Powder river. Had dyspepsia last night and a diarrhea this morning. The soldier’s diet does not agree with me. We have our hard bread fried in the Bacon fat, and our coffee & sugar make up the ration--the country over is quite Bad in places especially making the Powder River side down the creek. We struck the Powder divide about 10 and got to where we had a view of Powder valley about 11:30 and then began the descent. A good many of the Infty ‘played out’ and we had to carry them on our horses. It is simply an encouragement to straggle and somebody in their battalions is lax to permit it...Goodloe said he gave a man a good kicking--took him out of ranks--for stragglng today...**Maj. Reno has been playing ‘ass’ right along** and is so taken up with his own importance that he thinks he can ‘snip’ everybody and comment on the orders he receives from Genl Terry’s Hdqrs. and insult his staff, so there is not any one on the personal staff on speaking terms...*” [ESG]

August 16, 1876

“*The combined commands of Gen. Terry and Gen. Crook arrive at the mouth of Powder River.*”
[CLARK]

August 17, 1876

[GRAY] states that the wagon train did not leave Fort Beans on the Rosebud until August 17.
[CARROLL] mentions that a new one is being established on the “*north side of Yellowstone below Tongue River...*”

August 19, 1876

Another plan!

“*The Plan now seems to be for all to follow trail toward Lincoln and if necessary Crook can get rations there or from there. The **wagon train to go down [the Yellowstone] to Buford** and from there march down the Missouri [to Fort Lincoln].*” [ESG]

August 21, 1876

This cantonment will later become Fort Keogh.

“Powder River. Monday Aug. 21... [Word comes] Indians are at Standing Rock. Also have been firing into boats on the Missouri. That a cantonment of ten Cos of Infty will be formed at the mouth of Tongue River...” [ESG]

August 22, 1876

“Wagon train arrives in good condition...” [TERRY]

Charlie is back at the mouth of the Powder and Yellowstone once more. Welcome back to a drenching rain! **But he’s leaving again immediately.**

“...Continues to rain all day and night. The camp sites of C and D Companies was twelve inches under water...” [MEDDAUGH]

“Went over to the train today to get some articles out of wagon & saw Hughes who says we will take 42 wagons & ambulances with us [with his company on toward Fort Lincoln] to carry extra forage & rations should they be needed.” [ESG]

Since **Charlie and Fredericka reunited on August 30** (see news item below), we know that at this point, Charlie wasn’t sticking around long. He would have had to leave nearly immediately by steamboat in order to reach Fort Lincoln and Bismarck by the 30th. He’s getting off a lot more easily on the return trip! But many more trips to the new cantonment on the Tongue were to be made in the next year or two. Hard work won’t be letting up any time soon. In the meantime, the wagon train continues on its trek eastward, down the Yellowstone, then down the Missouri to home.

“...Soldier named Honeywell, suicide.” [MEDDAUGH]

Imagine the man’s depression after all of the rain and everything bleak and soaked with a foot of water and after a long and exhausting summer as an infantryman marching on foot for over a thousand miles. All of the men must have been feeling down. **Suicide was not uncommon for soldiers. Today, much of it would be termed the result of PTSD.**

August 23, 1876

*“Mouth of the Powder River, M.T...I left camp without my coat it was so warm & pleasant, but it clouded up and began to rain & kept it up all night; very cold & wind blowing hard. Poor men & animals. The dog tents [such as **Charlie** would have had] do not afford a great deal of protection against a blowing rain...” [ESG]*

August 25, 1876

Buffalo Bill Cody visits again.

*“...As we came up river we saw Crook’s column moving out--and when we reached the plateau we met Genls Terry & Gibbon with Infy & wagon train. Soon after we went into camp a courier **Buffaloe Bill**, came to Genl Terry with dispatches...” [ESG]*

August 26, 1876

Diary of [ESG] said there were **directives to form a cantonment at the mouth of the Tongue River**. The new cantonment, later named Fort Keogh, became the headquarters for Col. Nelson A. Miles' '***District of the Yellowstone***'. National Archives records, pictured earlier on Pg. 122, show this as Charlie's new area of reassignment.

"Colonel [Maj.] Moore, with fifty-two wagons containing supplies, is going to the mouth of Powder and will cross over and go down north side of Yellowstone to meet General Terry's command." [CARROLL]

August 28, 1876

Following is a transcript of a **War Department report made by Gen. Terry to the Secretary of War** about the establishment of Fort Keogh. This report makes it possible to follow and corroborate the military movements in August of 1876. It also explains the need for the **Glendive Supply Depot** until the spring of 1877: [See Pg. 109 for the location]

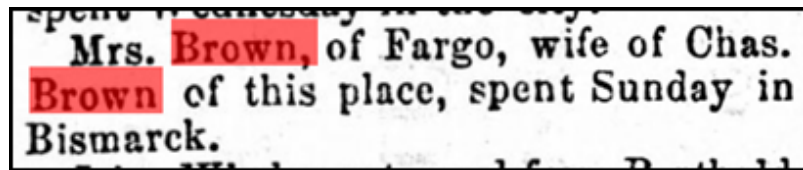
*"...During the campaign of 1876 it became evident that to contend successfully with the hostile Sioux it was necessary to obtain a firm foot hold on the Yellowstone River, to establish posts which would serve as bases of supply for troops operating in the field and from which the winter camps of the Indians could be reached. The construction of these posts had long before been recommended by the Lieutenant-General, but it was not until their necessity had been demonstrated by events that appropriations were made for them. On the **28th of August** I received from the Lieutenant-General instructions to establish a cantonment at the mouth of Tongue River, and to station there the Fifth Infantry, under **Colonel Miles**, and six companies of the Twenty-second Infantry under **Lieutenant-Colonel. E. S. Otis**. Prior to this time but six companies of the Fifth had reported on the Yellowstone; but at the same time, with these instructions. Two additional companies of the regiment, under **Lieutenant-Colonel Whistler**, arrived by steamer at Powder River. They were **immediately sent to the mouth of the Tongue under orders to commence building the cantonment**. Six days later, Colonel Miles, with the companies which had participated in the campaign, and the two remaining companies of his regiment—which in the meantime had reported—was put en route for the same place. **At this time the water in the Yellowstone had fallen so low that Glendive Creek had become the head of navigation. It was therefore necessary to unload the steamers bringing supplies and establish a temporary depot at that point**. Four of the six companies of the Twenty-second Infantry were assigned to duty there, and were directed to hut [house] themselves. The two other companies were, on the 11th of September, put in motion for Tongue River. Companies C and G of the Seventeenth Infantry, under command of **Capt. L. H. Sanger**, were also ordered to Glendive; they arrived there on the 9th of September and remained until the 2d of December, when they were relieved and brought to their proper stations in Dakota. Soon after the establishment of this camp, the Yellowstone ceased to be navigable for any considerable distance above its mouth, and it became necessary to resort to land-transportation for the supply of the cantonment at Tongue River; but the stores which had been gathered, and which subsequently accumulated there, made it necessary to keep up the [Glendive] depot during the winter, and it was not finally abandoned until the 25th of the following May [1877], though previous to that*

time—on the 6th of March—the garrison was reduced to two companies by the removal of the two other companies to Tongue River. **The troops thus stationed on the Yellowstone had now before them a three-fold task—to build the cantonments at Tongue River and Glendive Creek; to bring up the supplies necessary to their existence; and to operate as far as possible against the hostile Sioux, attacking and harassing them in their winter camps.** How well this task was performed events have shown. The situation at Tongue River was favorable for the construction of the cantonment, for an abundant supply of timber was found within easy reach of the site selected. At first the supply of tools was scanty; but all deficiencies were supplied by the energy and zeal of the officers and men, and comfortable barracks and quarters with sufficient storage-room for the security of supplies were speedily constructed. At Glendive the huts, though originally intended for but a temporary purpose, afforded tolerably good shelter throughout the winter. **After the navigation of the Yellowstone closed, all supplies intended for Glendive and the cantonment were necessarily sent to Buford, and thence up the north bank of the Yellowstone.** It was late in the season when this work began, and it was prolonged far into the winter, imposing much severe labor upon the troops employed as escorts to the trains, and subjecting them to great hardship. The stores brought up, however, were ample in quantity, except in the single article of forage, and no suffering or serious inconvenience resulted from any deficiency of supplies...”

August 30, 1876

Bismarck Weekly Tribune

A Visit from Fredericka. The article does not definitively say that Charlie was in Bismarck when she arrived; however,



why would she have come otherwise? Doubtful she made the trip without a reason. It seems apparent that Charlie was assigned lateral duties once again, based on the needs of the military. He was not always present in person on the trail with the wagon train.

<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84022129/1876-08-30/ed-1/seq-1/>

Charlie was still officially employed for another month, through Sept 30, per his NARA records.

Sept 2, 1876

The end is near. Getting supplies to Col. Miles at the new Tongue River cantonment was becoming problematic. “On the 2nd of September information was received that three boats with supplies for the troops in the field and for the cantonment on the Tongue, were aground eighteen miles below Glendive, and must be partially unloaded before they could reach even the latter place. It thus became evident that the Yellowstone could not be depended upon as a line of supply for the cantonment, and that more than ordinary activity would be required to get the needed stores up by land...It was more than questionable whether the troops then in field could be fed, and at the same time a winter’s supply of subsistence at Tongue River be accumulated...”

[Terry’s 1876 Report to the War Department]

Sept 3, 1876

“The wagon train went down the Yellowstone some 30 miles.” [MEDDAUGH]

Sept 5, 1876

“...**Buffalo Bill Cody and Texas Jack Omohundro**, having been discharged by Gen. Crook, left camp in a small boat to float down the Yellowstone and Missouri Rivers on their way to the States.” [MEDDAUGH] The states, of course, meant points not in territories. Minnesota was a ‘state’ at that time, but Montana and ND were territories. Meddaugh notes that he made several trips from Fort Buford to Tongue River to guard wagon trains between Sept. 15, 1876 and April of 1877 while conveying supplies to Col. Miles’ new cantonment.

Sept 6, 1876

The campaign of 1876 is officially over.

“Gen. Terry closes the campaign, and the mouth of Powder River is abandoned.” [CLARK] [The original supply depot had been abandoned in July but the advantageous spot was revisited by troops on occasion.]

Sept 8, 1876

Red River Star [Moorhead]

How soon we forget!! Ouch!! - Written by Phocton Howard for the Red River Star in Moorhead. “*The newspaper is now howling for blood and blaming the military for their inability to avenge Custer. Written from Fort Buford, Dakota Territory, August 29, 1876: ‘The march of Crook and Terry on both sides of the Yellowstone has been a fool’s march. Not a sign of a hostile Indian has been found, which confirms everything sent confidential and by telegraph. The campaign ends in a shameful defeat of the Federal Government. As I write this, General Hazen presses into the government service three steamboats, at a charter of four hundred dollars a day each, and they can possibly have no other business than that of feeding lazy soldiers and good Indians. The campaign against Sitting Bull for 1876 will be chronicled by the historian as the campaign of the ass against the pismire [ant]. Crook goes home after receiving supplies at Glendive, and Terry reports for duty at St. Paul. So ends the campaign against *Tulanka Eyotunka - Vale - Vale.’*”

[*Ed: I believe the correct name for Sitting Bull is Tatanka Iyotake. Vale is likely ‘farewell’ in Latin.]

Sept 10, 1876

Colonel Miles takes command at the Tongue river cantonment.

“Happy to sever connections with Terry’s demoralized command, Miles loaded a wagon train and headed with his infantry for his new cantonment [on the Tongue], of which he took command on **September 10th**.” [GRAY] Bad news for Miles was that the upper Yellowstone River was now closed for the season due to low water levels; he would need to take all of the supplies for his winter

<p>A rise in the Yellowstone of about two feet has enabled boats to continue running to the mouth of Glendive, and has enabled the Far West to pass Wolf Rapids. Supplies of subsistence stores sufficient for the Infantry for the winter have been forwarded to the mouth of Glendive. Owing to the great difficulty experienced in procuring forage, it has been determined to leave no cavalry on the Yellowstone this winter. Gen. Miles is already building winter quarters at Tongue River; Col. Otis, of the 22d, is at the mouth of Glendive, and will remain there until the supplies are all forwarded from that point. The army trains and the citizens teams are now engaged in transporting supplies from the mouth of Glendive to Tongue river. They will be engaged in this work some weeks. When this is done, Col. Otis will probably join Gen. Miles, and both the 5th and 22d will winter on the Yellowstone.</p>

quarters overland until the following spring rise. For that he needed teamsters and wagons.

Charlie appears to have continued his civilian teamster employment through September (See NARA record on Pg. 172). The other 'Master of Transportation', Matt Carroll of the contracted Diamond R train, part of Gibbon's command, noted in his *diary that he had been requested by Gen. Terry to haul supplies for Col. Nelson A. Miles to the mouth of the Tongue River. Charlie headed back to Bismarck and Moorhead after September, I believe; but Carroll stuck around for another year or two, finally becoming the first designated post trader for Fort Keogh before leaving the area for Helena. Many of the L. A. Huffman photos of early Main Street show the Diamond R sign. He and Charlie were well acquainted next-door neighbors on Main Street.

*Unlike Matt Carroll, who noted in his extensive diary that he had been specifically requested to stay on to work at the Tongue River cantonment, Charlie, sadly, left no diary detailing the summer of 1876--or any other time period in his life, for that matter.

Sept 13, 1876 - Fort Lincoln

Bismarck Weekly Tribune

Fort Lincoln's Paymaster was paying out salaries due to those discharged from the expedition. This probably did not include Charlie, who was employed through September 30th, per pay records.

Sept 20, 1876

Other civilians looking to make a profit headed back to the Tongue. "*We met also a wagon train going to Tongue river post [two of] the employees of wood contractor were with them.*" [ESG]

—The 7th Cavalry arrived this, Tuesday, morning. As they rode over the hill north of Bismarck the view presented was magnificent—but tears came unbidden to many an eye, for Custer, the brave Custer, his noble brothers and fellows, were not there. Col Weir was in command of the regiment, though Major Reno, the superior officer, who came down from Buford on the boat with headquarters, rode out to meet them. The stock was in fine condition; in the main, but the men were sunburnt, worn and dusty. A few familiar faces were recognized but those with whom Bismarck people were best acquainted lie in the trenches on the Little Horn. The Custers, Keogh, Yates, Smith, Hodgson, McIntosh, Harrington, Curtis, Porter and Crittenden, not to speak of Kellogg, Reynolds and many enlisted men, were our friends, neighbors and associates, and we mourn their loss as we should mourn the loss of a like number of the best and most prominent of our citizens.

Sept 20, 1876

Bismarck Weekly Tribune

<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84022129/1876-09-20/ed-1/seq-1/>

Some details of the days just prior to the ending of the Sioux Campaign of 1876.

Sept 20, 1876 [Wednesday]

General Terry arrives back in Bismarck and immediately heads for his St. Paul headquarters the very same night.

Sept 26, 1876 [Tuesday]

The remnants of the 7th Cavalry arrive in Bismarck.

Monday. The troops that left Lincoln in the spring are now all in except Maj. Sanger's battalion and those who sleep the long sleep. The citizen employees, except the teamsters, blacksmiths &c., are also in. The teamsters will remain some weeks yet engaged hauling supplies from Buford to Tongue river.

Sept 27, 1876

Bismarck Weekly Tribune

<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84022129/1876-09-27/ed-1/seq-1/>

7th Cav returns to Bismarck after Summer Campaign of 1876

Sept 27, 1876

Bismarck Weekly Tribune

Major Sanger was ordered to stay on **escort duty** on the Yellowstone “*where the citizen teams are still employed.*” This was necessary protection for both **Matt Carroll and Charlie**, citizen employees of the Army. Supplies for the establishment of temporary winter quarters for Miles’ command at the new Tongue River Military District were hauled from Buford on the Missouri up the Yellowstone to the Tongue River through the fall and winter of 1877, but probably not by Charlie.

After finishing out his contract on September 30th, I feel **Charlie headed home to Moorhead for the winter**. However, he would go on to have a long and close association with the new cantonment and its first commander. And each time he passed through the area during the summer of 1876, he was taking a good calculating look at that pleasant little spot at the confluence of the Tongue and Yellowstone that might have some possibilities as his new home in the not-too-distant future. His pioneer juices were flowing again; there was a life to be had and money to be made at that spot. It was on his radar.

His hiring records, found at the NARA (below) and listed completely in an earlier 1876 section, show his pay was terminated on Sept. 30. However, that may have been a termination only from Fort Lincoln’s pay records. The record documents clearly that he did work for Col. Nelson A. Miles at the new Tongue River cantonment after the Little Big Horn Expedition ended. I have not inquired into those later pay records as yet.

Below are previous notes from the NARA which cover Charlie’s final days on the Fort Lincoln payroll. His pay took a downward dive from \$100 as Master of Transportation on the LBH expedition to \$60 a month, which would be commensurate with the pay of a regular teamster, not a wagon boss. Although officially still listed as the ‘Master of Transportation’ on final payroll records, his duties were far fewer by the end of September because the expedition had officially ended earlier in the month. It’s probable that between Aug 21 and Sep 30 his official transfer from Fort Lincoln to the ‘*Tongue River Region*’ may have taken place. At that point, he would have become just another teamster hauling supplies in support of Col Miles’ troops who were overwintering at the Tongue River Cantonment.

The NARA records show:

“After the Battle of the Little Big Horn, this volume indicates that Charles Brown remained the Master of Transportation through September 30, 1876, earning about \$60/month. Master of Transportation Charles Brown’s Wagon Train operated in Montana Territory after being transferred to the *A. A. Q. M. in the Tongue River region.”

*[AAQM - Acting Assistant Quartermaster]

Below is a link to some of Col. Miles' 1876-1877 correspondence regarding his early days and efforts at the Tongue River cantonment in the *District of the Yellowstone*.

<https://archive.org/details/annualreportsec29deptgoog/page/n559>

From October 1876 through February 1877...

Col. Miles and his 5th Infantry troops from the Tongue River cantonment conducted a winter cavalry campaign against the Indians who had escaped after the Custer Battle. **It does not appear Charlie took part in any way in those movements.**

War Department Report to the Secretary of War Dated October 25, 1876. Written to Gen. Terry by Col. Miles from the 'Camp opposite Cabin Creek on the Yellowstone River'.

Col. Miles has a meeting with Sitting Bull not far from the Tongue River cantonment that does not go well. It will be the first of many attempts to capture Sitting Bull. It will be four years before they succeed.

*"SIR: I have the honor to report that having received information of the movement of hostile Indians from the south toward the Yellowstone: also of the design of Sitting Bull to go north to the Big Dry for buffalo, I moved with the Fifth Infantry to intercept or follow is movements. On Custer Creek, I learned that he had attacked and turned back one train from Glendive and made a second unsuccessful attack upon an escort and train under the command of Colonel Otis. Moving northeast and approaching their trail and camp, they appeared in considerable numbers and presented flag of truce and desired to communicate. I met Sitting Bull between the lines. He expressed a desire to "make a peace." He desired to hunt. bufl'alo, to trade (particularly for ammunition), and a read that the Indians would not fire upon soldiers if they were not disturbed. He desire to know why the soldiers did not go into winter quarters; and, in other words, he desired an "old-fashioned peace" for the winter. He was informed of the terms of the government, and on what grounds he could obtain peace, and that he must bring his tribe in near our camp. The interview ended near sundown with no definite result, they retiring to their camp, and my command moving and camping on Cedar Creek, in position to move easily to intercept their movement north. Sitting Bull was told to come in next day. As the command was moving north between their camp and the Big Dry, they again appeared and desired to talk. A council followed between the lines, with Sitting Bull, Pretty Bear (chief in council), Bull Eagle, John Suns Arcs. Standing Bear, Gall (war chief), White Bull, and others of their headmen present. Sitting Bull was anxious for peace, provided he could have his own terms; yet to surrender to the government would be a loss of prestige to him as a great war chief. His taste and great strength is as a warrior, and I should judge that influence would have great weight with him as against wiser counsels. Several of his headmen and people, I believe, desire peace. The demands of the government were fully explained to him, and the only terms required of him were that he should camp his tribe on some point on the Yellowstone near the troops, or go into some government agency and place his people under subjection to the government. **He said he would come in to trade for ammunition, but wanted no rations or annuities, and desired to live as an Indian; gave no assurance of good faith, and as the council ended was told that a non-acceptance of the liberal terms of the government would be considered an act of hostility. An engagement immediately followed.** They took position on a line of hills and broke ground, occupying every mound and ravine. They were driven from every part of the field, through their camp-ground and down Bad Route Creek, and finally across the Yellowstone at the ford they had crossed about a*

week ago. In their camp and on their line of retreat, they abandoned tons of dried meat, lodge-poles, travois, camp equipage, ponies, and broken-down cavalry horses, &c. They fought principally dismounted, and were driven 42 miles to the south side of the Yellowstone. During the fight, as we passed rapidly over the field, five dead warriors were reported to me as left on the field, besides those they were seen to carry away. **I intend to continue the pursuit.** They are in great want of food, their stock is nearly worn down, and they cannot have a large amount of ammunition. What they have has been taken from citizens in the Black Hills, from troops in the Custer massacre, or from friendly Indians.”

Two days after Miles’ report, dated October 25, 1876 (above), he writes another ...

Col. Nelson A. Miles to the St. Paul Headquarters of Gen. Terry dated October 27, 1876, in which he states: “Sir: I have the honor to report that, as communicated in my letter of the 13th instant to the headquarters of the department, I commenced the trip to Tongue River with the supply train upon the morning of the 14th instant. ***Forty-one of the citizen teamsters, having become too greatly demoralized to continue service upon the road,** were discharged and their necessary places filled with enlisted men...”

There is no way to know for sure if Charlie was or was not one of the teamsters who had had enough of life on the road. It’s my personal opinion that he was. Winter was fast approaching, and he did have a wife and young family back in Moorhead MN who needed him after such an extended absence. It would certainly be understandable, considering all of what the teamsters had been through physically and mentally and the exhausting, dangerous, impossible and impassable circumstances they experienced, that some of them were ready to call it quits for the season. It doesn’t reflect an act of cowardice or giving up; it reflects a need to focus on family, a matter of common sense. Guaranteed, Fredericka would be happy to have him close once more!

*If he was one of the 41 who left their teamster duties behind in October of 1876, it was also a fact that he returned to the Army’s arms many times after that for the rest of his life, apparently still in very good graces with Col. Miles at Fort Keogh and later in Alaska. (See Part 3)

Historically, the cold winter months meant a ceasing of hostilities. However, Col. Miles took an entirely different approach and was unusually tenacious in his pursuit during the winter.

On December 24, 1876, Miles troops under Lt. Baldwin attacked and destroyed a winter camp of Indians: His report said, “I think Baldwin deceived the Indians by a pretended movement toward Buford; but taking the general course of the Indians to near the head of Redwater, [River, tributary of the Missouri] he came suddenly in sight of the Indian camp, about two miles distant; the time necessary for his command of three companies of infantry to pass over this ground was the only time given them to take themselves and such property as they could gather up out of camp. The attack was made at once, the Indians driven out, and the camp’ captured, many of the lodges captured standing, others half-packed on ponies. Many of the warriors were evidently out hunting or watching the other commands. **It was a quick and unexpected attack on the part of the troops and a stampede on the part of the Indians. The troops lost nothing, while the Indians lost some sixty head of horses, mules, and ponies, which were shot or driven to this place, and the greater part of this winter-camp, including every description of property**

PART 1: 1834-1876

belonging to an Indian village, which was burned up...” This was a bitter blow to the Indians during the coldest winter weather.

A month later, in January of 1877, Miles noted in another report that “...*Some of the prisoners now in our hands were captured with frozen limbs, and were living on horse-meat.*”

And, of course, traveling and fighting in the winter was brutal for the troops as well:

“...[Troops] were driven back over three rough, piny, rugged bluffs, where it was impossible to ride a horse and the soldiers frequently fell in scaling the ice and snow covered cliffs...The latter part of the fight was during a blinding snow-storm...The command returned to this cantonment in good condition and spirits, having marched 300 miles in mid-winter through snow from one to three feet deep. The command crossed the Tongue River 107 times, which occasioned some difficulty and delay. The valley is very narrow, skirted by bad lands, almost impassable; the valley may be said to be almost a canon [canyon] from its mouth up 150 miles, as there is scarcely one mile of this river that is not commanded by bluffs from 100 to 1,000 feet in height...”

“... [The Indians] fought entirely dismounted, not a single rifle being fired on horseback, their ponies being used only to carry them from one line of ravines or lodges and blinds to others. They used loud shrill whistles to convey their orders...Their loss is known to be severe. They left pools of blood on the snow where they fought, on the ice where they crossed the river, and for five miles up the valley on their retreat. These are considered the best fighting warriors of the plains [Sioux]...”



*“A Winter March”
Sketch from the “Personal Recollections of General Nelson A. Miles.”*

[MILES-2] **Col. Miles describes how his 5th Infantry soldiers dressed in the -50 to -60° degree winter weather.** Charlie likely had similar dress when he was out in a Montana winter. No lightweight North Face brands then! The soldiers could barely move in the deep snow if they had to walk, let alone the weight of the drag if they became wet.

*“...In addition to the usual strong woolen clothing furnished for the uniform, they cut up woolen blankets and made themselves heavy and warm underclothing. They were abundantly supplied with mittens and with arctics or ***buffalo overshoes**, and whenever it was possible they had buffalo moccasins made, and frequently cut up grain sacks to bind about their feet in order to keep them from freezing. They made woolen masks that covered the entire head, leaving openings for the eyes and to breathe through, and nearly all had **buffalo overcoats**. This command of more than four hundred men **looked more like a large body of Esquimaux than like white men and United States soldiers**. In fact with their masks over their heads it was **impossible to tell one from another**. When the snow was deep they frequently marched in single file, the leading man breaking the road until weary, then falling out for another to take his place and returning to the rear of the column while the fresh man continued to beat the pathway through the snow. **At night they made large fires of dry cottonwood and frequently slept on the snow beside them. They crossed all the principal rivers, the Missouri, the Yellowstone and the Tongue, with heavily-loaded wagons and pieces of artillery on the solid ice.** These active operations continued from early in October until the middle of February.”*

Note: *Buffalo overshoes were made from buffalo skin turned inside out so that the fur was against the skin and the bare skinned side was on the outside. These were fine during cold weather, but in rain, the outside bare skin turned to mush causing major foot problems--similar to trench foot during WWII--the feet got wet and then the fur wouldn't dry out. The 'Arctics' mentioned above were a more modern Army footwear. By 1877, most of the soldiers should have had access to Arctics. **Charlie bought his own shoes (called Brogans) at the Post store at Fort Keogh some years later, so he had access to military goods. See a photo of brogans in Part 2.**

AFTER THE GREAT SIOUX WAR - National Park Service

https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/hh/1b/hh1k.htm

*“After the Battle of the Little Bighorn, the great Sioux and Cheyenne village broke up, the various bands going their separate ways to avoid the soldiers. A shocked and outraged Nation demanded that the slayers of Custer be punished, and soon heavy reinforcements poured up the Missouri. Throughout the summer the columns of Terry and Crook searched for the hostiles but could bring on no important engagement. By autumn, however, many of the Indian fugitives had tired of the pursuit and, with winter coming on, slipped back to the agencies to surrender. The rest endured months of insecurity as troops braved the perils of a Montana winter to continue the campaign. Several times sleeping camps of Indians awoke to the crash of rifle and carbine fire and the sight of bluecoats among their tepees. With the approach of spring, hundreds drifted into the agencies and gave up. Even Crazy Horse saw the futility of holding out longer. On May 6, 1877, he led a procession of more than 1,100 Sioux into Camp Robinson, Nebr., and laid down his rifle. Vowing never to accept reservation restraints, **Sitting Bull and some 400 Hunkpapa Sioux crossed into Canada.** But food was scarce and U.S. soldiers patrolled the international boundary, preventing the Indians from hunting buffalo in Montana. Little by little the refugees weakened. First Gall, then Crow King led their followers to Fort Buford to surrender. **Finally, in July 1881, Sitting Bull and 43 families appeared at the fort and gave up.** Sitting Bull's surrender formally marked the end of a war that had all but ended 4 years earlier, when the bulk of the hostiles of 1876 had settled on the reservations. In their triumph at the Little Bighorn, the Sioux and Cheyennes had awakened forces that led to their collapse. The Campaign of 1876 had, after all, accomplished the objectives set by its authors. It had compelled the Indians to abandon the unceded hunting grounds and accept Government control on the reservations. And it had frightened the chiefs into selling the Black Hills. Bitterly the Sioux and Cheyennes submitted to the reservation way of life. Although it contrasted cruelly with the old life, gradually they came to see that the freedom of the past could never be recaptured. For a generation to come, however, old warriors would recall with satisfaction the brief moment of glory when they wiped out Custer's cavalry.”*

PERSONAL NOTE: As a Montana native, I've been to the battlefield on the Little Big Horn many times in my life. My favorite time of the year to go is in mid-September to early October when it's still warm and sunny and there are few tourists to mute the sound of the wind blowing through the prairie grasses. For me, there is a real sense of history still floating through the air in that place. Next time I go, I will also listen carefully for **Charlie's voice**.

“It's not what you look at...it's what you see.”

-Thoreau-

PART 1: 1834-1876

Interesting description of **INDIAN SMOKE SIGNALS** is included in “The Conquest of The Missouri: Being The Story Of The Life And Exploits Of Captain Grant Marsh” By Joseph Mills Hanson (1909)...

“...The method employed by these Indians, and by all the Sioux, in manipulating their signal fires, was interesting. The dusky scout who had news to convey to other scouts or to distant camps would first select as the location for his fire the crest of some conspicuous elevation. Here with his knife he would dig a small hole in the ground, fill it with damp prairie grass and light it, making a smudge, the smoke from which would rise high in a straight column through the still summer air. After he had permitted it to smolder for a minute or two, he would throw his blanket over the hole, cutting off the smoke for a time, and then withdraw it and send up another column. In this way many signals, previously arranged, could be transmitted to distant points by various combinations of smoke columns and intervals, as telegraphic messages are transmitted by dots and dashes...”

Additional Interesting Military Reports...

War Department Reports - 1876: After-Action Reports

<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uiug.30112109524956;view=1up;seq=478>

War Department Reports - 1877: Tongue River Cantonment

<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015035037939;view=1up;seq=643>

**NOW COMES THE MOST SATISFYING PART OF CHARLIE’S LIFE
...PART 2**