



THE EARTH IS ALL THAT LASTS

*Crazy Horse, Sitting Bull, and the
Last Stand of the Great Sioux Nation*



MARK LEE GARDNER



MARINER BOOKS

Boston New York

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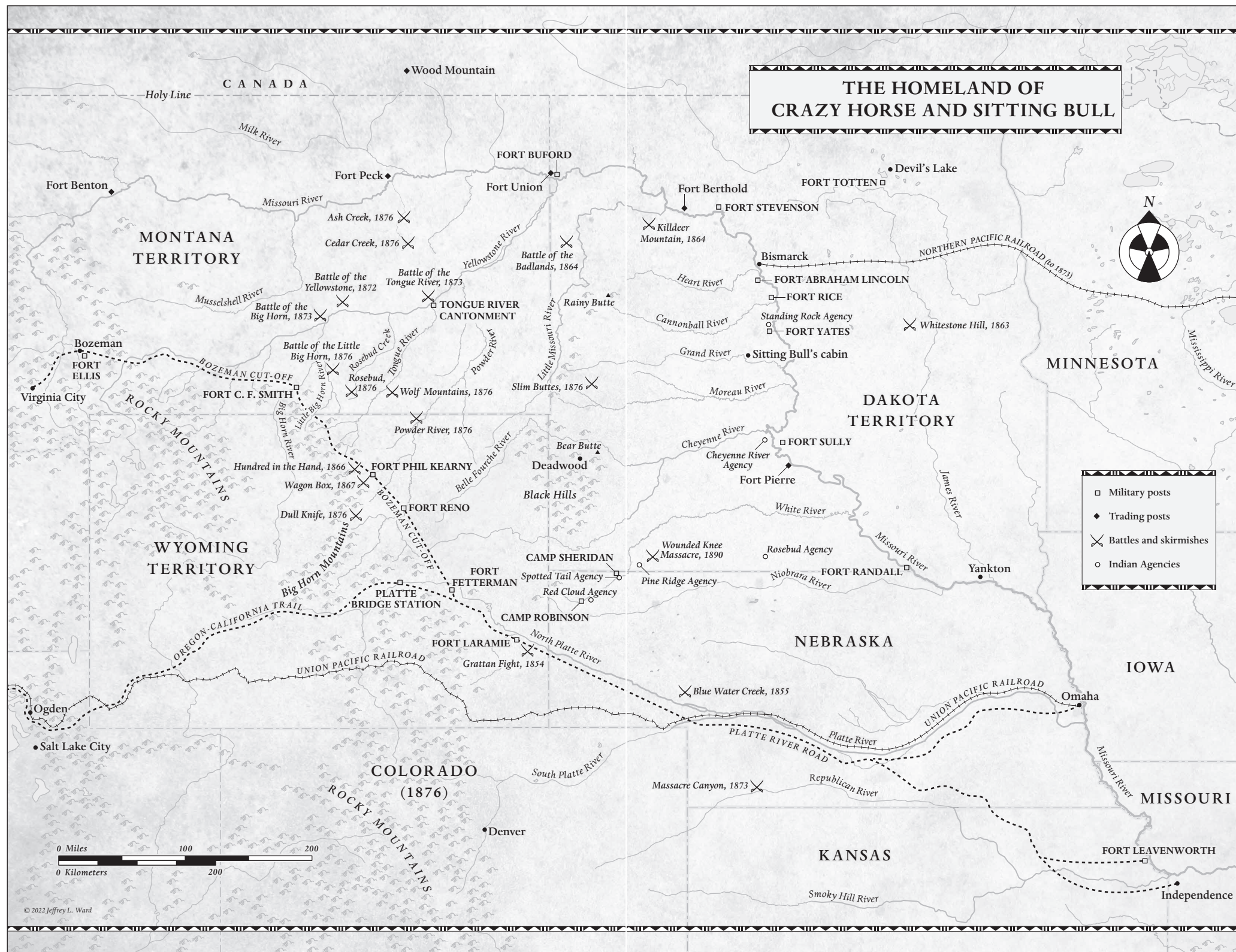
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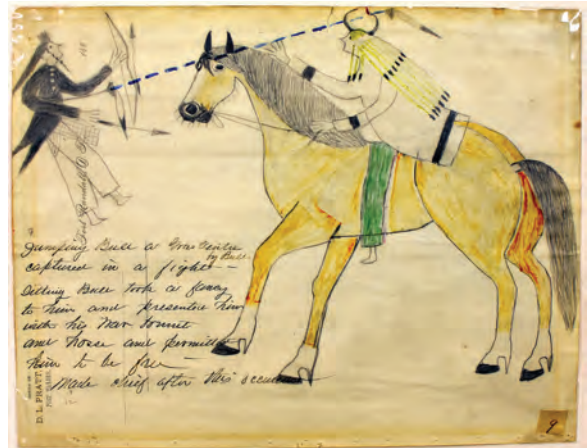
A drawing by Sitting Bull depicting his duel with a Crow chief in 1856. Sitting Bull killed the chief, but the Crow wounded Sitting Bull in two places. The wound to his left foot caused him to walk with a slight limp for the rest of his life.

BUFFALO BILL CENTER OF THE WEST



Sitting Bull captures an Assiniboiné boy, 1857. Sitting Bull adopted this boy as his brother and eventually gave him the name Jumping Bull, the name of Sitting Bull's father. The two remained close for the rest of their days. Drawing by Sitting Bull.

BUFFALO BILL CENTER OF THE WEST



Sitting Bull's fight with Corporal Jefferson Dilts, September 2, 1864. In this work, a copy made by Four Horns of a now-missing Sitting Bull drawing, Dilts bleeds from an arrow shot by the Hunkpapa chief while the corporal shoots and wounds Sitting Bull in the left hip.

NATIONAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL ARCHIVES





Sitting Bull, photographed by Orlando S. Goff at the Standing Rock Agency in early August 1881, less than a month after the chief's surrender to the U.S. Army.

COURTESY OF THE AUTHOR



Gall (*Phizi*)—Hunkpapa war chief, Little Big Horn veteran, and Sitting Bull's onetime lieutenant. During the reservation years, Gall was a strong "progressive" and a favorite of Standing Rock Indian agent James McLaughlin.

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One Bull, nephew of Sitting Bull and Little Big Horn veteran, photographed at Fort Randall in 1882. The vivid recollections of One Bull and his brother, White Bull, were obtained by author Walter Campbell (pen name Stanley Vestal) in the late 1920s and early '30s.

COURTESY OF THE AUTHOR

Frank Grouard, the son of a Mormon missionary and a Polynesian woman, lived for several years with the northern Lakotas, becoming a trusted friend of both Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse. Grouard later became a scout for the U.S. Army and betrayed that friendship by helping the Long Knives hunt down the free-roaming Sioux and Cheyennes.

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Left: Horn Chips, famed Oglala holy man and cousin of Crazy Horse, with his wife, Feels All Around It, 1907. Horn Chips made protective “war medicine” and other charms for his cousin.

NEBRASKA STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY



He Dog, lifelong friend of Crazy Horse and Little Big Horn veteran. Photographed here as part of a Sioux and Arapaho delegation to Washington, D.C., in September 1877.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

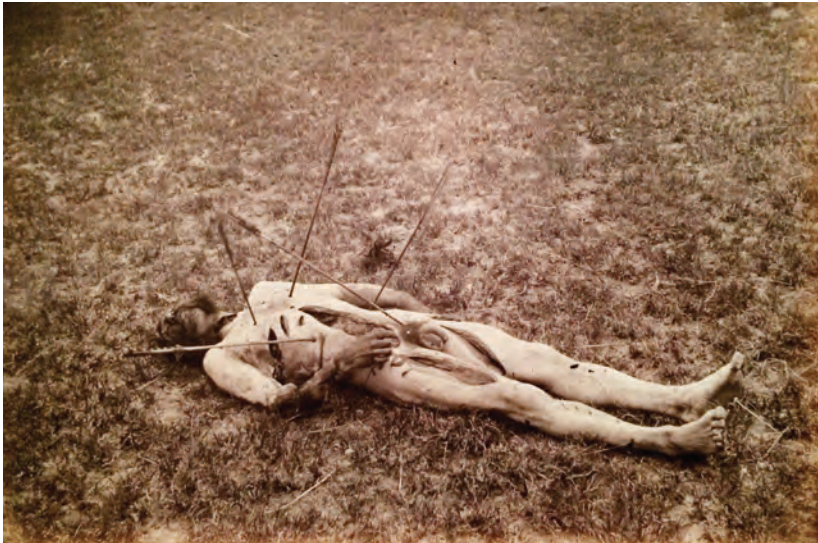


Little Big Man, onetime lieutenant of Crazy Horse and Little Big Horn veteran. Little Big Man later played a despicable part in the war chief's death. Photographed in Washington, D.C., September 1877.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Scalping, committed by both Indians and whites, came to symbolize the warfare on the Great Plains. “My people took scalps,” explained Luther Standing Bear, “only to prove their stories that they had met the enemy and overpowered him.” This 1868 engraving appeared in the French journal *Le Tour du Monde*.

COURTESY OF THE AUTHOR



The mutilation of dead enemies ensured that they would enter the land of ghosts in that same condition. This unfortunate victim, Sergeant Frederick Wyllyams of the Seventh U.S. Cavalry, was killed June 26, 1867, in western Kansas. The dead of Custer’s men at the Little Big Horn were treated much the same way.

THE NELSON-ATKINS MUSEUM OF ART



Above left: Red Cloud, fierce Oglala war chief and leader of the Bad Face band. He vowed to fight to the death until the forts in the Powder River country were abandoned, which happened in 1868. Red Cloud subsequently signed the Treaty of Fort Laramie and never again went to war against the whites.

NATIONAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL ARCHIVES

Above right: They Fear Even His Horses, hereditary chief of the Oglalas, smokes his pipe in a council with peace commissioners at Fort Laramie, May 1868. Photograph by Alexander Gardner.

NATIONAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL ARCHIVES



Left: Spotted Tail, head chief of the Brulé tribe and uncle of Crazy Horse. Like Red Cloud, he fell into disfavor with both Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse for not joining them in their war against the white man and for signing away Lakota lands.

NEWBERRY LIBRARY



This drawing is believed to depict the August 5, 1873, “Battle” of Massacre Canyon, in which Crazy Horse was a participant. The drawing is one of ten contained in a small ledger book that Crazy Horse presented to a journalist in May 1877. Crazy Horse said the drawings represented the life of a famous warrior, but he wouldn’t say whether or not that warrior was himself.

DENVER ART MUSEUM



Last Stand Hill at Little Big Horn Battlefield, Montana. “The people in the States blame me for having killed Custer and his army,” Sitting Bull said in 1878. “He came to attack me, and in sufficient numbers to show me that they wanted to destroy me and my children.”

PHOTOGRAPH BY THE AUTHOR



Looking west from Last Stand Hill to the valley of the Greasy Grass (Little Big Horn). On June 25, 1876, the valley held a thousand lodges, homes to more than five thousand Sioux and Cheyennes. The village stretched along the stream for a mile and a half.

PHOTOGRAPH BY THE AUTHOR



Two Moons, Northern Cheyenne chief. In describing the Little Big Horn battle, Two Moons said the “smoke was like a great cloud, and everywhere the Sioux went the dust rose like smoke. We circled all round [Custer]—swirling like water around a stone. We shoot, we ride fast, we shoot again. Soldiers drop, and horses fall on them.”

NEWBERRY LIBRARY



Wooden Leg, Northern Cheyenne, holding a Springfield carbine captured at the Little Big Horn. His autobiography, published in 1931 as *A Warrior Who Fought Custer*, is one of the best accounts of the Cheyennes' and Lakotas' last years of freedom and their warfare with the Long Knives.

COURTESY OF THE AUTHOR



Hunts the Enemy (George Sword). A former warrior under Crazy Horse and a nephew of Red Cloud, Hunts the Enemy traveled to Crazy Horse's camp in the spring of 1877 and helped persuade the chief to go to the Red Cloud Agency and surrender with his people. Hunts the Enemy is pictured here as a Metal Breast (Indian policeman) at the Pine Ridge Agency.

NEWBERRY LIBRARY



Camp Robinson and the Red Cloud Buttes in 1877, the year of Crazy Horse's death.

NEWBERRY LIBRARY



Lieutenant William Philo Clark and Little Hawk, uncle of Crazy Horse, 1877. Clark, head of the Indian scouts at Camp Robinson, failed in his efforts to manipulate or "work" Crazy Horse, and later commented that the chief's death "will save trouble."

NATIONAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL ARCHIVES



Camp Robinson interpreters Baptiste "Big Bat" Pourier (*left*) and William "Billy" Garnett (*right*), circa 1877. Pourier was at Crazy Horse's deathbed and recalled the warrior's last words.

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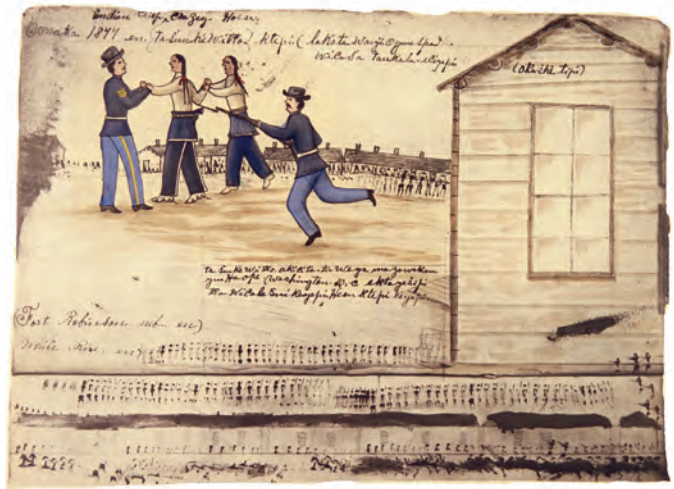


Ellen “Nellie” Larabee proposed to Crazy Horse in the summer of 1877 and subsequently shared his lodge with Black Shawl, the chief’s first wife. The multilingual Nellie kept Crazy Horse informed of the news and gossip circulating through the villages and at Camp Robinson.

COURTESY OF THE AUTHOR

The killing of Crazy Horse as imagined by Oglala artist Amos Bad Heart Bull (1869–1913).

UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI
ARCHIVES AND RARE BOOKS
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The reconstructed Camp Robinson guardhouse. Crazy Horse was bayoneted just outside the guardhouse door.

PHOTOGRAPH BY THE
AUTHOR

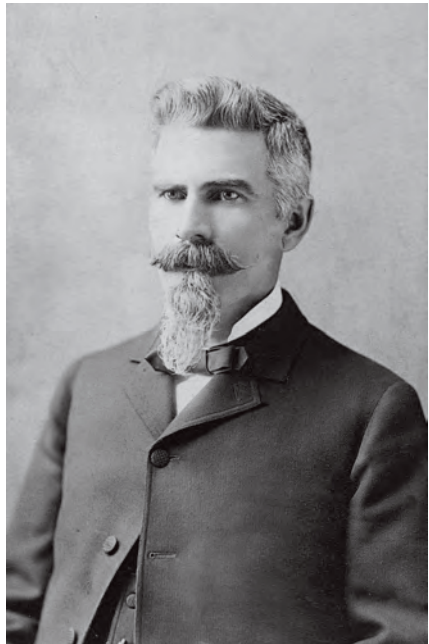


An engraving based on German artist Rudolf Cronau's sketch of Sitting Bull made at Fort Randall on October 25, 1881.

NEWBERRY LIBRARY

James McLaughlin, Standing Rock Indian agent and Sitting Bull's greatest adversary during his reservation years. A Jesuit priest at Standing Rock wrote that McLaughlin had "the cunning of Satan."

COURTESY OF THE AUTHOR



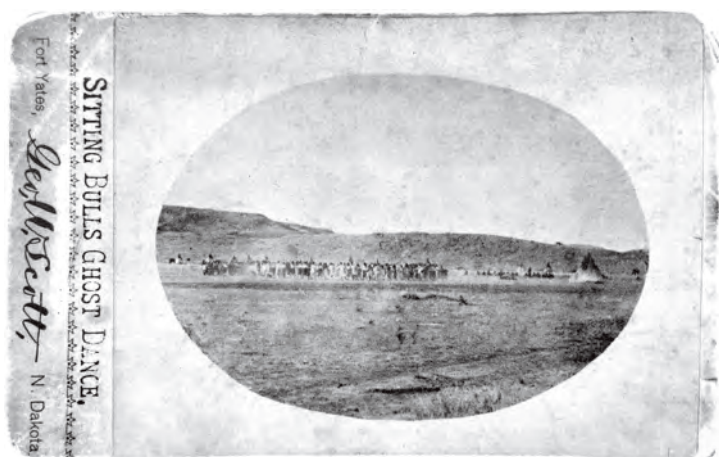


Left: Sitting Bull and William F. "Buffalo Bill" Cody, photographed by William Notman & Son in Montreal, Canada, August 1885. Sitting Bull toured with Cody's Wild West for only one season.

COURTESY OF THE AUTHOR

Below: Ghost Dance at Sitting Bull's camp, Grand River, December 1890. This photograph was taken by *Chicago Herald* correspondent Sam T. Clover with a small Kodak box camera. Clover wrote that one of Sitting Bull's wives "eyed my black box very suspiciously and vented a grunt of disapproval as she caught the sharp click of the button."

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY



Kicking Bear—Little Big Horn veteran, cousin of Crazy Horse, nephew of Sitting Bull, and Ghost Dance holy man. At Sitting Bull's request, Kicking Bear taught the Ghost Dance religion to the Lakotas on Grand River.

NEWBERRY LIBRARY





The arrest and death of Sitting Bull, December 15, 1890, painted by Thomas Stone Man, circa 1920. Stone Man, a Yanktonai, was a member of the Metal Breast detachment that came to arrest the holy man.

PRIVATE COLLECTION



Second Sergeant Red Tomahawk of the Standing Rock Metal Breasts. Red Tomahawk put a bullet in Sitting Bull's head after the holy man had been fatally shot in the chest by Lieutenant Bull Head.

NATIONAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL ARCHIVES

Crow Foot, Sitting Bull's son by Whole Tribe Seeing Her. At the conclusion of the fight with Sitting Bull's followers, the Metal Breasts discovered the sixteen-year-old boy hiding underneath his metal bed and murdered him.

COURTESY OF THE AUTHOR





This painting by Caroline Weldon hung in the cabin behind Sitting Bull's. It was not painted from life but is copied from one of the photographs made of Sitting Bull in Montreal in 1885. The large gash in the left side of the canvas was made by a Metal Breast who tried to destroy the painting but then was stopped by an army lieutenant.

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF
NORTH DAKOTA



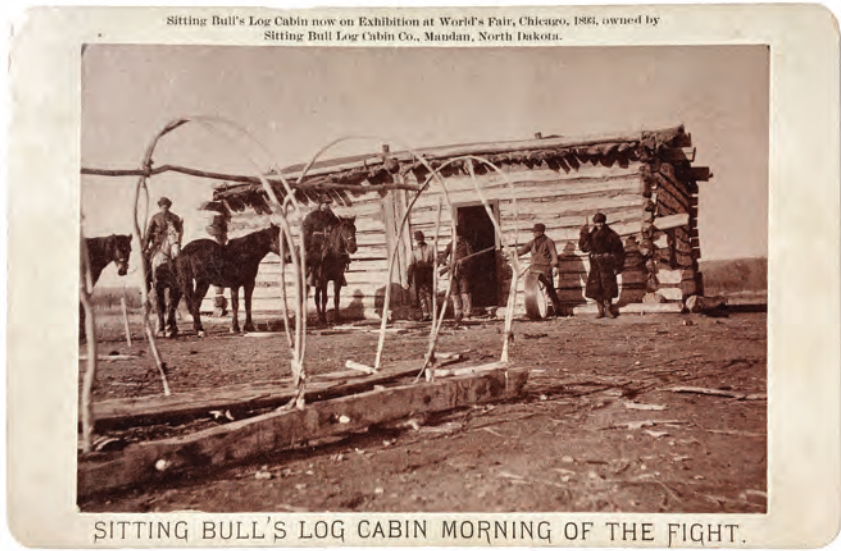
These bloodstained cabinet card portraits were found in Sitting Bull's clothing after his death. The photograph on the left is a portrait of "Captain Jack" Crawford and is inscribed by Crawford to Sitting Bull. The photograph on the right is identified only as "Sitting Bull's 'pet.'" The holy man loved children and this white child is undoubtedly someone he knew.

SOUTH DAKOTA STATE HISTORICAL
SOCIETY



Sitting Bull's wives and daughters pose in front of his cabin shortly after his death. *Left to right:* Lodge in Sight, Four Robes, Whole Tribe Seeing Her, and Standing Holy.

COURTESY OF THE AUTHOR



This photograph was sold as a souvenir at the Sitting Bull cabin exhibit at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition. It purports to be a reenactment of Sitting Bull's arrest but is wholly inaccurate. The image does picture the cabin at its original location on Grand River before it was disassembled. The timbers and bent saplings in the foreground are the framework for a sweat lodge, used by the Ghost Dancers to purify themselves before participating in the dance.

COURTESY OF THE AUTHOR



Above: Standing Rock Metal Breasts, survivors of the fight at Sitting Bull's camp, taken five days after the botched arrest attempt. The man on horseback on the left is Agent McLaughlin.

COURTESY OF THE AUTHOR

Above left: Sitting Bull's death made front pages and headlines around the world. The garish illustration at the bottom of this December 31, 1890, *Christian Herald* is supposed to depict Sitting Bull's "last campfire."

AUTHOR'S COLLECTION



Sitting Bull's grave at Fort Yates, circa 1910, from a photographic postcard.

COURTESY OF THE AUTHOR

Sitting Bull's original grave site at Fort Yates as it appears today.

PHOTOGRAPH BY THE AUTHOR



Sitting Bull's grave site overlooking the Missouri River opposite Mobridge, South Dakota. Whether all of Sitting Bull's remains, some of his remains, or none of his remains are buried here is unknown.

PHOTOGRAPH BY THE AUTHOR

AMERICAN INDIAN INFORMANTS

*If the white historians were half as careful in their statements
as these Indians, history would be a nobler thing.*

WALTER CAMPBELL (STANLEY VESTAL), STANDING
ROCK RESERVATION, SEPTEMBER 6, 1929

In researching and writing this book, I consulted dozens of interviews (i.e., oral histories) of Indian contemporaries of Crazy Horse and Sitting Bull, both published and unpublished, as well as the known words and sayings of the two Lakota leaders themselves. The interviews were conducted, transcribed, and preserved over many years by a number of farsighted and dedicated men and women, including Walter Mason Camp, Eli Ricker, Thomas Marquis, Walter Campbell, John G. Neihardt, James R. Walker, E. A. Brininstool, Eleanor Hinman, Mari Sandoz, and David Humphreys Miller, among others. A very few accounts were written and preserved by the Lakotas themselves, Josephine Waggoner being a prime example. These first-person accounts are fully cited in my endnotes. However, because not every reader consults a book's endnotes, and because many of the informants' names do not appear in my main narrative, I am recognizing those individuals again here. I have also included informants who, though living after the time of Crazy Horse and Sitting Bull, had knowledge of these men and their times passed down through tribal elders and/or family members.



Brulé

Hollow Horn Bear
 Susan Bordeaux Bettelyoun
 William J. Bordeaux
 Bear Stands Up
 Short Bull

Húŋkpapa

Sitting Bull
 Circling Hawk
 Gall
 Gray Eagle
 Grover Eagle Boy
 Four Horns
 Four Robes
 Her Eagle Robe (Mary Crawler)
 Little Soldier
 Crow King
 Pretty White Buffalo Woman
 Josephine Waggoner
 Ernie LaPointe
 Old Bull
 One Bull
 Scarlet Whirlwind Woman (Mrs.
 One Bull)
 Shoots Walking
 Otter Robe
 Rain in the Face
 One Elk
 Two Bull
 White Bird

Miniconjou

White Bull
 Dewey Beard (Iron Hail)
 Iron Thunder
 Standing Bear
 Eagle Shield
 Swelled Face

Oglala

Crazy Horse
 Red Feather
 William “Billy” Garnett
 He Alone Is a Man
 Frank Kicking Bear
 Luther Standing Bear
 He Dog
 Iron Hawk
 Iron Horse
 Eagle Hawk
 Little Wound
 Low Dog
 Mathew H. King
 Horn Chips
 Eagle Elk
 Mark Spider
 Black Elk
 Fire Thunder
 Wide Road
 Chasing Hawk
 Flying Hawk
 Joseph White Cow Bull



John No Ears
 Short Bull
 Little Killer
 They Fear Even His Horses
 Thomas Tyon
 Rocky Bear
 Thunder Bear
 Frank Kicking Bear
 Red Sack
 Red Hawk
 Victoria Conroy

Santee

Charles A. Eastman

Sihásapa

Crawler
 Red Tomahawk

Two Kettle

Runs the Enemy
 Eagle Woman That All Look At
 (Matilda Galpin)

Yanktonai

Bear's Ghost
 Francis Benjamin "Frank" Zahn

Northern Cheyenne

John Stands in Timber
 Young Two Moons
 Two Moons
 Wooden Leg
 James Tangled Yellow Hair
 Little Hawk
 White Elk

Southern Cheyenne

Antelope Woman (Kate Bighead)
 George Bent

Cheyenne River Sioux

Little Wounded

Arickara

Red Star

Tribal Affiliation Uncertain

Shot in the Face
 Iron Bull

NOTES

Abbreviations

- CC:** Walter Stanley Campbell Collection, University of Oklahoma, Western History Collections
- NA:** National Archives documents accessed at <https://catalog.archives.gov>
- NA-KC:** National Archives at Kansas City, Missouri
- RG 75:** Record Group 75, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1793–1999

1 / Hóka Hé!

- 1 “*A charger, he is coming*”: Raymond J. DeMallie, ed., *The Sixth Grandfather: Black Elk’s Teachings Given to John G. Neihardt* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 198.
- 1 *Sitting Bull carefully dressed*: Sitting Bull’s offering was related by One Bull, a nephew of Sitting Bull, to Robert Higheagle. See Robert Higheagle, “Twenty-Five Songs Made by Sitting Bull,” typescript in CC, box 104, folder 18. An example of a Lakota offering stick was collected by Frances Densmore on the Standing Rock Reservation in the early 1900s. It’s part of the collections of the National Museum of the American Indian, Washington, D.C., catalog number 6/7988.
- 1 *about five feet, ten inches tall*: The estimate of Sitting Bull’s height is from the *New York Herald* journalist James Creelman, who met Sitting Bull at Fort Randall in 1881. His report of that encounter is reprinted in the *Abbeville Press and Banner*, Abbeville, SC, November 30, 1881. Artist De Cost Smith, who got to know Sitting Bull well at Standing Rock, described him as “above middle



height.” De Cost Smith, *Red Indian Experiences* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1949), 184.

- 1 **walked with a slight limp:** One Bull interview, CC, box 104, folder 11; and Circling Hawk interview, CC, box 105, folder 13.
- 2 **more than five thousand souls:** The size of the Indian village on the Little Big Horn in June 1876 has captured the attention of scholars for decades, with some estimates as high as 15,000 people! In recent years, numbers have been revised down to more conservative estimates, actually falling in line with the careful analysis made by famed Santee (Eastern Sioux) author Charles A. Eastman 120 years ago. See his “The Story of the Little Big Horn (Told from the Indian standpoint by one of their race),” *The Chautauquan* 31 (July 1900): 354, and his letter of September 30, 1914, in Warren K. Moorehead, *The American Indian in the United States, Period 1850–1914* (Andover, MA: The Andover Press, 1914), 199. In an interview with Major Marcus A. Reno in 1885, Sitting Bull and his interpreter came up with an estimate of more than seven hundred lodges and between five and six thousand people in the village. “Questioning Sitting Bull About Custer’s Defeat,” *Wheeling Sunday Register*, WV, June 28, 1885. See also Gregory F. Michno, *Lakota Noon: The Indian Narrative of Custer’s Defeat* (Missoula, MT: Mountain Press Publishing Company, 1997), 4–20.
- 2 **“Great Spirit, pity me”:** As quoted by One Bull in Higheagle, “Twenty-Five Songs Made by Sitting Bull,” CC. For additional descriptions of Sitting Bull’s offering, see Ernie LaPointe, *Sitting Bull: His Life and Legacy* (Salt Lake City: Gibbs Smith, 2009), 67; One Bull interview, David Humphreys Miller, “Echoes of the Little Bighorn,” *American Heritage* 22 (June 1971): 30; and Stanley Vestal, *Sitting Bull: Champion of the Sioux* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1957), 158.
- 3 **“where the girl saved her brother”:** John Stands in Timber and Margot Liberty, *A Cheyenne Voice: The Complete John Stands in Timber Interviews* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013), 422.
- 3 **Crazy Horse urged them on:** David Humphreys Miller, *Ghost Dance* (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1959), 289.
- 4 **Box Elder had the gift:** Peter J. Powell, *Sweet Medicine: The Continuing Role of the Sacred Arrows, the Sun Dance, and the Sacred Buffalo Hat in Northern Cheyenne History*, 2 vols. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), 1: 94.
- 4 **disturbed by a dream:** Young Two Moons interview, CC, box 105, folder 15.
- 4 **“We had driven away the soldiers”:** Thomas B. Marquis, interpreter, *A Warrior Who Fought Custer* (Minneapolis: The Midwest Company, 1931), 214.
- 4 **sitting on the banks fishing:** Thomas B. Marquis, interpreter, *She Watched Custer’s Last Battle* (1933; reprint: Scottsdale, AZ: Cactus Pony, c. 1969), 2.
- 4 **women were out digging turnips:** Dewey Beard interview, Miller, “Echoes of the Little Bighorn,” 38.
- 4 **village would be moving soon:** Marquis, *She Watched Custer’s Last Battle*, 2.
- 5 **Iron Hail:** In later years, Iron Hail would go by the name Dewey Beard. See Philip Burnham, *Song of Dewey Beard: Last Survivor of the Little Bighorn* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2014).
- 5 **“When you finish eating”:** Beard interview, Miller, “Echoes of the Little Bighorn,” 38.



- 5 **the wind carried messages:** Luther Standing Bear, *Land of the Spotted Eagle* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1933), 50.
- 5 **"Soldiers are here!":** Marquis, *A Warrior Who Fought Custer*, 217.
- 5 **women and children struggled to catch:** Low Dog and Iron Thunder interviews in *Jamestown Alert*, Jamestown, ND, August 19, 1881; and Gall interview in the *Republican Journal*, Belfast, ME, June 24, 1897.
- 6 **old clothes exchanged for fancy dress:** Marquis, *A Warrior Who Fought Custer*, 218.
- 6 **grabbed his trade gun:** One Bull interview, Miller, "Echoes of the Little Bighorn," 30–31.
- 6 **shield held tremendous significance:** Sitting Bull's shield is well documented, including its depiction in drawings made by Sitting Bull illustrating his warrior exploits. See One Bull interviews, CC, box 104, folder 11, and box 105, folder 19; Stanley Vestal, *New Sources of Indian History, 1850–1891* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1934), 154–55; and Four Horns drawings (copies of autobiographical drawings made by Sitting Bull), Manuscript 1929A, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution (available for online viewing here: <https://learninglab.si.edu/search?st=Four%20Horns>).
- 6 **"Go right ahead":** One Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 19. In his interview with David Humphreys Miller, One Bull claimed that Sitting Bull instructed him to meet the attacking soldiers and "parley with them, if you can. If they are willing, tell them I will talk peace with them." This is highly unlikely. For one thing, it was clear that the village was already under attack, and it was just as clear that the Lakotas and the U.S. Army were presently at war—the Lakotas had attacked General George Crook's army on the Rosebud eight days earlier. The Long Knives were not on the Greasy Grass to make peace, which would have been quite obvious to Sitting Bull. See Miller, "Echoes of the Little Bighorn," 31.
- 6 **left to find his aged mother:** One Bull interview, Miller, "Echoes of the Little Bighorn," 31.
- 6 **"old man chief":** Marquis, *A Warrior Who Fought Custer*, 57 and 211; and James Tangled Yellow Hair interview in Ronald H. Limbaugh, ed., *Cheyenne and Sioux: The Reminiscences of Four Indians and a White Soldier* (Stockton, CA: Pacific Center for Western Historical Studies, 1973), 45. Crow King, one of Sitting Bull's lieutenants, said, "Sitting Bull did not himself fight, but he gave orders." *Jamestown Alert*, August 19, 1881. One Bull also remembered his uncle "telling his men what to do" during the battle. One Bull interview, Charles Edmund DeLand, "The Sioux Wars," *South Dakota Historical Collections* 15 (1930): 653.
- 7 **"Brave up, boys":** White Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 24.
- 7 **many warriors flocked to him:** One Bull interview, Miller, "Echoes of the Little Bighorn," 31.
- 7 **sang to the shield:** One Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 19.
- 7 **"I am Two Moons":** Hamlin Garland, "General Custer's Last Fight as Seen by Two Moon[s]," *McClure's Magazine* 11 (September 1898): 446. The Northern Cheyenne chief's name is sometimes given as "Two Moon." However, most contemporary newspaper accounts, including his 1917 obituary, use "Two Moons." His fellow Cheyennes knew him as Ree Roman Nose. "Two Moons, Greatest Indian Survivor of Custer Battle, Dies," *The Billings Gazette*,



MT, May 19, 1917; and James C. Clifford to Olin D. Wheeler, Tongue River Agency, MT, October 17, 1901, Olin Dunbar Wheeler Papers, 1892–1924, The Newberry, Chicago, Illinois.

- 7 **air was so full of dust:** Marquis, *A Warrior Who Fought Custer*, 219.
- 7 **impatient warriors:** Standing Bear interview, Kenneth Hammer, ed., *Custer in '76: Walter Camp's Notes on the Custer Fight* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1976), 215.
- 7 **a warrior was also meant to suffer:** Robert Higheagle manuscript, CC, box 104, folder 22.
- 7 **Horn Chips, a legendary holy man:** See William K. Powers, *Yuwipi: Vision and Experience in Oglala Ritual* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982), 90–95.
- 8 **A “Stone Dreamer”:** Standing Bear, *Land of the Spotted Eagle*, 208; and *ibid.*, 91–92.
- 8 **a black stone:** He Dog interview with Mari Sandoz and John Colhoff, June 30, 1931, Mari Sandoz Collection (MS 0080), Archives & Special Collections, University of Nebraska-Lincoln Libraries. See also He Dog’s description of Crazy Horse’s medicine in Eleanor Hinman, *The Eleanor H. Hinman Interviews on the Life and Death of Crazy Horse*, edited by John M. Carroll (New Brunswick, NJ: The Gary Owen Press, 1976), 23. John G. Bourke wrote in his diary that Crazy Horse “wears a charm, made of a piece of white rock.” However, Bourke probably obtained this information from Frank Grouard and certainly not from personal observation. See John Gregory Bourke, *The Diaries of John Gregory Bourke*, ed. Charles M. Robinson III, vol. 2 (Denton: University of North Texas Press, 2005), 212.
- 8 **never to wear a warbonnet:** Horn Chips and William Garnett interviews, *Voices of the American West*, 2 vols., *The Settler and Soldier Interviews of Eli S. Ricker, 1903–1919* (vol. 1), and *The Indian Interviews of Eli S. Ricker, 1903–1919* (vol. 2) (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 1: 277 and 117, respectively.
- 8 **Crazy Horse drew a zigzag line:** Horn Chips interview, Jensen, *Voices of the American West*, 1: 274. White Bull, a nephew of Sitting Bull, stated that Crazy Horse painted his face with white dots before a fight, but neither Horn Chips, Crazy Horse’s holy man, nor He Dog, who was a close friend of Crazy Horse, mention this detail when describing how Crazy Horse prepared himself for battle. And Eagle Elk, a cousin of Crazy Horse, told John G. Neihardt that Crazy Horse “did not paint” himself when preparing for a fight. See White Bull account in Vestal, *New Sources*, 320; and Eagle Elk interview, 1944, John G. Neihardt Papers (C3716), The State Historical Society of Missouri Research Center-Columbia. The white dots mentioned by White Bull represented hail. See Helen Blish notes on the Thunder Cult, Sandoz Collection.
- 8 **lightning of the Thunder Beings:** Mathew H. King interview, Edward Kadlecek and Mabell Kadlecek, *To Kill an Eagle: Indian Views on the Last Days of Crazy Horse* (Boulder, CO: Johnson Books, 1981), 126.
- 8 **spotted eagle’s dried heart:** Horn Chips interview, Jensen, *Voices of the American West*, 1: 277.
- 8 **medicine for Crazy Horse’s pony:** *Ibid.*, 274.
- 8 **dirt of a gopher hill:** William Garnett interview, *Voices of the American West*, 1:



- 117; and Eagle Elk interview, Neihardt Papers. Mark Spider, a Lakota veteran of the Little Big Horn, stated in 1936 that Crazy Horse also sprinkled this dirt on about ten of the younger warriors with him. See Joseph G. Masters, *Shadows Fall Across the Little Horn* (Laramie: University of Wyoming Library, 1951), 41.
- 8 **no bullet could touch him:** Horn Chips interview, *Voices of the American West*, 1: 277; and Dewey Beard (Iron Hail), “Dewey Beard: The Last Survivor,” interview typescript (1955), in *Black Hills Nuggets, Commemorative Edition, 1776-1876-1976* (Rapid City, SD: The Rapid City Society for Genealogical Research, Inc., 1975), 19.
- 8 **white-faced pony:** Black Elk interview, *The Sixth Grandfather*, 182.
- 8 **Just under six feet tall:** White Bull stated that Crazy Horse was just about his own height, which was five feet, ten inches when White Bull was in his eighties. Short Bull, who also knew Crazy Horse, said the famed warrior was “a trifle under six feet tall.” See Walter S. Campbell to Eleanor Hinman, Norman, OK, October 13, 1932, CC, box 117; and Short Bull interview, *Hinman Interviews*, 43.
- 9 **eight horses shot out:** Red Feather interview, *Hinman Interviews*, 36; and Standing Bear, *Land of the Spotted Eagle*, 180.
- 9 **The battle had commenced:** The three companies—A, G, and M—formed a battalion of the Seventh U.S. Cavalry under the command of Major Marcus Reno. Reno’s commanding officer, was, of course, Lieutenant Colonel George Armstrong Custer. There are numerous histories of the Battle of the Little Big Horn, but see James Donovan’s masterful *A Terrible Glory: Custer and the Little Bighorn—The Last Great Battle of the American West* (New York: Little, Brown and Company, 2008), and my *Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument* (Tucson: Western National Parks Association, 2005).
- 9 **shot down ten women and children:** Richard G. Hardorff, *Hokahey! A Good Day to Die! The Indian Casualties of the Custer Fight* (Spokane, WA: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1993), 34–35.
- 9 **formed a skirmish line:** Garland, “General Custer’s Last Fight,” 446.
- 9 **“Crazy Horse is coming!”:** Black Elk interview, *The Sixth Grandfather*, 182.
- 10 **“Here are the soldiers”:** Nick Ruleau interview, Jensen, *Voices of the American West*, 1: 312. Ruleau, an interpreter at Pine Ridge, stated that he got his information on the valley fight from Lakotas Red Hawk, Shot in the Face, Big Road, and Iron Bull.
- 10 **At that same moment:** He Dog interview, Hammer, ed., *Custer in ’76*, 206.
- 10 **resembled buffalo fleeing:** Two Moons interview, Garland, “General Custer’s Last Fight,” 446.
- 10 **a soldier riding a sorrel horse:** Red Hawk interview with Edmond S. Meany, July 19, 1907, Meany Papers, 1877–1935, University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, transcription at <http://amertribes.proboards.com/thread/803/red-hawk#ixzz4YM9nyPRN>. In his account of the Little Big Horn battle, Red Hawk starts with this incident, which suggests that it occurred in the valley against one of Reno’s men. His mention of the trooper’s sorrel horse supports this supposition, as only three companies of the Seventh



- were mounted on sorrel horses. One of these, Company G, was part of Reno's battalion. Lawrence A. Frost, *General Custer's Thoroughbreds: Racing, Riding, Hunting, and Fighting* (Mattituck, NY: J. M. Carroll & Co. 1986), 251.
- 11 **pulling troopers off their floundering mounts:** M. I. McCreight, *Chief Flying Hawk's Tales: The True Story of Custer's Last Fight as Told by Chief Flying Hawk* (New York: The Alliance Press, 1936), 27–28. Flying Hawk and Kicking Bear were brothers.
- 11 **"We killed many":** One Bull interview, Miller, "Echoes of the Little Big-horn," 31.
- 11 **grass was set on fire:** Eagle Elk interview, Neihardt Papers.
- 11 **"Lots of Indians were hunting":** Marquis, *A Warrior Who Fought Custer*, 224–25.
- 12 **"Boy, get off":** Black Elk interview, *The Sixth Grandfather*, 183.
- 12 **"After I did this":** Ibid.
- 12 **"Would you see me":** Ibid.
- 12 **named Her Eagle Robe:** In later years, she was known as Mary Crawler. See her interviews in the Joseph G. Masters Collection, Kansas Historical Society, Topeka; and Richard G. Hardorff, ed., *Lakota Recollections of the Custer Fight: New Sources of Indian-Military History* (Spokane, WA: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1991), 91–96.
- 13 **bullet-riddled horse:** Runs the Enemy interview, Joseph K. Dixon, *The Vanishing Race: The Last Great Indian Council* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1913), 173.
- 13 **knew him by the name Teat:** Teat's English name was Isaiah Dorman. For a biographical sketch, see Kenneth Hammer, *Men with Custer: Biographies of the 7th Cavalry*, ed. Ronald H. Nichols (Hardin, MT: Custer Battlefield Historical and Museum Association, Inc., 1995), 92–93.
- 13 **oozing from his chest:** Bear's Ghost interview, CC, box 104, folder 4. Bear's Ghost claimed that Sitting Bull approached the Black man, recognized him as a friend, and ordered that he not be harmed. Not only this, but Bear's Ghost also said that Sitting Bull gave the dying man a drink of water. However, Sitting Bull was never on this part of the field. Bear's Ghost also claimed that the thoroughbred ridden by George Custer during the Little Big Horn fight, Vic, had been sold to Custer by Bear's Ghost! Clearly, Bear's Ghost is not the most reliable informant.
- 13 **"Do not kill me":** Eagle Elk interview, Neihardt Papers.
- 13 **with stone clubs:** George Herendeen interview, Hammer, ed., *Custer in '76*, 223.
- 13 **shooting arrows into the body:** Hammer, *Men with Custer*, 93. This form of counting coup is referenced in Henry B. Carrington, *The Indian Question* (1884; reprint: New York: Sol Lewis, 1973), 19–20. See also William Philo Clark, *The Indian Sign Language* (Philadelphia: L. R. Hamersly & Co., 1885), 128–29.
- 13 **penis cut off:** Hardorff, ed., *Lakota Recollections*, 102 n. 7. In an interview with a newspaper correspondent shortly after the battle, George Herendeen, a scout, said he was convinced Isaiah Dorman had been tortured before he was killed. Dorman had "small pistol balls in his legs from the knees down, and I believe they were shot into him while alive." See "Narrative of a Scout," *The New York Herald*, July 8, 1876.



- 13 **retrieve possessions and food:** Marquis, *A Warrior Who Fought Custer*, 227; and
Two Moons interview, Jensen, *Voices of the American West*, 1: 322.
- 13 **“Other soldiers are coming!”:** Marquis, *She Watched Custer’s Last Battle*, 3.
- 14 **Two companies of cavalry:** These were Companies E and F of the Seventh, and
the large, dry gulch is today known as Medicine Tail Coulee.
- 14 **to encircle the village:** Pretty White Buffalo Woman interview, James Mc-
Laughlin, *My Friend the Indian* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1926),
171; and Young Two Moons interview, CC, box 105, folder 15.
- 14 **they were now in danger:** Iron Thunder interview, *Jamestown Alert*, August 19,
1881.
- 14 **knocking as many as three:** Joseph White Cow Bull interview, Miller, “Echoes
of the Little Bighorn,” 33.
- 14 **“It appeared there would be no end”:** Marquis, *She Watched Custer’s Last Battle*,
3. Antelope Woman was later known to whites as Kate Bighead.
- 14 **“You have been brave”:** Marquis, *A Warrior Who Fought Custer*, 227–28.
- 15 **Leading a group of Oglalas and Cheyennes:** Pretty White Buffalo Woman in-
terview, McLaughlin, *My Friend the Indian*, 174; and Gall interview, Usher L.
Burdick, ed., *David F. Barry’s Indian Notes on “The Custer Battle”* (Baltimore:
Wirth Brothers, 1949), 25–27.
- 15 **“No good soldiers”:** McCreight, *Chief Flying Hawk’s Tales*, 30.
- 15 **reins to Flying Hawk:** Ibid., 28.
- 16 **“The bullets flew past”:** Chasing Hawk interview, Elmo Scott Watson, “Stir-
ring War Tales Told in the Soft Syllables of Ogallalas by Big Chief,” *The Colo-
rado Springs Gazette*, August 13, 1922.
- 16 **shoot from the ground:** He Dog interview, *Hinman Interviews*, 25.
- 16 **shot several rounds:** McCreight, *Chief Flying Hawk’s Tales*, 28.
- 16 **stuck in their rumps:** Marquis, *A Warrior Who Fought Custer*, 230.
- 16 **aim for the horse holders:** Valentine McGillicuddy, “That ‘Suicide’ of Gen.
George A. Custer, U.S. Army,” typescript, Elmo Scott Watson Papers, The
Newberry; and Gall interview, Burdick, ed., *David F. Barry’s Indian Notes*, 27.
- 16 **waved blankets and yelled:** Gall interview, *The Republican Journal*, June 24, 1897.
- 16 **“brave songs”:** Standing Bear, *Land of the Spotted Eagle*, 217.
- 16 **“It is a good day to fight”:** As quoted in McGillicuddy, “That ‘Suicide’ of Gen.
George A. Custer.”
- 17 **“He rode closest”:** Waterman interview, Col. W. A. Graham, *The Custer Myth: A
Source Book of Custeriana* (Harrisburg, PA: The Stackpole Company, 1953), 110.
- 17 **known to the Lakotas as a “bravery run”:** Also called a “brave-heart run.”
- 17 **through the gauntlet:** Crazy Horse’s ride through the soldiers took place in
the middle of what is now known as Battle Ridge. The troopers were men
from Captain Miles Keogh’s Company I, as well as men from Companies L
and C, who’d fled north from “Calhoun Hill” moments before when those
companies collapsed under the assault of overwhelming numbers of warriors.
For specific warrior references to Crazy Horse’s daring bravery run, see He
Dog interview, Hammer, ed., *Custer in ’76*, 207; Red Feather interview, Har-
dorff, ed., *Lakota Recollections of the Custer Fight*, 87–88; Mark Spider interview,
Masters, *Shadows Fall Across the Little Horn*, 41–42; and White Bull interview,



CC, box 105, folder 24. White Bull told Walter Campbell (Stanley Vestal) that Crazy Horse charged through the “infantry” and that White Bull followed him. He would tell a different and more elaborate tale to David Humphreys Miller in 1939. In this latter interview, reportedly conducted through Indian sign language, White Bull claimed he dared Crazy Horse to make a charge at the soldiers but Crazy Horse refused. Additionally, White Bull said he made a bravery run through the troopers—twice. And last but not least, he took the credit for killing Custer. I find this version of White Bull’s experiences in the battle highly questionable. See Joseph White Bull interview, Miller, “Echoes of the Little Bighorn,” 35–36.

2 / Becoming Warriors

- 19 “*Son, I never want to see*”: Standing Bear, *Land of the Spotted Eagle*, 40.
- 19 *a series of colorful drawings*: These drawings are split among three institutions: the Buffalo Bill Center of the West, Cody, Wyoming; the Niles History Center, Niles, Michigan; and the National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. Another set of forty autobiographical drawings was created by Sitting Bull sometime prior to 1870. They were last in the possession of Sitting Bull’s adopted brother, Jumping Bull, but are now lost. However, Sitting Bull’s uncle, Four Horns, made at least two sets of copies. The only known surviving set of copies is in the National Anthropological Archives. See the excellent articles by Ron McCoy: “Sitting Bull: A Hunkpapa Lakota Chronicles His Life of Dauntless Courage,” *American Indian Art Magazine* 40 (Winter 2014): 34–45; and “Four Horns: A Hunkpapa Lakota Warrior-Artist Commemorates His Relative’s Valor,” *American Indian Art Magazine* 39 (Spring 2014): 42–51.
- 19 *depictions of white victims*: Although Sitting Bull did not create drawings depicting violence against whites while a prisoner at Fort Randall, the drawings he made prior to 1870—at a time when he and his people lived free on the northern plains—do show several violent encounters with white soldiers and civilians. At Fort Randall, in December 1881, Sitting Bull was shown the Four Horns set of copies mentioned above, and he “immediately recognized the pictures as scenes from his early life.” When asked to elaborate on the specific events depicted, however, Sitting Bull wasn’t particularly forthcoming, especially when it came to those drawings that showed Sitting Bull killing or counting coup on whites. A Presbyterian missionary who assisted with the interview of Sitting Bull about the drawings wrote, “We could see that any mention he gave of the several events was colored by the circumstances of his present situation.” John P. Williamson to Col. George L. Andrews, Fort Randall, Dakota Territory, December 12, 1881, Manuscript 1929A, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
- 20 *settled on 1831, possibly in March*: See LaPointe, *Sitting Bull*, 21; Vestal, *Sitting Bull*, 3; Robert M. Utley, *The Lance and the Shield: The Life and Times of Sitting Bull* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1993), 335 n. 2; and White Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 4.



- 20 **"I don't know where I was born":** "A Chat with the Chief," *The Omaha Daily Bee*, Omaha, NE, August 9, 1881, quoting the *St. Paul Pioneer Press*.
- 20 **born at a camp on Willow Creek:** Ibid.; and E. H. Allison, "Sitting Bull's Birthplace," *South Dakota Historical Collections* 6 (1912): 271.
- 20 **a pictograph showing two wagons:** Candace S. Greene and Russell Thornton, eds., *The Year the Stars Fell: Lakota Winter Counts at the Smithsonian* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 188.
- 21 **several tons of gunpowder and lead:** Lonis Wendt, "Fort Pierre Looking Back 200 Years—the 1830s," *Capital Journal*, Pierre, SD, November 18, 2016.
- 21 **a thousand gallons of whiskey:** Donald Jackson, *Voyages of the Steamboat Yellow Stone* (New York: Ticknor & Fields, 1985), 2.
- 21 **forbidden by law:** Francis Paul Prucha, *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), 100–101. In 1832, a new law strictly forbade the introduction of alcohol into Indian country with no exceptions. The fur companies then resorted to smuggling whiskey to their posts.
- 21 **ten thousand pounds of salted buffalo tongues:** *Daily National Intelligencer*, Washington, D.C., August 1, 1831.
- 22 **a particularly shocking instance:** George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Conditions of the North American Indians*, 2 vols. (1844; reprint: New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1973), 1: 256. Catlin accurately predicted the demise of the buffalo from the excesses of the robe trade, faulting both the Indians and the white traders who enticed them with goods and alcohol.
- 22 **When a man killed a buffalo:** John No Ears interview, James R. Walker Collection, History Colorado, Denver, reel 4, frame 358.
- 22 **A gift to the Lakotas:** Short Bull interview, James R. Walker, *Lakota Belief and Ritual*, edited by Raymond J. DeMallie and Elaine A. Jahner (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991).
- 22 **"is ruled by his senses":** Black Elk, *The Sacred Pipe: Black Elk's Account of the Seven Rites of the Oglala Sioux*, recorded and edited by Joseph Epes Brown (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989), 7 n. 10.
- 23 **"There is no tribe on the Continent":** Catlin, *Letters and Notes*, 1: 210.
- 23 **"very fine and prepossessing":** Ibid., 1: 208.
- 23 **bow and arrow was easier:** White Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 8. One Bull told Walter Campbell that he took ten arrows when buffalo hunting. It was "hard to get arrows, so when One Bull killed, would jump off horse and get them to shoot again." One Bull interview, CC, box 104, folder 6.
- 23 **"Life and activity everywhere":** Stephen S. Witte and Marsha V. Gallagher, eds., *The North American Journals of Prince Maximilian of Wied*, 3 vols. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008–2012), 2: 142.
- 24 **"They have to do all the work":** Ibid., 2: 159.
- 24 **"They were mostly strong":** Ibid., 2: 193.
- 25 **Bodmer sketched in watercolor:** See David C. Hunt and Marsha V. Gallagher, eds., *Karl Bodmer's America* (N.p.: Joslyn Art Museum and University of Nebraska Press, 1984).
- 25 **"Forsakes His Home":** One Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 19.
- 25 **a holy man himself:** White Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 24.



- 25 **four identical shields:** My discussion of Returns Again's vision and the making of the shields comes from One Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 19; White Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 24; and White Bull, Old Bull, and One Bull interviews, CC, box 105, folder 4. In speaking of the shield Sitting Bull's father had passed to his son, Robert M. Utley writes that it was constructed by a "specially skilled craftsman" and painted by a holy man to represent Returns Again's vision. While it is true that shield-making and decorating were often entrusted to others with recognized skills and powers, White Bull informs us that Returns Again himself "was [a] medicine [holy] man in early days." Both White Bull and One Bull are very clear that the shields were personally made by Returns Again. See Utley, *The Lance and the Shield*, 15. For shield-making as the domain of holy men, see Robert Higheagle manuscript, CC, box 104, folder 22; and James R. Walker, *Lakota Society*, ed. Raymond J. DeMallie (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982), 100–101.
- 25 **The number four was sacred:** See Walker, *Lakota Society*, 62; Black Elk, *The Sacred Pipe*, 65 and 100 n. 5; and Standing Bear, *Land of the Spotted Eagle*, 122.
- 26 **knowledge of nature's medicines:** White Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 8.
- 26 **not a "big chief":** Ibid.; Robert Higheagle manuscript, CC, box 104, folder 22; and "General notes on Sitting Bull," CC, box 105, folder 42.
- 26 **commonly inherited:** Sister H. Inez Hilger, ed., "The Narrative of Oscar One Bull," *Mid-America: An Historical Review* 28 (July 1946), 151; and Valentine T. McGillycuddy to Elmo Scott Watson, San Francisco, CA, February 10, 1922, Watson Papers.
- 26 **A lodge group:** The lodge group (*tiospaye*) and band is discussed in numerous sources, but I have relied primarily on Kingsley M. Bray, "Sitting Bull and Lakota Leadership," *English Westerners' Society Brand Book* 43 (Summer 2010), 13–15. See also Josephine Waggoner, *Witness: A Húnkpapha Historian's Stong-Heart Song of the Lakotas*, ed. Emily Levine (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 2013), 40–52; and Royal B. Hassrick, *The Sioux: Life and Customs of a Warrior Society* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964), 107–8.
- 26 **make people laugh:** White Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 24. According to White Bull, Her Holy Door was first known by the name Mixed Day.
- 26 **manhood was planned in babyhood:** Standing Bear, *Land of the Spotted Eagle*, 2. Standing Bear describes the nightly ritual of cleansing and massage as he experienced it.
- 26 **Jumping Badger:** McLaughlin, *My Friend the Indian*, 181; and LaPointe, *Sitting Bull*, 21.
- 26 **connection to that animal's traits or powers:** Joseph Epes Brown, *Animals of the Soul: Sacred Animals of the Oglala Sioux* (Rockport, MA: Element Books, 1997), 66–67.
- 27 **"Slow" or "Slow-Moving":** One Bull account in Frank Bennett Fiske, *Life and Death of Sitting Bull* (Fort Yates, ND: Pioneer-Arrow Print, 1933), 4; LaPointe, *Sitting Bull*, 22; and Charles A. Eastman, *Indian Heroes and Great Chieftains* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1918), 108. In an interview with William Campbell, One Bull said Sitting Bull's childhood name translated as "Slow Runner." One Bull interview, CC, box 104, folder 6. What may be the earliest



- printed reference to Sitting Bull's nickname of "Slow" appears in "The Great Powwow," *The New York Herald*, August 26, 1875.
- 27 **"was always last in everything":** Waggoner, *Witness*, 397.
- 27 **a certain deliberateness:** LaPointe, *Sitting Bull*, 22; and Vestal, *Sitting Bull*, 3.
- 27 **called him by his nickname:** According to Joseph Epes Brown, speaking sacred personal names too frequently could diminish the power acquired from the creature named. (In Sitting Bull's case, the badger.) This may explain why the nickname was preferred over his given name. See Brown, *Animals of the Soul*, 66.
- 27 **"There was no such thing":** Standing Bear, *Land of the Spotted Eagle*, 14.
- 27 **"most cowardly tribe":** White Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 4.
- 27 **Crows had lots of horses:** Eagle Elk interview, Neihardt Papers.
- 27 **"bad men":** Charles Augustus Murray, *Travels in North America During the Years 1834, 1835, and 1836*, 2 vols. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1839), 2: 306.
- 28 **universal hand sign for the tribe:** *Ibid.*, 1: 286; and Clark, *The Indian Sign Language*, 341.
- 28 **a son of the lodge group:** Standing Bear, *Land of the Spotted Eagle*, 5.
- 28 **his uncle Four Horns:** One Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 19. According to Sitting Bull's great-grandson, Four Horns took the young Slow into his lodge, where he lived for much of his youth as Four Horns trained and educated his nephew in the ways of a hunter and warrior. See LaPointe, *Sitting Bull*, 23. For biographical information on Four Horns, see Waggoner, *Witness*, 676 n. 2; and McCoy, "Four Horns: A Hunkpapa Lakota Warrior-Artist Commemorates His Relative's Valor."
- 28 **four virtues of Lakota men:** John Lame Deer (Fire) and Richard Erdoes, *Lame Deer: Seeker of Visions* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1972), 116. According to this same source, the four virtues of Lakota women were bravery, generosity, truthfulness, and the bearing of children. John Colhoff, a mixed-blood Lakota interpreter, stated the four virtues were bravery, generosity, fortitude, and integrity. "Sioux Indian Ways Explained," *Rapid City Journal*, SD, May 9, 1944.
- 28 **"You must be brave":** Standing Bear, *Land of the Spotted Eagle*, 68.
- 28 **nothing hurt so much:** Fiske, *Life and Death of Sitting Bull*, 4.
- 28 **a "brave heart":** Hilger, ed., "The Narrative of Oscar One Bull," 169.
- 29 **tied to his pony's back:** Standing Bear, *Land of the Spotted Eagle*, 11.
- 29 **retrieving mounts from the camp herd:** White Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 8.
- 29 **help train ponies for warfare:** *Ibid.*
- 29 **"The greatest brave was":** Standing Bear, *Land of the Spotted Eagle*, 15.
- 29 **well known for his kindness:** Robert Higheagle manuscript, CC, box 104, folder 22.
- 29 **prepared feasts for them:** Hilger, ed., "The Narrative of Oscar One Bull," 152.
- 30 **"Here, take my blunt point arrow":** One Bull, "Sitting Bull's Skill with Bow and Arrow," CC, box 104, folder 21.
- 30 **creatures they shared the world with:** Brown, *Animals of the Soul*, xi-xiii.
- 30 **the bull speak four names:** There are many variations of this story. See One Bull and Mrs. One Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 19; One Bull account in



- Fiske, *Life and Death of Sitting Bull*, 4–5; LaPointe, *Sitting Bull*, 26–27; and Vestal, *Sitting Bull*, 15–17.
- 31 **“My father gave me this nation”**: Hilger, ed., “The Narrative of Oscar One Bull,” 152.
- 31 **few were as adept**: My discussion of Sitting Bull’s mastering of various skills is drawn from Waggoner, *Witness*, 397; and White Bull interview, CC, box 106, folder 53.
- 31 **“When I was ten years old”**: “A Chat with the Chief,” *The Omaha Daily Bee*, August 9, 1881. White Bull said Sitting Bull was the best hunter he ever knew. See White Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 8.
- 31 **That came when he was fourteen**: My description of Sitting Bull’s first coup and the bestowing of his adult name is drawn primarily from the White Bull interview in the CC, box 106, folder 53; “Sitting Bull” by Josephine Waggoner, typescript, Josephine Waggoner Papers, Museum of the Fur Trade, Chadron, NE; and Sitting Bull’s drawing of the episode as copied by Four Horns, National Anthropological Archives (drawing #1). See also One Bull, “Why Sitting Bull Wears a White Eagle Feather as a Head Ornament,” CC, box 104, folder 18; LaPointe, *Sitting Bull*, 27–29; McLaughlin, *My Friend the Indian*, 181; Vestal, *Sitting Bull*, 11–13; and Utley, *The Lance and the Shield*, 14–15. Utley writes that Sitting Bull’s father presented him with his shield at the time he gave him his name. However, White Bull states that Sitting Bull was in “lots of fights before shield given him.” See White Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 56. Interestingly, the Sitting Bull/Four Horns drawing of this first coup depicts Sitting Bull carrying the famous shield of his father.
- 33 **to be known as Sitting Bull**: For another version of how Sitting Bull received his adult name, see Eastman, *Indian Heroes and Great Chieftains*, 108–9.
- 33 **a five-year-old Lakota boy**: Crazy Horse’s father gave the date of his son’s birth as the fall of 1840. See the *Sun* (NY), September 14, 1877. Horn Chips provided the same date, stating that Crazy Horse was born the year identified on winter counts as when the Oglalas “stole One Hundred Horses, and in the fall of that year,” which was 1840–41. See Horn Chips interview, Jensen, *Voices of the American West*, 1: 273.
- 33 **The boy’s grandfather**: Information on Crazy Horse’s grandfather and father is so scant that one hesitates to make any definitive statement about them. Horn Chips informs us that the name of the grandfather was Makes the Song. In a 2004 interview, the Lakota informants of the Crazy Horse biographer Kingsley Bray told him Makes the Song was a holy man. He Dog stated that Crazy Horse’s father “wasn’t a chief, but he was a very prominent man among the people.” Horn Chips interview, Jensen, *Voices of the American West*, 1: 273; Kingsley M. Bray, “Notes on the Crazy Horse Genealogy: Part 1,” <http://www.american-tribes.com/Lakota/BIO/CrazyHorse-Part1.htm>; and He Dog narrative, Crazy Horse File, Museum of the Fur Trade. For Crazy Horse’s father as a holy man, see Montana Lisle Reese, ed., *Legends of the Mighty Sioux* (Chicago: Albert Whitman & Company, 1941), 110–11.
- 33 **translated as His Horse Foolish**: Oglala winter count by No Ears, James R. Walker Collection, reel 4, frame 41. William J. Bordeaux, a onetime govern-



ment interpreter as well as a Crazy Horse biographer, wrote that the proper translation was His Foolish Horse. According to William Philo Clark, who knew Crazy Horse, the Oglala leader's name was "improperly interpreted" and should be His Horse Is Crazy. See "Sioux Translation," *The Daily Argus-Leader*, Sioux Falls, SD, July 10, 1948; and Clark's *The Indian Sign Language*, 267 and 422.

- 33 **Rattle Blanket Woman:** Also given as Rattling Blanket Woman.
- 33 **light-colored or "yellow" hair:** He Dog narrative, Crazy Horse File, Museum of the Fur Trade, Chadron, NE; and He Dog interview, June 30, 1931, Sandoz Collection.
- 33 **find on a white man:** Little Killer interview, *Hinman Interviews*, 46.
- 33 **fathered by a white man:** Kingsley M. Bray, *Crazy Horse: A Lakota Life*, 10. Army scout and interpreter Frank Grouard stated that Crazy Horse was "remarkably white for an Indian, and many who met him imagined he was not a full-blooded Sioux." Joe DeBarthe, *The Life and Adventures of Frank Grouard, Chief of Scouts, U.S.A.* (St. Joseph, MO: Combe Printing Company, 1894), 347.
- 33 **nickname, Curly:** In a letter to Mari Sandoz, Louis Roubideaux wrote that his grandfather, Blunt Arrow, told him the nickname was actually *Gu-Gu-La*, which he translated as "Kinky, like a negro's head." Roubideaux to Sandoz, Hot Springs, SD, January 26, 1944, Sandoz Collection.
- 34 **"didn't miss much":** Short Bull interview, *Hinman Interviews*, 43.
- 34 **in love with her husband's younger brother:** Bray, *Crazy Horse: A Lakota Life*, 10 and 402 n. 21; Victoria Conroy statement in Richard G. Hardorff, *The Oglala Lakota Crazy Horse: A Preliminary Genealogical Study and an Annotated Listing of Primary Sources* (Matituck, NY: J. M. Carroll and Company, 1985), 29–32; Cleve Walstrom, *Search for the Lost Trail of Crazy Horse* (Crete, NE: Dageford Publishing, Inc., 2003), 7–8; and Richard G. Hardorff, ed., *The Surrender and Death of Crazy Horse: A Source Book About a Tragic Episode in Lakota History* (Spokane, WA: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1998), 75 n. 3.
- 34 **dangling from a tree:** Larry Belitz, an authority on Plains Indian material culture who has worked closely with the Horn Chips family, maintains that Rattle Blanket Woman did not commit suicide but was murdered for having a mixed-blood child. See his *Chips Collection of Crazy Horse Medicines* (Hot Springs, SD: privately printed, n.d.), 8.
- 34 **Curly's generous invitation:** This story from Crazy Horse's childhood is from Santee author Charles A. Eastman, who was the agency doctor at the Pine Ridge Reservation from 1890 to 1893. At Pine Ridge, Eastman became personally acquainted with many individuals who knew Crazy Horse, so I am inclined to take his information seriously. However, Eastman writes that Crazy Horse was four or five years old when he rode through the village offering fresh pronghorn. I doubt Crazy Horse was that young. See Eastman, *Indian Heroes and Great Chieftains*, 85–86.
- 35 **an astonishing event:** This episode, including quotes, is drawn from Chris Dixon, "Crazy Horse and the Cheyenne," in Ronald H. Nichols, ed., *The Brian C. Pohanka 32nd Annual Symposium, Custer Battlefield Historical & Museum Assn., Inc., held at Hardin, Montana, on June 22, 2018* (Fort Collins, CO: Citizen



Printing Company, Inc., 2019), 54–55. My description of how the Lakotas caught wild horses is from Luther Standing Bear, *My People the Sioux* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1928), 77–81; and Edwin Thompson Denig, *Five Indian Tribes of the Upper Missouri*, ed. John C. Ewers (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), 17 n. 20.

35 **“Watch the horses are come dancing”**: This song is from Frank Kicking Bear, as quoted in Kadlecck, *To Kill an Eagle*, 119.

36 **His Horse Stands Looking**: Additional names associated with a juvenile Crazy Horse include Yellow Hair, Light-Haired Boy, Crusher, and Owns Bad Woman. He Dog narrative, Crazy Horse File, Museum of the Fur Trade; Horn Chips interview, Hardorff, ed., *Surrender and Death*, 74; and personal correspondence with Chris Dixon, September 18, 2019.

36 **With boyhood friends**: He Dog account, as told to Eagle Hawk, his son, Robert A. Clark, ed., *The Killing of Chief Crazy Horse, Three Eyewitness Views . . .* (Glendale, CA: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1976), 68; and DeBarthe, *Life and Adventures*, 348.

36 **High Backbone**: References to High Backbone (also known as Hump) and his relationship with young Crazy Horse are few and scattered, but see the He Dog and Red Feather interviews in *Hinman Interviews*, 24, and 36–37; Bray, *Crazy Horse: A Lakota Life*, 13; and Mari Sandoz, *Crazy Horse: The Strange Man of the Oglalas* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1942), 18. The role of older Lakota boys as mentors is discussed by Standing Bear in his *Land of the Spotted Eagle*, 32.

36 **“the grizzly and his cub”**: Eastman, *Indian Heroes and Great Chieftains*, 90.

37 **“had some power”**: Ibid., 87–88.

37 **those who were worthy**: Black Elk, *The Sacred Pipe*, 44.

37 **“did not understand the Indian’s touch”**: Standing Bear, *Land of the Spotted Eagle*, 209.

37 **struck by their lightning**: William K. Powers, *Oglala Religion* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1977), 93.

38 **“There was a trail nearby”**: As quoted in M. I. McCreight, *Firewater and Forked Tongues: A Sioux Chief Interprets U.S. History* (Pasadena, CA: Trail’s End Publishing Co., Inc., 1947), 139.

38 **the water’s great power**: Black Elk interview, *The Sixth Grandfather*, 123.

38 **Death would come**: Horn Chips interview, Jensen, *Voices of the American West*, 1: 277. According to William Garnett, the prediction that Crazy Horse would die while being held and stabbed came from a vision in which a man on horseback emerged from a lake and told this to the warrior. Jensen, *Voices of the American West*, 1: 117. Horn Chips, on the other hand, said, “There is no truth in the story of the horseman coming out of the pond and telling Crazy Horse what to do.”

38 **“If anything happens to myself”**: As quoted in Kadlecck, *To Kill an Eagle*, 126.

39 **age-old foes of the Lakotas**: See Witte and Gallagher, *The North American Journals of Prince Maximilian of Wied*, 2: 202–3; and J. N. B. Hewitt, ed., *Journal of Rudolph Friederich Kurz: An Account of His Experiences Among Fur Traders and American Indians on the Mississippi and the Upper Missouri Rivers During the Years 1846 to 1852* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1937), 81 and 184.



- 39 **the two Lakotas could not be caught:** The only source for the story of the fight with the Hidatsas is Eastman, *Indian Heroes and Great Chieftains*, 88–89. During Eastman’s time and earlier, the Hidatsas were commonly known as the Gros Ventres and the “Gros Ventres of the Missouri.” Eastman uses the shorter “Gros Ventres.” Some writers have suggested that Eastman is referring to the Atsina tribe, also known as the “Gros Ventres of the Prairies,” but the Hidatsas were suffering terribly at the hands of the Lakotas during this period. Their Indian agent wrote in 1855 that the complaints of the Hidatsas “against the Sioux for stealing their horses and murdering their people were anything but pleasant.” See Alfred J. Vaughan, Indian agent, to Col. Alfred Cumming, Fort Clark, September 12, 1855, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, S. Exec. Doc. No. 1, 34th Cong., 1st Sess., 393. In the 1947 book *Chief Flying Hawk’s Tales*, a similar account of the fight with the Hidatsas is given and attributed to Flying Hawk. However, it is clearly taken from Eastman’s earlier work. See McCreight, *Chief Flying Hawk’s Tales*, 132–33.
- 40 **He Dog remembered the story well:** He Dog interview, *Hinman Interviews*, 21–22.
- 40 **“All tried to get their names up”:** Horn Chips interview, Hardorff, ed., *Surrender and Death*, 76.
- 40 **“I throw away [my son’s] old name”:** As quoted in Elmo Scott Watson, “Crazy Horse—The Greatest Among Them,” in Roderick Peattie, ed., *The Black Hills* (New York: The Vanguard Press, 1952), 131.

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- 41 **“Most of our troubles”:** Standing Bear, *Land of the Spotted Eagle*, 40.
- 41 **Once they lived hundreds of miles east:** There are many works that discuss early Sioux history and migrations, but I have found most useful Guy Gibbon, *The Sioux: The Dakota and Lakota Nations* (Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing, 2003); and George E. Hyde, *Red Cloud’s Folk: A History of the Oglala Sioux Indians* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1957).
- 41 **a corruption by French traders:** Gibbon, *The Sioux*, 2; and Raymond J. DeMallie, “The Sioux in Dakota and Montana Territories: Cultural and Historical Background of the Ogden B. Read Collection,” in Glenn E. Markoe, ed., *Vestiges of a Proud Nation: The Ogden B. Read Northern Plains Indian Collection* (Burlington, VT: Robert Hull Fleming Museum, 1986), 20.
- 42 **trade networks with their Eastern Sioux cousins:** Raymond J. DeMallie, Douglas R. Parks, and Robert Vézina, eds., *A Fur Trader on the Upper Missouri: The Journal and Description of Jean-Baptiste Truteau, 1794–1796* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2017), 93 and 261.
- 42 **“are the terror and in fact lordly masters”:** William H. Thomas journal in David A. White, ed., *News of the Plains and Rockies, 1803–1865*, 8 vols. (Spokane, WA: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1996–2001), 1: 99.
- 42 **He wished for others to see it:** This event was recorded in the winter count of American Horse. See Greene and Thornton, eds., *The Year the Stars Fell*,



- 97; and Mike Cowdrey, "A Winter Count of the Wajaje Lakota, 1758–59 to 1885–86," *Tribal Art* 19 (Autumn 2015): 132.
- 42 **"as a child to its mother's arms"**: Standing Bear, *Land of the Spotted Eagle*, 43.
- 43 **They called him vèho**: Rev. Rodolphe Petter, *English–Cheyenne Dictionary* (Kettle Falls, WA: Valdo Petter, 1915), 999.
- 43 **In November 1841**: This episode was recorded in the journal of David Adams, who traded with the Lakotas from "Fort Adams," a post very near Fort Laramie. At this time, Laramie was commonly known as Fort John, for trader John B. Sarpy. Charles E. Hanson Jr., *The David Adams Journals* (Chadron, NE: The Museum of the Fur Trade, 1994), 19.
- 43 **They Fear Even His Horses**: The name They Fear Even His Horses has been translated incorrectly since the 1840s, most often as Man Afraid of His Horse. A variant translation is The Man Whose Horses Are a Terror to His Foes. See James A. Hanson, *Little Chief's Gatherings: The Smithsonian Institution's G. K. Warren 1855–1856 Plains Indian Collection and the New York State Library's 1855–1857 Warren Expeditions Journals* (Crawford, NE: The Fur Press, 1996), 110.
- 45 **an estimated five thousand emigrants**: Emigrant estimates for each year from 1841 to 1866 are given in Merrill J. Mattes, *The Great Platte River Road* (Lincoln: Nebraska State Historical Society, 1969), 23.
- 45 **"blakened the land"**: Lieutenant J. Henry Carleton, *The Prairie Logbooks: Dragoon Campaigns to the Pawnee Villages in 1844, and to the Rocky Mountains in 1845*, ed. Louis Pelzer (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983), 250.
- 46 **"Your great father has learned"**: White, ed., *News of the Plains and Rockies*, 4: 126.
- 46 **"the gun that shoots twice"**: George Bent, "Forty Years with the Cheyennes," part four, *The Frontier: A Magazine of the West* 4 (January 1906): 6.
- 46 **what Kearny wrote in his report**: White, ed., *News of the Plains and Rockies*, 4: 123.
- 47 **The Broken Hand**: John C. Fremont, *The Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988), 41.
- 47 **"I consider them a doomed race"**: Thomas Fitzpatrick to Thomas W. Harvey, Bent's Fort, Arkansas River, October 19, 1847, Thomas Fitzpatrick Letters, 1846–1853, Bent's Old Fort National Historic Site, La Junta, Colorado.
- 47 **"a great struggle for the ascendancy"**: Thomas Fitzpatrick to Lieutenant Colonel Clifton Wharton, Fort Leavenworth, KS, January 7, 1847, *ibid.*
- 47 **In May 1849, he wrote**: Thomas Fitzpatrick to D. D. Mitchell, St. Louis, MO, May 22, 1849, *ibid.*
- 48 **"Great Medicine Road of the Whites"**: Pierre-Jean De Smet, *Western Missions and Missionaries: A Series of Letters* (New York: James B. Kirker, 1863), 98.
- 48 **left strewn in their wake**: Hiram Martin Chittenden and Alfred Talbot Richardson, eds., *Life, Letters and Travels of Father Pierre-Jean De Smet, S. J., 1801–1873*, 4 vols. (New York: Francis P. Harper, 1905), 2: 726.
- 48 **the stench of death from decomposing bodies**: Waggoner, *Witness*, 69.
- 48 **"Many died of the cramps"**: Greene and Thornton, eds., *The Year the Stars Fell*, 226. Smallpox and measles, again introduced by emigrants, also proved deadly to the Lakotas.
- 48 **purposely introducing the disease**: Report of D. D. Mitchell, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, St. Louis, September 14, 1850, *Message from the President of the*



- United States to the Two Houses of Congress*, H. Exec. Doc. No. 1, 31st Cong., 2nd Sess., 49.
- 48 **no ordinary treaty**: Superintendent of Indian Affairs Mitchell outlined his ideas for the treaty in letters to William Medill and Thomas Fitzpatrick of June 1, 1849, and August 1, 1849, respectively. Both are in Thomas Fitzpatrick Letters, 1846–1853.
- 49 **The only thing more surprising**: Fur trader Charles Larpenteur described the 1851 treaty as the most absurd he had ever heard of, “though gotten up by men who should have known better.” Elliott Coues, ed., *Forty Years a Fur Trader on the Upper Missouri: The Personal Narrative of Charles Larpenteur, 1833–1872*, 2 vols. (New York: Francis P. Harper, 1899), 2: 419.
- 49 **The “Great Indian Council”**: *The New York Herald*, October 6, 1851. A good account of the council and resulting treaty is Burton S. Hill, “The Great Indian Treaty Council of 1851,” *Nebraska History* 47 (1966): 85–110.
- 49 **Comanches, Kiowas, and Apaches**: Report of Thomas Fitzpatrick, Indian Agent, Upper Platte Agency, November 24, 1851, *Message from the President of the United States to the Two Houses of Congress*, H. Exec. Doc. No. 2, 32nd Cong., 1st Sess., 333.
- 50 **men “ignorant and weak minded”**: Thomas Fitzpatrick to Thomas W. Harvey, Bent’s Fort, Arkansas River, October 19, 1847, Thomas Fitzpatrick Letters, 1846–1853.
- 50 **“Father, this is the third time”**: As quoted in Hill, “The Great Indian Treaty Council of 1851,” 101. The Yankton chief was named Painted Bear.
- 50 **put down a few more buffalo**: *The Daily Crescent*, New Orleans, November 1, 1851.
- 50 **each band’s chief represented**: See the statement of Blue Earth, a Brulé chief, in Raymond J. DeMallie, “Touching the Pen,” in Roger L. Nichols, ed., *The American Indian, Past and Present* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008), 176–77.
- 51 **\$50,000 worth of goods**: D. D. Mitchell to Luke Lea, St. Louis, November 11, 1851, *Message from the President of the United States to the Two Houses of Congress*, H. Exec. Doc. No. 2, 32nd Cong., 1st Sess., 289. The original terms of the treaty specified \$50,000 worth of goods for fifty years, but that number was later changed to ten by the U.S. Senate.
- 51 **a colorful military uniform**: Chittenden and Richardson, eds., *Life, Letters and Travels of Father Pierre-Jean De Smet*, 2: 683.
- 51 **payment for all past claims**: D. D. Mitchell to Luke Lea, St. Louis, November 11, 1851, *Message from the President*, 289.
- 51 **“no epoch in Indian annals”**: De Smet, *Western Missions and Missionaries*, 108.
- 52 **baptized 1,194 Indian children**: Chittenden and Richardson, eds., *Life, Letters and Travels of Father Pierre-Jean De Smet*, 2: 678–79.
- 52 **“In future, peaceable citizens may”**: Ibid., 684.
- 52 **“some untoward misfortune”**: D. D. Mitchell to Luke Lea, St. Louis, November 11, 1851, *Message from the President*, 290.
- 52 **promptly killed and butchered**: James Bordeaux account, August 21, 1854, *The New York Herald*, September 18, 1854.



- 53 **“with thirty men”**: As quoted in John D. McDermott, R. Eli Paul, and Sandra J. Lowry, eds., *All Because of a Mormon Cow: Historical Accounts of the Grattan Massacre, 1854–1855* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2018), 188–89.
- 53 **“white man’s arms”**: Ibid.
- 53 **Riding along with Grattan**: I have relied heavily on the eyewitness testimony of They Fear Even His Horses, February 13, 1855, which is reproduced *ibid.*, 167–72. See also the eyewitness account of Rocky Bear, an Oglala, in “Brule Sioux, Chief Actors,” *The Salt Lake Herald*, September 16, 1907.
- 54 **“You tell the Bear”**: Obridge Allen account, November 19, 1854, as quoted in *All Because of a Mormon Cow*, 124.
- 54 **“For all I tell you”**: They Fear Even His Horses account, 171.
- 54 **“You are talking”**: Ibid.
- 54 **Behind their blankets, they held guns**: George Bent to George Hyde, Colony, OK, March 19, 1906, George Bent Papers, 1904–1926, WA MSS 32, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, CT.
- 55 **“Yes,” the Oglala replied**: They Fear Even His Horses account, 171.
- 55 **three lead balls struck the Brulé chief**: Sefroy Iott account in the *New York Herald*, September 18, 1854.
- 55 **“would not listen to anything”**: George Bent to George Hyde, March 19, 1906, George Bent Papers.
- 55 **stuffed into the muzzle of the fieldpiece**: *The New York Herald*, October 20, 1854.
- 55 **“They killed thirty white men”**: Joseph S. Karol, ed., *Red Horse Owner’s Winter Count: The Oglala Sioux, 1786–1968* (Martin, SD: The Booster Publishing Co., 1969), 35 and 61. The names of those killed is found in the *New York Herald*, October 22, 1854.
- 56 **increasingly hostile toward whites**: Denig, *Five Indian Tribes of the Upper Missouri*, 27.
- 56 **“that they preferred the liberty”**: Alfred J. Vaughan, Indian agent, to Col. Alfred Cumming, Fort Pierre, October 19, 1854, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, S. Exec. Doc. No. 1, 33rd Cong., 2nd Sess., 297.
- 56 **the most dreaded Indians**: Ibid., 295.
- 57 **seven fur company employees**: Alfred J. Vaughan, Indian agent, to Col. Alfred Cumming, Fort Clark, September 12, 1855, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, S. Exec. Doc. No. 1, 34th Cong., 1st Sess., 394.
- 57 **“murders, robberies, and horse stealing”**: Ibid., 396.
- 57 **Poised to attack those camps**: George Rollie Adams, *General William S. Harney: Prince of Dragoons* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001), 128.
- 58 **rifled and fired conical minié balls**: Louis A. Garavaglia and Charles G. Worman, *Firearms of the American West, 1803–1865* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984), 159–60.
- 58 **“he had not come out here for nothing”**: Gouverneur K. Warren journal, September 3, 1855, in Hanson, *Little Chief’s Gatherings*, 104.
- 58 **shooting at any living thing that moved**: 1855 letter of Lieutenant Marshall K. Polk in R. Eli Paul, ed., *The Frontier Army: Episodes from Dakota and the West* (Pierre: South Dakota Historical Society Press, 2019), 16–17.
- 58 **Those caves became death traps**: Ibid.



- 58 *Long Knives climbed onto an outcropping*: Account of Nathan A. M. Dudley, August 26, 1909, in R. Eli Paul, ed., "The Battle of Ash Hollow: The 1909–1910 Recollections of General N. A. M. Dudley," *Nebraska History* 62 (1981): 392.
- 58 *"heart rending—wounded women & children"*: Warren journal, September 3, 1855, 106.
- 59 *showed no signs of surrendering*: Account of Nathan A. M. Dudley, January 29, 1909, 382.
- 59 *eighty-six Lakotas lay dead and about seventy women and children*: R. Eli Paul, *Blue Water Creek and the First Sioux War, 1854–1856* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004).
- 59 *Lakota attack on a mail train*: *The New York Herald*, December 7, 1854.
- 59 *"there were plenty of bad Indians in Camp"*: Warren journal, September 3, 1855, 106.
- 59 *It's said that a young Crazy Horse*: Mari Sandoz, in her biography of the Oglala leader, describes a young Crazy Horse visiting the destroyed village. Because her book contains no endnotes, it's impossible to know if Sandoz had a specific source for this episode or whether she invented it for the sake of her narrative. Most scholars today consider her book to contain far too much invention (including created dialogue) for it to be of any value as a reference. However, Sandoz did participate in interviews with several Pine Ridge Lakotas who knew Crazy Horse. Those 1930 and 1931 interviews are the foundation stones for anyone studying Crazy Horse's life. And Sandoz claimed a personal connection to Crazy Horse's people from her childhood. In a 1958 letter, she wrote, "I grew up among the Oglalas, so to speak, with many of the hostiles, the old Crazy Horse people, often camped across the road from our house on the river, the Niobrara. From these I heard the great stories told over and over—by men who had been in the fights." So, while scholars are certainly justified in looking at Sandoz's book with a wary eye, they should not be too quick to dismiss the various events of Crazy Horse's life she recounts. See Sandoz, *Crazy Horse: The Strange Man of the Oglalas*, 76–77; Sandoz to Elias Jacobsen, New York, NY, August 20, 1958; and Sandoz to Bonnie Lee O'Dell, n.p., November 10, 1951, Sandoz Collection.
- 59 *lodges plundered by the Long Knives*: Lieutenant Gouverneur K. Warren, a topographer with Harney's expedition, gathered at least one hundred items from the battlefield—dresses, moccasins, leggings, pad saddles, decorated buffalo robes, weapons, etc.—and donated the collection to the Smithsonian Institution in 1856, where the majority remain to this day. Many of these artifacts are illustrated in Hanson, *Little Chief's Gatherings*.
- 59 *"some as pretty tepees as I ever saw"*: As quoted in Paul, *Blue Water Creek*, 107.
- 59 *exterminate the entire Yanktonai*: Interview with Alfred J. Vaughan, *Washington Sentinel*, Washington, D.C., April 26, 1856; and Doreen Chaky, *Terrible Justice: Sioux Chiefs and U.S. Soldiers on the Upper Missouri, 1854–1868* (Norman, OK: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 2012), 52.
- 60 *the Lakotas named Harney "Mad Bear"*: Utley, *The Lance and the Shield*, 45, and 342 n. 9. Susan Bordeaux Bettelyoun, a mixed-blood Lakota, wrote that because of the women and children killed at Blue Water Creek, the general



- became known as “Squaw Killer Harney.” Susan Bordeaux Bettelyoun and Josephine Waggoner, *With My Own Eyes: A Lakota Woman Tells Her People’s History*, ed. Emily Levine (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 57. A Lakota winter count identified Harney as “White Beard.” Research correspondence with Judge Frank Zahn, CC, box 107, folder 5.
- 60 **presenting a set of demands:** “A Report of the Proceedings of a Council Held at Fort Pierre by General Harney,” S. Exec. Doc. No. 94, 34th Cong., 1st Sess., 2–4.
- 60 **“I am going to tell you something”:** As quoted in *ibid.*, 26.
- 61 **angrily told Warren to turn back:** Warren journal, September 16, 1857, 162–64.
- 61 **“only to see what was in their country”:** *Ibid.*, 162.
- 61 **Bear’s Rib warned, it was a rule:** *Ibid.*, September 24, 1857, 165.
- 61 **the four Sacred Arrows:** Ben Clark, “Cheyenne History and Dictionary,” 1887 manuscript in the Francis W. Cragin Collection, Colorado Springs Pioneers Museum, Colorado Springs, Colorado.
- 61 **in the form of a bear:** Reese, ed., *Legends of the Mighty Sioux*, 110–12. According to this same source, the butte received the name *Mato Paha* (Bear Mountain) because of Crazy Horse’s father’s encounter at that place with the bear that was *Wakan Tanka*.
- 62 **Black Hills were rich with timber:** Frank N. Schubert, ed., *Explorer on the Northern Plains: Lieutenant Gouverneur K. Warren’s Preliminary Report of Explorations in Nebraska and Dakota, in the Years 1855-’56-’57* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1981), 31.
- 62 **“there would soon spring up”:** *Ibid.*, 30.
- 62 **“I almost feel guilty of crime”:** From a Warren letter draft dated January 27, 1858, quoted in *ibid.*, xxvi.

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- 63 **“What we see”:** Elaine Goodale Eastman, “Justice to the Indian,” *Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper*, June 27, 1891.
- 63 **fight for survival with other tribes:** De Smet, *Western Missions and Missionaries*, 53–54.
- 63 **“Sticks around the Fort”:** Black Elk interview, *The Sixth Grandfather*, 159.
- 64 **his most famous fight:** There are several versions of Sitting Bull’s duel with the Crow chief. And it’s not even certain that his opponent was indeed a chief. For my narrative, I’ve relied primarily on the account of Circling Hawk and Sitting Bull’s own drawing of the encounter. Circling Hawk interview, CC, box 105, folder 13; and Sitting Bull drawing, #11, Pratt-Evans-Pettinger-Anderson Collection, Buffalo Bill Center of the West, Cody, Wyoming.
- 64 **Only the four bravest Strong Hearts:** White Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 4.
- 65 **one of two “sash-wearers”:** White Bull interview, box 106, folder 53; and LaPointe, *Sitting Bull*, 32.
- 65 **why the medicine failed:** As explained by Robert Higheagle to Walter Campbell, “If a man was wounded, he didn’t blame the charm. If he had done his part in the battle, he didn’t think that he should be successful every time.



There were times when a warrior had to suffer.” Robert Higheagle manuscript, CC, box 104, folder 22.

- 65 **no woman was allowed to touch:** White Bull interview, CC, box 5, folder 4.
- 66 **One of those pictographs:** The drawing I’m referencing is marked #9 in the Pratt-Evans-Pettinger-Anderson Collection, Buffalo Bill Center. However, Sitting Bull depicted this same event in at least two additional drawings; one is part of his pictographic autobiography held by the National Anthropological Archives and the other is a Four Horns copy of a Sitting Bull drawing, also at the National Anthropological Archives.
- 66 **there is much more to the story:** As with several episodes in Sitting Bull’s life passed down through oral history, there is more than one version of this event, but see White Bull interview, CC, box 106, folder 53; One Bull interview, CC, box 104, folder 11; One Bull and Mrs. One Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 19; and Circling Hawk interview, CC, box 105, folder 13. Although Circling Hawk claimed to be a witness, it appears he may be confusing two different events involving the Assiniboines. Circling Hawk’s account describes a major battle between the Hunkpapa raiding party and the Assiniboines where eight Hunkpapas were killed. Such a battle is not part of One Bull’s and White Bull’s stories of Sitting Bull’s capture of the Assiniboina boy. Another problem with the Circling Hawk version is that he has the Hunkpapas swimming their horses across a lake during a running fight. Because we know that the episode I describe occurred in the dead of winter (Sitting Bull’s own drawings show him wearing a blanket coat), any lake in Assiniboina country would’ve been frozen over.
- 67 **“Big brother, save me!”:** As quoted in LaPointe, *Sitting Bull*, 34.
- 68 **Rainy Butte:** For my account of the Rainy Butte fight, I have relied upon Brian L. Keefe, *The Battle at Rainy Butte: A Significant Sioux-Crow Encounter of 1858* (London: The English Westerners Society, 2006); White Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 8; Old Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 11; Circling Hawk interview, CC, box 105, folder 13; Waggoner, *Witness*, 397–98; and Vestal, *Sitting Bull*, 43–49.
- 68 **In 1858, during the Moon of Changing Leaves:** There is disagreement on when the Rainy Butte engagement occurred. The only full-length work devoted to the fight, Keefe’s *The Battle at Rainy Butte*, places it in 1858 and in September or early October. Stanley Vestal also gives the year as 1858 but has the battle occurring in June. Robert Utley gives the year as 1859. Keefe had access to Crow oral history for his narrative; Vestal and Utley did not. And while there is no reason to give more weight to the Crow sources, because Keefe’s is the most recent and most detailed study of the fight, I have gone with his dates.
- 69 **“You are like old women”:** As quoted in Keefe, *The Battle at Rainy Butte*, 38.
- 69 **“Leave him to me”:** Old Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 11.
- 70 **thrust his lance into the Crow’s side:** Some Lakota accounts identify this Crow warrior as the slayer of Jumping Bull, and Sitting Bull may have believed this as well, but Keefe provides compelling evidence that this was not the case. See his *The Battle at Rainy Butte*, 41.
- 71 **“Take good care of”:** Old Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 11; and Waggoner,



Witness, 398 (last sentence of quote). Sitting Bull's compassion for enemy captives was legendary. "Sitting Bull was a very humane chief," recalled Frank Desjarlais, an interpreter, "and . . . he always ordered his men to spare the women and children of their enemies." As quoted in Charles De Noyer, "The History of Fort Totten," *Collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota* 3 (1910): 216.

- 71 **For four days Sitting Bull mourned:** Waggoner, *Witness*, 398. For Sitting Bull's method of mourning, see White Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 8.
- 72 **"soldier chief":** In Walter Campbell's interviews with Lakota informants, "soldier chief" is interpreted variously as "chief of police" and "peace officer." See White Bull and Circling Hawk interviews, CC, box 105, folders 4 and 13.
- 72 **Sitting Bull fully earned:** "Whatever Sitting Bull attained was through his own personal efforts." Robert Higheagle manuscript, CC, box 104, folder 22.
- 72 **the heart of Lakota existence:** Literature on the Lakota Sun Dance is considerable. For my brief description, I have drawn from the following: Standing Bear, *Land of the Spotted Eagle*, 220–25; White Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 8; Delphine Red Shirt, *George Sword's Warrior Narratives: Compositional Processes in Lakota Oral Tradition* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2016), 214–46; Darcy Paige, "George W. Hill's Account of the Sioux Indian Sun Dance of 1866," *Plains Anthropologist* 25 (1979): 99–112; William Garnett interview in Jensen, *Voices of the American West*, 1: 55–56; Alice C. Fletcher, "The Sun Dance of the Ogalalla Sioux," *Proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Thirty-First Meeting* (1883): 580–84; Little Wound interview, Walker, *Lakota Belief and Ritual*, 67–68; and James R. Walker, "The Sun Dance and Other Ceremonies of the Oglala Division of the Teton Dakota," *American Museum of Natural History Anthropological Papers* 16, pt. 2 (1917): 50–221.
- 74 **a tenet existed that no man:** Belitz, *Chips Collection of Crazy Horse Medicines*, 95; and Chris Dixon interview with the author, Hardin, MT, June 23, 2017. Belitz's informant on the Sun Dance rule was Dwight Good Voice Boy, a step-great-grandson of Crazy Horse's holy man Horn Chips.
- 74 **The man is Crazy Horse's father:** Greene and Thornton, eds., *The Year the Stars Fell*, 216.
- 74 **strove to become a holy man:** Standing Bear, *Land of the Spotted Eagle*, 39.
- 74 **everything in the world has a spirit:** Walker, *Lakota Belief and Ritual*, 118.
- 74 **a holy man hoped to please them:** Thomas Tyon interview, *ibid.*, 119.
- 74 **mentored by other holy men:** George Sword interview, *ibid.*, 79–80.
- 75 **"He was a man medicine seemed":** Robert Higheagle manuscript, CC, box 104, folder 22.
- 75 **a blue speckled bird was singing:** One Bull and Mrs. One Bull interviews, CC, box 105, folder 19.
- 75 **prayed more often than anyone else:** White Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 4.
- 75 **had plenty of food that year:** One Bull and Mrs. One Bull interviews, CC, box 105, folder 19.
- 76 **"Friends, we must honor these bones":** As quoted in Vestal, *Sitting Bull*, 33.
- 76 **a gift for Wakan Tanka:** White Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 4.
- 76 **Sitting Bull's greatest power:** *Ibid.* Black Elk related to John G. Neihardt four



- ways that Indians could see into the future, the first two of which were the Sun Dance and “lamenting,” or crying for a vision. See Black Elk interview, *The Sixth Grandfather*, 376.
- 76 **told the future by a meadowlark:** One Bull, “Prophecy of Sitting Bull,” CC, box 104, folder 21.
- 76 **the songs of the yellow-throated bird:** Robert Higheagle manuscript, CC, box 104, folder 22.
- 77 **so fearful of the Lakotas:** James I. Patten, Indian agent, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Shoshone and Bannock Agency, Wyoming Territory, August 25, 1878, *Report of the Secretary of the Interior*, H. Exec. Doc. No. 1, Part 5, 45th Cong., 3rd Sess., 645.
- 77 **One of Crazy Horse’s early exploits:** Short Bull interview, *Hinman Interviews*, 38; McCreight, *Firewater and Forked Tongues*, 139; White Bull recollections in Walter S. Campbell to Eleanor Hinman, Norman, OK, October 13, 1932, CC, box 117, folder 27; and Horn Chips interview, Jensen, *Voices of the American West*, 1: 275. The above are the only sources for this fight. They are brief, and they do not entirely agree with one another on specifics. None provide us with the weapon Crazy Horse used to kill the Shoshone. I’m assuming it was a bow and arrow.
- 77 **a little too foolhardy:** He Dog interview, *Hinman Interviews*, 25.
- 78 **a nephew through his stepmothers:** Chris Dixon to the author, August 12, 2019. Professor Dixon explains that the stepmothers of Crazy Horse were Spotted Tail’s biological first cousins, but in Lakota terms he called them “sisters.” Thus, Crazy Horse would be Spotted Tail’s nephew through marriage.
- 78 **“I was told”:** He Dog interview, *Hinman Interviews*, 21.
- 79 **“Wiping of Blood from the Hands”:** Belitz, *Chips Collection of Crazy Horse Medecines*, 95.
- 79 **“best and last home”:** *The Kansas Herald of Freedom*, Lawrence, KS, October 2, 1858.
- 80 **“This is the white man’s money”:** *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, MO, August 14, 1876. Eagle Woman (1820–1888) was the daughter of Chief Two Lance and the wife, first, of Indian trader Honoré Picotte and, second, Charles Galpin. She was also known as Matilda Galpin. See John S. Gray, “The Story of Mrs. Picotte-Galpin, a Sioux Heroine: Eagle Woman Learns About White Ways and Racial Conflict, 1820–1868,” *Montana The Magazine of Western History* 36 (Spring 1986): 3–21.

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- 81 **“At present [the Indians] are”:** *The American Phrenological Journal* (January 1864), as quoted in the *St. Cloud Democrat*, St. Cloud, MN, January 7, 1864.
- 81 **all claims to their lands:** Pierre-Jean De Smet to Charles E. Mix, Washington, D.C., September 6, 1862, in *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1862* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1863), 214.
- 81 **“We beg of you for the last time”:** Feather Tied to His Hair, *The Bald Eagle*, *The*



- Red Hair, The One That Shouts, The Little Bear, The Crow That Looks, The Bear Heart, The Little Knife, and The White at Both Ends to “the agent,” Fort Berthold, July 25, 1862, *ibid.*, 372–73.
- 82 **A Bannack City prospector’s letter:** “Letter from the New Gold Mines,” *Sioux City Register*, 1A, April 11, 1863.
- 83 **“and they say it is a good route”:** *Ibid.*
- 83 **Bozeman Cut-off:** *The Missouri Republican*, August 5, 1865. Today known as the Bozeman Trail.
- 83 **chronicle their conflicts:** Greene and Thornton, eds., *The Year the Stars Fell*, 250–55.
- 83 **“First fight with white men”:** Red Horse Owner’s winter count identifies the year 1864 as “They were fighting with the white man.” Karol, ed., *Red Horse Owner’s Winter Count*, 37 and 61.
- 84 **“one awful holocaust of blood and fire”:** As quoted in the *Cleveland Morning Leader*, May 18, 1863.
- 84 **reorganize and strike again:** In February 1863, newspapers published rumors of a planned spring attack on Minnesota’s white settlements based on “private information” from the Upper Missouri trading posts. See “Hostile Indians,” *Sioux City Register*, February 28, 1863.
- 84 **seven hundred Long Knives:** A recent history of the “Dakota War” and the subsequent U.S. military campaigns against the Sioux is Paul N. Beck, *Columns of Vengeance: Soldiers, Sioux, and the Punitive Expeditions, 1863–1864* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013).
- 85 **fathered a child by a Yankton woman:** Soldier Woman, later known as Mary Sully Deloria (1858–1916), was the mother of anthropologist, ethnographer, and author Ella Deloria (1889–1971), and the grandmother of American Indian historian and activist Vine Deloria Jr. (1933–2005). See Philip J. Deloria, *Becoming Mary Sully: Toward an American Indian Abstract* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2019), 27–35.
- 85 **destroyed three hundred lodges:** Report of Brig. Gen. Alfred Sully, September 11, 1863, *The War of the Rebellion*, ser. 1, vol. 22, pt. 1 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1888), 559.
- 85 **Black Moon, a cousin to Sitting Bull:** Some sources identify Black Moon as Sitting Bull’s uncle. See Robert Higheagle manuscript, CC, box 104, folder 22; and letter of J. B. M. Genin to the editor of *Freeman’s Journal*, Bismarck, Dakota Territory, September 8, 1876, in Linda W. Slaughter, “Leaves from Northwestern History,” *Collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota* 1 (1906): 258.
- 85 **“clear out all the whites”:** As quoted in P. Chouteau & Co. to Maj. Gen. H. W. Halleck, St. Louis, March 26, 1864, *The War of the Rebellion*, ser. 1, vol. 34, pt. 2 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1891), 743. See also “An Arrival from Fort Union on the Missouri,” *Sioux City Register*, April 23, 1864.
- 86 **“This whole section”:** *Ibid.*
- 86 **“savage demons”:** *St. Cloud Democrat*, March 24, 1864.
- 86 **“must be broken to pieces”:** Maj. Gen. John Pope to Newton Edwards, Milwaukee, WI, June 30, 1864, *The War of the Rebellion*, ser. 1, vol. 34, pt. 4 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1891), 605.
- 86 **a train of gold seekers:** Rev. Louis Pfaller, “Sully’s Expedition of 1864, Featuring



- the Killdeer Mountain and Badlands Battles,” *North Dakota History* 31 (January 1964): 32; and Beck, *Columns of Vengeance*, 191.
- 87 **some eight thousand Sioux:** Beck, *Columns of Vengeance*, 204.
- 87 **a party of returning Montana miners:** Contemporary accounts of this episode are found in the *Weekly Pioneer and Democrat*, St. Paul, MN, September 1, October 30, and December 25, 1863; and the *Sioux City Register*, January 9, 1864. These news reports identify the Sioux involved as Yanktonais, but Josephine Waggoner, in her biographical sketch of Inkpaduta, writes that it was the Santee chief and his men who perpetrated the attack, which she states was provoked by the miners shooting and killing an old Sioux man fishing at the river’s edge. Joseph No Two Horns, a Húŋkpapa, gave a slightly different version of the episode to A. B. Welch sometime in the early 1920s. He said that a number of Indians had waved at the miners in the boat to come to shore, as they wished to trade, but the miners opened fire on them, killing his father, Black Eyes. After killing all the whites and plundering their possessions, the Indians burned the boat to the waterline. No Two Horns made no mention of the woman and children killed with the miners. Considering that the Húŋkpapas had already announced their intention to stop all whites from traveling through their country, No Two Horns’s claim that they wished to trade with the miners is rather dubious. See Waggoner, *Witness*, 272; and “Death of Montana Miners and Burning of the Boat,” in A. B. Welch, “War Drums” (1924), Welch Dakota Papers, <https://www.welchdakotapapers.com/2013/10/war-drums-genuine-war-stories-from-the-sioux-mandan-hidatsa-and-arikara-written-by-col-a-b-welch-a/>
- 88 **their scouts shadowed Sully’s column:** White Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 24; and Martin Williams, “Narrative of the Second Regiment of Cavalry,” in Board of Commissioners, *Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars, 1861–1865*, 2 vols. (St. Paul, MN: Pioneer Press Company, 1891), 1: 544.
- 89 **“If they shoot at me”:** White Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 24.
- 89 **waving a war club:** Lieut. Col. John Pattee recalled a warrior, undoubtedly Lone Dog, who rode close to their lines before the battle’s first shots were fired. He was “very gayly dressed, carrying a large war club gorgeously ornamented . . . and called loudly to us and gesticulated wildly about one-half mile away.” Soon Pattee received this order from General Sully: “The general sends his compliments and wishes you to kill that Indian for God’s sake.” Pattee directed his two best marksmen to fire at the warrior, but Pattee believed they overshot their target. General Sully claimed to have witnessed the warrior ride a short distance and then fall from his horse. John Pattee, “Dakota Campaigns,” *South Dakota Historical Collections* 5 (1910): 308.
- 90 **“the imps of hell let loose”:** David L. Kingsbury, “Sully’s Expedition Against the Sioux in 1864,” *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society* 8 (1898): 449–62.
- 90 **warriors fired up into the sky:** Pattee, “Dakota Campaigns,” 309.
- 90 **The artillerymen specifically targeted:** Frank Myers, *Soldiering in Dakota, Among the Indians, in 1863–4–5* (1888; reprint: Pierre, SD: State Historical Society, 1936), 15.
- 90 **When a Sioux fell:** *Ibid.*, 16.
- 91 **man named Bear’s Heart:** White Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 24; and



Circling Hawk interview, CC, box 105, folder 13. White Bull provided an additional name for Bear's Heart: Man Who Never Walked.

- 91 **"I am shot!":** White Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 24.
- 91 **made a last, desperate attempt:** Isaac Botsford, "Narrative of Brackett's Battalion of Cavalry," in Board of Commissioners, *Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars*, 1: 581–82; and Report of Alfred J. Brackett, August 1, 1864, *The War of the Rebellion*, ser. 1, vol. 41, pt. 1 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1893), 161.
- 92 **tallied up their casualties:** Report of Brig. Gen. Alfred Sully, July 31, 1864, *The War of the Rebellion*, ser. 1, vol. 41, pt. 1, 144; and *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel*, October 6, 1864.
- 93 **dropped into his stomach:** White Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 24.
- 93 **tons of dried buffalo meat:** Report of Col. Robert N. McLaren, July 29, 1864, *The War of the Rebellion*, ser. 1, vol. 41, pt. 1, 172; *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel*, October 6, 1864; and Kingsbury, "Sully's Expedition Against the Sioux," 455–56.
- 93 **"worth little to a white man":** Botsford, "Narrative of Brackett's Battalion of Cavalry," 581.
- 93 **"was wicked to destroy the work":** A. N. Judd, *Campaigning Against the Sioux* (1906; reprint: New York, Sol Lewis, 1973), 11.
- 93 **"could not interpret the meaning":** McLaren Report, 173; and Sully Report, July 31, 1864, 144.
- 93 **set fire to the surrounding timber:** Ibid., and *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel*, October 6, 1864.
- 94 **proper mourning for those slain:** Fanny Kelly, *Narrative of My Captivity Among the Sioux Indians* (Hartford, CT: Mutual Publishing Company, 1873), 106.
- 94 **"live very fat":** Caspar Collins to Catherine Collins, Fort Laramie, September 20, 1862, in Agnes Wright Spring, *Caspar Collins: The Life and Exploits of an Indian Fighter of the Sixties* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1927), 133.
- 94 **soon joined by Brulés:** Report of Brig. Gen. Alfred Sully, August 13, 1864, *The War of the Rebellion*, ser. 1, vol. 41, pt. 1, 147.
- 94 **Sioux scouts alerted their people:** White Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 24.
- 95 **some immense ancient city:** Sully Report, August 13, 1864, 145.
- 95 **Over three days:** The skirmishing between the Indians and Sully's men from August 7 to 9 is known as the Battle of the Badlands. See Sully's official report, cited above, and Beck, *Columns of Vengeance*, 220–38; and Pfaller, "Sully's Expedition of 1864," 56–66.
- 95 **"We are about thirsty to death":** As quoted in White Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 24.
- 96 **"Let them go":** Ibid.
- 96 **empty a few saddles:** Sully Report, August 13, 1864, 147.
- 97 **the Indian campsites:** The village camps were located on Andrews Creek near present-day Sentinel Butte, North Dakota.
- 97 **dead bodies of several warriors:** Nicholas Hilger, "General Alfred Sully's Expedition of 1864," in *Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana* 2 (1896): 319.
- 97 **Sully's casualties:** Sully does not give his casualties in his report of August 13, which covers his combat in the Badlands, and there does not appear to be an official tally. However, a letter written by a member of the expedition on



- August 21 reported a total of nine wounded, all but one by Indian arrows. See "The Indian Expedition," *The Weekly Pioneer and Democrat*, October 7, 1864. See also the *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel*, October 6, 1864.
- 97 **"I don't think the Indians will ever again":** Alfred Sully to John Pope, Fort Union, August 18, 1864, *Report of the Adjutant General and Acting Quartermaster General of the State of Iowa, January 11, 1864, to January 1, 1865* (Des Moines: F. W. Palmer, 1865), 1366.
- 98 **another group of gold seekers:** This caravan is known as the Fisk wagon train for its leader, James L. Fisk. I have based my narrative on the accounts of members of the train, Lakota oral histories, and contemporary newspaper reports, primarily the following: Charles F. Sims to L. G. Sims, Sioux City, Iowa, November 6, 1864, in "Expeditions of Captain James L. Fisk to the Gold Mines of Idaho and Montana, 1864–1866," in *Collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota* 2 (1908): 431–39; Ethel A. Collins, "Pioneer Experiences of Horatio H. Larned," *Collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota* 7 (1925): 1–58; J. H. Drips, *Three Years Among the Indians in Dakota* (Kimball, SD: Brule Index, 1894); White Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 8 and folder 24; Circling Hawk interview, CC, box 105, folder 13; "Capt. Fisk's Expedition," *The Weekly Pioneer and Democrat*, October 7, 1864; "The Fisk Expedition," *The Weekly Pioneer and Democrat*, November 18, 1864; "Return of Captain Fisk," *The St. Cloud Democrat*, November 17, 1864; "Fisk's Expedition: Official Report of Col. Dill, Commander of the Party Sent to Its Relief," *The Weekly Pioneer and Democrat*, November 25, 1864; and "Philanthropy and Strychnine," *The Weekly Pioneer and Democrat*, December 2, 1864.
- 99 **Corporal Jefferson Dilts:** The Lakota accounts of this fight do not, of course, mention Dilts by name, but we know from the white accounts that Dilts charged alone and engaged several warriors at once, receiving three arrow wounds. We also know from the white accounts that, during the fighting, Dilts recovered the revolver that belonged to the emigrant who'd gone back to look for an ox. Circling Hawk, an eyewitness, specifically states that the soldier who wounded Sitting Bull had wrested a revolver from Fool Buffalo. Additionally, Sitting Bull made a drawing showing the moment he was shot in the hip (copied by Four Horns). The white man who wounds him in this drawing has an arrow protruding from his body that's been shot by Sitting Bull. Circling Hawk tells us that the soldier who wounded Sitting Bull got away, as was the case with Dilts. In addition to the references previously cited, see the Four Horns copy of Sitting Bull, drawing #13, National Anthropological Archives.
- 102 **"had many killed by the goods":** Kelly, *Narrative of My Captivity Among the Sioux Indians*, 275–77.
- 103 **"They say this is their ground":** Ibid.
- 104 **"I can see in her face":** As quoted by White Bull, CC, box 106, folder 53.
- 104 **"My friend, I have come":** Crawler interview in Doane Robinson, "The Rescue of Frances Kelly," *South Dakota Historical Collections* 6 (1908): 114–15.
- 104 **"My friend," Sitting Bull said:** As quoted by White Bull, CC, box 106, folder 53. See also Old Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 12.
- 105 **Sihásapas delivered her safely:** According to an 1866 news item, President



Andrew Johnson ordered that the Sihásapa chief responsible for rescuing Fanny Kelly be forwarded “a testimonial in the shape of a parchment letter of transmittal, handsomely ornamented with the American coat of arms in colors, accompanied by a large silver medal and one hundred silver dollars.” See *The Evening Telegraph*, Philadelphia, October 1, 1866.

- 105 “*The youth are very fond of war*”: Kelly, *Narrative of My Captivity Among the Sioux Indians*, 188.

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- 107 “*So, like wolves we travel*”: As quoted in Paul I. Manhart, *Lakota Tales and Texts in Translation* (Chamberlain, SD: Tipi Press, 1998), 639.

- 107 **December 21, 1866**: For the opening phase of the so-called Fetterman fight, I’ve relied upon several military and civilian eyewitness accounts, as well as Indian accounts, some of which have been rarely sourced. These include an undated letter of Horace D. Vankirk, 27th U.S. Infantry, Fort Phil Kearny, *The Janesville Daily Gazette*, Janesville, WI, January 30, 1867; undated letter of C. M. Hines, Fort Phil Kearny, *Chicago Tribune*, February 2, 1867; letter of unnamed sergeant, 2nd U.S. Cavalry, Fort Phil Kearny, January 21, 1867, *Rutland Daily Herald*, VT, April 24, 1867; Henry B. Carrington, “Official Report of the Phil Kearney Massacre,” January 3, 1867, in Carrington, *The Indian Question*, 22–23; Margaret Carrington, *Ab-Sa-Ra-Ka, Home of the Crows, Being the Experience of an Officer’s Wife on the Plains* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1868), 200–205; Frances C. Carrington, *My Army Life on the Plains and the Fort Phil Kearney Massacre* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1910), 142–46; “Fort Phil Kearny Massacre,” *The Omaha Daily Bee*, December 22, 1907; and the warrior accounts gathered in John H. Monnett, ed., *Eyewitness to the Fetterman Fight: Indian Views* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2017).

- 107 **weather was actually unseasonably mild**: Numerous authors and historians have mistakenly written that the weather on the day of the Fetterman fight was bitterly cold (they love to include a good blanket of snow as well). However, the available eyewitness accounts clearly tell us it was exactly the opposite. The wife of Fort Phil Kearny’s commanding officer wrote that the morning was “quite pleasant,” the men of the garrison going about in their shirtsleeves. And George Webber of Company C, 27th U.S. Infantry, wrote, “There was no snow on the ground. . . . I am very certain there was no snow at that time.” See Carrington, *Ab-Sa-Ra-Ka*, 200; and letter of George Webber as quoted in the *National Tribune*, Washington, D.C., October 28, 1897.

- 109 **Crazy Horse and nine others**: John D. McDermott, *Red Cloud’s War: The Bozeman Trail, 1866–1868*, 2 vols. (Norman: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 2010), 1: 207. There’s been much hand-wringing in recent years over whether or not Crazy Horse was part of the famed decoy party. Credible evidence exists that he was. Rocky Bear, an Oglala veteran of the Fetterman fight, stated that Crazy Horse and eight warriors were assigned the task of drawing the soldiers out of the fort. The historian George E. Hyde reports that the Northern



- Cheyenne Two Moons “stated in 1912 that Crazy Horse led the decoy party.” A transcript of this particular Two Moons interview hasn’t been located to date, but we know the chief was interviewed a number of times during this period. And Charles A. Eastman, who personally knew and interviewed numerous old Lakota warriors, wrote that “Crazy Horse was chosen to lead the attack on the woodchoppers, designed to draw the soldiers out of the fort.” This last reference gives Crazy Horse a different role in the overall plan for the trap but reinforces our understanding that he played a key part in the day’s events. See John R. Brennan, “Red Cloud – Marpiyaluta: A Brief History of the Most Celebrated Sioux Chief,” *The Oglala Light* 3 (June 1907): 3; Hyde, *Red Cloud’s Folk*, 146–48; and Eastman, *Indian Heroes and Great Chieftains*, 94.
- 109 **lodgepole with an American flag:** Testimony of John S. Smith, March 8, 1865, in *Condition of the Indian Tribes: Report of the Joint Special Committee Appointed Under Joint Resolution of March 3, 1865* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1867), 41; and George Bent, “Forty Years with the Cheyennes,” part one, *The Frontier: A Magazine of the West* 4 (October 1905): 6.
- 110 **hanged Colonel Chivington:** Maj. Gen. G. M. Dodge to Maj. Gen. John Pope, Horse Shoe, North Platte River, September 15, 1865, *The War of the Rebellion*, ser. 1, vol. 48, pt. 2 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1896), 1229.
- 110 **cut and carried off the wires:** Letter of William F. Boardman, Sweetwater Bridge, Dakota Territory, August 1, 1865, in *The Highland News*, Hillsborough, Ohio, August 31, 1865.
- 110 **the “Long Tongue”:** *Proceedings of the Great Peace Commission of 1867–1868* (Washington, D.C.: The Institute for the Development of Indian Law, 1975), 65.
- 110 **converged on Platte Bridge Station:** My account of the fighting at Platte Bridge Station is taken from letter of William F. Boardman, Sweetwater Bridge, Dakota Territory, August 1, 1865, *The Highland News*, August 31, 1865; letter of Sergeant Isaac B. Pennock, Platte Bridge Station, in *Gold Hill Daily News*, Gold Hill, NV, September 29, 1865; diary of Isaac B. Pennock, in Grace Raymond Hebard and E. A. Brininstool, *The Bozeman Trail: Historical Accounts of the Overland Routes into the Northwest and the Fights with Red Cloud’s Warriors*, 2 vols. (Cleveland, OH: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1922), 1: 167–71; diary of Lieutenant William I. Drew, in Hebard and Brininstool, *The Bozeman Trail*, 1: 179–200; Operator Mowberry dispatch, Sweetwater Bridge, August 3, 1865, in *Gold Hill Daily News*, August 3, 1865; “The Indian Butcheries,” *The Leavenworth Times*, August 31, 1865; “Indian Troubles in the Far West,” *Fort Laramie*, July 27, 1865, *Bradford Reporter*, Towanda, PA, August 3, 1865; George Bent, “Forty Years with the Cheyennes,” part four, *The Frontier: A Magazine of the West* 4 (January 1906): 3–4; and John Hart, ed., *Bluecoat and Pioneer: The Recollections of John Benton Hart, 1864–1868* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2019).
- 112 **“We were so crazy”:** Hart, ed., *Bluecoat and Pioneer*, 49 and 51. Trooper Hervey Johnson mentions the removal of High Back Wolf’s leather war shirt. See William E. Unrau, ed., *Tending the Talking Wire: A Buck Soldier’s View of Indian Country, 1863–1866* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1979), 273.
- 113 **“the real savage yell”:** Ibid.



- 113 ***“It appeared as though”***: Pennock letter, *Gold Hill Daily News*, September 29, 1865.
- 114 ***“one long, long bloody lane”***: Ibid.
- 115 ***“cut open and brains taken”***: “The Indian Butcheries.”
- 115 ***warriors under Two Bears***: Maj. Gen. Alfred Sully to Brig. Gen. H. H. Sibley, June 27, 1865, *The War of the Rebellion*, ser. 1, vol. 48, pt. 2, 1013; and *Frontier Scout*, June 22, 1865.
- 115 ***“I have Indians I know I can trust”***: Maj. Gen. Alfred Sully to Maj. Gen. John Pope, Sioux City, Iowa, June 10, 1865, *The War of the Rebellion*, ser. 1, vol. 48., pt. 2, 852.
- 116 ***“If you are a brave man”***: As quoted in Maj. Gen. Alfred Sully to Maj. Gen. John Pope, Fort Rice, July 17, 1865, *ibid.*, 1091. For the words spoken by other chiefs at their meeting with Sully, see the *Frontier Scout*, July 20, 1865.
- 116 ***camps stretched for three miles***: Report of Maj. Gen. Alfred Sully, Fort Berthold, August 8, 1865, *The War of the Rebellion*, ser. 1, vol. 48., pt. 2, 1173.
- 116 ***“Gen. Sully with his ‘little boys’”***: “From Fort Rice,” *Junction City Weekly Union*, Junction City, KS, August 19, 1865.
- 116 ***rode through the camps crying***: One Bull interview, CC, box 104, folder 11; and Report of Maj. Gen. Alfred Sully, Fort Berthold, August 8, 1865, *The War of the Rebellion*, ser. 1, vol. 48., pt. 2, 1173.
- 116 ***At 7:00 A.M. on July 28***: Accounts of the Battle of Fort Rice are nearly all from the soldiers’ perspective. See “Ft. Rice Attack By Indians,” *Sioux City Register*, August 12, 1865; *Frontier Scout*, issues of August 3, August 10, and October 12, 1865; Pattee, “Dakota Campaigns,” 340–42; and Report of Maj. Gen. Alfred Sully, Fort Berthold, August 13, 1865, *The War of the Rebellion*, ser. 1, vol. 48, pt. 2, 1181.
- 116 ***approximately fifteen hundred warriors***: The size of the warrior force in the available primary sources ranges from three hundred to three thousand. In the *Frontier Scout* of August 10, 1865, the editor, an eyewitness, estimated the warriors numbered at least fifteen hundred. Considering that the warriors’ line is said to have stretched for more than a mile and surrounded the fort on three sides, it is hard to imagine this could be done with less than a thousand men.
- 117 ***“successively with great bravery”***: *Frontier Scout*, August 3, 1865.
- 117 ***“in the highest degree exciting”***: “Ft. Rice Attack by Indians,” *Sioux City Register*, August 12, 1865.
- 118 ***“There is many a squaw”***: *Frontier Scout*, August 3, 1865.
- 118 ***“only lived by the little end”***: Ibid., October 12, 1865.
- 118 ***“stories are very conflicting”***: Ibid.
- 118 ***sixty miles of wire***: *Chicago Tribune*, September 25, 1865.
- 119 ***“You will not receive overtures”***: Brig. Gen. P. Edward Connor to Col. Nelson Cole, Fort Laramie, July 4, 1865, *The War of the Rebellion*, ser. 1, vol. 48, pt. 2, 1049.
- 119 ***“The only sin a commander”***: *The Montana Post*, Virginia City, MT, June 10, 1865.
- 119 ***the Indians found the soldiers***: For my narrative of the fighting on the Powder River, I’ve relied upon Col. Nelson Cole’s official report in *The War of the Rebel-*



- lion, ser. 1, vol. 48, pt. 1, 366–80; “Account of the Late Expedition, under Gen. P. E. Connor, against the Indians of the North-west,” *The Weekly Free Press*, Atchison, KS, November 18, 1865; “The Indian War,” *The Kansas Chief*, White Cloud, KS, October 19, 1865; Eagle Elk interview, Neihardt Papers; and White Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 24.
- 121 **Sitting Bull, riding a sorrel horse:** White Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 24.
- 121 **horse had ridden down an enemy:** Joseph White Bull, *Lakota Warrior*, translated and edited by James H. Howard (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 73.
- 121 **“the Indians are brave”:** As quoted in Garavaglia and Worman, *Firearms of the American West*, 202.
- 121 **“useless” against warriors:** Col. Nelson Cole report, *The War of the Rebellion*, ser. 1, vol. 48, pt. 1, 374.
- 121 **“Just keep away for a little while”:** Eagle Elk interview, Neihardt Papers.
- 123 **“The whole bottom and hills”:** Lieut. Charles H. Springer as quoted in David E. Wagner, *Powder River Odyssey: Nelson Cole’s Western Campaign of 1865: The Journals of Lyman G. Bennett and Other Eyewitness Accounts* (Norman, OK: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 2009), 178.
- 124 **destroyed an Arapaho village:** See H. E. Palmer, “History of the Powder River Expedition of 1865,” *Transactions and Reports of the Nebraska State Historical Society* 2 (1887): 213–20; and Maj. Gen. G. M. Dodge to Maj. Gen. John Pope, Central City, CO, September 27, 1865, in Grenville M. Dodge, *The Battle of Atlanta and Other Campaigns, Addresses, Etc.* (Council Bluffs, IA: The Monarch Printing Company, 1911), 98.
- 125 **now willing to discuss peace:** Report of E. B. Taylor, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, October 1, 1866, *Message of the President of the United States . . . to the Two Houses of Congress*, H. Exec. Doc. No. 1, 39th Cong., 2nd Sess., 211.
- 125 **Red Cloud stood six feet tall:** Letter dated Fort Sedgwick, CO, February 10, 1867, *Gold Hill Daily News*, March 8, 1867.
- 125 **“a magnificent specimen of manhood”:** Brennan, “Red Cloud—Marpiyaluta,” 1.
- 125 **“He that smokes this pipe”:** “From Dakota Territory,” *New Orleans Daily Crescent*, LA, April 6, 1866. Additional accounts of the Fort Laramie conferences with the Sioux in March and June are found in “Interesting Letter from Dacotah,” *The Pittsfield Sun*, MA, April 19, 1866; “The Peace Commission at Fort Laramie,” *Rocky Mountain News*, June 18, 1866; “From Fort Laramie,” *The Montana Post*, July 7, 1866; “The Indian Treaty Commission,” *Chicago Tribune*, July 8, 1866; “Indian Treaties,” *Chicago Tribune*, July 21, 1866; and William Murphy account in Carrington, *My Army Life on the Plains*, 291–92.
- 125 **“The white men will come here”:** As quoted in “The Far West,” *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, March 31, 1866.
- 126 **“My tribe want peace”:** *The Montana Post*, July 7, 1866. The chief was Roman Nose, a Miniconjou.
- 126 **He became angry at how:** Carrington, *My Army Life on the Plains*, 292.
- 126 **“Great Father sends us presents”:** Carrington, *Ab-Sa-Ra-Ka*, 78–79.
- 126 **abandoned the treaty talks:** Ibid., 79; and Murphy account in Carrington, *My Army Life on the Plains*, 292.
- 127 **“road from Laramie to Powder River”:** “The Indians,” *The Evening Telegraph*,



- September 26, 1866. See also “From Leavenworth,” *Daily Ohio Statesman*, Columbus, August 30, 1866; and “Death of Lieut. Daniels,” *Burlington Daily Times*, VT, September 14, 1866.
- 127 **more like prison walls:** Carrington, *Ab-Sa-Ra-Ka*, 180.
- 127 **Sioux assailed river traffic:** Reports of the several Missouri River attacks are found in the *Muscatine Evening Journal*, IA, June 12, 1866; the *Montana Post*, June 30, 1866; the *Sioux City Register*, August 18, 1866; the *Louisville Daily Courier*, KY, October 12, 1866; and the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, PA, November 29, 1866.
- 128 **“right now would be a good time”:** As quoted in Nelson A. Miles, *Personal Recollections and Observations of General Nelson A. Miles* (Chicago: The Werner Company, 1896), 194. Another version of the red shirt episode is found in the affidavit of Charles W. Hoffman, December 3, 1902, James Boyd Hubbell Papers, 1865–1906, A/.H876, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul. Although Miles and Hoffman differ on some key details, I’ve done my best to combine the two accounts.
- 128 **nearby Fort Buford:** “Military Order in Nebraska,” *The Evening Star*, Washington, D.C., August 3, 1866.
- 128 **“This country is the finest”:** Charles W. Hoffman to George Hoffman, Fort Buford, January 10, 1867, in *Union and Dakotaian*, Yankton, SD, February 23, 1867.
- 129 **twice overran the post’s sawmill:** For Sitting Bull’s December attacks on Fort Buford, see Miles, *Personal Recollections*, 194–95; Joseph Henry Taylor, *Sketches of Frontier and Indian Life on the Upper Missouri and Great Plains* (Washburn, ND: published by the author, 1895), 109–10; and Utley, *The Lance and the Shield*, 72.
- 130 **Try to kill as many white men:** White Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 4; and Mitch Boyer testimony in John S. Gray, *Custer’s Last Campaign: Mitch Boyer and the Little Bighorn Reconstructed* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991), 403.
- 130 **called such men winktes:** Lame Deer (Fire) and Erdoes, *Lame Deer: Seeker of Visions*, 117 and 149. Some *winktes*, a “half man-half woman kind of being,” were intersex individuals. See also Stands in Timber and Liberty, *A Cheyenne Voice*, 346.
- 131 **“I have ten [white] men”:** As quoted in George Bird Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1915), 228–29.
- 131 **“Answer quickly”:** Ibid.
- 132 **highly convincing performance:** Joseph M. Marshall III writes that Crazy Horse halted, dismounted, and “calmly scraped ice from the bottom of his horse’s hooves” as bullets whizzed around him. Marshall provides no source for this extremely doubtful detail. An equally dubious claim put forth by modern authors is that Crazy Horse mooned Fetterman. See Marshall’s *The Journey of Crazy Horse: A Lakota History* (New York: Viking, 2004), 148; and Bob Drury and Tom Clavin, *The Heart of Everything That Is: The Untold Story of Red Cloud, An American Legend* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2013), 329 and 371–72.
- 133 **clamped a hand over his pony’s nostrils:** Fire Thunder account in John G. Neihardt, *Black Elk Speaks, Being the Life Story of a Holy Man of the Ogalala Sioux as told to John G. Neihardt* (New York: William Morrow & Company, 1932), 11.



- 133 **the decoys split into two groups:** Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes*, 232.
- 133 **sixty to seventy cartridges each:** McDermott, *Red Cloud's War*, 1: 216.
- 134 **"Indians killed each other":** Fire Thunder account, *The Sixth Grandfather*, 103. Eagle Elk stated to John G. Neihardt that the warriors "shot over the top of the hill and killed some of their own people." See Eagle Elk interview, Neihardt Papers. These friendly fire casualties were also mentioned in one of the early published Indian accounts of the fight. See "The Indian Campaign," *The Montana Post*, March 16, 1867.
- 134 **American Horse, knife in hand:** American Horse interview, Jensen, *Voices of the American West*, 1: 280–81.
- 134 **on foot, leading their horses:** Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes*, 233.
- 135 **riding a fleet bald-faced bay:** Stanley Vestal, *Warpath: The True Story of the Fighting Sioux Told in a Biography of Chief White Bull* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1934), 54.
- 135 **"really was flirting with death":** As quoted in William J. Bordeaux, *Custer's Conqueror* (Sioux Falls, SD: Smith and Company, 1951), 23.
- 135 **separated the warrior's head:** "The Fort Phil Kearny Massacre," *The United States Army and Navy Journal*, New York, NY, April 6, 1867.
- 135 **bodies of the dead infantrymen:** White Bull stated that the remaining cavalrymen reached the infantrymen while some were still alive, and they fought together until they were all killed. However, Grinnell's Cheyenne informants clearly indicated that the infantry detachment was wiped out before the cavalry. Mixed-blood interpreter Mitch Boyer learned from a Lakota veteran of the fight that the two detachments were destroyed separately. White Bull interview, CC, box 104, folder 12; Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes*, 232–34; and Mitch Boyer interview, Gray, *Custer's Last Campaign*, 403.
- 135 **"I wasn't after horses":** Fire Thunder account, *The Sixth Grandfather*, 104.
- 135 **as if he were about to charge:** Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes*, 234.
- 135 **"Let's go, this is a good day to die!":** Fire Thunder account, *The Sixth Grandfather*, 104.
- 135 **smashed his bugle on the heads:** "The Fort Phil Kearny Massacre," *The United States Army and Navy Journal*, April 6, 1867.
- 136 **"a shorter time than it takes":** Charles A. Eastman, "Rain-In-The-Face: The Story of a Sioux Warrior," *The Outlook* 84 (October 27, 1906): 509.
- 136 **"All are dead but the dog":** As quoted in Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes*, 234. Fire Thunder claimed that the dog wasn't killed because "he looked too sweet." Fire Thunder account, *The Sixth Grandfather*, 104.

7 / Too Many Tongues

- 137 **"There are a number of chiefs":** As quoted in Gray, *Custer's Last Campaign*, 403.
- 137 **blizzard blew in that evening:** Fire Thunder account, *The Sixth Grandfather*, 104; and Carrington, *My Army Life*, 150.
- 137 **Lone Bear, his friend:** DeBarthe, *Life and Adventures*, 348–49.
- 138 **all the dead and wounded:** Estimates of Indian casualties in the Hundred in the



Hand engagement vary greatly, and no two agree. Fort Kearny's commanding officer, Colonel Henry B. Carrington, counted sixty-five pools of blood on the battlefield, which he believed represented Indian fatalities, but these pools could just as easily have been created by wounded Indian ponies. I've followed the estimates provided in 1867 by Mitch Boyer in Gray, *Custer's Last Campaign*, 402. See also George Sword interview, Jensen, *Voices of the American West*, 1: 329; "The Indian Campaign," *The Montana Post*, March 16, 1867; and John B. Sanborn to O. H. Browning, Washington, D.C., July 8, 1867, in "Letter of the Secretary of the Interior . . . touching the origin of Indian hostilities on the frontier," Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 13, 40th Cong., 1st Sess., 66.

138 **fired their guns wildly:** American Horse interview in Jensen, *Voices of the American West*, 1: 281.

138 **his renown as one of the bravest:** See American Horse interview in Monnett, ed., *Eyewitness to the Fetterman Fight*, 59.

138 **found the weather "delightful":** William J. Fetterman to Dr. Charles Terry, Fort Phil Kearny, November 26, 1866, in John D. McDermott, ed., "Documents Relating to the Fetterman Fight," *Annals of Wyoming* 63 (Spring 1991): 68.

138 **"no command of good soldiers":** As quoted in McDermott, *Red Cloud's War*, 1: 173 n. 29.

139 **taking at least one Indian scalp:** Carrington, *Ab-Sa-Ra-Ka*, 209; and Carrington, *My Army Life*, 143.

139 **keep a last bullet for himself:** Carrington, *Ab-Sa-Ra-Ka*, 248.

139 **"Let me go":** As quoted in William Haymond Bisbee, *Through Four American Wars: The Impressions and Experiences of Brigadier General William Henry Bisbee* (Boston: Meador Publishing Company, 1931), 174.

140 **under one supreme chief:** Bray, "Sitting Bull and Lakota Leadership," 21–22.

140 **to observe a singular ceremony:** My discussion of this event is primarily drawn from One Bull interview, CC, box 104, folder 11; White Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 8; the account of Father Jean-Baptiste Marie Genin as sourced by Linda W. Slaughter, "Leaves from Northwestern History"; and Robert High-eagle, "How Sitting Bull Was Made a Chief," CC, box 104, folder 22. Several sites have been offered as the location of this gathering. One Bull said it was near Rainy Butte. White Bull claimed the camps were on the Rosebud. Linda Slaughter, based on the notes of Father Genin, identified variously the region of Lake Traverse and Big Stone Lake and also the area of Fort Abercrombie, all on the Minnesota River. Another possible location is suggested by a letter written at Fort Ransom that summer. It stated that a scout from the James River reported "an abundance of Indians on this side of the Missouri River, in consequence of the buffalo having come this way." Letter by "Montana," Fort Ransom, Dakota Territory, July 19, 1867, "The Minnesota Expedition," *The Montana Post*, August 31, 1867

140 **an act of high tribute:** Waggoner, *Witness*, 384.

140 **over the entire Sioux Nation:** Father Genin always insisted that Black Moon was the supreme chief of all the Sioux and that this ceremony named Sitting Bull as head war chief of the Sioux. However, there does not appear to be a clear distinction between the two titles. In the One Bull interview, he states



- that Sitting Bull was elected “as our war chief—leader of the entire Sioux nation.”
- I40 “*When you tell us to fight*”: As quoted in LaPointe, *Sitting Bull*, 51.
- I40 *Each feather came from a warrior*: Ibid.
- I41 *Crazy Horse a war chief*: One Bull interview, CC, box 104, folder 11; Waggoner, *Witness*, 384; and Usher L. Burdick, *The Last Battle of the Sioux Nation* (Stevens Point, WI: Worzalla Publishing Co., 1929), 79.
- I41 *fought side by side with the Cheyennes*: Dixon, “Crazy Horse and the Cheyenne,” 55. Crazy Horse’s close relationship with the Cheyennes is also referenced in Stands in Timber and Liberty, *A Cheyenne Voice*, 245 and 445.
- I41 *Genin was a French-born priest*: J. Fletcher Williams, *History of the Upper Mississippi Valley* (Minneapolis: Minnesota Historical Company, 1881), 686; and Genin biographical sketch at <https://www.omiworld.org/lemma/genin-jean-baptiste/>. My description of Genin’s physical appearance is from Slaughter, “Leaves from Northwestern History,” 243; and the *New York Herald*, July 2, 1879.
- I41 *Genin described his parish*: “Engineering in the Northwest,” *Vermont Watchman and State Journal*, Montpelier, VT, January 4, 1871.
- I41 *Father Genin within the last year*: In a letter dated September 8, 1876, Genin stated that he had been a missionary to the Sioux “for the last ten years.” A news story from 1878 reported that Genin had been with the Sioux since 1867 “and almost has become one of them.” Slaughter, “Leaves from Northwestern History,” 257; and *The Daily Journal*, Ogdensburg, NY, June 20, 1878.
- I41 *“the man who talks to the medicine-chief”*: Clark, *The Indian Sign Language*, 310.
- I42 *adopted the priest as his brother*: Slaughter, “Leaves from Northwestern History,” 227 and 247; and “In Sitting Bull’s Camp,” *The New York Herald*, June 10, 1878. Genin’s relationship with Sitting Bull and the northern Lakotas has been oddly overlooked by previous biographers and historians. At the time of Genin’s death in 1900, he was gathering material for a planned book of his experiences in the West. His “voluminous notes,” in both French and English, were left to his old friend Linda W. Slaughter, for her to compose the book. She did borrow heavily from these notes for her “Leaves from Northwestern History,” but the book, with a working title of “The Sun and the Cross,” never appeared. Unfortunately, Genin’s original manuscripts are unaccounted for. References to Genin’s notes and the planned book are found in the *Bismarck Daily Tribune*, ND, February 5, April 10, and June 2, 1900.
- I42 *forbade the consumption of “firewater”*: Slaughter, “Leaves from Northwestern History,” 232; and Linda W. Slaughter, “Fort Abercrombie,” *Collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota* 1 (1906): 421. One Bull seems to confirm Sitting Bull’s harsh penalty. See interview of One Bull and Mrs. One Bull, CC, box 105, folder 19.
- I42 *claiming more than his share*: Bray, *Crazy Horse*, 103.
- I42 *refused to recognize Sitting Bull*: LaPointe, *Sitting Bull*, 52.
- I42 *“chief of the Sioux nation”*: One Bull, CC, box 105, folder 19.
- I43 *“A chief’s authority depended on”*: Bad Bear as quoted in Walker, *Lakota Society*, 25.



- 143 **"Indians own, hold, possess, and occupy":** James R. Whitehead, "The Indian War," *Leavenworth Daily Commercial*, August 14, 1867.
- 144 **their target was the weakly guarded operations:** The best single source on the Wagon Box Fight is Jerry Keenan's *The Wagon Box Fight: An Episode of Red Cloud's War* (Conshohocken, PA: Savas Publishing Company, 2000), which reproduces the after-action reports of the Fort Kearny officers involved, as well as the recollections of three soldier participants. Accounts by the Indian participants are few, the most detailed being White Bull in his interview with Walter Campbell, box 104, folder 12. Father Peter John Powell incorporates the recollections of three Cheyennes in his story of the fight in *People of the Sacred Mountain: A History of the Northern Cheyenne Chiefs and Warrior Societies, 1830–1879, with an Epilogue, 1969–1974*, 2 vols. (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1981), 2: 752–54.
- 145 **"Look at the Indians!":** As quoted in the account of Samuel Gibson, Keenan, *The Wagon Box Fight*, 67.
- 145 **They easily overran the camp:** "Was in Wagon Box Fight," *The Nebraska State Journal*, Lincoln, March 12, 1911; and Eagle Elk interview, Neihardt Papers.
- 146 **grabbed their ponies' manes:** This famous warrior feat of horseback fighting is described in White Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 8.
- 147 **dead warriors, charring them black:** Young Little Wolf, a Cheyenne participant, told the historian George Bird Grinnell that the fire that charred the warrior bodies had been set by the soldiers, presumably to thwart the Indian charges. See "Clarence Reckmeyer Delves Deeply for the Truth About the 'Wagon Box Fight,'" *The Nebraska State Journal*, June 19, 1927.
- 148 **named Stings Like Wasp:** Both White Bull and George Sword give this warrior's Lakota name as Ji pa la. White Bull identifies him as a Miniconjou. See White Bull interview, CC, box 104, folder 12; and George Sword interview, Jensen, *Voices of the American West*, 1: 329.
- 148 **"The sight was fascinating":** Samuel Gibson account, Keenan, *The Wagon Box Fight*, 77.
- 149 **a Cheyenne named Sun's Robe:** Powell, *People of the Sacred Mountain*, 2: 754.
- 149 **One of the civilian contractors:** This was J. R. Porter, and his account of the Wagon Box Fight was published in the *Chicago Tribune*, August 26, 1867. For another estimate of Indian losses, see "Indian Affairs," *Gold Hill Daily News*, September 6, 1867.
- 150 **bloody moccasins and leggings:** "The Fight at Fort Phil Kearney," *Chicago Tribune*, August 26, 1867.
- 150 **Red Feather dismissed:** Doane Robinson, "The Education of Red Cloud," *South Dakota Historical Collections* 12 (1924): 171 n. 21.
- 150 **"It was a big running fight":** James H. Howard, ed., *Lakota Warrior: White Bull* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 39. The pictograph is reproduced as plate six.
- 151 **surprised a Wells, Fargo & Company:** *The Manhattan Nationalist*, September 21, 1867. According to the newspaper report, the three men were killed at Crazy Woman's Fork, on the road to Fort Reno.
- 151 **"all who are here think it":** Jerome A. Greene, "'We Do Not Know What the



- Government Intends to Do . . .": Lt. Palmer Writes from the Bozeman Trail, 1867–68," *Montana The Magazine of Western History* 28 (Summer 1978): 19.
- 151 **"The only way to settle the question"**: As quoted in McDermott, *Red Cloud's War*, 2: 362.
- 152 **"three choice cows"**: Letter dated Fort Buford, Dakota Territory, August 3, 1867, in the *New York Herald*, August 23, 1867. One of these cows belonged to the post's colonel. See Maria B. Kimball, *A Soldier-Doctor of Our Army: James P. Kimball, Late Colonel and Assistant Surgeon-General, U.S. Army* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1917), 43–44.
- 152 **"I have killed, robbed, and injured"**: As quoted in Coues, ed., *Forty Years a Fur Trader on the Upper Missouri*, 2: 429–30.
- 153 **countless, sun-bleached buffalo bones**: F. Barham Zincke, *Last Winter in the United States* (London: John Murray, 1868), 208.
- 154 **"their disappearance will only be"**: Ibid., 238.
- 154 **"We don't want peace"**: "The Indian War," *The Chicago Tribune*, September 20, 1867.
- 154 **"turned in some other direction"**: "The Indian Troubles," *The Brooklyn Union*, NY, September 27, 1867.
- 154 **"Who is our Great Father?"**: Ibid. Slightly different translations of the chiefs' speeches at North Platte, based on the handwritten minutes of the peace commission, are found in *Proceedings of the Great Peace Commission*, 57–65.
- 155 **"hardly think of what you call war"**: "The Indian War," *The Evening Telegraph*, Philadelphia, PA, September 26, 1867.
- 155 **"a contract of peace"**: *Proceedings of the Great Peace Commission*, 63.
- 156 **a nephew, Lone Man**: Both White Bull and George Sword remembered that Lone Man (also translated as Only Man) was killed charging the corral at the Wagon Box Fight.
- 156 **"Money is no object"**: *The Lancaster Intelligencer*, Lancaster, PA, November 9, 1867.
- 156 **spotted a large wagon train**: Much of my information for this engagement is from McDermott, *Red Cloud's War*, 2: 463–66; and "Indian News," *The Leavenworth Times*, December 1, 1867.
- 157 **among those to claim one**: Bordeaux, *Custer's Conqueror*, 24.
- 157 **carcasses of a dozen ponies**: George P. Belden, *Belden, the White Chief, or Twelve Years Among the Wild Indians of the Plains* (Cincinnati: C. F. Vent, 1871), 378.
- 157 **"They captured a train of wagons"**: The winter count was created by American Horse. See Greene and Thornton, eds., *The Year the Stars Fell*, 261.
- 158 **"meet war with war"**: "The Indians," *The Chicago Tribune*, November 23, 1867. See also "Report of the Indian Peace Commission," *New York Tribune*, January 9, 1868.
- 158 **stole a herd of seventy horses**: "Indian News," *The Leavenworth Times*, December 1, 1867.
- 158 **Red Cloud was prepared to fight**: "From the Plains," *The Chicago Tribune*, December 13, 1867.
- 158 **outraged the fort's officers**: "Dakota," *The Chicago Tribune*, February 15, 1868. This news item is a letter written by Lieut. George Henry Palmer at Fort Phil Kearny on January 2, 1868.



- 159 **“He has sent us”**: As quoted in Belden, *Belden, the White Chief*, 393.
- 159 **represent the war chief’s interests**: Bray, *Crazy Horse*, 115.
- 159 **“I want to tell you”**: As quoted in Belden, *Belden, the White Chief*, 390.
- 159 **headmen left largely dissatisfied**: Ibid., 393; and “Dakota,” *The Chicago Tribune*, February 15, 1868.
- 159 **“They have all pledged themselves”**: Telegram of H. M. Mathews, Fort Phil Kearny, January 13, 1868, in *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, January 22, 1868.
- 159 **warriors stole a herd of mules**: “Dakota,” *The Chicago Tribune*, February 15, 1868.
- 160 **far too expensive**: James C. Olson, *Red Cloud and the Sioux Problem* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1965), 71.
- 160 **preferring the much safer Missouri River**: “Indian Affairs in the Far West,” *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, March 12, 1868.
- 160 **couldn’t steal the locomotives**: W. T. Sherman to General U. S. Grant, Fort Laramie, Dakota Territory, May 8, 1868, in “Subsistence of Indian Tribes,” H. Exec. Doc. No. 239, 40th Cong., 2nd Sess., 3.
- 160 **withdraw the garrisons**: “Indian Affairs in the Far West,” *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, March 12, 1868; and McDermott, *Red Cloud’s War*, 2: 484.
- 160 **During the month of March**: “The Indians,” *The New York Herald*, April 9, 1868; *The Courier-Journal*, Louisville, KY, April 19, 1868; “The Northwestern Fort,” *The Border Sentinel*, Mound City, KS, May 15, 1868; and McDermott, *Red Cloud’s War*, 2: 485–88. The attacks on the Horse Shoe Ranch and Twin Springs Ranch of March 19–21, 1868, have been attributed by some authors to Crazy Horse and his followers. Crazy Horse’s name is not mentioned in the contemporary reports of these depredations. In fact, no leader of the war party involved is named. However, an 1894 account by one of the raid’s survivors, John R. Smith, names Crazy Horse as the leader. Smith doesn’t explain how he knew Crazy Horse, but his identification of the Oglala war leader loses credibility when he writes about a negotiation with Crazy Horse for the lives of himself and his companions. Smith claimed Crazy Horse “could talk fair English.” The Smith account is published in DeBarthe, *Life and Adventures*, 525–40.
- 161 **they found no Indians**: Agnes Wright Spring, ed., “Old Letter Book Discloses Economic History of Fort Laramie, 1858–1871,” *Annals of Wyoming* 13 (October 1941): 253.
- 161 **He initially had trouble**: “The Indian Commission,” *The New York Herald*, May 14, 1868.
- 161 **“We are on the mountain”**: As quoted in Olson, *Red Cloud and the Sioux Problem*, 74–75. When Red Cloud traveled to Washington in 1872, poor Alexander Gardner missed being the first to photograph the Oglala war chief by two days. That distinction belongs to Gardner’s competitor and former employer Mathew Brady, who photographed Red Cloud on May 28, 1872. See Frank H. Goodyear III, *Red Cloud: Photographs of a Lakota Chief* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003), 18–25.
- 161 **Gardner did obtain several good images**: See Jane L. Aspinwall, *Alexander Gardner: The Western Photographs, 1867–1868* (Kansas City: The Hall Family Foundation and The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, 2014).



- 162 **thirty-eight Oglala headmen and warriors:** “Official Announcement of Treaties
Concluded with Indians,” *The New York Herald*, June 3, 1868.
- 162 **“I will sign”:** *Proceedings of the Great Peace Commission*, 117.
- 162 **They placed a copy:** *Ibid.*, 118–19.
- 162 **set aflame by warriors:** McDermott, *Red Cloud’s War*, 2: 522–25.
- 163 **That document, prepared in advance:** The original Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 is
available for viewing online at <https://americanindian.si.edu/nationtonation/fort-laramie-treaty.html>.
- 164 **“with a show of reluctance”:** *Proceedings of the Great Peace Commission*, 174.
- 164 **again trade with the sutler:** Spring, ed., “Old Letter Book,” 287.
- 164 **“Too many tongues”:** White Bull interview, CC, folder 105, box 24.
- 164 **“False Papers”:** Bordeaux, *Custer’s Conqueror*, 24.

8 / Land of Uncertainty

- 165 **“My brothers, shall we submit?”:** As quoted in Eastman, *Indian Heroes and Great
Chieftains*, 120–21.
- 165 **the Black Gown is approaching:** My sources for Father De Smet’s visit to Sit-
ting Bull’s village are Charles Galpin’s journal, De Smet’s own letters, and
the reminiscences of Matilda Galpin (Eagle Woman). These are found in Gil-
bert J. Garraghan, ed., “Father De Smet’s Sioux Peace Mission of 1868 and
the Journal of Charles Galpin,” *Mid-America: An Historical Review* 13 (October
1930): 141–63; Chittenden and Richardson, eds., *Life, Letters and Travels of Fa-
ther Pierre-Jean De Smet*, 3: 890–922; and Frances Chamberlain Holley, *Once
Their Home, or Our Legacy from the Dahkotahs* (Chicago: Donohue & Henne-
berry, 1891), 303–11.
- 166 **“a very good Catholic”:** *Catholic Telegraph*, Cincinnati, OH, July 29, 1868.
- 167 **“Another white man coming to cheat us”:** One Bull interview, CC, box 105,
folder 19.
- 167 **Sitting Bull places a guard:** Although White Bull wasn’t present, he recalled
the perceived danger to Father De Smet and his uncle’s actions to protect the
priest. See White Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 4.
- 167 **“Had it been any other man”:** As quoted in the *Catholic Telegraph*, July 29, 1868.
- 167 **“I have no other motives”:** Chittenden and Richardson, eds., *Life, Letters and
Travels of Father Pierre-Jean De Smet*, 3: 896.
- 168 **“the only white man who never tells lies”:** *Catholic Telegraph*, July 29, 1868.
- 168 **“bury all your bitterness”:** *Proceedings of the Great Peace Commission*, 131.
- 168 **“I am, and always have been”:** *Ibid.*, 133.
- 169 **“They stand the wintry storms”:** *Ibid.*
- 169 **“Some of my people will go”:** Holley, *Once Their Home*, 310.
- 169 **a rumor was current:** Lucile M. Kane, ed., *Military Life in Dakota: The Journal
of Philippe Régis de Trobriand* (St. Paul, MN: Alvord Memorial Commission,
1951), 289.
- 169 **identical view with Red Cloud:** *Ibid.*, 289–90.
- 170 **The chief had lost his first wife:** LaPointe, *Sitting Bull*, 40–41. LaPointe’s book



has a helpful genealogical chart of Sitting Bull's family, which serves as the frontispiece.

- 170 **this talisman of the Great Holy Man:** One Bull and Mrs. One Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 19; Walter S. Campbell to Lloyd M. Smith, Norman, OK, February 18, 1957, author's collection; and Karl Van Den Broeck, "Everything We Know About Sitting Bull's Crucifix Is Wrong," *True West* 65 (November 2018): 20–24. Walter Campbell acquired this crucifix from Sitting Bull's nephew, One Bull. It's currently on display in the visitor center at Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument, Crow Agency, Montana.
- 170 **a botched arrest attempt:** Robert W. Larson, *Gall: Lakota War Chief* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007), 55–57; Lewis F. Crawford, *Rekindling Camp Fires: The Exploits of Ben Arnold (Connor)* (Bismarck, ND: Capital Book Co., 1926), 167–69; "An Incident in Chief Gall's Life," *The Washburn Leader*, Washburn, ND, December 15, 1894; and Chittenden and Richardson, eds., *Life, Letters and Travels of Father Pierre-Jean De Smet*, 3: 918–19.
- 171 **"to keep the whites out of your country":** *Proceedings of the Great Peace Commission*, 143.
- 171 **succumbing to the white man's bribes:** Vestal, *New Sources*, 229–30; and "An Illustrious Sioux: The Gall Relates Some of the Incidents of the Past Fifteen Years of His Life," part 1, *Rocky Mountain Husbandman*, Diamond City, MT, May 5, 1881. Gall's name appears on the treaty as Man That Goes in the Middle.
- 171 **Similar feelings existed against:** Waggoner, *Witness*, 48–49.
- 171 **Let the young men fight:** White Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 24; and LaPointe, *Sitting Bull*, 69.
- 172 **targeted the cow herd at Fort Buford:** *Message from the President of the United States to the Two Houses of Congress at the Commencement of the Third Session of the Fortieth Congress* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1869), 358–59; and Rodenbaugh and Haskin, eds., *The Army of the United States*, 682–83.
- 172 **"fought like trained soldiers":** *The Representative*, Fox Lake, WI, September 18, 1868.
- 173 **"that was his business":** Horn Chips interview, Jensen, *Voices of the American West*, 1: 274.
- 173 **the number of his followers:** In a recent history of the Lakota people, the author asserts that warriors wanted to follow Crazy Horse because he was a "child of privilege." In other words, it was his lineage that was the attraction. Not only is everything about this assertion incorrect—Crazy Horse's father was a respected holy man, not a chief—but the author demonstrates an utter lack of understanding of what drove young Lakota men, and that was personal glory, the counting of coups. Crazy Horse "was beloved for his bravery," said Iron Horse, his brother-in-law. Iron Horse's brother, Red Feather, said that "some Indians take their high position in their tribe from their fathers and some win theirs by fighting. Crazy Horse became known through the wars in which he took part." Sitting Bull, who also won his position through his deeds, commented that "an Indian may be an inherited chief, but he has to make himself chief by his bravery." The more courageous and victorious a warrior or chief, the more others wanted to follow him, for that leader's successes increased the



- opportunities for achieving their own battle honors. See Pekka Hämäläinen, *Lakota America: A New History of Indigenous Power* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2019), 184–85; Iron Horse as quoted in Standing Bear, *Land of the Spotted Eagle*, 180; “Emil Red Feather, Aged Indian, Tells Vivid Story of Custer Massacre,” *The Daily Argus-Leader*, July 18, 1925; and “A Chat with the Chief,” *The Omaha Daily Bee*, August 9, 1881.
- 173 **Crazy Horse refused to allow:** Eagle Elk interview, Neihardt Papers; He Dog interview, *The Hinman Interviews*, 23; and *The Diaries of John Gregory Bourke*, 1: 299.
- 173 **“We know Crazy Horse better”:** William Garnett statement on the death of Crazy Horse, Pine Ridge Agency, SD, August 19, 1920, typescript, James McLaughlin Letter, 1920, H74-115, SDSHS.
- 173 **“had such a reputation that”:** Eagle Elk interview, Neihardt Papers.
- 173 **invested as Shirt Wearers:** He Dog interview, *Hinman Interviews*, 22; William Garnett interview, Jensen, *Voices of the American West*, 1: 4–5; Short Bull interview, Sandoz Collection; and William Garnett to V. T. McGillicuddy, Pine Ridge, South Dakota, March 6, 1922, Watson Papers. For the date of the ceremony, I’ve followed the well-reasoned timeline of Kingsley Bray, *Crazy Horse*, 423 n. 3.
- 173 **position of tremendous responsibility:** See the above references, as well as Hassrick, *The Sioux*, 26–27.
- 173 **shirt in the Shirt Wearer’s name:** Hassrick, *The Sioux*, 26–27; Standing Bear, *Land of the Spotted Eagle*, 185; Clark Wissler, “Societies and Ceremonial Associations in the Oglala Division of the Teton-Dakota,” *American Museum of Natural History Anthropological Papers* 11, pt. 1 (1912): 39; Walker, *Lakota Society*, 99; Emma I. Hansen, *Plains Indian Buffalo Cultures: Art from the Paul Dyck Collection* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2018), 110–11; and Markoe, ed., *Vestiges of a Proud Nation*, 94.
- 174 **“They were elected to give”:** Black Elk interview, *The Sixth Grandfather*, 322.
- 175 **“We came here to be killed”:** As quoted by Little Swan, a Miniconjou, who brought the news of the fight to the Cheyenne agency, near Fort Sully. His account was published in several newspapers, but see the *Chicago Tribune*, February 26, 1870.
- 176 **“Thirty Crows Killed”:** For Hunkpapa accounts of this battle see Circling Hawk interview, CC, box 105, folder 13; Old Bull interview, CC, box 106, folder 50; and White Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 8. Another account, far less reliable, is found in DeBarthe, *Life and Adventures*, 103–5. Oglala artist Amos Bad Heart Bull depicted this fight in three drawings. See Amos Bad Heart Bull and Helen Blish, *A Pictographic History of the Oglala Sioux* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1967), 185–87.
- 177 **“an Ogallalla Chief”:** Alpha Wright to the editor, Fort Laramie, Wyoming Territory, April 19, 1870, in the *Nebraska Herald*, Plattsmouth, NE, May 5, 1870. Wright’s letter in the *Chicago Tribune* appears in the issue of May 3. This incident was reported in other newspapers as well, including the *Philadelphia Age*, April 20, 1870; the *Buffalo Express*, NY, April 22, 1870; and the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, April 22, 1870, which reproduced Crazy Horse’s name as “Crazy



George.” See also R. Eli Paul, “An Early Reference to Crazy Horse,” *Nebraska History* 75 (1994): 189–90.

- 177 **Black Buffalo Woman:** The most detailed account of Crazy Horse’s affair with Black Buffalo Woman comes from He Dog in *Hinman Interviews*. In addition to this seminal source, I’ve relied upon the Horn Chips interview, Jensen, *Voices of the American West*, 1: 274; the Eagle Elk interview, Neihardt Papers; the William Garnett interview, Jensen, *Voices of the American West*, 1: 75; and Bordeaux, *Custer’s Conqueror*, 41–43.
- 177 **enlisted Horn Chips to create powerful charms:** Belitz, *Chips Collection of Crazy Horse Medicines* (Hot Springs, SD: privately printed, n.d.), 58–65.
- 178 **cap and ball revolver:** At two different times, He Dog stated that the gun No Water used to shoot Crazy Horse was a revolver. Crazy Horse’s biographer Kingsley Bray favors an account by Lone Eagle, who claimed the weapon used was a derringer. However, “Lone Eagle” was a fiction created by Floyd Shuster Maine (1889–1971). Maine’s book, *Lone Eagle . . . The White Sioux* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1956), is a complete fabrication, one that has fooled many a historian. There is not space to elaborate here, but I encourage anyone with an interest to look up Maine in the U.S. census records, as well as his World War I draft registration card, and compare that information to what he writes about himself in his book.
- 180 **“For a while it looked”:** He Dog interview, *Hinman Interviews*, 26 and 23.
- 180 **“just his nature”:** Ibid.
- 180 **“a drawn and somewhat fierce”:** “The End of the Sioux War,” *The Sun*, May 23, 1877.
- 181 **his half brother, was dead:** A number of Lakota accounts mention Little Hawk’s death and how he was killed, but none of them completely agree on the details. See He Dog interview, *Hinman Interviews*, 25; He Dog interview, Sandoz Collection; Eagle Elk interview, Neihardt Papers; McCreight, *Chief Flying Hawk’s Tales*, 21; and Eastman, *Indian Heroes and Great Chieftains*, 91.
- 181 **a raid against one of the ranches:** These isolated ranches were favorite targets of the Lakotas and Cheyennes. See the *Philadelphia Daily Evening Bulletin*, May 24, 1870; and the *Winona Daily Republican*, MN, May 2, 1870.
- 181 **Crazy Horse took out his grief:** Eagle Elk interview, Neihardt Papers.
- 181 **expedition against the Shoshones:** The most detailed accounts of this raid and High Backbone’s death are from He Dog, *Hinman Interviews*, 24; and John Colhoff in William K. Powers, “A Winter Count of the Oglala,” *American Indian Tradition* 9 (1963): 32. The event is also recorded by Red Feather, *Hinman Interviews*, 37; Stephen Standing Bear interview, *The Sixth Grandfather*, 158; and Frank Grouard in DeBarthe, *Life and Adventures*, 349. The winter counts of American Horse, Cloud Shield, and Battiste Good also depict High Backbone’s death. See Green and Thornton, eds., *The Year the Stars Fell*, 266.
- 182 **“The last time you”:** As quoted by He Dog, *Hinman Interviews*, 24.
- 183 **“I know it”:** Ibid.
- 184 **feted in the capital city:** The visit of Red Cloud’s party to Washington was widely covered in the press. See the *New York Tribune*, June 2, 1870; the *Baltimore Sun*, June 2 and 7, 1870; the *New York Times*, June 4, 1870; the *New York Herald*, June 8 and 12, 1870; and the *Chicago Tribune*, June 6 and 11, 1870.



- 185 “**wait to be killed**”: D. C. Poole, *Among the Sioux of Dakota: Eighteen Months’ Experience as an Indian Agent, 1869–1870* (1881; reprint: St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1988), 176.
- 185 “**This is the first time**”: As quoted in the *Chicago Tribune*, June 11, 1870.
- 186 “**I will not take**”: Ibid.
- 186 “**regarded as a sort of**”: *Bangor Daily Whig and Courier*, ME, July 3, 1871.
- 186 “**to make him see everything**”: “The Indians,” *The Chicago Tribune*, July 4, 1871. According to Indian agent D. C. Poole, Spotted Tail and his men avoided referring to any of the wonders they had seen in Washington, “fearing that they would lose caste among their less enlightened associates.” Poole, *Among the Sioux of Dakota*, 224.
- 186 **Big Horn Mining Expedition**: “A New El Dorado,” *Western Reserve Chronicle*, Warren, OH, May 4, 1870; “Big Horn Expedition,” “The Plains,” *The Chicago Tribune*, June 13, 1870; and *The Harrisburg Telegraph*, PA, August 1, 1870.
- 186 “**Beaver Joe**”: “The Big Horn Expedition,” *The Chicago Tribune*, July 29, 1870.

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- 189 “[**Indian**] policies are inaugurated”: Poole, *Among the Sioux of Dakota*, 226.
- 189 “**Sandwich Islander**”: *The Chicago Tribune*, July 4, 1871.
- 189 **Frank Grouard**: The earliest sketches of Grouard’s life are found in the *New York Herald*, September 22, 1875, the *Advertiser-Courier*, Hermann, MO, July 28, 1876 (reprinted from the *Kansas City Times*), and the *Bismarck Weekly Tribune*, November 8, 1876. The first two sketches are based on information obtained directly from Grouard. The third is a long letter from George Boyd, a Montana scout and Indian trader, revealing Grouard as a horse thief and scoundrel. I find Boyd’s damning account more believable than the tales spun by Grouard. See also DeBarthe, *Life and Adventures*, 31–33.
- 190 **Frank arrived at Sitting Bull’s village**: I’ve gone with George Boyd’s account of how Grouard ended up in Sitting Bull’s village. As alluded to above, I believe Frank’s versions are largely fiction. In the interview published in the *Advertiser-Courier*, cited above, Frank said he was captured by a band of Crows while working as a Pony Express rider between Bozeman and Gallatin City. The Crows, he claimed, held him captive for several days as they traveled east. When they finally released him, he was left nearly naked on Clark’s Fork of the Yellowstone, a good hundred miles from Bozeman. Frank said he wandered the vicinity for several days, scrounging what nourishment he could from berries, cactus, and frogs until he was discovered by a group of Húnkpapa warriors. These kind Húnkpapas clothed and fed him and took him to Sitting Bull’s big village on the Musselshell River. In a letter Frank wrote to his adoptive mother in the winter of 1876, he provides yet another account of how he came to live with the Lakotas. The Lakotas also have their own versions of their first encounter with Frank. Take your pick. See Grouard to Louisa Barnes Pratt, Camp on Belle Fourche River, W. T., Powder River Expedition, December 16, 1876, Addison Pratt family papers, 1830–1931, box 4, folder 39, Special Collections and Archives Division, Merrill-Cazier Library, Utah



- State University, Logan; John Colhoff notes on Frank Grouard, Mari Sandoz Collection; Powers, "A Winter Count of the Oglala," 33; Old Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 41; and Josephine Waggoner to W. S. Campbell, Keldron, SD, October 21, 1929, CC, box 108, folder 18.
- 190 **adopted him as a brother:** White Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 8.
- 190 **His ability to read the letters:** Louis Bordeaux interview, Jensen, *Voices of the American West*, 1: 296.
- 190 **"a great practical joker":** DeBarthe, *Life and Adventures*, 386.
- 191 **Sitting Bull's family life:** White Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 24; Gray Eagle interview, CC, box 106, folder 54; and LaPointe, *Sitting Bull*, 41–43. The boy Whole Tribe Seeing Her brought to the marriage was born circa 1870. He was deaf and would later be known by the name John Sitting Bull. Four Robes's son, born circa 1868, was known in adulthood as Henry Little Soldier. According to Gray Eagle, both boys were fathered by Flees Bear, who died of an unknown illness. Henry Little Soldier should not be confused with Little Soldier, son of Long Soldier or Tall Soldier, who fought at the Little Big Horn and later served with the Indian police who killed Sitting Bull in December 1890. See Henry Little Soldier in Indian census rolls for Pine Ridge, SD, 1929, 1933, and 1934; Ephriam D. Dickson III, *The Sitting Bull Surrender Census* (Pierre: South Dakota State Historical Society Press, 2010), 23; "Sitting Bull's Son Visits Photographer of Famous Father," *Wausau Daily Herald*, Wausau, WI, July 23, 1926; "And Thus It Was That Tatanka i-Yotanka, (Sitting Bull) Chief of the Sioux, Died," *The Chadron Tribune*, NE, December 6, 1940; Robert Gessner, *Massacre: A Survey of Today's American Indian* (New York: Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith, 1931), 14–15; and "Indians of the Sioux Tribe Soon to Select a New Chief," *The Minneapolis Journal*, MN, September 26, 1903.
- 191 **liaisons with married women:** David Humphreys Miller, *Custer's Fall: The Indian Side of the Story* (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1957), 231.
- 192 **an Oglala named Black Shawl:** Also known as Black Robe Woman. Red Feather interview, *Hinman Interviews*, 36; Bordeaux, *Custer's Conqueror*, 41; and Hardorff, *The Oglala Lakota Crazy Horse*, 34.
- 193 **much-needed powder and lead:** White Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 24.
- 193 **"might as well undertake":** A. J. Simmons to J. A. Viall, Fort Browning, Montana Territory, December 5, 1871, in "Appropriations for Sioux Indians," H. Exec. Doc. No. 102, 42nd Cong., 2nd Sess., 5–9. For another account of Sitting Bull's views on the Northern Pacific and the possibility of peace, see "The Indians," *The Buffalo Commercial*, NY, November 3, 1871.
- 193 **"didn't want any civilization":** Ibid.
- 194 **disrupt any further survey work:** "The Hostile Indians," *Harrisburg Telegraph*, May 27, 1872.
- 194 **"No, they are not white men":** White Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 4.
- 197 **"the most brave deed possible":** White Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 24. White Bull's brother, One Bull, stated he was among those who smoked with Sitting Bull and that it was he who raced back and retrieved the bow and arrows. See "Norwich Couple Returns to the Land of the Eastern Ocean After



- Dancing and Living with Sioux Indians of the Dakotas,” *Hartford Courant*, CT, November 18, 1934.
- 197 “**That’s enough**”: White Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 24.
- 198 **a tattered stovepipe silk hat**: Thomas Rosser in Lubetkin, ed., *Before Custer*, 115.
- 198 **escort of 586 officers and men**: David S. Stanley, *ibid.*, 65.
- 198 **galloped within a hundred yards**: Thomas Rosser, *ibid.*, 117.
- 198 **Sitting Bull climbed a high bluff**: “N.P.R.R. Surveys and the Indian Troubles,” *Helena Weekly Herald*, MT, October 10, 1872; and “Captain Kellogg’s Expedition,” *Bozeman Avant Courier*, MT, November 7, 1872.
- 199 **“shown their hand”**: “Justification,” *Helena Weekly Herald*, October 17, 1872.
- 199 **“the Indians will be obliged”**: *Ibid.*
- 199 **“encamped in Sioux country”**: Old Bull in Vestal, *New Sources*, 172–73.
- 199 **“like two dogs fighting”**: *Ibid.*
- 199 **on the morning of July 9**: This fight is known as the Battle of Pryor Creek. For Crow accounts, see Thomas Marquis, as told by Thomas Leforge, *Memoirs of a White Crow Indian* (New York: The Century Company, 1928), 90–96; Frank B. Linderman, *American: The Life Story of a Great Indian* (Yonkers-on-Hudson, NY: World Book Company, 1930), 256–61; and the testimony of Blackfoot, a Crow chief, in *Report of the Secretary of the Interior*, H. Exec. Doc. No. 1, Part 5, 43rd Cong., 1st Sess., 492.
- 199 **“high up in the air”**: *Ibid.*
- 200 **escort was the largest yet**: David S. Stanley in M. John Lubetkin, ed., *Custer and the 1873 Yellowstone Survey: A Documentary History* (Norman, OK: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 2013), 95–96.
- 200 **thirty-three-year-old lieutenant colonel**: For a short biography, see my *George Armstrong Custer: A Biography* (Tucson, AZ: Western National Parks Association, 2005).
- 201 **Midmorning on August 4, 1873**: For the Battle of the Tongue River, I’ve relied upon George Armstrong Custer, “Battling with the Sioux on the Yellowstone,” in Paul Andrew Hutton, ed., *The Custer Reader* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), 201–19; Report of G. A. Custer, Pompey’s Pillar, Yellowstone River, MT, August 15, 1873, in *Army and Navy Journal*, September 13, 1873; “Barrows with Custer,” *The Boston Sunday Globe*, March 28, 1897; “[Gillman] Norris One of Few Survivors of Stanley’s Expedition on Yellowstone in 1873,” *The Conrad Independent*, Conrad, MT, May 19, 1921; White Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 24; and M. John Lubetkin, *Custer and the 1873 Yellowstone Survey: A Documentary History* (Norman, OK: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 2013).
- 201 **Hunkpapas and a few Miniconjous**: Several authors and historians have given Crazy Horse a prominent role in this engagement (e.g., see Bray, *Crazy Horse*, 166–67). However, White Bull stated that Crazy Horse wasn’t there and that Custer’s attackers were Hunkpapas and Miniconjous. Furthermore, as will be shown, I’ve made a strong case (the first scholar to do so) that Crazy Horse and his warriors took part in the Battle of Massacre Canyon in southwest Nebraska in early August 1873. The confusion over the Oglala chief’s whereabouts during this time stems from a 1934 piece by author Thomas Marquis. Citing “various old Cheyennes” as his source, Marquis claimed that Crazy



Horse, along with a few Cheyennes, participated in the Tongue River fight. However, a newspaper article by Clyde McLemore published the following year and overlooked by modern historians argues convincingly that the skirmishes the Cheyennes described to Marquis actually occurred in the spring of 1874, when they fought a civilian outfit known as the Yellowstone Wagon Road and Prospecting Expedition. See White Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 24; Thomas B. Marquis, "Indian History Writings Not Thoroughly Reliable; Some Flaws Evident in Reports," *The Mineral Independent*, Superior, MT, June 28, 1934; and Clyde McLemore, "Conflicting Data Presented in Custer-Sioux Skirmish, August 11, 1873," *The Great Falls Tribune*, August 11, 1935.

203 **Sioux village, and attack it:** My sources for the Battle of the Big Horn are White Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 24; Report of G. A. Custer, August 15, 1873; "Barrows with Custer": DeBarthe, *Life and Adventures*, 114–16; and Lubetkin, *Custer and the 1873 Yellowstone Survey*.

204 "The Indians!": Lubetkin, ed., *Custer and the 1873 Yellowstone Survey*, 247.

204 "Come, man, why don't you?": Ibid., 247–50.

204 "Strike up Garry Owen!": Ibid., 254.

204 "Custer knew how to avail": "Barrows with Custer."

205 **two hundred Pawnee Indians:** There are many accounts describing the Battle of Massacre Canyon. I prefer those reported within days of the event. These are found in "Indian Warfare," *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, August 21, 1873; "The Recent Indian Massacre," *New York Times*, August 21, 1873; and "The Sioux-Pawnee War," *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, August 30, 1873. A special issue of *Nebraska History Magazine* devoted to the massacre and a monument dedication at the site reproduces several official documents from the Indian Bureau. See issue number 3, volume 16 (July–September 1935). A very good article on the episode is Paul D. Riley, "The Battle of Massacre Canyon," *Nebraska History* 54 (1973): 220–24. Although rather fanciful, see also Eli Paul, ed., "Lester Beach Platt's Account of the Battle of Massacre Canyon," *Nebraska History* 67 (1986): 381–407.

206 **easily ran down and killed:** In May 1877, Crazy Horse presented a ledger book with several drawings to a newspaperman, George P. Wallihan. He stated through an interpreter that the drawings "pictured the life of a famous warrior but would not say that it was himself." One of the drawings depicts a Lakota on horseback killing two Pawnee women and a warrior. This drawing very likely portrays an episode from the 1873 massacre, and while we can't say that Crazy Horse created this drawing, the fact of its presence within his band can be viewed as additional evidence of Crazy Horse and his followers' participation in the massacre. The ledger book is in the collections of the Denver Art Museum. For the connection to the Pawnee massacre, see Thomas Powers, *The Killing of Crazy Horse* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2010), 509 n. 12.

206 **Dead warriors lay grim:** Assistant Surgeon David F. Powell as quoted in "The Sioux-Pawnee War."

207 **subagent for the southern Oglalas:** This was Antoine Janis (1824–1890).

207 **Pawnee captives were turned over:** Barclay White to Edward P. Smith, Omaha, NE, September 27, 1873, in *Report of the Secretary of the Interior*, H. Exec. Doc.



- No. 1, Part 5, 43rd Cong., 1st Sess., 554; Waggoner, *Witness*, 458; and Bettelyoun and Waggoner, *With My Own Eyes*, 81.
- 207 **Pawnee chief Rules His Son**: “Famed Chief of Pawness, Hero of Many Indian Battles, Dies,” *The Indianapolis Times*, IN, October 4, 1928.
- 208 **Crazy Horse believed in**: One Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 41.
- 208 **“did great deeds”**: Eagle Elk interview, Neihardt Papers.
- 209 **lever-action Henrys and Winchesters**: This was reported by Blackfoot, a Crow chief, in *Report of the Secretary of the Interior*, H. Exec. Doc. No. 1, Part 5, 43rd Cong., 1st Sess., 492.
- 209 **“their supply of metallic rifle”**: Report of G. A. Custer, August 15, 1873. For an interesting description of how the warriors reloaded centerfire and rim-fire cartridges, see Father Genin’s letter of December 13, 1877, in Slaughter, “Leaves from Northwestern History,” 274.
- 209 **“thunder iron”**: “Custer’s Anabasis,” *The Inter Ocean*, Chicago, September 8, 1874.
- 209 **“If you ever saw a mad Indian”**: DeBarthe, *Life and Adventures*, 112. Although newspaperman Joe DeBarthe obtained the information for his book directly from his subject, the work is problematic because of DeBarthe’s own embellishments and Grouard’s frequent twisting of the truth in his favor. Neither Sitting Bull nor Crazy Horse were alive to challenge Grouard’s version of events as published in 1894.
- 210 **came down with an unknown illness**: Ibid., 350; and He Dog interview, *Hinman Interviews*, 23.
- 210 **150 white men**: “Yellowstone Wagon Road and Prospecting Expedition,” *Bozeman Avant Courier*, January 23, 1874; “The Yellowstone Expedition,” *The New North-West*, February 28, 1874; and Addison M. Quivey, “The Yellowstone Expedition of 1874,” *Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana* 1 (1876): 269–70.
- 211 **slew one hundred Indians**: *Bozeman Avant Courier*, May 1, 1874.
- 211 **“dosed it pretty strong with”**: James Gourley as quoted in French L. MacLean, *Sitting Bull, Crazy Horse, Gold, and Guns: The 1874 Yellowstone Wagon Road and Prospecting Expedition and the Battle of Lodge Grass Creek* (Atglen, PA: Schiffer Publishing, Ltd., 2016), 150.
- 211 **report from Fort Randall**: *Helena Weekly Herald*, March 21, 1872.
- 211 **nugget the size of an egg**: *The Bismarck Tribune*, June 24, 1874.
- 211 **“Crazy Horse is on the warpath”**: J. J. Saville to John E. Smith, Red Cloud Agency, Dakota Territory, February 20, 1874, *The Sioux City Journal*, IA, March 6, 1874.
- 212 **“for the purpose of spying”**: *The New North-West*, April 18, 1874.
- 212 **Sheridan publicly claimed**: Donald Jackson, *Custer’s Gold: The United States Cavalry Expedition of 1874* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1966), 14.
- 212 **“a shame that so vast”**: *The Bismarck Tribune*, June 24, 1874.
- 213 **“contest every foot of the march”**: “Black Hills Expedition,” *The Inter Ocean*, July 4, 1874; and “To the Black Hills,” *The Minneapolis Tribune*, MN, July 4, 1874.
- 213 **The cavalcade included**: “Black Hills Expedition,” and *The Bismarck Tribune*, June 24, 1874.



- 213 **collected specimens:** Robert M. Utley, *Cavalier in Buckskin: George Armstrong Custer and the Western Military Frontier* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988), 137–38.
- 213 **they set the prairie on fire:** Lawrence A. Frost, ed., *With Custer in '74: James Calhoun's Diary of the Black Hills Expedition* (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1979), 82–86; and “Custer’s Anabasis.”
- 214 **more glowing observations:** “Custer Interview,” *The Bismarck Tribune*, September 2, 1874.
- 214 **“It was bad enough”:** “The Black Hills Prohibition,” *The New North-West*, September 5, 1874.
- 215 **eight hundred white men:** Jackson, *Custer’s Gold*, 114.
- 215 **“Miners are everywhere”:** Wayne R. Kime, ed., *The Black Hills Journals of Colonel Richard Irving Dodge* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996), 134.
- 215 **“obstructions by [the] military”:** “Black Hills,” *The Bismarck Tribune*, June 30, 1875.
- 215 **become a white man himself:** “The Black Hills Gold Fields,” *The New York Herald*, August 26, 1875.
- 215 **“no use opposing the whites”:** “The Black Hills,” *The Inter Ocean*, May 11, 1875.
- 215 **party of approximately eighty-five:** “The Indian Council,” *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, October 16, 1875; and DeBarthe, *Life and Adventures*, 172.
- 216 **“Knowing all they do themselves”:** Grouard to Pratt, Camp on Belle Fourche River, W. T., Powder River Expedition, December 16, 1876.
- 216 **“All those that are in favor”:** As quoted in DeBarthe, *Life and Adventures*, 173.
- 216 **“Are you the Great God”:** These words of Sitting Bull were reported by the mixed-blood Louis Richard and quoted in John G. Bourke, *On the Border with Crook* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1891), 245. Grouard’s accounts of Sitting Bull’s response are found in DeBarthe, *Life and Adventures*, 174; and “The Grand Council,” *The New York Herald*, September 22, 1875.
- 217 **“My friends”:** As quoted in DeBarthe, *Life and Adventures*, 174.
- 217 **“a bronze statue”:** “The Black Hills,” *The New York Herald*, October 7, 1875.
- 218 **he would shoot any chief:** “A Plot to Massacre the Black Hills Commission,” *New York Tribune*, September 27, 1875; and Robert Higheagle manuscript, CC, box 104, folder 22.
- 218 **Miniconjou Lone Horn:** “Nothing Accomplished,” *New York Tribune*, October 1, 1875.
- 218 **“Red Cloud, Spotted Tail”:** Iron Hawk interview, *The Sixth Grandfather*, 171.
- 218 **“old plan of getting Indian land”:** *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, September 27, 1875.
- 218 **finally reached \$70 million:** “Nothing Accomplished,” *New York Tribune*, October 1, 1875.
- 218 **paid for the gold taken out:** “The Black Hills,” *The Inter Ocean*, August 16, 1875.
- 218 **“Our hearts are happy”:** “The Indian Council,” *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, October 16, 1875.
- 219 **“the extravagant demands”:** “The Black Hills,” *The Inter Ocean*, October 11, 1875.



10 / Soldiers Coming with Heads Down

- 221 **"I fought for my people":** As quoted in *The Brooklyn Union*, NY, June 13, 1885.
- 221 **Old Bear, Box Elder, and Black Eagle:** Paul L. Hedren, *Powder River: Disastrous Opening of the Great Sioux War* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016), 50. Hedren's is the definitive work on the Powder River battle of March 17, 1876.
- 222 **"The soldiers are right here!":** As quoted in Marquis, *A Warrior Who Fought Custer*, 164. Wooden Leg is the best Cheyenne account of the battle, but see also Powell, *People of the Sacred Mountain*, 2: 942–45.
- 222 **"Charge, my boys!":** As quoted by Robert Strahorn, "The Fight With Crazy Horse," *Rocky Mountain News*, April 7, 1876. Strahorn, who used the nom de plume Alter Ego, was a correspondent with the force that attacked the Powder River village. Frank Grouard, who led the nearly four hundred cavalrymen to the village, mistakenly identified it as belonging to Crazy Horse.
- 222 **"Let me take one of the children":** Marquis, *A Warrior Who Fought Custer*, 166.
- 223 **loot and burn their lodges:** John Gregory Bourke, *The Diaries of John Gregory Bourke*, ed. Charles M. Robinson III, vol. 1 (Denton: University of North Texas Press, 2003), 253; Strahorn, "The Fight With Crazy Horse"; and "Trophies from Crazy Horse's Camp – A Book of Battle Scenes," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, April 26, 1876.
- 223 **A splendidly dressed chief:** *The Diaries of John Gregory Bourke*, 1: 255.
- 223 **Wooden Leg strips the dead man:** Marquis, *A Warrior Who Fought Custer*, 167. Hedren identifies this trooper as Private Lorenzo Ayers. See *Powder River*, 183–93.
- 224 **"Cheyennes, come and eat here":** As quoted in Marquis, *A Warrior Who Fought Custer*, 170. See also Thomas B. Marquis, *The Cheyennes of Montana* (Algonac, MI: Reference Publications, Inc., 1978), 71.
- 224 **it was an unpardonable sin:** Miller, *Custer's Fall*, 229.
- 224 **"I'm glad you are come":** Two Moons interview, Garland, "General Custer's Last Fight," 445.
- 224 **behind closed doors:** "Indian Affairs," *The Inter Ocean*, November 4, 1875; "A Campaign Against the Sioux," *The Inter Ocean*, November 17, 1875; and John S. Gray, *Centennial Campaign: The Sioux War of 1876* (Ft. Collins, CO: The Old Army Press, 1976), 25–27.
- 224 **"go upon their proper reserves":** *The Diaries of John Gregory Bourke*, 1: 273.
- 225 **portrayed as punishment:** "Punishment for the Sioux," *Helena Weekly Herald*, December 2, 1875.
- 225 **interview to Chicago's Inter Ocean:** "A Campaign Against the Hostile Sioux," *The Inter Ocean*, November 17, 1875.
- 225 **the Indians had no newspapers:** Genin letter, September 8, 1876, in Slaughter, "Leaves from Northwestern History," 259. Some in the press did see through the machinations of the Grant administration. For example, see "The Black Hills Scheme," *The Times*, Philadelphia, PA, May 27, 1875.
- 225 **Lakota and Cheyenne couriers:** Zachariah Chandler to William Belknap,



Washington, D.C., December 3, 1875, and extract from letter of John Burke, Standing Rock Agency, December 31, 1875, in “Military Expedition Against the Sioux Indians,” H. Exec. Doc. No. 184, 44th Cong., 1st Sess., 10 and 17. White Bull said no couriers reached the village he was in that winter, which was located at the mouth of the Tongue. White Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 24.

225 **quartermasters began buying:** “A Campaign Against the Hostile Sioux,” *The Inter Ocean*, November 17, 1875.

226 **“We were rich, contented”:** Marquis, *A Warrior Who Fought Custer*, 161.

226 **report at an agency:** Short Bull interview, *Hinman Interviews*, 39; and Two Moons interview in “True Account of the Fatal Massacre of General Custer and his Men on the Big Horn,” *The Billings Gazette*, July 2, 1911.

226 **“broke the friendly feeling”:** Two Moons interview in “True Account of the Fatal Massacre of General Custer.”

226 **belonging to Crazy Horse:** Strahorn, “The Fight with Crazy Horse”; and DeBarthe, *Life and Adventures*, 192–93.

227 **“Who needs a blanket?”:** As quoted in Marquis, *A Warrior Who Fought Custer*, 171–72.

227 **“Oh what good hearts”:** Ibid.

227 **He was Inkpaduta:** “The Agencies,” *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, July 15, 1876. The leader of the Yanktonais was identified as White Face.

228 **“come into notice”:** Marquis, *A Warrior Who Fought Custer*, 178–79.

228 **“Then we could separate”:** Ibid.

229 **“When the rascality”:** The account of Bear Stands Up was published in several newspapers. I’m quoting from that which appeared in the *Chicago Daily Tribune*, July 15, 1876.

229 **“only steal from them”:** Ibid.

229 **“make a graveyard”:** *St. Louis Dispatch*, MO, May 17, 1876.

229 **shocking reports of killings:** Ibid.; “Blood Money,” *St. Louis Dispatch*, May 19, 1876; and “The Indians,” *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 9, 1876.

229 **“The wind sown by”:** “Blood Money,” *St. Louis Dispatch*, May 19, 1876.

229 **The actual perpetrators:** Crazy Horse’s biographer Kingsley Bray has the Oglala war chief traveling alone from the big village to the Black Hills and singlehandedly attacking a party of eight travelers on the Fort Laramie-Black Hills road at Red Cañon, killing three outright (a married couple named Metz and their Black female servant) and mortally wounding two others. Bray’s evidence for this feat by Crazy Horse is underwhelming. Besides the fact that it’s very unlikely Crazy Horse would have left his followers, as well as Sitting Bull, at this particular juncture, the white survivors of this incident said it was a party of Indians that attacked them. See Bray, *Crazy Horse*, 201; and Paul L. Hedren, *Rosebud, June 17, 1876: Prelude to the Little Big Horn* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2019), 64. For a contemporary report of the attack, which occurred midmorning on April 16, see “Indians Attack Black-Hillers,” *The New North-West*, May 12, 1876.

230 **confirmed that lots of soldiers:** Marquis, *A Warrior Who Fought Custer*, 190.

230 **“Wakan Tanka, save me”:** As quoted by White Bull, CC, box 105, folder 24.



- 231 **Picture Rock:** This formation is more commonly known today by its Cheyenne name: Deer Medicine Rocks. A National Historic Landmark, Deer Medicine Rocks is on private property near Jimtown, Montana.
- 231 **Sitting Bull honored his promise:** My sources for Sitting Bull's prophetic Sun Dance vision are primarily One Bull and White Bull. See One Bull interviews, CC, box 105, folders 19 and 41, and Hilger, ed., "The Narrative of Oscar One Bull, 165; and White Bull interviews, CC, box 105, folders 8 and 24. Also worthwhile are Raymond J. DeMallie, "'These Have No Ears': Narrative and the Ethnohistorical Method," *Ethnohistory* 40 (Autumn 1993): 515–38; and LaPointe, *Sitting Bull*, 63–65. Stephen Standing Bear (1859–1933) depicts this Sun Dance as part of a large watercolor painting on muslin (circa 1899) that also includes the Battle of the Little Big Horn. See Peter J. Powell, "Sacrifice Transformed into Victory: Standing Bear Portrays Sitting Bull's Sun Dance and the Final Summer of Lakota Freedom," in Even M. Mauer, *Visions of the People: A Pictorial History of Plains Indian Life* (Minneapolis, MN: The Minneapolis Institute of Arts, 1992), 81–101.
- 232 **like so many grasshoppers:** Time and time again, historians and authors have written that the soldiers Sitting Bull saw in his vision were "falling into camp" (i.e., the big village). It began with the first publication of Stanley Vestal's *Sitting Bull* in 1932, which was based on the extensive interviews Vestal (Walter Campbell) conducted with White Bull, One Bull, Old Bull, and others. However, nowhere in Vestal's notes of these interviews do his informants state that the soldiers of the vision were "falling into camp." Neither is this feature of the vision mentioned by Pretty White Buffalo Woman, who was either a cousin or niece of the Húnkpapa holy man. Her brief account of Sitting Bull's Sun Dance vision is the earliest known, first appearing in print in 1883. It's my belief that Vestal added the part about "falling into camp" to more directly connect the prophecy to the Little Big Horn battle. David Humphreys Miller does quote One Bull as stating the soldiers in the vision were falling upside-down into camp, but this interview wasn't published until 1971, after the legendary vision of Sitting Bull had become firmly entrenched in Little Big Horn lore. I strongly suspect we are seeing the heavy hand of Miller in this instance. In fact, Vestal accused Miller of lifting material from his works. Transcripts of Miller's interviews with his Lakota informants are currently held by a Great Falls, Montana, art gallery, but I was not granted access to study them. See Miller, "Echoes of the Little Bighorn," 30. For Pretty White Buffalo Woman, see "The Narrative of Mrs. Spotted Horn Bull," in Graham, *The Custer Myth*, 83; and Captain Charles King, "Custer's Last Battle," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 81 (August 1890): 387. Vestal's criticisms of Miller are found in W. B. Campbell to Joseph Balmer, October 16, 1957, CC, box 109, folder 12.
- 232 **"These white men have":** One Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 41. Additional descriptions of Sitting Bull's visions are in One Bull interview, CC, box 104, folder 6. One Bull reported another Sitting Bull vision that foretold the Custer fight, supposedly occurring some two weeks before the Sun Dance. Curiously, White Bull does not mention this earlier vision, nor is it referenced



- in any of the contemporary Indian accounts extant. See "Prophecy of Sitting Bull," CC, box 110, folder 8.
- 232 "will be in [the] white": Ibid.
- 232 "Whatever you foresaw": Black Elk interview, *The Sixth Grandfather*, 376. See also White Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 8, where he says "very often at the Sun Dances someone had a vision which was the truth."
- 233 **a thousand lodges**: From intelligence gathered later from Lakotas and Cheyennes, Lieut. William Philo Clark estimated the village contained 1,200 lodges. Thomas R. Buecker, "Lt. William Philo Clark's Sioux War Report," *Greasy Grass* 7 (May 1991): 17.
- 233 "What is it?": Young Two Moon interview in Jerome A. Greene, ed., *Lakota and Cheyenne: Indian Views of the Great Sioux War, 1876–1877* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994), 26.
- 234 "Be a little against fighting": White Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 8.
- 234 "The scouts have returned": Stephen Standing Bear interview, *The Sixth Grandfather*, 174. Many historians quote Wooden Leg in regard to the meeting of the village elders on the morning of June 16. According to Wooden Leg, the elders instructed the heralds to announce that the warriors were to "leave the soldiers alone unless they attack us." He then claims this order was ignored and the warriors slipped away from the village after dark to battle the Long Knives. However, no other Lakota or Cheyenne account mentions this June 16 directive forbidding an offensive movement. I believe Wooden Leg, or his translator, Thomas B. Marquis, erroneously repeated an order of the chiefs issued a few days earlier, when Crook's troops were first spotted on the Tongue. The decision at that time was not to attack, but to send scouts to keep track of Crook's movements. Charles A. Eastman adds that the chiefs also agreed they would fight Crook if he approached within a day's march of the village. And that is exactly what happened, for on June 16, Crook's men were just twenty-four miles away. Crook was thus close enough for his mounted troops and Crow and Shoshone auxiliaries to execute a sudden strike on the big village, which the chiefs wished to prevent at all costs. See Marquis, *A Warrior Who Fought Custer*, 196–99; and Eastman, "The Story of the Little Big Horn," 356.
- 234 **protect the village**: Eastman claims that half the fighting force was left behind to protect the village, but this number seems far too high. See his "The Story of the Little Big Horn," 356; and Stephen Standing Bear interview, *The Sixth Grandfather*, 174.
- 234 **Riding at his side**: Short Bull interview, *Hinman Interviews*, 40.
- 235 **Sitting Bull rode in**: White Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 8.
- 235 **Chief Gall and his nephews**: Eastman, "The Story of the Little Big Horn," 356.
- 235 "Be of steady mind": Ibid.
- 235 **approximately 975 men**: For numbers of combatants, I've followed Hedren's definitive study, *Rosebud*, June 17, 1876.
- 236 "Heap Sioux!": John F. Finerty, *War-Path and Bivouac, or the Conquest of the Sioux* (1890; reprint: Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), 84.
- 236 "Valley full": As quoted in Jack Keenan, "Wrinkled Cheyenne Warriors Tell



- of Battle with Crook and His Soldiers on the Rosebud,” *The Billings Gazette*, June 24, 1934.
- 236 **“fought and ran away”:** Marquis, *A Warrior Who Fought Custer*, 200.
- 236 **Buffalo Calf Road Woman:** Little Hawk and Young Two Moons interviews, Greene, ed., *Lakota and Cheyenne*, 25 and 27; and Stands in Timber and Liberty, *A Cheyenne Voice*, 434. The rescue of Comes in Sight may be the incident that started a story that Sitting Bull had been killed during the Rosebud battle. Frank Grouard had described to Crook’s Indian scouts what Sitting Bull looked like, and in the first charge a warrior with similar trappings as Sitting Bull was in advance of his comrades when a volley sent him rolling to the ground. The warrior was quickly retrieved by his men, who are said to have exhibited such a commotion that it must have been a leader who was killed. Little Hawk’s account places Comes in Sight in the first charge and states that he rode a horse faster than those of his fellow warriors, putting him in the lead. Comes in Sight wasn’t killed, of course, but this story of the possible death of Sitting Bull came second- or third-hand to the correspondent John F. Finerty, who reported it. See “The Sioux War,” *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, July 11, 1876.
- 237 **“Hold on, my friends!”:** As quoted by Frank Kicking Bear in Miller, *Ghost Dance*, 289. Short Bull also spoke of Crazy Horse rallying the warriors that day. See his interview in *Hinman Interviews*, 40.
- 237 **recognized Crazy Horse:** “In Crook’s Camp,” *The New York Herald*, July 13, 1876.
- 237 **“You can call it medicine”:** As quoted in Eddie Herman, “Noted Oglala Medicine Man Kept Crazy Horse’s Secret,” *Rapid City Journal*, February 11, 1951. Mixed-blood interpreter Charles Tackett claimed that General Crook told him he’d once shot deliberately at Crazy Horse more than twenty times without hitting him. If this actually occurred, it more likely would have been in a skirmish with Crazy Horse and his warriors at the Battle of Slim Buttes in September 1876. See Edward S. Curtis, *The North American Indian*, vol. 3 (Cambridge, MA: The University Press, 1908), 21 n. 1. Crazy Horse wasn’t the only fighter who was “bulletproof” that day. Iron Hawk recalled seeing two warriors, a Lakota and a Crow, whom bullets couldn’t touch. The Lakota wore a “sacred ornament” that Iron Hawk believed protected the warrior. See *The Sixth Grandfather*, 176.
- 237 **“little less than savage frenzy”:** “The Battle of the Rosebud,” *Rocky Mountain News*, July 4, 1876.
- 237 **war chiefs grew worried:** He Dog interview, Hammer, ed., *Custer in ’76*, 205; and Iron Hawk interview, *The Sixth Grandfather*, 176.
- 238 **less than two dozen:** Buecker, “Lt. William Philo Clark’s Sioux War Report,” 17; White Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 24; and Old Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 7. Second Lieutenant Frederick Schwatka, Company M, Third Cavalry, wrote his father that he believed they’d killed fifty or sixty warriors: “They left thirteen on the field, whose scalps were taken by the friendly Indians.” Schwatka to Frederick Gustavus Schwatka Sr., Camp near Big Horn Mountains on Middle Creek, Wyoming Territory, July 23, 1876, photocopy in author’s collection.



- 238 **more than ten thousand rounds:** "The Battle of the Rosebud," *Rocky Mountain News*, July 4, 1876. Finerty provided an estimate of 25,000 rounds. *War-Path and Bivouac*, 93.
- 238 **Three Stars lost nine men:** Finerty, *War-Path and Bivouac*, 340–42; "On the War-Path," *The Inter Ocean*, June 24, 1876; "The Indian War," *The New York Herald*, June 24, 1876; and Hedren, *Rosebud*, 297.
- 238 **Crook made the decision:** "The Indian War," *The New York Herald*, June 24, 1876; Finerty, *War-Path and Bivouac*, 93, 95, and 340; and Hedren, *Rosebud*, 301–2.
- 238 **"The Sioux had proved":** H. R. Lemly, "The Fight on the Rosebud," *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting and Dinner of the Order of Indian Wars of the United States* (1917), 41.
- 238 **three days of mourning:** Old Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 7.
- 239 **"Everybody was in excellent":** Second Lieutenant Winfield Scott Edgerly, as quoted in Marguerite Merington, ed., *The Custer Story: The Life and Intimate Letters of General Custer and His Wife Elizabeth* (New York: The Devon-Adair Company, 1950), 310.
- 239 **"We can't get Indians":** Ibid., 309.
- 239 **what the Arikara scouts discovered:** Red Star interview, O. G. Libby, ed., "The Arikara Narrative of the Campaign Against the Hostile Dakotas, June 1876," *North Dakota Historical Collections* 6 (1920): 78.
- 240 **The following morning:** I've based my narrative of the movements of Custer and the Seventh Cavalry on Donovan, *A Terrible Glory*, and my *Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument* (Tucson: Western National Parks Association, 2005).
- 240 **took a pair of field glasses:** Red Star interview, "The Arikara Narrative," 91.
- 240 **Custer took five companies:** These Seventh Cavalry companies were C, E, F, I, and L.
- 241 **"Do not divide your men":** As quoted in Linderman, *American*, 175.
- 241 **"Because you and I":** Ibid.
- 242 **"Hold your horses":** Daniel Kanipe, "A New Story of Custer's Last Battle," *The Deadwood Daily Pioneer-Times*, SD, July 26, 1914.
- 242 **"they came back at me":** McGillicuddy, "That 'Suicide' of Gen. George A. Custer."
- 243 **men heard gunfire:** Edward Davern testimony in Robert M. Utley, ed., *The Reno Court of Inquiry* (Fort Collins, CO: Old Army Press, 1983), 291–92.
- 244 **two companies defended the hill:** The two Seventh Cavalry companies positioned here were L and C.
- 246 **Oglalas and several Cheyenne:** Arthur Chapman, "Chief Two Moons' Story of the Fateful Day When Custer's Men Met Death," *The Evening Star*, January 18, 1908. As previously noted, some Cheyennes considered Crazy Horse as one of their war chiefs. In this interview, Two Moons states, "Crazy Horse and his Sioux were with the Cheyennes."
- 246 **"We shoot, we ride":** Two Moons interview, Garland, "General Custer's Last Fight," 448.
- 246 **"like a bunch of swallows":** Black Elk interview, *The Sixth Grandfather*, 183.



- 247 **sound of a bugle:** Two Moons interview, Garland, "General Custer's Last Fight," 448.
- 247 **hit by their own tribesmen:** Stephen Standing Bear interview, *The Sixth Grandfather*, 187; and Frank Zahn interview, Joseph G. Masters Collection.
- 247 **began to act strange:** Two Moons interviews in "True Account," *The Billings Gazette*, July 2, 1911, and "Indian Tells of Custer," *The Washington Post*, November 28, 1911. Two Moons believed many of Custer's men were drunk and claimed to have discovered whiskey in their canteens. Several other veteran warriors also believed the soldiers were drunk. See Frank Zahn and Little Soldier interviews, Joseph G. Masters Collection; and Marquis, *A Warrior Who Fought Custer*, 246.
- 247 **"There was a great deal":** As quoted in Don Carlos Seitz, *The Dreadful Decade: Detailing Some Phases in the History of the United States from Reconstruction to Resumption, 1869–1879* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1926), 257. The warrior was Two Bears, son of the Yanktonai chief of the same name mentioned earlier in my narrative.
- 247 **they grabbed the arrow shafts:** Black Elk interview, *The Sixth Grandfather*, 193.
- 248 **The naked trooper jumped:** Iron Hawk interview, *ibid.*, 192; and Joseph White Bull interview, Miller, "Echoes of the Little Bighorn," 36.
- 248 **a scalp with short hair:** Comment by Frank Zahn in Little Soldier interview, Joseph G. Masters Collection.
- 248 **The bodies were further mutilated:** Statement of George R. Herendeen, scout with Reno's battalion, in "Narrative of a Scout," *The New York Herald*, July 8, 1876; and Thomas Marquis, *Custer, Cavalry and Crows: The Story of William White* (Fort Collins, CO: The Old Army Press, 1975), 78–79.
- 248 **"I could smell nothing but":** Black Elk interview, *The Sixth Grandfather*, 194.
- 249 **Two Southern Cheyenne women:** This story is from Kate Bighead in Marquis, *She Watched Custer's Last Battle*, 1 and 8.
- 249 **cut off part of a finger:** In addition to bullet wounds in his left temple and left breast, Custer's right thigh had been slashed with a knife and an arrow was pushed up his penis. He wasn't scalped.
- 249 **husband of Monahsetah:** The most detailed study of Monahsetah (also Me-you-zah and Me-o-tzi) and her relationship with Custer is Peter Harrison, *Monahsetah: The Life of a Custer Captive*, ed. Gary Leonard (London: The English Westerners' Society, 2014).
- 249 **"Thus will the Great Spirit":** As quoted in Charles J. Brill, *Custer, Black Kettle, and the Fight on the Washita* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2001), 228.
- 250 **thundered up near the perimeter:** "One of Custer's First Sergeants Tells Story of Reno's Part in Fight on Little Big Horn," *The Billings Gazette*, June 25, 1923.
- 250 **"it would start again":** Lieutenant George D. Wallace testimony in Utley, ed., *The Reno Court of Inquiry*, 78.
- 251 **men would take turns:** Stephen Standing Bear interview, *The Sixth Grandfather*, 187.
- 251 **Using cups, tin plates:** "Custer's Death: The Herald's Special Report from the Field of Battle," and "Narrative of a Scout," both in the *New York Herald*, July 8, 1876.



- 251 ***Even dead horses and mules:*** Captain Myles Moylan testimony, Utley, ed., *The Reno Court of Inquiry*, 211.
- 251 ***“We shall not celebrate”:*** Mary Crawler interview, Joseph G. Masters Collection. This interview was conducted in 1936. Oddly, some years earlier, Mary Crawler insisted to Frank Fiske that the village *did* celebrate the night of the battle. She said the families of the dead warriors mourned, “but the rest of us danced.” Frank Bennett Fiske, *Life and Death of Sitting Bull* (Fort Yates, ND: Pioneer-Arrow Print, 1933), 16. One Bull, Two Bull, Frank Zahn, Stephen Standing Bear, and Wooden Leg all said there was no celebration the night of June 25. See their interviews and correspondence in CC, box 104, folder 6; box 105 folder 35; box 107, folder 5; *The Sixth Grandfather*, 189; and Marquis, *A Warrior Who Fought Custer*, 256.
- 251 ***approximately thirty-one killed:*** Hardorff, *Hokahey! A Good Day to Die!*, 130; and “Sitting Bull’s Letter,” *The Sioux City Journal*, August 19, 1876.
- 251 ***only Sitting Bull and his band:*** One Bull and Mrs. One Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 19.
- 251 ***“starve at [the] white man’s door”:*** One Bull interview, CC, box 104, folder 6.
- 252 ***“the horrible things”:*** Stephen Standing Bear interview, *The Sixth Grandfather*, 189.
- 252 ***“The remainder of the soldiers”:*** Ibid.
- 252 ***could hardly see them:*** White Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 24.
- 252 ***A long line of dense smoke rose:*** Lieutenant Charles Varnum testimony, Utley, ed., *The Reno Court of Inquiry*, 166.
- 252 ***possessed a long-range Sharps:*** Ibid., 184; Glendolin Damon Wagner, *Old Neutriment* (Boston: Ruth Hill, 1934), 169–70; and “One of Custer’s First Sergeants.”
- 252 ***“Be careful, it’s a long way”:*** Old Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 11; and Stephen Standing Bear interview, *The Sixth Grandfather*, 189.
- 253 ***The old men were right:*** Marquis, *A Warrior Who Fought Custer*, 259.
- 253 ***returned with its precious cargo:*** Wooden Leg claimed he wounded one of the water carriers, who fell into the river and was swept downstream and finally overtaken by two Lakota warriors and killed. However, Seventh Cavalry regimental records have all the water carriers accounted for, none of whom failed to rejoin their comrades on the hill. See *ibid.*, 259–60.
- 253 ***go and fight them, too:*** Ibid., 269.
- 253 ***“Leave ’em go now”:*** Old Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 11. In an interview given shortly after his surrender, Sitting Bull explained that “I did not want to kill any more men. I did not like that kind of work. I only defended my camp. When we had killed enough, that was all that was necessary.” “A Chat with the Chief,” *The Omaha Daily Bee*, August 9, 1881.
- 254 ***The column stretched for:*** Lieutenant Winfield Scott Edgerly testimony, Utley, ed., *The Reno Court of Inquiry*, 343; and E. S. Godfrey in Graham, *The Custer Myth*, 145.
- 254 ***warriors’ treasured possessions:*** Marquis, *Custer, Cavalry and Crows*, 73–74. These items were subsequently looted by men from the Terry-Gibbon column.
- 254 ***Among these were Gall’s wives and children:*** “Custer Battlefield,” *The Evening Star*, September 25, 1903; “Anent Chief Gall,” *Bismarck Weekly Tribune*, December 21, 1894; and Hardorff, *Hokahey! A Good Day to Die!*, 32.



- 254 **singing victory songs**: James Willard Schultz, *William Jackson, Indian Scout: His True Story, Told by His Friend* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1926), 150.
- 254 **"Where is Custer?"**: "Custer's Last Battle," *The Evening Star*, July 14, 1876.
- 255 **Wood Louse Creek**: The creek is known today as Lodge Grass Creek.
- 255 **"The soldiers are coming!"**: Black Elk interview, *The Sixth Grandfather*, 196.
- 255 **the deep "mourning cuts"**: Marquis, *A Warrior Who Fought Custer*, 274.
- 255 **"I killed a white man"**: Ibid., 277.
- 255 **"When you came attacking"**: Black Elk interview, *The Sixth Grandfather*, 197.
- 255 **"I had no guns"**: Mary Crawler as quoted in Fiske, *Life and Death of Sitting Bull*, 16.
- 256 **"After the battle"**: Stephen Standing Bear interview, *The Sixth Grandfather*, 188.
- 256 **"the Napoleonic tactics"**: "The Disastrous Indian Campaign," *The New York Herald*, July 7, 1876.
- 256 **quite the French scholar**: "History of the Hostile Sioux Warrior, Sitting Bull," *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, July 15, 1876.
- 257 **a West Point graduate**: "The Sioux West Pointer," reprinted from the *Baltimore Gazette* in *The Lancaster Intelligencer*, August 9, 1876.
- 257 **soon shown to be false**: "What Mrs. Galpin Knows About Sitting Bull," *The Times*, September 1, 1876.
- 257 **"The Long Haired Chief"**: Eagle Shield statement in Col. W. H. Wood to Asst. Adj. Gen., Cheyenne Agency, Dakota Territory, February 16, 1877, M234 - Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1881, Dakota Superintendency, 1861-1880, roll 262, NA.
- 257 **The warriors were simply too many**: Valentine T. McGillicuddy to Elmo Scott Watson, Berkeley, CA, May 28, 1927, Watson Papers.
- 257 **"saved his men"**: McGillicuddy, "That 'Suicide' of Gen. George A. Custer."

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- 259 **"We were not bothering"**: Marquis, *A Warrior Who Fought Custer*, 294.
- 259 **"If the Indian will not"**: "The Indian Question," *The New York Herald*, July 9, 1876.
- 259 **"You can say that"**: "Interview with General Sherman," *The New York Herald*, July 7, 1876.
- 259 **"a just retribution"**: "Peace Society Resolutions," *The New York Herald*, August 19, 1876; and "Indian Lovers," *The Sioux City Journal*, August 19, 1876.
- 260 **control of the various Indian agencies**: Gray, *Centennial Campaign*, 259; and Standing Rock Reservation correspondence, 1876, Welch Dakota Papers, <https://www.welchdakotapapers.com/2011/12/little-big-horn-sioux-life-in-1876-standing-rock-reservation-microfilm-roll/#ltr-55-col-carlin>.
- 260 **"Indian Appropriation Bill"**: "The Sioux in the Indian Appropriation Bill," *The New York Herald*, August 21, 1876.
- 260 **a railroad upstart**: "New Railroad," *The Daily Journal of Commerce*, Kansas City, MO, September 16, 1876.
- 261 **"I am getting old"**: "The Sentiments and Opinions of Sitting Bull," *The New York Herald*, August 19, 1876.



- 261 **"Perhaps the whites":** "Suing for Peace," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, September 19, 1876; and statement of The Man that Smells his Hand, Standing Rock Agency, Sept 6, 1876, Welch Dakota Papers, <https://www.welchdakotapapers.com/2011/12/little-big-horn-sioux-life-in-1876-standing-rock-reservation-microfilm-roll/#ltr-55-col-carlin>. According to this courier, Sitting Bull's Hunkpapas were camped on the Tongue River as of August 30.
- 261 **surge of killings and depredations:** "Bloody Work" and "Black Hills," *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, September 9, 1876; "Indian Depredations," *The Black Hills Pioneer*, Deadwood, SD, August 28, 1876; "The Black Hills," *Helena Weekly Herald*, September 21, 1876; and Annie D. Tallent, *The Black Hills; or, The Last Hunting Ground of the Dakotahs* (St. Louis: Nixon-Jones Printing Co., 1899), 370–73.
- 261 **Moon When Plums Are Ripe:** Old Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 11.
- 262 **a light frost settled:** Agnes Wright Spring, ed., "Dr. McGillicuddy's Diary," *The Denver Brand Book* 9 (1953): 291.
- 262 **"Trouble in one of the camps":** Old Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 11.
- 262 **some of his best men:** Short Bull interview, *Hinman Interviews*, 41.
- 262 **approximately six hundred:** One officer in the fight estimated the warrior force at seven to eight hundred. Charles King, "Daring Red Riders," *The Pittsburgh Dispatch*, PA, January 20, 1889.
- 263 **Over the next two hours:** Eyewitness accounts for the Battle of Slim Buttes I've consulted include "Crook's Victory," *The New York Herald*, September 17, 1876; "Crook's Campaign," *The New York Herald*, October 2, 1876; "Details of the Fight," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, September 19, 1876; "Capture of the Village," *New York Tribune*, September 18, 1876; Finerty, *War-Path and Bivouac*, 186–99; Charles King, *Campaigning with Crook and Stories of Army Life* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1890), 123–32; DeBarthe, *Life and Adventures*, 300–311; Paul L. Hedren, ed., *Ho! For the Black Hills: Captain Jack Crawford Reports the Black Hills Gold Rush and Great Sioux War* (Pierre: South Dakota State Historical Society, 2012), 218–23; and Indian accounts in Greene, ed., *Lakota and Cheyenne*, 86–92.
- 263 **mounted on a fast white horse:** Finerty, *War-Path and Bivouac*, 196. Stanley Vestal writes that it was Sitting Bull and not Crazy Horse who was the leader riding the white horse. He bases this on his interview with Old Bull, who has Sitting Bull playing a very prominent role in the battle. However, Lakotas taken prisoner from the village stated that Sitting Bull and his Hunkpapas were north of the Yellowstone at this time. See Old Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 11; and "Crook's Victory."
- 263 **The feat of horsemanship:** King, "Daring Red Riders."
- 263 **each as large as a small cabin:** Little Wounded interview, CC, box 106, folder 53.
- 264 **"Now General, how is":** "Gen. Sherman," *The Leavenworth Times*, September 12, 1876.
- 264 **White Bull believed:** White Bull interview, CC, box 106, folder 53.
- 264 **A Fort Benton fur trader:** *The Benton Record*, Fort Benton, MT, March 25, 1876.
- 265 **Fire Thunder found the treaty:** "The Indians," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, September 23, 1876.
- 265 **"Red Cloud would get ahead":** "Indians," *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, Septem-



- ber 27, 1876. The white trader, who also benefited from government contracts with the Indian Bureau, was Enoch Wheeler Raymond.
- 266 **with several scalps:** Black Elk interview, *The Sixth Grandfather*, 199.
- 266 **a greatcoat trimmed in bear fur:** White Bull remembered the details of the coat quite well. See his interview, CC, bow 105, folder 24.
- 266 **Together with Chiefs Gall:** "Sitting Bull," *Bismarck Weekly Tribune*, November 1, 1876.
- 267 **"You better get your uncle":** White Bull interview, CC, bow 105, folder 24.
- 267 **"Immediately the prairie":** Nelson A. Miles, *Serving the Republic: Memoirs of the Civil and Military Life of Nelson A. Miles* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1911), 151.
- 267 **soon driven from the field:** "Sitting Bull," *The New York Herald*, November 6, 1876.
- 267 **agreed to surrender:** Ibid.; "Surrender of Hostiles," *Bismarck Weekly Tribune*, November 8, 1876; and Jerome A. Greene, *Yellowstone Command: Colonel Nelson A. Miles and the Great Sioux War, 1876–1877* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991), 107–11.
- 268 **"I think [Sitting Bull] feels":** As quoted in Utley, *The Lance and the Shield*, 173.
- 268 **belonging to Three Stars:** The attacking force was led by Colonel Ranald S. MacKenzie, an officer under General Crook's command. For various Cheyenne accounts of the engagement and aftermath, see Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes*, 346–68; Powell, *People of the Sacred Mountain*, 2: 1058–71; and Greene, ed., *Lakota and Cheyenne*, 113–24.
- 268 **"We can fight the white men":** As quoted in Thomas M. Anderson, "Army Episodes and Anecdotes," chapter 10, unpublished manuscript, WA MSS 6, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.
- 268 **Frank Grouard, demonstrating:** "General MacKenzie's Fight," *The New York Herald*, December 11, 1876.
- 268 **Cheyenne infants froze to death:** Buecker, "Lt. William Philo Clark's Sioux War Report," 19.
- 268 **"Travel and sleep":** Marquis, *A Warrior Who Fought Custer*, 287.
- 269 **collecting clothes and lodge skins:** Black Elk interview, *The Sixth Grandfather*, 201.
- 269 **"We helped the Cheyennes":** Short Bull interview, *Hinman Interviews*, 42. Some Cheyennes later complained that Crazy Horse and his people were not as giving as they should have been, but other Cheyennes realized that there were simply too many of them for the little the Oglalas had. See Anderson, "Army Episodes and Anecdotes," chapter 10; and William Garnett interview, Jensen, *Voices of the American West*, 1: 51.
- 269 **"not any Cheyenne":** Marquis, *A Warrior Who Fought Custer*, 288.
- 269 **growing to 170 lodges:** "Buford Notes," *Bismarck Weekly Tribune*, December 27, 1876.
- 269 **even post employees:** "The Hostiles," *The New North-West*, December 8, 1876. General William Hazen attempted to put a stop to this illicit trade by confiscating all the ammunition at the trading posts of Fort Peck and Wolf Point (down the Missouri from Fort Peck), leaving a maximum of fifty rounds to each white resident. The trader at Fort Buford turned over all the ammunition



- in his possession to the post's commanding officer. "Fort Peck," *Bismarck Weekly Tribune*, November 22, 1876; and "Buford Notes," *Bismarck Weekly Tribune*, December 27, 1876
- 269 **Wood Mountain in Canada:** "Notes from Buford," *Bismarck Weekly Tribune*, October 18, 1876, and December 20, 1876. Sales of arms and ammunition to the Sioux at Wood Mountain were soon shut down by the North-West Mounted Police. See "Old Fort Walsh Letter," *The Benton Weekly Record*, Fort Benton, MT, December 1, 1876.
- 269 **buffalo robes and a herd of mules:** "The Indians," *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 3, 1877; "Sitting Bull," *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, January 27, 1877; and Eagle Shield statement in Col. W. H. Wood to Asst. Adj. Gen., Cheyenne Agency, Dakota Territory, February 16, 1877.
- 269 **making war on him:** "Sitting Bull," *The New York Herald*, December 30, 1876.
- 269 **at daybreak on December 7:** Frank D. Baldwin, "Winter Campaigning Against Indians in Montana in 1876," in Peter Cozzens, ed., *Eyewitness to the Indian Wars, 1865–1890: The Long War for the Northern Plains* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2004), 446–47; "Notes from Buford," *Bismarck Weekly Tribune*, December 20, 1876; "Sitting Bull," *Helena Weekly Herald*, December 28, 1876; "Sitting Bull," *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, January 27, 1877; and "Sitting Bull," *The New York Herald*, December 30, 1876.
- 270 **village was caught napping:** "Sitting Bull: Particulars of His Defeat by Lieut. Baldwin," *Helena Weekly Herald*, January 25, 1877; "From the Yellowstone Command," *The New North-West*, January 19, 1877; "Miles' Campaign," *The New York Herald*, January 16, 1877; "Winter Campaigning," *The New York Herald*, February 19, 1877; Baldwin, "Winter Campaigning Against Indians in Montana," 449–50; "A Little Sketch of the Life of Joseph Culbertson, Ex-Scout of the United States Army," *The Glasgow Courier*, MT, May 5, 1922; and Greene, *Yellowstone Command*, 141–43.
- 271 **the precious ammunition:** None of the contemporary reports I've consulted mention ammunition left behind in the camp, and a Lakota who was in Sitting Bull's village after the fight stated that "the Indians were not so destitute of ammunition as was generally supposed." "Notes from Buford," *Bismarck Weekly Tribune*, January 17, 1877.
- 271 **sent a message to Sitting Bull:** Col. Miles learned of the message and its contents from his Indian informants. See "Gen. Miles' Report of a Year's Work," *Army and Navy Journal*, May 18, 1878.
- 271 **sow dissent and spy:** William Garnett interview, Jensen, *Voices of the American West*, 1: 43.
- 271 **Two Miniconjou emissaries:** These men were Fool Bear and Important Man.
- 271 **Crazy Horse ordered his warriors:** Col. W. H. Wood to Asst. Adj. Gen., Cheyenne Agency, Dakota Territory, January 24, 1877, Eleanor Hamlin Hinman Papers, Nebraska State Historical Society, Lincoln; and Eagle Shield statement in Col. W. H. Wood to Asst. Adj. Gen., Cheyenne Agency, Dakota Territory, February 16, 1877.
- 271 **now be considered enemies:** "Indians," *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, February 16, 1877.



- 272 *scouts for Three Stars: The Diaries of John Gregory Bourke*, 2: 154–55 and 168; De-
Barthe, *Life and Adventures*, 324; and *The Benton Record*, January 19, 1877.
- 272 “**This was a good place**”: Black Elk interview, *The Sixth Grandfather*, 201.
- 272 **436 officers and men**: Miles, *Serving the Republic*, 153.
- 272 **January 7, debate sprang up**: Eagle Shield interview, Greene, ed., *Lakota and Cheyenne*, 128.
- 273 **Cheyennes had spoiled it**: Black Elk interview, *The Sixth Grandfather*, 202; and Edmond Butler, “General Miles’ Expedition Against Crazy Horse,” *The Leavenworth Times*, March 24, 1877.
- 273 **For the next several hours**: A good synopsis of the battle, based on an analysis of artifacts found on the battlefield as well as primary accounts, is Keith T. Werts, *The Crazy Horse and Colonel Nelson Miles Fight of 1877: New Discoveries at the Battle of the Butte* (Spokane, WA: Werts Publishing, 2014). See also Greene, *Yellowstone Command*, 166–77.
- 273 “**The Indians moved back**”: Marquis, *A Warrior Who Fought Custer*, 292.
- 273 “**used it rather lavishly**”: Butler, “General Miles’ Expedition Against Crazy Horse.”
- 274 **distinctive cry of Crazy Horse**: Letter of Lieut. Cornelius C. Cusick, Cantonment at Mouth of Tongue River, Montana Territory, January 20, 1877, in *Detroit Free Press*, MI, February 14, 1877.
- 274 **Crazy Horse broke off the fight**: Ibid. Cusick wrote, “The battle fairly opened at 9 o’clock and continued with unabated fury until 4 p.m.”
- 274 **three men killed and a few wounded**: Wooden Leg account in Werts, *The Crazy Horse and Colonel Nelson Miles Fight of 1877*, 146; Marquis, *A Warrior Who Fought Custer*, 292–93; Eagle Shield interview, Greene, ed., *Lakota and Cheyenne*, 128; and Red Sack account in “The Hostiles,” *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, February 14, 1877. Miles and other members of his expedition claimed to have inflicted much higher casualties among the warriors. For example, see Butler, “General Miles’ Expedition Against Crazy Horse”; and “Beats Any Dime Novel: The Simple but Thrilling Story which John Bruguier Tells,” *The Sioux City Journal*, March 8, 1897.
- 274 **no bullet could go through him**: Swelled Face statement in Col. W. H. Wood to Asst. Adj. Gen., Cheyenne Agency, Dakota Territory, February 21, 1877, M234 - Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824–1881, Dakota Superintendency, 1861–1880, roll 262, NA.
- 274 **his men were worn out**: “Miles’ Fight on Tongue River,” *The New North-West*, February 16, 1877.
- 274 “**swept from the field**”: Nelson A. Miles to Assistant Adjutant General, Cantonment on Tongue River, Montana, January 23, 1877, in *Report of the Secretary of War*, vol. 1 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1877), 495.
- 274 “**our offensive operations**”: Letter of Lieut. Cornelius C. Cusick. Lieut. Cusick (1835–1904), a Civil War veteran, was a member of the Tuscarora Indian tribe. His obituary is found in the *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*, NY, January 5, 1904.
- 275 **fifty lodges of Hunkpapas**: Some sources state Sitting Bull arrived at the camps of Lakotas and Cheyennes with Crazy Horse on January 15, 1877. However,



two Brulés named Makes Them Stand Up and Charging Horse left Crazy Horse's village on January 16 and said Sitting Bull and his people were just then marching to join Crazy Horse on the Tongue. In a 1928 interview, Wooden Leg said Sitting Bull participated in the Battle of Wolf Mountains on January 8, although he doesn't repeat that claim in his account of the fight given to Thomas B. Marquis. Lieut. William Philo Clark to Lieut. John G. Bourke, Camp Robinson, NE, February 24, 1877, Hinman Papers; "Suing for Peace," *The Inter Ocean*, February 15, 1877; "Indian," *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, February 16, 1877; Jesse M. Lee to Lieut. John G. Bourke, Spotted Tail Agency, March 6, 1877, Copies of Letters Sent, Spotted Tail Agency, 1876-78, RG 75, NA-KC; Francois C. Boucher to Maj. Horace Neide, Little Missouri River, March 25, 1877, Hinman Papers; and Wooden Leg account in Werts, *The Crazy Horse and Colonel Nelson Miles Fight of 1877*, 147.

- 275 **The ammunition Sitting Bull brought:** Eagle Shield said Sitting Bull brought fifty boxes of needle gun cartridges. The term "needle gun" was often used for the U.S. army's breechloading Springfield carbines and rifles. If Eagle Shield was referring to a standard "box" of .45-70 ammunition, each box contained twenty cartridges. Eagle Shield statement in Col. W. H. Wood to Asst. Adj. Gen., Cheyenne Agency, Dakota Territory, February 16, 1877; and Swelled Face statement in Col. W. H. Wood to Asst. Adj. Gen., Cheyenne Agency, Dakota Territory, February 21, 1877.
- 275 **The tribes were scattered:** White Bull interview, CC, box 106, folder 53.
- 275 **Some five hundred families:** "Sitting Bull," *Bismarck Weekly Tribune*, January 24, 1877; "Major Walsh Among the Hostile Sioux," *Winnipeg Free Press*, Manitoba, Canada; and "The Sioux," *The Helena Independent*, MT, January 17, 1877.
- 275 **Old Inkpaduta:** *Winnipeg Free Press*, February 19, 1877; and "The Indians," *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, December 30, 1876.
- 275 **persuade the Métis to join forces:** Swelled Face statement in Col. W. H. Wood to Asst. Adj. Gen., Cheyenne Agency, Dakota Territory, February 21, 1877.
- 276 **convince Crazy Horse to go north:** Francois C. Boucher to Maj. Horace Neide, Little Missouri River, March 25, 1877, Hinman Papers.
- 276 **simply his time to die:** White Bull interview, CC, box 106, folder 53.
- 276 **try to hold the land:** Sitting Bull refers to Crazy Horse as "still holding" the land in a speech delivered in Canada in early June 1877. Mark Diedrich, ed. *Sitting Bull: The Collected Speeches* (Rochester, MN: Coyote Books, 1998), 98.
- 276 **Crazy Horse's decision:** Bordeaux, *Custer's Conqueror*, 61.
- 276 **Lakota year 1876 to 1877:** Green and Thornton, eds., *The Year the Stars Fell*, 276.

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- 277 **"It is not possible to change":** Chittenden and Richardson, eds., *Life, Letters and Travels of Father Pierre-Jean De Smet*, 3: 886.
- 277 **the fear of Crazy Horse:** Eagle Shield statement in Col. W. H. Wood to Asst. Adj. Gen., Cheyenne Agency, Dakota Territory, February 16, 1877.
- 277 **turning against him:** "Red Cloud Agency," *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 3, 1877.



- 277 **“policy of persuasion”**: William Garnett interview, Jensen, *Voices of the American West*, 1: 43.
- 278 **the white man’s God**: “Story of George Sword,” Walker Collection, History Colorado, reel 3, frame 58. Hunts the Enemy would acquire the name George Sword that summer.
- 278 **a kind reception**: I’ve based my account of Hunts the Enemy’s mission on the following: Red Feather interview, *Hinman Interviews*, 33; George Sword account in DeMallie, “These Have No Ears,” 529–30; George Sword interview, Jensen, *Voices of the American West*, 1: 328; William Garnett interview, Jensen, *Voices of the American West*, 1: 45–46; “Crazy Horse,” *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, March 8, 1877; Lieut. William Philo Clark to Lieut. John G. Bourke, Camp Robinson, NE, March 3, 1877, in Hardorff, ed., *Surrender and Death*, 159–60; and Clark to Bourke, Camp Robinson, NE, March 8, 1877, Hinman Papers.
- 278 **“meant submission to a people”**: Standing Bear, *Land of the Spotted Eagle*, 179.
- 279 **“You see all the people here”**: As quoted in Red Feather interview, *Hinman Interviews*, 33.
- 279 **“Well, it shall be a big peace!”**: As quoted in DeMallie, “These Have No Ears,” 530.
- 279 **led by his uncle Spotted Tail**: “Spotted Tail’s Mission,” *The New York Herald*, February 23, 1877; “The Red Man,” *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, February 12, 1877; and Second Lieutenant Frederick Schwatka to Frederick Gustavus Schwatka Sr., Camp Sheridan, Nebraska, February 5, 1877, photocopy in author’s collection.
- 279 **deposed as chief**: *The Diaries of John Gregory Bourke*, 2: 147–48; “The Sioux Braves,” *The New York Herald*, January 5, 1877; and “The Sioux,” *Evening Bulletin*, San Francisco, August 18, 1882. Red Cloud told the *Herald* reporter that Spotted Tail “could never be a chief only in name over his people. He [Red Cloud] was still their chief, and they would obey him though the government had made Spotted Tail chief.”
- 280 **something of a failure**: When Crazy Horse surrendered, some reports incorrectly credited Spotted Tail for bringing it about. As explained in my narrative, it was hunger and fatigue from fighting the army through the winter that primarily led to capitulation. However, Red Cloud and his nephew Hunts the Enemy (George Sword) did play an important role by assuring Crazy Horse that no harm would come to him and his followers if he surrendered. The acting agent at the Red Cloud Agency gave full credit to Red Cloud for the surrender, and both Red Cloud and Hunts the Enemy believed they’d been instrumental in convincing Crazy Horse to come in. Red Cloud stated later that “I sent some of my young men to capture Crazy Horse and bring him in and turn him over to the soldiers.” Interpreter Louis Bordeaux also said it was Hunts the Enemy who persuaded Crazy Horse to come in. Report of Jesse M. Lee, Spotted Tail Agency, August 10, 1877, Copies of Letters Sent, Spotted Tail Agency, 1876–78, RG 75, NA-KC; C. A. Johnson to J. Q. Smith, Red Cloud Agency, May 6, 1877, Pine Ridge Agency, Copies of Miscellaneous Letters Sent, RG 75, NA-KC; “What Red Cloud Asks For,” *The Council Fire and Arbitrator* 6 (January 1883): 3; George Sword affidavit, Pine Ridge, October 1909,



- John R. Brennan Family Papers, folder 25, H72-002, State Historical Society of South Dakota; A. F. Johnson, "Career of Captain George Sword," *The Oglala Light* 11 (November 1910): 22; "Story of George Sword," Walker Collection; and Louis Bordeaux interview in Bruce R. Liddic and Paul Harbaugh, eds., *Custer and Company: Walter Camp's Notes on the Custer Fight* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 137.
- 280 **wasn't "very communicative"**: Jesse M. Lee to acting assistant adjutant general, Spotted Tail Agency, April 5, 1877, Copies of Letters Sent, Spotted Tail Agency, 1876-78, RG 75, NA-KC.
- 280 **"He was a queer man"**: Black Elk interview, *The Sixth Grandfather*, 202.
- 281 **"This country is ours"**: Ibid.
- 281 **Red Cloud started out**: C. A. Johnson to J. Q. Smith, Red Cloud Agency, April 30, 1877, Pine Ridge Agency, Copies of Miscellaneous Letters Sent, RG 75, NA-KC; "The Indians," *Memphis Daily Appeal*, TN, April 14, 1877; Garnett interview, Jensen, *Voices of the American West*, 1: 47; Bourke, *On the Border with Crook*, 402; *The Diaries of John Gregory Bourke*, 2: 266; "The Indians," *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 3, 1877; and *The Sixth Grandfather*, 203.
- 281 **appearance was alarming**: "The Indians," *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, April 28, 1877; and "Indians," *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 2, 1877.
- 281 **"All is well; have no fear"**: Short Bull interview, *Hinman Interviews*, 42.
- 281 **women and children became ill**: "The Aborigines," *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 4, 1877; *The Diaries of John Gregory Bourke*, 2: 293; and Garnett interview, Jensen, *Voices of the American West*, 1: 47.
- 282 **Clark to meet him the same way**: See Clark, *The Indian Sign Language*, 295-96.
- 282 **Crazy Horse appeared**: I've consulted several sources for my details on the Crazy Horse surrender. One of the best is a report of a *Chicago Times* correspondent who was present. His account appeared in the *Times* issue of May 7, 1877. This news item is reproduced in Hardorff, ed., *Surrender and Death*, 200-203, as are several other newspaper reports on the surrender. See also *The Diaries of John Gregory Bourke*, 2: 297-98; Garnett interview, Jensen, *Voices of the American West*, 1: 47-48; and "Crazy Horse," *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 8, 1877.
- 283 **"rude and slow-measured chant"**: "Crazy Horse's Band," *The New York Herald*, May 28, 1877.
- 283 **immediately began a tally**: Thomas R. Buecker and R. Eli Paul, eds., *The Crazy Horse Surrender Ledger* (Lincoln: Nebraska State Historical Society, 1994), 14 and 164; and C. A. Johnson to J. Q. Smith, Red Cloud Agency, June 4, 1877, Pine Ridge Agency, Copies of Miscellaneous Letters Sent, RG 75, NA-KC.
- 283 **never seen white men**: "Northern Indians," *Denver Daily Tribune*, May 20, 1877.
- 283 **surrender their guns**: *The Diaries of John Gregory Bourke*, 2: 298; and "Cleaned Out By Crook," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, May 7, 1877. In later years, Charles P. Jordan, the Red Cloud Agency clerk, claimed that it was he who received the surrender of Crazy Horse on behalf of the agency. Jordan also claimed that Crazy Horse presented him with his gun at that time, which Jordan still owned as of 1910. See Charles P. Jordan manuscript in Charles Philander Jordan Papers, RG2095.AM, Nebraska State Historical Society; "After the Cattle



- Rustlers," *The Sioux City Journal*, August 10, 1900; Bailey Millard, "The Man Who Captured Crazy Horse: Colonel Charles P. Jordan, To Whom all Indians take off Their Hats," clipped article from *Human Life* magazine, Watson Papers; and Bailey Millard, "The Squaw Man as He Is," *Everybody's Magazine* 22 (March 1910): 369 and 372.
- 284 **nearly four thousand members:** "The Indian Campaign," *New York Tribune*; Bourke, *On the Border with Crook*, 417; and "Crazy Horse," *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 8, 1877.
- 284 **"This surrender":** *The Diaries of John Gregory Bourke*, 2: 300.
- 284 **small herd of Texas longhorns:** "The Indians," *Rocky Mountain News*, May 20, 1877; and notebook recording issues of stocks and annuity goods, 1877, Pine Ridge Agency, RG75. Lakotas on the Pine Ridge Reservation were still killing their allotted beeves in this manner more than ten years later. See "A Day at Pine Ridge Agency," *The Omaha Daily Bee*, July 12, 1888.
- 285 **make a bread of sorts:** Bourke, *On the Border with Crook*, 415.
- 285 **oddly enough, Frank Grouard:** *The Diaries of John Gregory Bourke*, 2: 299; and "Northern Indians," *Denver Daily Tribune*, May 20, 1877.
- 286 **on May 12, Crazy Horse:** "Crazy Horse Sick," *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, May 16, 1877; and Garnett interview, Jensen, *Voices of the American West*, 1: 49.
- 286 **attempts to "work him":** William Philo Clark to Gen. Crook, Camp Robinson, August 18, 1877, in Hardorff, ed., *Surrender and Death*, 171.
- 286 **"a warm personal friend":** McGillicuddy, "That 'Suicide' of Gen. George A. Custer"; and McGillicuddy to Elmo Scott Watson, San Francisco, CA, April 1, 1922, Watson Papers.
- 286 **"acting in good faith":** James Irwin to J. Q. Smith, Red Cloud Agency, August 4, 1877, Pine Ridge Agency, Copies of Miscellaneous Letters Sent, RG 75, NA-KC.
- 287 **promised his own reservation:** Garnett interview, Jensen, *Voices of the American West*, 1: 53. Red Feather said, "When we came in we were promised that we might go back, but after we were there we were not allowed to go back." Red Feather interview, *Hinman Interviews*, 33.
- 287 **"I put a stake in the ground":** As quoted in "An Indian Council," *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 26, 1877.
- 287 **threatened to take his people:** James Irwin to J. Q. Smith, Red Cloud Agency, August 4, 1877, in Hardorff, ed., *Surrender and Death*, 167.
- 287 **a marriage proposal:** Nellie's first name, as given in U.S. census records from 1910 and 1920, as well as her death record, was Ellen. She later married a Brulé named Greasy Hand who took the name Crazy Horse, so she appears in the above records as Ellen Crazy Horse. Nellie died on July 8, 1928, and is buried in the Catholic Mission Cemetery, Wanblee, South Dakota. The story of her proposal to Crazy Horse comes from an account told by Julia Iron Cedar Woman (Mrs. Clown), who claimed to be an eyewitness. This account is reproduced in Bordeaux, *Custer's Conqueror*, 70. Additional information on the marriage comes from Nellie's brother, Tom, given to William Bordeaux in a 1943 interview. Bordeaux recounted the interview in a letter to George Philip, a copy of which is in the Hinman Papers. Will G. Robinson interviewed Nellie's sister, brother, and daughter in a successful effort to confirm her identification in a



- photographic portrait. See his "Story of Crazy Horse's Picture," September 12, 1947, typescript, Crazy Horse Biography File, SDSHS.
- 288 **"Long Joe" Larabee:** In 1931, He Dog described Larabee as a "half breed Frenchman." A June 2, 1894, Department of Justice report on Indian depredations claims states that Larabee, who had since died, "was a white man." He Dog interview, June 30, 1931, Sandoz Collection; and *Hearings Before Subcommittee of House Committee of Appropriations* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1894), 139.
- 288 **"half-blood woman":** Garnett interview, Jensen, *Voices of the American West*, 1: 58–59.
- 288 **possible romantic relationship:** Baptiste Pourier interview, *Voices of the American West*, 2: 271; and Mari Sandoz to Eleanor Hinman, November 27, 1947, Hinman Papers; and Sandoz to Hinman, December 10, 1947, Sandoz Collection. Pourier claimed that Lieut. Clark persuaded Crazy Horse to wed Nellie, a story I find doubtful. Even Pourier's interviewer, Eli Ricker, found the claim questionable.
- 288 **Little Big Man, who came to resent:** "Light on Border Mystery," *The Omaha Daily Bee*, April 11, 1903; Horn Chips interview, Hardorff, ed., *Surrender and Death*, 86, 88, and 88 n. 10; and Clark to Gen. Crook, Camp Robinson, August 18, 1877, in Hardorff, ed., *Surrender and Death*, 172.
- 288 **White Hat's spies:** Clark, *Indian Sign Language*, 130; and DeBarthe, *Life and Adventures*, 337–39. Grouard was quite proud of his spying on his old friend.
- 289 **increasingly jealous of Crazy Horse's fame:** Susan Bordeaux Bettelyoun, a sister of the interpreter Louis Bordeaux, stated that "everyone knew that Spotted Tail and Red Cloud were jealous of Crazy Horse and wished him out of the way." Bettelyoun and Waggoner, *With My Own Eyes*, 109. In later years, many Lakotas spoke of jealousy as a major factor in Crazy Horse's death. See, for example, "Dewey Beard: The Last Survivor," 21.
- 289 **"unreconstructed Indian":** Benj. K. Shipp, special agent, to J. Q. Smith, Washington, D.C., August 15, 1877, in Hardorff, ed., *Surrender and Death*, 169–70; Col. Luther P. Bradley to Gen. Crook, Camp Robinson, July 16, 1877, Hinman Papers; and Jesse M. Lee, "The Capture and Death of an Indian Chieftain," *Journal of the Military Service Institution of the United States* 54 (May–June 1914): 326–27.
- 289 **to eat at a table with a fork:** Garnett interview, Jensen, *Voices of the American West*, 1: 59.
- 289 **Grouard and several headmen:** Clark to Gen. Crook, August 18, 1877, in Hardorff, ed., *Surrender and Death*, 172.
- 289 **feared the trip was a trap:** Garnett interview, *Voices of the American West*, 1: 59–60; and He Dog interview, *Hinman Interviews*, 32.
- 290 **told Clark he wouldn't be going:** Clark to Gen. Crook, August 18, 1877, in Hardorff, ed., *Surrender and Death*, 172; and Billy Hunter [Garnett] statement *ibid.*, 61.
- 290 **between Crazy Horse and Wakan Tanka:** Lee, "The Capture and Death of an Indian Chieftain," 327.
- 290 **found his dead body on the prairie:** Clark, *Indian Sign Language*, 155.



- 291 ***a little afraid of Crazy Horse***: Louis Bordeaux interview, Jensen, *Voices of the*
American West, 1: 292.
- 291 ***“the soldiers had him promise”***: Red Feather interview, *Hinman Interviews*, 36.
- 291 ***go to war with another nation***: Louis Bordeaux affidavit, White River, SD, Oc-
 tober 9, 1914, Crazy Horse Biography File, SDSHS.
- 291 ***What Crazy Horse didn’t reveal***: Billy Hunter [Garnett] statement, Hardorff,
 ed., *Surrender and Death*, 61.
- 291 ***garbled the translations***: Jesse M. Lee to Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
 Spotted Tail Agency, September 30, 1877, Copies of Letters Sent, Spotted Tail
 Agency, 1876–78, RG 75, NA-KC; and Louis Bordeaux interview, *Voices of the*
American West, 1: 296.
- 292 ***“Billy, go back to Lieut.”***: Garnett interview, Jensen, *Voices of the American West*,
 1: 60–61.
- 292 ***“These people can’t fight”***: Ibid.
- 293 ***Sheridan ordered Crook***: P. H. Sheridan to Crook, Chicago, September 1, 1877,
 in Hardorff, ed., *Surrender and Death*, 175–76.
- 293 ***“Crazy Horse has been treated too well”***: P. H. Sheridan to Gen. E. D. Townsend,
 Chicago, September 1, 1877, *ibid.*, 176.
- 293 ***might scare the Miniconjous away***: L. P. Bradley to Adjutant General, Camp
 Robinson, September 7, 1877, in Hardorff, ed., *Surrender and Death*, 184.
- 293 ***Woman Dress’s incredible tale***: The best source for Woman Dress’s falsehood is
 Billy Garnett, who heard it firsthand. See Garnett interview, Jensen, *Voices of*
the American West, 1: 61–62 and 67–68; Garnett statement on the death of Crazy
 Horse, SDSHS; and Billy Hunter [Garnett] statement, Hardorff, ed., *Surrender*
and Death, 62. In 1893, when Woman Dress applied for a pension for his ser-
 vice as an Indian scout, a local newspaper credited him with saving General
 Crook’s life by reporting the “plot” to kill the general. *Dawes County Journal*,
 Chadron, NE, August 18, 1893.
- 294 ***“of the loyal brand”***: Garnett interview, Jensen, *Voices of the American West*, 1: 61.
- 295 ***White Hat then offered \$300***: Clark’s offer of a reward for killing Crazy Horse
 is described in detail by Garnett in his 1920 statement, but it’s not mentioned
 in the other two accounts we have from him, all of which are cited above.
 However, Red Feather clearly remembered White Hat’s offer of a monetary
 reward and the sorrel horse “to any Indian who would kill Crazy Horse” (Red
 Feather interview, *Hinman Interviews*, 34).
- 295 ***“it was too bad to go after a man”***: Garnett interview, Jensen, *Voices of the Amer-*
ican West, 1: 62.
- 296 ***“These Indians can hold nothing”***: Garnett statement on the death of Crazy
 Horse, SDSHS.
- 296 ***Garnett had tipped him off***: Red Feather interview, *Hinman Interviews*, 34.
- 296 ***“I came here for peace”***: He Dog interview, *Hinman Interviews*, 32.
- 296 ***gave his Sharps carbine***: Red Feather interview, *Hinman Interviews*, 34.
- 296 ***Nellie pleaded with Crazy Horse***: Nellie Larabee’s role in Crazy Horse’s escape
 to the Spotted Tail Agency was passed down in the family to her half brother
 Tom. William J. Bordeaux to George Philips, May 4, 1943, copy in Hinman
 Papers.



- 296 **what Crazy Horse himself believed:** Bordeaux, *Custer's Conqueror*, 75.
- 296 **Worm, lived at Spotted Tail:** Bray, *Crazy Horse*, 366.
- 296 **swollen, causing her considerable pain:** Red Feather interview, *Hinman Interviews*, 34; Bettelyoun and Waggoner, *With My Own Eyes*, 109; and Lee, "The Capture and Death of an Indian Chieftain," 334.
- 297 **six hundred cavalymen:** Lucy Lee, Camp Sheridan, September 18, 1877, in Hardorff, ed., *Surrender and Death*, 251; and L. P. Bradley to Adjutant General, Camp Robinson, September 7, 1877, in Hardorff, ed., *Surrender and Death*, 184.
- 297 **a headman, fearlessly galloped forward:** Garnett interview, Jensen, *Voices of the American West*, 1: 63–64; and He Dog account, Clark, ed., *The Killing of Chief Crazy Horse*, 62–63.
- 297 **"I have been looking all my life":** As quoted by Garnett, Jensen, *Voices of the American West*, 1: 63–64.
- 297 **Clark immediately ordered a detachment:** Ibid., 64–65; and Clark to Gen. Crook, Camp Robinson, September 4, 1877, in Hardorff, ed., *Surrender and Death*, 177.
- 298 **"Crazy Horse can't make a move":** As quoted in Lee, "The Capture and Death of an Indian Chieftain," 331.
- 298 **White Hat harbored a hatred:** Bordeaux, *Custer's Conqueror*, 73.
- 298 **No Water swore to White Hat:** "The Death of Crazy Horse," *The Sun*, September 14, 1877.
- 298 **rode two horses to death:** Clark to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Camp Robinson, September 10, 1877, in Hardorff, ed., *Surrender and Death*, 187.
- 298 **Crazy Horse and Black Shawl:** Garnett told Eli Ricker that Crazy Horse and Black Shawl traveled with Kicking Bear and Shell Boy. However, other accounts do not mention these two companions, including the other accounts from Garnett. See Garnett interview, Jensen, *Voices of the American West*, 63.
- 298 **"I am Crazy Horse!":** As quoted in Lee, "The Capture and Death of an Indian Chieftain," 334. Louis Bordeaux confirms that the Indian scouts who chased Crazy Horse were afraid of the war chief. Bordeaux interview, Jensen, *Voices of the American West*, 1: 292. Garnett claimed the scouts got only as close as seeing Crazy Horse and Black Shawl in the distance, but Garnett admitted this was secondhand information. Garnett interview, Jensen, *Voices of the American West*, 65.
- 298 **a supernatural being:** "Bayonnetted by a Soldier," *The Omaha Daily Bee*, September 2, 1888. Although this article doesn't contain a byline, an August 27, 1888, article in the *Bee* states that Jordan, the Red Cloud Agency clerk, promised to give that paper an account of Crazy Horse's death, "an event to which he was an eyewitness. Mr. Jordan's statement will appear in another letter." This, then, is Jordan's account. See "Among the Rosebud Sioux," *The Omaha Daily Bee*, August 27, 1888.
- 298 **caused tremendous excitement:** Garnett interview, Jensen, *Voices of the American West*, 1: 68.
- 299 **persecuted for no good:** Lee, "The Capture and Death of an Indian Chieftain," 332.
- 299 **some three hundred armed warriors:** Ibid., 333; and Louis Bordeaux affidavit, Crazy Horse Biography File, SDSHS.



- 299 **"You have come to this agency"**: As quoted in Jesse M. Lee to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Spotted Tail Agency, September 30, 1877, Copies of Letters Sent, Spotted Tail Agency, 1876–78, RG 75, NA-KC.
- 300 **"bad winds blowing"**: Louis Bordeaux interview in Liddic and Harbaugh, eds., *Custer and Company*, 143.
- 300 **"I want to get away from the trouble"**: As quoted in Lee to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Spotted Tail Agency, September 30, 1877, Copies of Letters Sent, Spotted Tail Agency, 1876–78, RG 75, NA-KC.
- 300 **a cornered wild animal**: Lee, "The Capture and Death of an Indian Chieftain," 334.
- 301 **make Crazy Horse chief over all**: Little Killer interview, *Hinman Interviews*, 46.
- 301 **"considered good news"**: Lucy Lee, Camp Sheridan, September 18, 1877, in Hardorff, ed., *Surrender and Death*, 251.
- 301 **"he feared some trouble would happen"**: Lee to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Spotted Tail Agency, September 30, 1877, Copies of Letters Sent, Spotted Tail Agency, 1876–78, RG 75, NA-KC.
- 301 **promised a meeting with the Soldier Chief**: Lee, "The Capture and Death of an Indian Chieftain," 335; and Anderson, "Army Episodes and Anecdotes," chapter 10.
- 302 **If Crazy Horse tried to flee**: Louis Bordeaux interview, Jensen, *Voices of the American West*, 1: 298.
- 303 **Crazy Horse tested the escort**: Lee, "The Capture and Death of an Indian Chieftain," 335.
- 304 **a crowd of several hundred**: Estimates of the crowd range from fifty to several hundred. See "The Death of Crazy Horse," *The Sun*, September 14, 1877; "Crazy Horse," *Army and Navy Journal*, September 15, 1877; and Garnett statement on the death of Crazy Horse, SDSHS.
- 304 **"Look out"**: He Dog interview, *Hinman Interviews*, 29.
- 304 **"No, not yet!"**: Lee, "The Capture and Death of an Indian Chieftain," 336.
- 304 **exile at Fort Marion, Florida**: H. R. Lemly, "The Passing of Crazy Horse," *Journal of the Military Service Institution of the United States* 54 (May–June 1914): 321.
- 305 **"not a hair of his head"**: Lee, "The Capture and Death of an Indian Chieftain," 337. In an interesting letter by Col. Bradley to his mother of September 8, he writes, "I told [Crazy Horse] and his friends that no harm would be done to him, but that he was a prisoner and would be confined." Bradley is implying that he personally spoke to Crazy Horse that evening when plainly he did not. Lee makes it clear that Bradley refused to see the war chief. Bradley's letter, in a private collection, may be viewed online here: <https://historical.ha.com/itm/autographs/historic-autograph-letter-signed-by-luther-p-bradley-5pp-5-x-7-75-dated-september-8-1877-just-three-days-after-cra/a/658-25205.s?ic4=GalleryView-Thumbnail-071515>.
- 305 **done all he could for Crazy Horse**: Louis Bordeaux interview, Jensen, *Voices of the American West*, 1: 299.
- 305 **"So you are the brave man"**: Louis Bordeaux account in Bordeaux, *Custer's Conqueror*, 88; and Bordeaux interview in Liddic and Harbaugh, eds., *Custer and Company*, 147.



- 306 **Touch the Clouds heard the sound:** Baptiste Pourier interview, Jensen, *Voices of the American West*, 2: 271.
- 306 **he wore a revolver and a knife:** Clark to Crook, Camp Robinson, September 5, 1877, in Hardorff, ed., *Surrender and Death*, 181.
- 306 **a knife on Little Big Man's belt:** "The Death of Crazy Horse," *The Sun*, September 14, 1877; and McGillicuddy to Watson, San Francisco, April 13, 1922, Watson Papers.
- 306 **"Let me go! Let me go! Let me go!":** Garnett interview, Jensen, *Voices of the American West*, 1: 70.
- 306 **"Don't Shoot! Don't Shoot!":** Garnett statement on the death of Crazy Horse, SDSHS.
- 307 **his thumb and forefinger:** Baptiste Pourier interview, Jensen, *Voices of the American West*, 2: 271.
- 307 **Indian scouts and guards:** Louis Bordeaux interview, Jensen, *Voices of the American West*, 1: 299.
- 307 **"Kill the son of a bitch!":** Louis Bordeaux interview in Liddic and Harbaugh, eds., *Custer and Company*, 149. There are several variations of what Kennington actually shouted, but there's no question he wanted Crazy Horse dead at this point. See "Tragic End of Noted Indian Chief Told by Gen. Jesse M. Lee Retired," *El Paso Morning Times*, TX, March 5, 1911.
- 307 **"Let me go, you've got me hurt now":** Garnett interview, Jensen, *Voices of the American West*, 1: 71.
- 307 **struck the doorframe:** Louis Bordeaux interview, Jensen, *Voices of the American West*, 1: 300; and Bourke, *On the Border with Crook*, 422–23.
- 307 **dislocating the holy man's shoulder:** Horn Chips interview, Jensen, *Voices of the American West*, 1: 276; and Louis Bordeaux interview, *ibid.*, 1: 300.
- 307 **jerked it out of its scabbard:** Louis Bordeaux interview, Liddic and Harbaugh, eds., *Custer and Company*, 149; and Garnett interview, Jensen, *Voices of the American West*, 1: 71.
- 307 **writhing on the ground in a fetal position:** "The Death of Crazy Horse," *The Sun*, September 14, 1877; Lucy Lee, Camp Sheridan, September 18, 1877, in Hardorff, ed., *Surrender and Death*, 253; and Bourdeaux account in Bordeaux, *Custer's Conqueror*, 88.
- 307 **knocked the old man down:** "The Death of Crazy Horse," *The Sun*, September 14, 1877; and Charles P. Jordan, "Crazy Horse: The Death of the Indian Chieftain," *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, September 11, 1877. Jordan signed this story using his pen name, Philander, which was also his middle name.
- 308 **frothing at the mouth:** McGillicuddy to Watson, San Francisco, April 13, 1922, Watson Papers; and Clark to Gen. Crook, Camp Robinson, September 5, 1877, in Hardorff, ed., *Surrender and Death*, 181.
- 308 **The Indian scouts fled:** Lucy Lee, Camp Sheridan, September 18, 1877, in Hardorff, ed., *Surrender and Death*, 253.
- 308 **decided to make themselves scarce:** Jordan, "Crazy Horse," *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, September 11, 1877.
- 308 **"Don't take him in":** As quoted in Anderson, "Army Episodes and Anecdotes," chapter 10. Years later, McGillicuddy claimed he made two trips across the



parade ground to Col. Bradley's quarters to request permission to place Crazy Horse somewhere other than the guardhouse. No other eyewitness accounts mention this.

- 308 **"Take him there"**: Ibid.
- 309 **hypodermic injection of morphine**: McGillicuddy to Watson, San Francisco, April 13, 1922, Watson Papers; and "The Death of Crazy Horse," *The Sun*, September 14, 1877.
- 309 **relieved by a new sentry**: Jordan, "Bayoneted by a Soldier," *The Omaha Daily Bee*, September 2, 1888. The soldier who bayoneted Crazy Horse has been identified as William Gentles. See Paul L. Hedren, "Who Killed Crazy Horse: A Historiographical Review and Affirmation," *Nebraska History Magazine* 101 (Spring 2020): 2–17.
- 309 **Little Big Man stabbed Crazy Horse**: Jordan, "Bayoneted by a Soldier," *The Omaha Daily Bee*, September 2, 1888; and Anderson, "Army Episodes and Anecdotes," chapter 10.
- 309 **the blade glanced off**: Jordan, "Crazy Horse," *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, September 11, 1877. In Jordan's 1888 account, cited above, he wrote that many believed Crazy Horse hurt himself with his own knife while trying to stab Captain Kennington. However, Garnett stated that "the points of his own knives did not touch his body." Billy Hunter [Garnett] statement, Hardorff, ed., *Surrender and Death*, 64.
- 309 **"trying to persuade all [the] Indians"**: Clark to Gen. Crook, Camp Robinson, September 5, 1877, in Hardorff, ed., *Surrender and Death*, 181. See also Clark to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Camp Robinson, September 10, 1877 in *Surrender and Death*, 187.
- 309 **"I had no desire to do injury"**: Louis Bordeaux interview, Liddic and Harbaugh, eds., *Custer and Company*, 150. Bordeaux quoted Crazy Horse similarly in his 1907 interview with Eli Ricker. See Jensen, *Voices of the American West*, 1: 300.
- 309 **"Father, it is no use"**: Louis Bordeaux interview, Jensen, *Voices of the American West*, 1: 300. There are several accounts giving what are purportedly statements made by Crazy Horse on his deathbed. Agent Jesse M. Lee, who did briefly visit Crazy Horse in the adjutant's office, naturally claimed Crazy Horse absolved him of any fault. In a 1914 account, Lieut. Lemly has Crazy Horse spouting a lengthy soliloquy, which is rather interesting considering that Lemly reported to *The Sun* in 1877 that Crazy Horse "never rallied, and only once spoke indistinctly about bayonets." Lee, "The Capture and Death of an Indian Chieftain," 338; Lemly, "The Passing of Crazy Horse," 321–22; and "The Death of Crazy Horse," *The Sun*, September 14, 1877.
- 310 **Pourier relieved Bordeaux**: Louis Bordeaux interview, Jensen, *Voices of the American West*, 1: 300.
- 310 **"Father, I want to see you"**: As quoted in James H. Cook to John G. Neihardt, The Agate Springs Ranch, Agate, Neb., July 8, 1924, Neihardt Papers. Cook stated he obtained this quote directly from Pourier, who told him they were "the only words used by the old warrior when dying." In a 1907 interview, however, Pourier stated Crazy Horse "never spoke afterwards." That is, after receiving his mortal wound. Pourier interview with Edmond S. Meany,



1907, Meany Papers, 1877–1935, University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, transcription at <https://amertribes.proboards.com/thread/468/baptiste-gene-pourier-aka-big#ixzz4YM9JmPbr>.

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- 311 ***“I yield by necessity”***: As quoted in Fred M. Hans, *The Great Sioux Nation* (Chicago: M. A. Donohue and Company, 1907), 564.
- 311 ***A cold front had blown through***: Paul L. Hedren, *Sitting Bull’s Surrender at Fort Buford: An Episode in American History* (Williston, ND: Fort Union Association, 1997), 3 n. 1.
- 311 ***more than thirty Red River carts***: F. C. Wade, “The Surrender of Sitting Bull: Jean Louise Legaré’s Story,” *Canadian Magazine* 24 (February 1905): 342; and Usher L. Burdick, *Tales from Buffalo Land: The Story of Fort Buford* (Baltimore: Wirth Brothers, 1940), 38.
- 312 ***clothing they wore was in tatters***: Garrett Wilson, *Frontier Farewell: The 1870s and the End of the Old West* (Regina, SK, Canada: Canadian Plains Research Center, University of Regina, 2007), 409; and Burdick, *Tales from Buffalo Land*, 34.
- 312 ***The years in Grandmother’s Country***: Sitting Bull’s exile in Canada was essentially four long years of struggling to feed his people in a country where neither he nor his followers were wanted. For those wishing to pursue that part of his life, see Robert M. Utley, *The Last Sovereigns: Sitting Bull and the Resistance of the Free Lakotas* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2020); David G. McCrady, *Living with Strangers: The Nineteenth-Century Sioux and the Canadian-American Borderlands* (Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press, 2010); Grant MacEwan, *Sitting Bull: The Years in Canada* (Edmonton, Canada: Hurtig Publishers, 1973); and Joseph Manzione, “I Am Looking to the North for My Life”: *Sitting Bull, 1876–1881* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1991).
- 312 ***eight hundred lodges of Lakotas***: Wade, “The Surrender of Sitting Bull,” 337.
- 312 ***crossed the holy line***: White Bull interview, CC, box 106, folder 53; Olson, *Red Cloud and the Sioux Problem*, 255; DeMallie, ed., *The Sixth Grandfather*, 204; and “The Sioux Question,” *The Evening Star*, December 12, 1877.
- 312 ***didn’t really want the Lakotas***: *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the Year 1877* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1877), 16–17; Cecil E. Denny, *The Law Marches West* (1939; reprint: Moreton-in-Marsh, UK: Denny Publishing Limited, 2000), 118–21; and Cy Warman, “The Flight of Sitting Bull,” *The Indian School Journal* 7 (March 1907): 42–43.
- 312 ***competed for game and caused tension***: “Threatening Tetons,” *The New York Herald*, April 12, 1878.
- 312 ***refused to feed or clothe them***: “The Hostile Sioux,” *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, July 10, 1879; and Warman, “The Flight of Sitting Bull,” 43.
- 312 ***“tired of being in Canada”***: Black Elk interview, DeMallie, ed., *The Sixth Grandfather*, 210.



- 313 **In a bitter break with Sitting Bull:** E. H. Allison, *The Surrender of Sitting Bull, Being a Full and Complete History of the Negotiations Conducted* (Dayton, OH: The Walker Litho and Printing Co., 1891), 49–50.
- 313 **Bluecoats attacked Gall's band:** For the Battle of Poplar River, see Report of Maj. Guido Ilges, Headquarters Camp Poplar Creek, MT, January 31, 1881, *Annual Report of the Secretary of War for the Year 1881*, vol. 1 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1881), 102–3; and “Chief Gall Captured,” *The Times*, January 5, 1881. Gall later claimed he’d personally surrendered to Major Ilges prior to his village being attacked and that he rushed through the gunfire to the camp and persuaded his people to stop shooting. “An Illustrious Sioux: The Gall Relates Some of the Incidents of the Past Fifteen Years of His Life,” part 2, *Rocky Mountain Husbandman*, May 12, 1881.
- 313 **five hundred destitute people:** Wade, “The Surrender of Sitting Bull,” 338; and “The Starving Sioux,” *The Bismarck Tribune*, January 28, 1881.
- 313 **his village counted only 187 individuals:** “The Fallen Chief,” *The Omaha Daily Bee*, August 2, 1881.
- 313 **“did not appear to be a well man”:** Col. William H. C. Bowen to W. S. Campbell, Portland, OR, October 10, 1929, CC, box 108, folder 2.
- 313 **the formal surrender:** My account of the ceremony, including the Sitting Bull quotes, comes from the description provided by the *Saint Paul Pioneer Press*'s correspondent, as printed in the *Black Hills Pioneer*, July 26, 1881.
- 314 **a Model 1866 Winchester carbine:** This carbine, serial number 124335 F.S., is in the collections of the Smithsonian Institution. Among the firearms surrendered by Sitting Bull's band at Fort Buford was a Northwest trade gun belonging to Black Moon. It is believed that Black Moon acquired this weapon from Sitting Bull—Sitting Bull's distinctive signature is carved into the stock. On June 9, 2018, this gun sold at Heritage Auctions, Dallas, Texas, to a private buyer for \$162,500.
- 314 **the stern-wheeler General Sherman:** “Sitting Bull,” *The Minneapolis Tribune*, July 30, 1881.
- 315 **given an informal reception:** “Sitting Bull,” *The Bismarck Tribune*, August 5, 1881; and *Army and Navy Journal*, August 6, 1881.
- 315 **follow him into his lodge:** Burdick, *Tales from Buffalo Land*, 33.
- 315 **two to five dollars for his autograph:** *Army and Navy Journal*, August 6, 1881; “Sitting Bull,” *The Bismarck Tribune*, August 5, 1881; and Judson Elliott Walker, *Campaigns of General Custer in the North-West, and the Final Surrender of Sitting Bull* (New York: Jenkins and Thomas, 1881), 135.
- 315 **found on the boat crying:** “At Fort Yates,” *The Bismarck Tribune*, August 5, 1881.
- 315 **persuaded to enter Orlando S. Goff's:** An ongoing nerdy debate has focused on whether Goff photographed Sitting Bull at his studio in Bismarck on July 31 or later at Standing Rock. Sources missed by other historians and authors can now settle the matter. A news article from Fort Yates tells us that on Wednesday, August 3, Sitting Bull canceled an appointment to have his picture taken, for which he was to be paid. According to the article, the chief canceled the appointment so he could accept an invitation to visit a large village of surrendered Lakotas three miles from Fort Yates. The name of the photographer



isn't provided, but Goff is the only professional photographer known to operate at the Standing Rock Agency at this time. That the appointment with Goff was soon rescheduled comes from author Judson Elliott Walker. Walker was quite eager to secure an image of Sitting Bull for his forthcoming book, *Campaigns of General Custer in the North-West, and the Final Surrender of Sitting Bull*. In that book, Walker credits Goff for obtaining the desired portrait, commenting that "little did the old chief think while in the hands of Professor Goff at 'Standing Rock Agency,' that his photo would be in the hands of an engraver in New York City within the space of four days." See "Bull's New Pasture," *The Omaha Daily Bee*, August 11, 1881; and Walker, *Campaigns of General Custer*, 134–35. The engraving based on Goff's Sitting Bull portrait appears in Walker's book opposite page 66.

- 316 **Crazy Horse supposedly objected:** Sioux City, Iowa, photographer James H. Hamilton operated a temporary studio next to Camp Robinson's post trader's store during the summer of 1877. In Hamilton's *Catalogue of Stereoscopic Views of the Northwest*, which included "Indian Scenes Representing Distinguished Chiefs and Prominent Characters," view number 104 is titled "Crazy Horse." Unfortunately, no example of this view has been located to date. Although one can't rule out the possibility that Crazy Horse was photographed while residing at the Red Cloud Agency, none of the photos put forward over the years as depicting the Oglala leader are accepted as legitimate by knowledgeable historians, myself included.
- 316 **"My friend, why should you wish":** McGillicuddy account in E. A. Brininstool, ed., *Crazy Horse: The Invincible Ogalalla Sioux Chief* (Los Angeles, CA: Wetzel Publishing Co., Inc., 1949), 48.
- 316 **For the price of \$100:** Walker, *Campaigns of General Custer*, 135. A news item in *The River Press*, Fort Benton, MT, August 17, 1881, stated that Sitting Bull secured a written agreement for a percentage of the sales of his photograph before allowing Goff to make the image. I find this doubtful.
- 316 **Goff exposed two glass-plate negatives:** Markus H. Lindner, "Family, Politics, and Show Business: The Photographs of Sitting Bull," *North Dakota History* 72 (2005): 3–5; and Louis N. Hafermehl, "Chasing an Enigma: Frontier Photographer Orlando S. Goff," *North Dakota History* 81 (Summer 2016): 19. Sitting Bull reportedly wasn't pleased with Goff's portraits. He said his face was too light, making him look like a white man. "News from Sitting Bull," *The Bismarck Tribune*, August 26, 1881.
- 316 **colored lenses were soothing:** Walker, *Campaigns of General Custer*, 90. It was not uncommon for Plains Indians to wear goggles, which seem to have been a popular trade item. See "Sitting Bull: The First Accurate Portrait Ever Published of the Great Chief," *The Bismarck Tribune*, August 12, 1881.
- 316 **Sitting Bull had been promised:** "Sitting Bull's Removal," *The Sun*, September 17, 1881.
- 316 **"I never stood in":** "A Chat with the Chief," *The Omaha Daily Bee*, August 9, 1881.
- 317 **"Ever since that time":** Ibid.
- 317 **revenge for Crazy Horse's death:** Waggoner, *Witness*, 48–49 and 480; Susan Bordeaux Bettelyoun, "Spotted Tail," Pioneer Biography Files, Native American



- Biographies, Box 30, State Historical Society of North Dakota; and Bettelyoun and Waggoner, *With My Own Eyes*, 110.
- 317 **“a fit ending for a fool”**: “Sitting Bull Yet Belligerent,” *New York Times*, August 12, 1881.
- 317 **“tame Indians”**: Josephine Waggoner interview, CC, box 104, folder 14.
- 318 **secreted a cache of firearms**: “Bull’s New Pasture,” *The Omaha Daily Bee*, August 11, 1881. The prominent official was Major Guido Ilges, stationed at Fort Keogh.
- 318 **“undoubtedly means mischief”**: “Sitting Bull Yet Belligerent,” *New York Times*, August 12, 1881.
- 318 **“the same old story of contracts violated”**: “Sitting Bull’s Removal,” *The Sun*, September 17, 1881.
- 318 **preferred to die resisting, like Crazy Horse**: “Sitting Bull,” *The Bismarck Tribune*, September 9, 1881.
- 318 **pushed and prodded Sitting Bull’s band**: “A Very Mad Bull,” *Army and Navy Journal*, September 17, 1881; “Sitting Bull’s Band,” *The Boston Daily Globe*, MA, September 12, 1881; and “Sitting Bull Quiescent,” *Army and Navy Journal*, October 8, 1881.
- 318 **very agitated because of a rumor**: “Sitting Bull,” *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, October 1, 1881.
- 319 **Officers took a head count**: George P. Ahern to W. S. Campbell, Washington, D.C., July 31, 1929, CC, box 107, folder 4.
- 319 **These visits of headmen**: Ibid.; and Jerome A. Greene, *Fort Randall on the Missouri, 1856–1892* (Pierre: South Dakota State Historical Society, 2005), 146.
- 319 **“the deep respect in which Sitting Bull”**: George P. Ahern to Gen. Charles J. Summerall, Washington, D.C., June 20, 1929, CC, box 107, folder 4.
- 320 **Sitting Bull, The Hero of the Desert**: Joseph Bournichon, *Sitting-Bull, Le Héros du Désert: Scènes de la Guerre Indienne aux États-Unis* (Tours, France: Cat-tier, 1879). A second edition was issued in 1885.
- 320 **letter writers sought a pipe, tomahawk**: Ahern to Campbell, Washington, D.C., July 12, 1929, and February 16, 1930, CC, box 107, folder 4.
- 320 **“Sitting Bull was a very remarkable man”**: Ahern to Campbell, Washington, D.C., July 31, 1929.
- 320 **gave him the name “Iron Eyes”**: Rudolf Cronau, “My Visit Among the Hostile Dakota Indians and How They Became My Friends,” *South Dakota Historical Collections* 22 (1946): 413.
- 320 **added a large eagle-feather warbonnet**: In his drawing of Sitting Bull, dated October 25, 1881, Cronau has the chief wearing a warbonnet identical to one worn by Buffalo’s Hump in a drawing dated Standing Rock, September 24, 1881 (note particularly the pattern of the beaded brow band in each drawing). Additionally, Sitting Bull appears in a number of photographs made at Fort Randall, none of which picture him wearing a warbonnet or breastplate. Gerold M. Wunderlich, *Rudolf Cronau, 1855–1939, in “Wilden Westen”: Views of the American West* (New York: Gerold Wunderlich & Co., 1996), 2 and 6; Lindner, “Family, Politics, and Show Business,” 8; and Greene, *Fort Randall on the Missouri*, 149–64.



- 320 **gave his friend a supply of pencils, colored crayons:** Cronau gave pencils, colored crayons, and paper to the Lakotas at Standing Rock to “interest the Indians in my doings.” Cronau, “My Visit Among the Hostile Dakota Indians,” 414.
- 321 **Sitting Bull produced three sets of pictographs:** See McCoy: “Sitting Bull: A Hunkpapa Lakota Chronicles His Life of Dauntless Courage”; and William John Armstrong, “Legacy of an Unlikely Friendship: Sitting Bull and a Michigan Family,” *Michigan History Magazine* 79 (January–February 1995): 28–35.
- 321 **“wished to settle down”:** As quoted in Dennis C. Pope, *Sitting Bull, Prisoner of War* (Pierre: South Dakota State Historical Society Press, 2010), 54–55. Also, “Sitting Bull: The Redoubtable Indian Chief Described, He Makes a Speech,” *The Abbeville Press and Banner*, Abbeville, SC, November 30, 1881; and Vestal, *New Sources*, 271.
- 321 **“I want my people”:** Ibid.
- 321 **“in our language”:** Mary C. Collins, “The Autobiography of Mary C. Collins, Missionary to the Western Sioux,” ed. Richmond L. Clow, *South Dakota Historical Collections* 41 (1982): 10.
- 321 **“what has Sitting Bull been convicted of”:** As quoted in Pope, *Sitting Bull, Prisoner of War*, 123.
- 322 **the Indian agent at Standing Rock:** James McLaughlin to Hiram Price, Standing Rock Agency, April 18, 1882, Standing Rock Agency, Copies of Correspondence Sent to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and Others, 1881–1903, RG 75, NA-KC.
- 322 **army and the Indian Bureau agreed:** “Sitting Bull to be Allowed to Return to Standing Rock,” *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, March 19, 1883; and Hiram Price to James McLaughlin, Washington, D.C., March 20, 1883, Standing Rock, Misc. Correspondence Received, 1864–, RG 75, NA-KC.
- 322 **On the afternoon of April 28:** Lieut. Col. Peter T. Swaine to Adjutant Gen. of the Dept. of Dakota, Fort Randall, April 28, 1883, photocopy in Tim Nowak Collection, H2010-094, SDSHS.
- 322 **Five of their number died:** Swaine to Adjutant Gen. of the Dept. of Dakota, Fort Randall, September 6, 1883 (Swain’s annual report), *ibid.*, “Sitting Bull,” *The Sioux City Journal*, May 17, 1883; and “Sitting Bull as Speculator,” *The Bismarck Tribune*, May 18, 1883.
- 322 **“Well,” Marsh said to the interpreter:** As quoted in Joseph Mills Hanson, *The Conquest of the Missouri, Being the Story of the Life and Exploits of Captain Grant Marsh* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1909), 416–17.
- 323 **Sitting Bull and his followers debarked:** At this time, Sitting Bull’s band numbered 147: thirty-five men, fifty-one women, twenty-three children over six years of age, and thirty-eight children under six years of age. Receipt by James McLaughlin, Standing Rock Agency, May 10, 1883, Standing Rock, Misc. Correspondence Received, 1864–, RG 75, NA-KC; and “Sitting Bull at Home Again,” *Sacramento Daily Record-Union*, CA, May 12, 1883.
- 323 **when he wasn’t “too busy”:** As quoted in Pope, *Sitting Bull, Prisoner of War*, 132.
- 324 **“I will do my best to abolish polygamy”:** As quoted in Louis L. Pfaller, *James McLaughlin: The Man with an Indian Heart* (New York: Vantage Press, 1978), 28.



- 324 **Indian Bureau banned the Sun Dance:** Hiram Price to Henry M. Teller, Washington, D.C., October 10, 1883, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the Year 1883* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1883), xiv–xv.
- 324 **“very mediocre ability, rather dull”:** James McLaughlin to Hiram Price, Standing Rock Agency, August 15, 1883, *ibid.*, 49. McLaughlin’s first draft of this report is in Standing Rock Agency, Annual Statistical Reports, RG 75, NA-KC.
- 324 **McLaughlin, according to One Bull:** One Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 19.
- 325 **strove to conduct himself as a chief:** Robert Higheagle manuscript, CC, box 104, folder 22.
- 325 **“the warrior chief who planned the massacre”:** *Fremont Tri-Weekly Tribune*, NE, August 11, 1882.
- 325 **William F. “Buffalo Bill” Cody proposed:** *The Sioux City Journal*, August 6 and 9, 1882; and *Fremont Tri-Weekly Tribune*, NE, August 11, 1882.
- 325 **A St. Paul businessman proposed:** E. D. Comings to James McLaughlin, St. Paul, MN, August 24, 1883, Standing Rock, Misc. Correspondence Received, 1864–, RG 75, NA-KC.
- 325 **The Iowa State Fair:** James McLaughlin to William T. Smith, Fort Yates, August 28, 1883, Standing Rock Agency, Copies of Corres. Sent to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and Others, 1881–1903, RG 75, NA-KC.
- 325 **McLaughlin peremptorily rejected:** James McLaughlin to Schayler Wyman, Standing Rock, June 30, 1883, *ibid.*
- 325 **the laying of the cornerstone:** *The Bismarck Tribune*, September 7, 1883; “North Pacific,” *Chicago Tribune*, September 6, 1883; and Oswald Garrison Villard, *Fighting Years: Memoirs of a Liberal Editor* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1939), 55.
- 326 **there was no lack of buyers:** “Sitting Bull’s Return,” *The Bismarck Tribune*, September 7, 1883.
- 326 **“add very considerably to the object of”:** McLaughlin to Hiram Price, Standing Rock, March 7, 1884, Standing Rock Agency, Copies of Corres. Sent to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and Others, 1881–1903, RG 75, NA-KC. In this letter, McLaughlin writes that it was “at the solicitation of Sitting Bull” that he arranged to take the chief and One Bull to St. Paul. However, I find this very doubtful. One wonders how Sitting Bull learned that McLaughlin was planning a trip to St. Paul. Additionally, McLaughlin was asked by a reporter with the *St. Paul Daily Globe* what his reason was for bringing Sitting Bull to the city, and the agent made no mention of a request from the chief, only that he wanted to show Sitting Bull “the difference between the whites and the Indians.” Unfortunately, we don’t have Sitting Bull’s version of how this excursion came about.
- 326 **local press covered his every move:** See, for example, “Mr. Sitting Bull,” *The St. Paul Daily Globe*, March 15, 1884; “The Harp of Erin,” *The St. Paul Daily Globe*, March 18, 1884; “Mr. S. Bull,” *The St. Paul Daily Globe*, March 19, 1884; and “Another Bull-y Day,” *The St. Paul Daily Globe*, March 20, 1884. T. M. Newson includes an account of Sitting Bull’s visit in his *Thrilling Scenes Among the Indians* (Chicago: Belford, Clarke & Co., 1884), 194–200. See also Paul D.



- Nelson, "'A Shady Pair' and 'An Attempt on His Life': Sitting Bull and His 1884 Visit to St. Paul," *Ramsey County History* 38 (Spring 2003): 4–12.
- 326 **"the great lion of the hour":** "The Harp of Erin," *The St. Paul Daily Globe*, March 18, 1884.
- 326 **a series of fourteen portraits:** The photography studio was operated by Palmquist & Jurgens, corner of Seventh and Robert Streets. For two of the portraits, Sitting Bull was pictured with his nephew. Lindner, "Family, Politics, and Show Business," 18–19.
- 327 **their first telephone conversation:** "Sitting Bull," *The Canton Advocate*, SD, March 27, 1884, quoting the *St. Paul Pioneer Press*.
- 327 **a husband-and-wife team of trick shot artists:** "Olympic Theater," *The St. Paul Daily Globe*, March 20, 1884; and Nelson, "'A Shady Pair' and 'An Attempt on His Life,'" 10.
- 327 **"the original pair of moccasins":** Butler and Oakley advertisement in the *New York Clipper*, April 5, 1884.
- 327 **The well-heeled and influential proprietor:** Allen had important political connections and obtained letters of support for touring Sitting Bull from U.S. Senator Dwight M. Sabin of Minnesota and U.S. Senator John A. Logan of Illinois. W. L. Berry to "Friend Jerome," Chicago, July 31, 1884, private collection but available for viewing online at <https://historical.ha.com/itm/autographs/-sitting-bull-circus-promoter-w-l-berry-autograph-letter-signed/a/6182-47267.s?ic4=GalleryView-Thumbnail-071515>. For a biographical sketch of Allen, see "Col. Alvaren Allen," *The St. Paul Daily Globe*, May 23, 1886.
- 328 **"become impressed with the idea":** "Mr. Sitting Bull," *The St. Paul Daily Globe*, March 15, 1884.
- 328 **"is such an ignorant and vain man":** As quoted in Pfaller, *James McLaughlin*, 102.
- 328 **Father Joseph A. Stephan, McLaughlin's predecessor:** "Father Stephan to Go to Washington," *The St. Paul Daily Globe*, April 20, 1884; "Father Stephan," *James-town Weekly Alert*, August 8, 1884; and "The Champion Murderer," *Press and Dakotatian*, Yankton, SD, September 5, 1884.
- 328 **simply couldn't disrupt the "late hostiles":** Pfaller, *James McLaughlin*, 101; and Utley, *The Lance and the Shield*, 263.
- 329 **"a beautiful Indian girl of sixteen":** "Sitting Bull in Town," *Savannah Morning News*, GA, September 15, 1884, quoting the *New York Herald*; and Shoots Walking interview, CC, box 104, folder 5.
- 329 **pecuniary incentive:** "Statements Prepared by Mrs. J. F. Waggoner," CC, box 104, folder 14.
- 329 **Billing itself as a performance of:** See, for example, the advertisements for the Combination in the *New York Times*, September 28, 1884, and the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, October 7, 1884. My description of the performance comes primarily from the following: "All the Rage," *The Courier-Journal*, September 28, 1884; "Sitting Bull and His Friends," *The Brooklyn Union*, October 21, 1884; and "That Indian Exhibition and Address by Major Newson," *The St. Paul Daily Globe*, November 26, 1884. Luther Standing Bear attended one of the Philadelphia performances. His account, written years later, is at odds with what was published in the contemporary press. See his *My People the Sioux*, 184–86.



- 330 **“Sitting Bull’s retarding influence”:** Annual Report of James McLaughlin, Standing Rock Agency, August 26, 1885, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the Year 1885* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1885), 56.
- 330 **“ought to have been hanged long ago”:** *The Times*, October 12, 1884. The *Buffalo Sunday Morning News*, dumbfounded that audiences were applauding the chief who “killed” Custer, stated, “Such a lack of true feeling is almost inconceivable.” See the issue of September 21, 1884.
- 330 **“There is usually a damn sight of”:** “That Indian Exhibition and Address by Major Newson,” *The St. Paul Daily Globe*, November 26, 1884.
- 330 **Father Stephan, miffed:** “Why They Returned,” *The Bismarck Tribune*, October 31, 1884; “Return of the Sitting Bull Show,” *The Sioux City Journal*, October 31, 1884; “Current Notes,” *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, November 7, 1884; and James McLaughlin to Merritt L. Joslyn, Standing Rock, October 14, 1884, Standing Rock Agency, Copies of Corres. Sent to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and Others, 1881–1903, RG 75, NA-KC.
- 330 **T. M. Newson bragged:** “Return of the Sitting Bull Show.” According to a newspaper report, the Sitting Bull Combination broke the single-day attendance record at its New York City venue, the Eden Musée, with over 7,000 people. *The Northern Pacific Farmer*, Wadena, MN, September 25, 1884.
- 331 **couldn’t have helped but make a profit:** A news report dated October 15 quoted Sitting Bull’s “agent” as saying “the Indian warriors are making money and have cleared \$30,000 since he came to New York.” Admission prices were fifty cents for adults and twenty-five cents for children, although the venues would have received a healthy share of that. “Sitting Bull’s Wealth,” *Harrisburg Daily Independent*, PA, October 15, 1884.
- 331 **“If we can manage to get him”:** As quoted in Louis S. Warren, *Buffalo Bill’s America: William Cody and the Wild West Show* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005), 219.
- 331 **individuals such as General Sherman:** Pfaller, *James McLaughlin*, 103; and “Major General Eugene A. Carr, United States Army, Calls Him ‘King of Them All,’” *Morning Journal and Courier*, New Haven, CT, July 2, 1885.
- 331 **“pleading, coaxing, and bartering”:** “How ‘Arizona John’ Succeeded in Capturing Sitting Bull,” *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, June 26, 1885; and “Sitting Bull and Braves,” *The Boston Daily Globe*, July 26, 1885.
- 331 **the two-page contract:** The original 1885 contract was sold by Heritage Auctions, Dallas, to a private collector on June 10, 2012, for \$155,350. It’s available for viewing online here: <https://historical.ha.com/itm/autographs/sitting-bull-the-original-1885-contract-for-him-to-appear-in-buffalo-bill-s-wild-west-signed-by-the-great-sioux-chiefandlt-/a/6079-44121.s?ic4=GalleryView-Thumbnail-071515>.
- 331 **in front of a packed grandstand:** Sitting Bull’s first meeting with Cody is described in detail in “Greek Meets Greek,” *Buffalo Courier*, NY, June 13, 1885. A good description of a typical performance of Cody’s show is “The Wild West,” *Hartford Courant*, CT, July 18, 1885.
- 332 **the chief got to meet the Great Father:** “Sitting Bull in War Paint,” *The Sun*, June 24, 1885.
- 332 **“die in peace”:** “Greek Meets Greek,” *Buffalo Courier*, June 13, 1885.



- 333 **“White man one great damned fool!”**: “Sitting Bull in War Paint,” *The Sun*, June 24, 1885.
- 333 **the show admitted 46,582 people**: “Buffalo Bill’s Big Audience,” *The Weekly New Era*, Lancaster, PA, July 11, 1885. Another news report claimed Cody made a profit of \$80,000 on the season. *The Sioux City Journal*, October 20, 1885.
- 333 **“the finest riding pony in the show”**: “Sitting Bull’s Return,” *Bismarck Weekly Tribune*, October 16, 1885; *Emmons County Record*, Linton, ND, November 4, 1885; One Bull interview, CC, box 104, folder 11; and James McLaughlin to W. M. Camp, Washington, D.C., January 15, 1919, Robert S. Ellison/Walter Camp Papers, Denver Public Library, box 1, folder 53.
- 333 **encounter with an old woman begging**: “Custer’s Mistake,” *The Times*, July 5, 1885; and “Memories of Bull,” *The St. Paul Daily Globe*, September 13, 1886.
- 333 **feasts for his followers**: James McLaughlin to John M. Burke, Fort Yates, April 16, 1886, in Pfaller, *James McLaughlin*, 106.
- 334 **“is so inflated”**: James McLaughlin to J. D. C. Atkins, Standing Rock, November 2, 1885, Standing Rock Agency, Copies of Corres. Sent to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and Others, 1881–1903, RG 75, NA-KC.
- 334 **“of the most worthless”**: Ibid.
- 335 **“Sitting Bull was a thinker”**: Robert Higheagle manuscript, CC, box 104, folder 22.
- 335 **“their barbarous dialects”**: “Indian Education,” *The Inter Ocean*, August 20, 1887.
- 335 **“encourage Indians to adhere to”**: James McLaughlin to J. D. C. Atkins, Standing Rock, September 22, 1887, Standing Rock Agency, Copies of Corres. Sent to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and Others, 1881–1903, RG 75, NA-KC.
- 335 **visited the Lincoln Institute**: “Sitting Bull at Wayne,” *The Times*, October 9, 1884.
- 335 **“I don’t no more like a blanket”**: “Indians at Play,” *The Times*, July 5, 1885.
- 336 **Sitting Bull kept his children out**: James McLaughlin to J. D. C. Atkins, Standing Rock, April 14, 1886, Standing Rock Agency, Copies of Corres. Sent to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and Others, 1881–1903, RG 75, NA-KC. McLaughlin—or resident missionaries—seems to have eventually talked Sitting Bull into sending his children to school, for a circa 1888 Hunkpapa census shows four of the chief’s children (unidentified) as enrolled in agency schools. One Bull also remembered that Sitting Bull had four children in the day school, which he named as Standing Holy, Captures Horses (Her Many Horses), Crow Foot, and William Sitting Bull (Runs Away from Him). Additionally, an 1888 newspaper profile of Sitting Bull stated that the chief had “five children, all of whom attend the Indian schools on the reservation.” The Hunkpapa census is in the Frank Zahn Papers, 1869–1948, #10162, State Historical Society of North Dakota; and One Bull interview, CC, box 104, folder 11. The quote is from Utley, *The Lance and the Shield*, 275.
- 336 **“think it advisable for [Sitting] Bull”**: James McLaughlin to John M. Burke, Fort Yates, April 16, 1886, in Pfaller, *James McLaughlin*, 105.
- 336 **Washington in October 1888**: The visit of Sitting Bull and the other Sioux chiefs was well covered by the Washington press. See the *Evening Star* for October 13, 15, 17, 18, 19, and 20, 1888.



- 336 **“adding the last finishing touch”**: *The St. Paul Daily Globe*, October 11, 1888. The store was the Manhattan Clothing Company, located at 161 to 167 East Seventh Street. Suits were also purchased for Gall, John Grass, Gray Eagle, Bear’s Rib, and interpreter Louis Primeau. The chiefs’ clothing is described in “The Sioux Chiefs,” *The Evening Star*, October 13, 1888.
- 337 **the Sioux Act of 1889**: See Herbert T. Hoover, “The Sioux Agreement of 1889 and Its Aftermath,” *South Dakota History* 19 (1989): 56–94.
- 337 **“In some way”**: Message from the President of the United States Transmitting Reports Relative to the Proposed Division of the Great Sioux Reservation, and Recommending Certain Legislation, Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 51, 51st Cong., 1st Sess., 189.
- 337 **get these chiefs “into line”**: McLaughlin, *My Friend the Indian*, 284–85; and John M. Carignan narrative in Fiske, *Life and Death of Sitting Bull*, 26–27.
- 337 **entered the circle and asked to speak**: “Bull Makes a Break,” *The St. Paul Daily Globe*, August 4, 1889; Thomas W. Foley, ed. *At Standing Rock and Wounded Knee: The Journals and Papers of Father Francis M. Craft, 1888–1890* (Norman, OK: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 2009), 268; and Martin F. Schmitt, ed., *General George Crook, His Autobiography* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1946), 288.
- 337 **“who had sold them out”**: “Sioux Are Signing Now,” *The Chicago Tribune*, August 4, 1889.
- 338 **“Don’t talk to me about Indians!”**: “Gall Says It’s a Go,” *The St. Paul Daily Globe*, August 6, 1889.

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- 339 **“Who would have thought”**: As quoted in Natalie Curtis, ed., *The Indians’ Book* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1907), 45.
- 339 **“all over the universe”**: Black Elk interview, DeMallie, ed., *The Sixth Grandfather*, 290.
- 339 **The chief’s home**: “A Great Domain,” reprinted from the *Chicago Herald in Friendship Weekly Register*, Friendship, NY, June 27, 1889; “The Relics of Bull,” reprinted from an 1891 issue of *The Minneapolis Journal* in the *Mandan Pioneer*, April 27, 1969; “The Indians in Dakota,” *The Chicago Tribune*, December 26, 1888; and diagram of cabin by One Bull, CC, box 105, folder 41. Sitting Bull’s cabin was originally half the size stated in my text. Photographs of the cabin taken in the 1890s show the later log addition. The original, smaller cabin is described in “The Autobiography of Mary C. Collins,” 7–8.
- 340 **Hanging from a peg**: One Bull interview, CC, box 105, folder 41.
- 340 **rumor he’d been baptized**: “Sitting Bull Will Not Baptize,” *The Bismarck Tribune*, June 1, 1883.
- 340 **a sodbuster’s outfit**: One Bull interview, CC, box 104, folder 11.
- 341 **deep cuts on their arms and legs**: “Death of Sitting Bull’s Daughter,” *The Billings Gazette*, June 15, 1887.
- 341 **Andrew Fox**: “Letter from the Secretary of the Interior in response to Senate Resolution of February 28, 1891, Forwarding Report Made by the Hampton



- Institute Regarding Its Returned Indian Students,” Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 31, 52nd Cong., 1st Sess., 13; and Foley, ed. *At Standing Rock and Wounded*, 84.
- 341 **National Indian Defense Association:** For the founding and goals of the organization, see “The Red Man’s Friends,” *Springfield Daily Republic*, OH, November 29, 1885; “Indian Affairs,” *The Kansas City Star*, February 20, 1886; and *The Kansas City Star*, August 27, 1886.
- 341 **“Sioux Sentimentalists”:** “Sioux Sentimentalists,” *The Topeka State Journal*, KS, May 28, 1889; and “Meddlesome Philanthropists,” *The Omaha Daily Bee*, May 29, 1889.
- 342 **“female crank” and “a peculiar character”:** W. J. Godfrey to Major Roberts, Sioux, NE, July 11, 1889, in Vestal, *New Sources*, 92; and Bernard Strassmaier to W. S. Campbell, Fort Yates, August 2, 1929, CC, box 108, folder 2.
- 342 **“seemed funny to me”:** Bernard Strassmaier to W. S. Campbell, Fort Yates, January 25, 1929, CC, box 108, folder 2.
- 342 **members of the association:** C. Weldon to Chief Red Cloud, Yankton Indian Agency, July 3, 1889, in Vestal, *New Sources*, 93.
- 342 **“not bad looking”:** “A New York Widow,” *The Sioux City Journal*, July 2, 1889.
- 342 **a pass from McLaughlin:** My narrative of the heated encounter between Weldon and McLaughlin is based on their own accounts, which, unsurprisingly, don’t agree on certain specifics, although both agree it was a disaster. See C. Weldon to Chief Red Cloud, July 3, 1889, Vestal, *New Sources*, 94; “The Widow Was Wild,” *The St. Paul Daily Globe*, July 1, 1889; and Pfaller, *James McLaughlin*, 120.
- 343 **an ugly story appeared:** “A New York Widow,” *The Sioux City Journal*, July 2, 1889.
- 343 **“McLaughlin has the cunning of Satan”:** Foley, ed. *At Standing Rock and Wounded*, 42.
- 343 **“The agent fears my presence”:** C. Weldon to Chief Red Cloud, July 3, 1889.
- 343 **“unparalleled untruths”:** “An Error Corrected,” *The Sioux City Journal*, July 6, 1889.
- 344 **it was Caroline Schlatter:** My information on Caroline’s personal history comes primarily from a lengthy exposé of sorts titled “Rejected By Reds,” reprinted from the *World*, NY, in the *St. Paul Daily Globe*, March 23, 1891. There is some confusion regarding Caroline’s date of birth. Her age is given as twenty-four in the 1870 U.S. census, which indicates a birth year of 1846. Her obituary states she was seventy-eight at the time of her death in 1921, placing her birth three years earlier. Caroline Schlatter in the 1870 U.S. census, Sixth Ward, City of Brooklyn, New York, page 348; and Caroline Weldon obituary, *The Standard Union*, Brooklyn, NY, March 16, 1921.
- 344 **Caroline had written McLaughlin:** Mrs. C. Weldon to Major McLaughlin, Brooklyn, NY, April 5, 1890, in Vestal, *New Sources*, 98–100.
- 344 **settled in at a ranch:** Smith, *Red Indian Experiences*, 199.
- 344 **“more insolent and worthless”:** James McLaughlin to T. J. Morgan, Standing Rock Agency, October 17, 1890, in Pfaller, *James McLaughlin*, 131.
- 344 **went to live on Grand River:** Frank Zahn to W. S. Campbell, Fort Yates, June 1, 1932, CC, box 107, folder 5.



- 345 **Woman Walking Ahead:** Vestal, *Sitting Bull*, 266–67. In going through Vestal/Campbell’s massive collection of interview notes, I’ve been unable to find his source for Weldon’s Lakota name.
- 345 **Sitting Bull’s third wife:** Josephine Waggoner interview, CC, box 104, folder 6. This folder is identified as the “statement of Little Soldier.” However, in addition to Little Soldier, it contains statements from One Bull and Waggoner. Among a cache of Caroline’s letters and other papers left behind in Sitting Bull’s cabin was a cryptic note that some have interpreted as evidence that Sitting Bull suggested she had indeed become one of his wives. See Vestal, *New Sources*, 116.
- 345 **especially fond of Christie:** “Where’s Bull’s Body?,” *Bismarck Weekly Tribune*, December 26, 1890.
- 345 **“Rations are always short”:** “Interview with Ex-Indian Agent McGillicuddy,” *Dawes County Journal*, December 5, 1890. From 1888 to 1890, beef rations were drastically reduced at the Pine Ridge, Rosebud, and Cheyenne River reservations. Standing Rock’s beef rations were not cut. Jeffrey Ostler, *The Plains Sioux and U.S. Colonialism from Lewis and Clark to Wounded Knee* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 237 n. 63.
- 345 **one-fifth of the supplies:** “Among the Ghost Dancers,” *The Sun*, December 28, 1890.
- 345 **“were told there were no rations”:** James Tangled Yellow Hair interview, Limbaugh, ed., *Cheyenne and Sioux*, 45.
- 346 **“recurring droughts with blighting”:** James McLaughlin to Arthur C. Mellette, Standing Rock Agency, November 4, 1889, Standing Rock Agency, Copies of Corres. Sent to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and Others, 1881–1903, RG 75, NA-KC.
- 346 **Kicking Bear and nine other Lakotas:** Rani-Henrik Andersson, *A Whirlwind Passed Through Our Country: Lakota Voices of the Ghost Dance* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2018), 7; James Mooney, *The Ghost-Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890* (1896; reprint: Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991), 820; and Black Elk interview, DeMallie, ed., *The Sixth Grandfather*, 257–58.
- 347 **the Paiute holy man said:** Interviews with Wovoka in which he describes his vision are found in Mooney, *The Ghost-Dance Religion*, 771–72; and A. I. Chapman to Gen. John Gibbon, San Francisco, December 6, 1890, in *Report of the Secretary of War*, vol. 1 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1892), 193.
- 347 **known of Wovoka’s vision for months:** Mrs. C. Weldon to T. C. Bland, Cannonball, ND, October 8, 1890, in “Indian Delusions,” *Rock Island Daily Argus*, IL, October 30, 1890.
- 347 **Sitting Bull’s nephew:** “Among the Ghost Dancers,” *The Sun*, December 28, 1890; and McCreight, *Chief Flying Hawk’s Tales*, 14 and 30. Kicking Bear was a brother of Flying Hawk and a half brother of Black Fox.
- 347 **arrived at Sitting Bull’s camp:** “Sioux May Make Trouble,” *The Inter Ocean*, October 28, 1890.
- 347 **told his uncle about Wovoka:** Wovoka’s prophecy as interpreted and preached by Kicking Bear and the other Lakota disciples is considerably more elaborate



and detailed than the simple version Wovoka later provided white interviewers. And no two descriptions of the prophecy reported by the Lakota disciples are exactly alike. My account of what Kicking Bear claimed concerning the coming of the Messiah is from a letter by Mary C. Collins, a Congregational missionary who ran a small mission on Grand River near Sitting Bull's settlement. She spoke Lakota and obtained her information directly from Sitting Bull and his followers. Her letter is printed under the title "Sitting Bull's Plans," in the *Inter Ocean*, December 17, 1890. Another version of Kicking Bear's message was reported to Agent McLaughlin by One Bull. It's found in "Coming of the Messiah," *Black Hills Weekly Times*, Deadwood, SD, November 8, 1890.

- 348 **the name Ghost Dance:** Mooney, *The Ghost-Dance Religion*, 791. Also translated as Spirit Dance. An individual who witnessed a Ghost Dance one night on the Cheyenne and Arapaho Reservation in Oklahoma Territory wrote that the name Ghost Dance came from the white shirts and dresses worn by the dancers. C. C. Painter, *Cheyennes and Arapahoes Revisited* (Philadelphia: The Indian Rights Association, 1893), 10.
- 348 **"blessed white robes":** Josephine Waggoner interview, CC, box 104, folder 14.
- 348 **decorated with painted symbols:** "Waiting for the Earth to Move: The 1890 Ghost Dance," museum exhibition, 2017–present, Yellowstone County Museum, Billings, MT; Richard E. Jensen, R. Eli Paul, and John E. Carter, *Eyewitness at Wounded Knee* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2011), 7–10; and George Sword account in Mooney, *The Ghost-Dance Religion*, 798.
- 348 **prayed over the shirts and dresses to make them wakan:** Josephine Waggoner interview, CC, box 104, folder 14; and Short Bull interview, Walker, *Lakota Belief and Ritual*, 143.
- 349 **made the dancers wakan:** "Sitting Bull's Plans," *The Inter Ocean*, December 17, 1890.
- 349 **"I will be chief":** Ibid.
- 349 **"demoralizing, indecent, and disgusting":** McLaughlin to Morgan, October 17, 1890, in Pfaller, *James McLaughlin*, 132.
- 349 **detachment of thirteen Metal Breasts:** "Sioux May Make Trouble," *The Inter Ocean*, October 28, 1890.
- 349 **ten dollars a month:** *Official Register of the United States, Containing a List of the Officers and Employés in the Civil, Military, and Naval Service on the First of July, 1889*, vol. 1 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1889), 633.
- 349 **One Bull received other incentives:** Josephine Waggoner to W. S. Campbell, Keldron, SD, September 19, 1929, CC, box 108, folder 18.
- 349 **The captain and his second lieutenant:** Captain Crazy Walking and Second Lieutenant Antoine Clement.
- 349 **the officers refused:** McLaughlin to Morgan, October 17, 1890, in Pfaller, *James McLaughlin*, 131.
- 349 **the Ghost Dance must stop:** One Bull interview, CC, box 104, folder 11.
- 350 **as a "dazed condition":** "Kicking Bear and the Ghost Dance," *The Chicago Tribune*, October 28, 1890.
- 350 **Kicking Bear was successfully removed:** McLaughlin to Morgan, October 17,



- 1890, in Pfaller, *James McLaughlin*, 132; and McLaughlin, *My Friend the Indian*, 191.
- 350 **"Brother-in-law, we're settled"**: Gray Eagle interview, CC, box 106, folder 54.
- 351 **"This false prophet and cheat"**: C. Weldon to McLaughlin, Cannonball, October 24, 1890, in Vestal, *New Sources*, 102.
- 351 **"If you want to die"**: "Among the Ghost Dancers," *The Sun*, December 28, 1890.
- 351 **her life was in danger**: Ibid.
- 351 **"beautiful Indian trinkets"**: C. Weldon to Sitting Bull, Kansas City, December 1, 1890, in Vestal, *New Sources*, 110.
- 351 **"It was money, health, and heart"**: C. Weldon to McLaughlin, Cannonball, October 24, 1890, *ibid.*, 103.
- 351 **based the painting on a photograph**: The iconic photograph was made in the Montreal, QC, studio of William Notman & Son in August 1885. Lindner, "Family, Politics, and Show Business," 12.
- 352 **tears rolled down his cheeks**: "Where's Bull's Body?," *Bismarck Weekly Tribune*, December 26, 1890.
- 352 **received a letter from Caroline**: C. Weldon to Sitting Bull, Kansas City, November 20, 1890, in Vestal, *New Sources*, 103.
- 352 **Grief-stricken, Sitting Bull abruptly left**: "Where's Bull's Body?," *Bismarck Weekly Tribune*, December 26, 1890.
- 352 **On the morning of November 16**: My account of McLaughlin's visit to Sitting Bull's Grand River settlement is based almost entirely on his November 19 report to the commissioner of Indian affairs. His visit is also described in *My Friend the Indian*, 201–8, but this version is highly embellished and, as with the rest of the book, he presents Sitting Bull in the poorest light possible. We have no account of the visit from Sitting Bull or any of his followers. James McLaughlin to T. J. Morgan, Standing Rock Agency, November 19, 1890, "Letter from the Secretary of the Interior, Transmitting, in Response to a Senate Resolution of 2d Instant, a Communication from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs Relative to the Alleged Armament of Indians in Certain States," S. Exec. Doc. No. 9, 51st Cong., 2nd Sess., 24–26.
- 352 **the chief be removed to a military prison**: McLaughlin to Morgan, October 17, 1890, in Pfaller, *James McLaughlin*, 132.
- 353 **Several sweat lodges stood near**: James Tangled Yellow Hair interview, *Cheyenne and Sioux*, 43; and Short Bull interview, Walker, *Lakota Belief and Ritual*, 143.
- 353 **The dancers held hands**: My description of the dance is from the Short Bull interview, Walker, *Lakota Belief and Ritual*, 143, and Mary C. Collins letter in "Sitting Bull's Plans," in the *Inter Ocean*, December 17, 1890.
- 354 **"Look here, Sitting Bull"**: McLaughlin, *My Friend the Indian*, 205.
- 355 **calling the pair old women**: Frank Zahn to W. S. Campbell, Fort Yates, SD, November 3, 1929, CC, box 107, folder 5.
- 355 **took several beef tongues**: Fiske, *Life and Death of Sitting Bull*, 50; and Grover Eagle Boy interview, CC, box 106, folder 54.
- 355 **intending to make Ghost Dance shirts**: Zahn to Campbell, November 3, 1929, CC, box 107, folder 5. Another version of the incident with the flour sacks is found in Josephine Waggoner, "Sitting Bull at the Agency," CC, box 104, folder 14.



- 356 **several telegrams on his desk:** John H. Hager to James McLaughlin, Mandan, ND, November 17, 1890; David Carey to James McLaughlin, Mandan, ND, November 18, 1890; and George H. Bingenheimer to James McLaughlin, Mandan, ND, November 17, 1890; all in the Frank Zahn Papers. Delia Carey was employed as a teacher at Standing Rock from November 1 to December 6, when she heeded her parents' advice to return home to Mandan. *Bismarck Weekly Tribune*, December 19, 1890.
- 356 **"We are hungry":** As quoted in Elaine Goodale, "An Indian's View of the Indian Question," 1890 clipping, Watson Papers.
- 356 **"Trouble Is Expected":** *The Sioux City Journal*, November 20, 1890.
- 356 **"Sioux Take the Warpath Today":** *The Pittsburgh Post*, November 22, 1890.
- 356 **"Six to Eight Thousand Redskins":** *The St. Joseph Herald*, MO, November 22, 1890.
- 356 **Lakotas murdering whites:** For example, see "Turbulent Reds," *Daily Inter Mountain*, Butte, MT, November 22, 1890; and "Sanguinary Sioux," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, November 23, 1890.
- 356 **a flood of settlers abandoned homes:** Ibid.; "They Buy Papers," *The St. Paul Daily Globe*, November 30, 1890; "Still Excited," *Bismarck Weekly Tribune*, November 21, 1890; and Pfaller, *James McLaughlin*, 136.
- 357 **"fomenters of disturbances":** R. V. Belt to McLaughlin, Washington, November 20, 1890, in *Sixtieth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1891* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1891), 331.
- 357 **"if the so-called Messiah":** Miles, *Serving the Republic*, 238.
- 357 **for his skills as a savvy Plainsman:** Ibid., 145.
- 357 **would at least listen to him:** William F. Cody, *An Autobiography of Buffalo Bill* (New York: Cosmopolitan Book Corporation, 1920), 306.
- 357 **On the afternoon of November 28:** I've drawn upon numerous sources for Cody's mission. These include "Bill and Bull," *The Bismarck Tribune*, December 2, 1890; "Why Buffalo Bill Did Not Arrest Old Sitting Bull," *The Sioux City Journal*, December 4, 1890; America Elmira Collins to Ethel Warner Collins, December 9, 1890, Eric C. Jacobsen Papers, 1883–1939, #10898, State Historical Society of North Dakota; Frank Fiske, "When Buffalo Bill Was at Fort Yates," *Sioux County Pioneer*, Fort Yates, ND, January 25, 1917; Peter E. Traub, "The First Act of the Last Sioux Campaign," *Journal of the United States Cavalry Association* 15 (April 1905): 872–79; Matthew F. Steele, "Buffalo Bill's Bluff," *South Dakota Historical Collections* 9 (1918): 475–85; Fiske, *Life and Death of Sitting Bull*, 37–40; and Pfaller, *James McLaughlin*, 139–46, which includes McLaughlin's telegram to the commissioner of Indian affairs and Lieut. Col. Drum's official reports on Cody's visit.
- 359 **"in such a way that not a drop":** "Blocked by Benjamin," *The St. Paul Daily Globe*, December 1, 1890.
- 359 **"My telegram," he wrote:** McLaughlin, *My Friend the Indian*, 211.
- 359 **he simply intended to shower his gifts:** Some believed that Cody accepted the assignment from General Miles in the hopes of re-signing Sitting Bull to his Wild West. See Matthew F. Steele, "The Death of Sitting Bull: A Reminiscence," typescript, Matthew Forney Steele Papers, 1871–1936, #10115, box 4, folder 20, State Historical Society of North Dakota.



- 360 **"So long as the Indians abstain":** "The Indian War Scare," *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, November 29, 1890.
- 360 **"Sitting Bull should be captured":** "Ready to Fight," *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, December 2, 1890.
- 360 **he was to make no arrests:** R. V. Belt to McLaughlin, Washington, December 5, 1890, *Sixtieth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 333. According to McLaughlin, he had plans in place for his Indian police to arrest Sitting Bull on December 6. Report of James McLaughlin, December 24, 1890, *Sixtieth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 334.
- 361 **In a December 6 telegram:** McLaughlin to Gen. Ruger, Standing Rock Agency, December 6, 1890, *Sixtieth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 333.
- 361 **well aware of McLaughlin's role:** Jerome A. Greene, *American Carnage: Wounded Knee, 1890* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2014), 175–76.
- 361 **"secure the person of Sitting Bull":** M. Barber to Commanding Officer, St. Paul, MN, December 12, 1890, *Sixtieth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 333.
- 361 **McLaughlin suggested they wait:** Report of James McLaughlin, December 24, 1890, *ibid.*, 334; and James McLaughlin to Mary Collins, Standing Rock Agency, December 26, 1890, in "The Words of Winona," *Akron Beacon and Republican*, Akron, OH, February 14, 1891.
- 362 **a letter from Sitting Bull:** The earliest extant version of this letter, a transcription by Walter Campbell, is in Typescript research correspondence regarding the death of Sitting Bull, CC, box 114, folder 6. See also Vestal, *Sitting Bull*, 283–84.
- 362 **McLaughlin responded with a long letter:** This letter, dated December 13, is reproduced in Usher L. Burdick, *The Last Days of Sitting Bull* (1941; reprint: Landisville, PA: Coachwhip Publications, 2011), 31–33.
- 362 **John M. Carignan:** "An Early Trader Is Ill," *The Kansas City Star*, January 22, 1929; "John M. Carignan, Indian Friend Dies," *Emmons County Record*, Linton, ND, July 16, 1931; and Frank Fiske to Elmo Scott Watson, Fort Yates, North Dakota, March 5, 1945, Watson Papers.
- 363 **Carignan dutifully wrote down:** John M. Carignan to James McLaughlin, Grand River, ND, December 14, 1890, in Vestal, *New Sources*, 13–14.
- 363 **proceed with the arrest at once:** W. F. Drum to Assistant Adjutant General, Fort Yates, ND, December 17, 1890, and James McLaughlin to Herbert Welsh, Standing Rock Agency, ND, January 12, 1891, both in John M. Carroll, ed., *The Arrest and Killing of Sitting Bull: A Documentary* (Glendale, CA: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1986), 129 and 125, respectively.
- 363 **orders in English and Lakota:** The original orders may be viewed on the Welch Dakota Papers website: <https://www.welchdakotapapers.com/2011/11/sitting-bull-his-last-days-2/>.
- 364 **a short letter to Carignan:** James McLaughlin to J. M. Carignan, Standing Rock Agency, ND, December 14, 1890, in Vestal, *New Sources*, 14–15.
- 364 **Sitting Bull learned he would die:** One Bull told of Sitting Bull's premonition to an Elsie Craig, possibly an officer's wife at Fort Yates. See Elsie Craig, "Sitting Bull's Cabin," *Bismarck Daily Tribune*, February 28, 1891.
- 365 **Crow Foot, now sixteen, had an iron bed:** One Bull diagram of Sitting Bull's cabin, CC, box 105, folder 41.



- 365 **"Believing in the Ghost Dance":** As quoted in Pfaller, *James McLaughlin*, 398 n. 16. Years later, One Bull would claim that Bull Head falsely accused him of being "a believer." However, *Chicago Herald* reporter Sam Clover interviewed One Bull in early December 1890 and described him as "one of the leaders of the ghost dance." See One Bull interview, CC, box 104, folder 11; and "Among Ghost Dancers," *The Sunday Ledger*, Tacoma, WA, December 21, 1890, quoting the *Chicago Herald*.
- 365 **Early the next morning:** My reconstruction of the seriously bungled arrest of Sitting Bull, including quotations, is drawn primarily from these, mostly eyewitness, accounts: Red Tomahawk in A. B. Welch, "The Battle of Standing Rock," *The Clover Leaf* (February 1928): 33–39; Affidavit of Shoots Walking, January 6, 1925, E. D. Mossman Papers, #10173, State Historical Society of North Dakota; He Alone Is a Man statement in Vestal, *New Sources*, 45–55; Swift Hawk statement in "Swift Hawk's Story," *Akron Beacon and Republican*, OH, January 10, 1891; Scarlet Whirlwind Woman interview, CC, box 105, folder 41; One Bull interviews, CC, box 104, folder 11, and box 105, folder 41; Gray Eagle interview, CC, box 106, folder 54; Little Soldier interview, CC, box 104, folder 6; Weasel Bear interview, CC, box 105, folder 20; Otter Robe interview, CC, box 106, folder 54; White Bird interview, CC, box 105, folder 12; Grover Eagle Boy interview, CC, box 106, folder 54; One Elk interview, CC, box 106, folder 54; Old Bull interview, box 105, folder 36; Black Hills statement, E. D. Mossman Papers, #10173, State Historical Society of North Dakota; interviews of He Alone Is a Man, Four Robes, Gray Eagle, One Bull, and Scarlet Whirlwind Woman in Carroll, ed., *The Arrest and Killing of Sitting Bull*, 67–77; "Who Killed Sitting Bull?," *Bismarck Weekly Tribune*, December 26, 1890; John M. Carignan narrative in Fiske, *Life and Death of Sitting Bull*, 45–51; and James McLaughlin report, December 24, 1890, *Sixtieth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 333–38.
- 368 **She was singing a brave song:** Historians and others have frequently written that Crow Foot goaded his father into resisting, and some Metal Breast accounts do claim this. However, the eyewitness accounts of Four Robes, Scarlet Whirlwind Woman, Good Voiced Eagle, Weasel Bear, and Gray Eagle state Crow Foot said nothing. The brave song quote is from Frank Zahn, in notes to an interview of One Bull he conducted on behalf of Walter Campbell. Zahn attributes the song to "one of Sitting Bull's wives." In a biographical sketch of Bull Head, Josephine Waggoner identifies her as "Sitting Bull's oldest wife," which was Whole Tribe Seeing Her. Zahn further states that the account of the wife singing the brave song was "verified by Little Soldier (living), also a number of others." Frank Zahn notes in One Bull interview, CC, box 104, folder 11; and Josephine Waggoner, "Lieut. Henry Bullhead Jr., Tatomkapa," *Pioneer Biography Files*.
- 369 **fired at Bull Head:** The vast majority of the eyewitness accounts state that Catch the Bear fired the opening shot. However, a very few accounts—Scarlet Whirlwind Woman being a prime example—claim that Bull Head shot Sitting Bull first, thus precipitating the fight.
- 369 **leaving a jagged, two-inch hole:** This comes from the Shoots Walking affidavit. As with all the accounts that have been left us from this episode, both Indian



and white, there are several contradictions in important details. McLaughlin wrote in his official report that Bull Head's slug entered on the left side between the tenth and eleventh ribs, and that there was no exit wound. Fred P. Caldwell, a member of the Eight Cavalry, recalled that Sitting Bull had a gunshot wound "in front and center of body about two inches below where neck joins body; I think it passed through lower part of collar bone." He was certain that the chief wasn't shot in the head. However, Caldwell also wrote that Sitting Bull's head was "pounded all out of shape," which causes one to wonder how he could determine there was no bullet wound in that bloody mess. F. P. Caldwell to W. M. Camp, Maltby, SD, May 12, 1914, Robert S. Ellison/Walter Camp Papers, DPL, box 1, folder 130.

370 **ride the Buffalo Bill horse:** An oft-repeated tale has the Buffalo Bill horse performing "tricks" when the shooting started, the gunfire supposedly fooling the horse into thinking it was back in Cody's Wild West. This myth first appears in Vestal's *Sitting Bull*, originally published in 1932, in which Vestal described the animal as a "circus horse." But Cody's gift to Sitting Bull wasn't a "circus horse" that performed tricks; it was a saddle mount. And not one of the many eyewitness accounts left by Metal Breasts and Sitting Bull's followers mention this strange performance. See William E. Lemons, "History by Unreliable Narrators: Sitting Bull's Circus Horse," *Montana The Magazine of Western History* 45 (Autumn–Winter 1995): 64–74.

371 **the command of Captain Edmond G. Fechet:** Capt. Fechet's official report on the operations of his battalion is found in Carroll, ed., *The Arrest and Killing of Sitting Bull*, 133–42. He later published an article titled "The True Story of the Death of Sitting Bull," *Cosmopolitan* 20 (March 1896): 493–501. I've also drawn on accounts left by those who served in Fechet's command. These are George B. DuBois to George Thomas, Fort Yates, December 18, 1890, George B. DuBois Collection, MSS 215, History Colorado; Lieut. Stephen Slocum interview in "Sitting Bull's Death," *The Cincinnati Enquirer*, OH, February 20, 1892; F. P. Caldwell to W. M. Camp, May 12 and June 6, 1914, Robert S. Ellison/Walter Camp Papers, DPL, Box 1, folder 130; and Steele, "The Death of Sitting Bull: A Reminiscence." The account of an unnamed newspaper correspondent who accompanied the battalion is "Who Killed Sitting Bull?," *Bismarck Weekly Tribune*, December 26, 1890. We also have a letter from a member of a detachment under command of Lieut. Col. Drum that met Fechet's returning column twenty-two miles from Fort Yates. See Allen Siegert to Friend Gaetke, Fort Yates, December 17, 1890, Allen Siegert Papers, #20603, State Historical Society of North Dakota.

373 **Both were taken prisoner:** James McLaughlin report on the capture and death of Sitting Bull, Standing Rock Agency, December 16, 1890, National Archives, Washington, D.C., available for viewing online at <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/300326?q=sitting%20bull%20arrest>; "Sitting Bull's Death," *The Evening Star*, December 22, 1890; and "Was Bull Murdered?," and "Who Killed Sitting Bull?," both in *Bismarck Weekly Tribune*, December 26, 1890. McLaughlin's original report doesn't name the son of Jumping Bull. He refers to him as "'Middle' son of Little Assiniboine [Jumping Bull]." Of Jumping Bull's three sons, the "middle" son was Protecting Others While Running, and he would have



been twenty-one or very close in December 1890. See Dickson, *The Sitting Bull Surrender Census*, 71. Matthew Steele wrote years later that it was Sitting Bull's deaf stepson, John Sitting Bull, who was hiding under the thick bedding. See his "The Death of Sitting Bull," and Matthew F. Steele to Elmo Scott Watson, Fargo, ND, February 15, 1944, Watson Papers.

374 **One Bull's freighting outfit:** Direct descendants of Sitting Bull have long believed that One Bull played a prominent role in Sitting Bull's death. Sitting Bull's great-grandson, Ernie LaPointe, writes that it was One Bull who delivered the news to Agent McLaughlin that Sitting Bull was preparing to leave for Pine Ridge. However, this claim is not supported by the evidence, which tells us that One Bull was engaged in freighting to Standing Rock at the time McLaughlin received word of Sitting Bull's plans. And McLaughlin clearly states that the report was delivered by Hawk Man, not One Bull. And while One Bull had indeed acted as an informer for McLaughlin in the past, as well as serving as a Metal Breast, it's clear that One Bull lost favor with McLaughlin by participating in the Ghost Dance. McLaughlin, as stated in my narrative, immediately removed One Bull from the force. Additional evidence of One Bull's association with the Ghost Dance comes from Red Tomahawk. In his account of the arrest attempt, Red Tomahawk refers to One Bull as "a hostile dancer." See LaPointe, *Sitting Bull*, 95–101; and Red Tomahawk in Welch, "The Battle of Standing Rock," 35.

375 **"Father, I thought you said we were all going to live":** As quoted in Frank Zahn to W. S. Campbell, August 6, 1933, Fort Yates, Zahn correspondence, CC, box 107, folder 5. Capt. Fechet mentioned this incident in his article for *Cosmopolitan*, cited above, and stated that the Ghost Dancer was later killed at Wounded Knee. Fechet's commander, Lieut. Col. Drum, also references the daring rider in a letter to McLaughlin of February 26, 1891, in Vestal, *New Sources*, 33. Zahn identifies him as Crow Woman. Interestingly, Sergeant George DuBois wrote that while he was on picket duty that day, a loan rider approached Sitting Bull's place. The "whole camp opened up" on him but missed. DuBois claimed to have fired three times at the rider at a distance of about five hundred yards. On the third shot, the rider threw up his hands, and DuBois saw a riderless pony going over the hills. According to DuBois, some Metal Breasts later took a wagon out and brought in a dead Indian. DuBois's claim of hitting a moving target at five hundred yards is extremely far-fetched, and Crow Woman is not among the list of Indians killed in McLaughlin's December 16 report. DuBois to George Thomas, Fort Yates, December 18, 1890, George B. Dubois Collection.

Epilogue

377 **"But I think I understand him":** Henry Herbert Knibbs, "The Walking Man," in *Songs of the Outlands: Ballads of the Hoboes and Other Verse* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1914), 6.

377 **"Sometimes death can defeat disgrace":** Waggoner, "Lieut. Henry Bullhead Jr., Tatompaka."



- 377 **At 4:30 p.m. on December 16:** Report of H. M. Deeble, post surgeon, Fort Yates, ND, January 23, 1891, in Burdick, *The Last Days of Sitting Bull*, 169.
- 377 **the post surgeon cut off a small braid:** "Sitting Bull's Death," *Buffalo Courier*, December 20, 1893. Sometime before June 30, 1896, Deeble donated the braid or scalp lock and leggings to the Smithsonian Institution. These items were returned to Sitting Bull's descendants in 2007. "List of Accessions," *Annual report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, showing the operations, expenditures, and condition of the institution for the year ending June 30, 1896; Report of the U.S. National Museum*, H. Doc. No. 352, 54th Cong., 2nd Sess., 121; LaPointe, *Sitting Bull*, 132–42; and "Property to Go to Warrior's Kin," *Detroit Free Press*, September 19, 2007.
- 377 **His breechclout, shirt, additional items:** T. J. Thompson interview, CC, box 106, folder 54.
- 377 **what remained of his hair:** August Von Clossman to *The St. Louis Times*, St. Louis, May 21, 1907, typescript, August Von Clossman Papers, H74-043, South Dakota State Historical Society, Pierre.
- 377 **retrieved two cabinet card photographs:** The hospital steward was forty-seven-year-old August Von Clossman (1843–1916). In his 1907 letter to *The St. Louis Times*, cited above, he wrote that he removed the two cabinet cards from Sitting Bull's "coat pocket." A contemporary ink inscription on the cabinet card picturing the child, presumably in Von Clossman's hand, also states that it came from the chief's pocket and that it was covered with his blood. The photographs are part of the August Von Clossman Papers. For biographical information on Von Clossman, see "Military Burial Given Veteran of Six Wars," *The St. Louis Star*, MO, October 25, 1916; and "Preferred Army Life and Her Home in Carondelet to European Honors," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, MO, January 14, 1901.
- 377 **autographed portrait of "Captain Jack":** Crawford inscribed the cabinet card to Sitting Bull, but he didn't date the inscription. The Poet Scout may have gifted the photo to the chief in September 1883. According to James McLaughlin, Crawford was in attendance at the laying of the cornerstone of the Dakota territorial capitol, at which time Crawford attempted to introduce Sitting Bull to former President Grant. Grant, claimed McLaughlin, "stared coldly at [Sitting Bull] and then at Crawford and without further notice of either of them, continued smiling and shaking hands with the crowd." "Maj. McLaughlin's Story," *The Sioux City Journal*, April 4, 1899.
- 378 **naked body was sewn up in canvas:** Report of H. M. Deeble, post surgeon, Fort Yates, ND, January 23, 1891.
- 378 **fabricated by the agency carpenter:** Edward Forte to Frank Fiske, Johnson City, TN, November 7, 1932, in Fiske, *Life and Death of Sitting Bull*, 53–56. In this letter, Forte writes, "I made the coffin in which Sitting Bull was buried, regardless of what anybody says about it." Forte received the appointment of agency carpenter in October 1890, notice of which is in R. V. Belt to McLaughlin, Washington, D.C., October 22, 1890, Standing Rock, Misc. Correspondence Received, 1864–, RG 75, NA-KC. Josephine Waggoner's husband, John Franklin "Frank" Waggoner, a soldier in the Twelfth U.S. Infantry at the time of



Sitting Bull's death, also claimed to have made the coffin. And he claimed that quicklime and acid were poured over the chief's body. However, I've not found Frank Waggoner to be at all reliable. In fact, Fort Yates photographer Frank Fiske considered Waggoner an outright liar. For Frank Waggoner's account, see Waggoner, *Witness*, 409. And for Frank Fiske's very low opinion of Waggoner's veracity, see Fiske to Elmo Scott Watson, Fort Yates, North Dakota, April 9, 1945, Watson Papers.

378 **northwest corner of the fort's graveyard:** Fiske, *Life and Death of Sitting Bull*, 53; Report of H. M. Deeble, post surgeon, Fort Yates, ND, January 23, 1891; and Plan of Post Cemetery, Fort Yates, in Waggoner, *Witness*, 412–13.

378 **Agent McLaughlin walked up:** Report of James McLaughlin, Fort Yates, January 27, 1891, in Burdick, *The Last Days of Sitting Bull*, 170.

378 **disappeared with his blanket-wrapped corpse:** Victoria Conroy statement in Hardorff, *The Oglala Lakota Crazy Horse*, 29–30; Horn Chips interview, Hardorff, ed., *Surrender and Death*, 86–88; and Red Feather interview, *Hinman Interviews*, 36.

378 **moving the chief's bones:** Horn Chips interview, Hardorff, ed., *Surrender and Death*, 86–88; and Horn Chips interview, Jensen, *Voices of the American West*, 1: 276–77.

378 **is an enduring mystery:** An interesting account of one person's quest to locate Crazy Horse's final resting place is Walstrom, *Search for the Lost Trail of Crazy Horse*.

379 **the man superintending the removal:** What follows is based on two letters by Frank J. Ecker: Ecker to W. M. Camp, Fort Yates, ND, December 29, 1909, in Kenneth Hammer, "Sitting Bull's Bones," *Research Review: The Journal of the Little Big Horn Associates* 15 (Winter 2001): 7–8; and Ecker to W. M. Camp, Humboldt, SK, Canada, May 25, 1914, Robert S. Ellison/Walter Camp Papers, DPL, Box 1, folder 128.

379 **Frank claimed the bones were stolen:** In his 1933 book, *Life and Death of Sitting Bull*, Frank Fiske spins a rather remarkable tale about how he and a friend dug down to Sitting Bull's coffin one night "several years" after Fort Yates was abandoned. Fiske wrote that they used a pick and a shovel, and they took turns digging so that one of them could always keep a lookout. Fiske claimed they dug a hole big enough for one person, and when the coffin was reached, the rotten side was pushed in and a large thigh bone and rib retrieved. They then replaced the dirt and the sod so that no one would ever know of their grave robbing. This story strains credulity. It hardly seems possible that the hole could be dug and refilled in the short time Fiske indicates (while a dance was taking place in the agency hall)—the grave was eight feet deep, per the report of the post surgeon. I have a strong suspicion that Fiske and his accomplice obtained their Sitting Bull "relics" when the grave was opened by Ecker in 1908—and very likely with Ecker's knowledge. According to the 1910 federal census for Standing Rock, Fiske and Ecker were next-door neighbors. And Fiske was the community's only professional photographer. One of Fiske's specialties was photographic postcards. Recall that Ecker claimed to have had photographic postcards made of Sitting Bull's bones. Ecker wrote in



- the 1914 letter cited above that “I know the men that stole [the bones], and just who has them now.” Fiske claimed in 1933 that he’d since reburied his thigh bone at Sitting Bull’s grave. However, in a 1948 newspaper interview, Fiske said he still retained one of the chief’s bones. A humerus donated to the State Historical Society of North Dakota by Fiske’s widow in 1954 was determined to be from a female aged between seventeen and twenty-two years. “Thru the Hills,” *Rapid City Journal*, May 6, 1948; and Robert C. Hollow Jr., “The History of Sitting Bull’s Remains,” typescript, box 28, folder 12, Historical Society Administration Superintendent’s Correspondence, #3023, State Historical Society of North Dakota.
- 379 **the light of day in 1931:** Hollow, “The History of Sitting Bull’s Remains”; Robert C. Hollow Jr. and Herbert T. Hoover, *The Last Years of Sitting Bull* (Bismarck: State Historical Society of North Dakota, 1984), 60; “Fort Yates Sitting Bull Monument Being Planned,” *The Bismarck Tribune*, July 20, 1962; and Robb DeWall, *The Saga of Sitting Bull’s Bones* (Crazy Horse, SD: Korczak’s Heritage, Inc., 1984), 133.
- 380 **neglect shown their ancestor’s grave:** The grave had indeed been neglected for decades. See “Sitting Bull’s Grave Pathetic Spot on Prairie,” *The Bismarck Tribune*, October 4, 1918.
- 380 **“the white man’s red tape”:** Clarence Gray Eagle quoted in the *Rapid City Journal*, April 9, 1953.
- 380 **off to a corner of the plot:** DeWall, *The Saga of Sitting Bull’s Bones*, 133.
- 380 **but otherwise intact:** Ibid., 100. Information on the condition of the skull is contradictory. Some contemporary accounts state it was in pieces. However, DeWall’s sources included individuals who participated in the removal of the bones.
- 380 **made national headlines:** See, for example, “Sitting Bull’s Bones Make Bad Medicine for Dakotas,” *Daily News*, New York, NY, April 19, 1953.
- 381 **“They did a pretty sloppy job”:** “Indian Tries Selling Old Bones in Bismarck,” *Rapid City Journal*, April 9, 1953.
- 381 **unearthed by the Corps of Engineers:** Hollow, “The History of Sitting Bull’s Remains”; and “Does Anyone Know Where Sitting Bull Is?,” *The Bismarck Tribune*, October 6, 1984. The flood mitigation work is referenced in “Bids Examined on Fort Yates Flood Project,” *The Bismarck Tribune*, June 21, 1962.
- 381 **“17 hand and foot bones”:** Hollow, “The History of Sitting Bull’s Remains.”
- 381 **In 2007, Sitting Bull’s four surviving:** “Sacred Battle: Sitting Bull’s Kin Seek Battlefield Home for Chief’s Restless Bones,” *The Billings Gazette*, February 22, 2007; and LaPointe, *Sitting Bull*, 118–21.
- 382 **“Basically remains should go back”:** “Sitting Bull’s Descendants Want Bones Moved,” *The Billings Gazette*, July 9, 2008.
- 382 **he blamed the Indian Bureau:** Report of James McLaughlin, December 24, 1890, *Sixtieth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 338.
- 382 **“the great good accomplished”:** McLaughlin report on the capture and death of Sitting Bull, Standing Rock Agency, December 16, 1890.
- 382 **No less than two hundred Lakotas:** Report of Capt. Frank D. Baldwin, February 5, 1891, in Greene, *American Carnage*, 399–400.



- 383 **“sort of phosphorus hue at night”**: “His Cabin Deserted,” *The Helena Independent*, February 16, 1891.
- 383 **move the cabin about a mile**: “Sitting Bull’s Cabin,” *The Bismarck Tribune*, February 28, 1891.
- 383 **In a long negotiation**: “The Relics of Bull,” reprinted from an 1891 issue of *The Minneapolis Journal* in the *Mandan Pioneer*, April 27, 1969; and “Sitting Bull’s Cabin,” *The Atchison Champion*, KS, November 3, 1891.
- 383 **taken apart and each log marked**: Edward Forte to Frank Fiske, Johnson City, TN, November 7, 1932, in Fiske, *Life and Death of Sitting Bull*, 55.
- 384 **a contract with Buffalo Bill’s Wild West: The Irish Standard**, Minneapolis and St. Paul, February 18, 1893.
- 384 **When the fair opened**: There are a number of contemporary news reports on the Sitting Bull cabin exhibit in Chicago during the summer of 1893. See the *Bismarck Weekly Tribune*, April 28, June 30, July 7, July 14, July 21, September 15, and November 10, 1893; the *Kansas Semi-Weekly Capital*, Topeka, May 25, 1893; the *Sun*, New York, July 9, 1893; “Indians and Ostriches,” *Courier Democrat*, Langdon, ND, August 31, 1893; and the *Inter Ocean*, Chicago, October 6 and 19, and November 1, 1893.
- 385 **The Coney Island version**: See the *Bismarck Tribune*, May 26, May 31, and September 15, 1894; and the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, June 9, 10, and 11, August 6, and September 1 and 3, 1894.
- 385 **a “loaded cigar”**: “Gives an Indian a Loaded Cigar,” *The Chicago Tribune*, July 2, 1894; and *The Standard Union*, July 2, 1894.
- 386 **a deal to purchase the log cabin**: “Mr. Forrester’s New Fad,” *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, September 7, 1894.
- 386 **promoted to U.S. Indian inspector**: Pfaller, James McLaughlin, 191; and “McLaughlin Popular with the Indians,” *The Inter Ocean*, March 23, 1895.
- 387 **“preserve the heritage and bloodline”**: LaPointe, *Sitting Bull*, 113.
- 387 **touring with various Wild West shows**: “Cummins Show Here,” *The Buffalo Commercial*, NY, May 21, 1906; “Cummins’ Wild West Here,” *Buffalo Courier*, May 21, 1906; and “Son of Sitting Bull to Appear,” *New York Tribune*, November 25, 1906.
- 387 **“attitude throughout his life”**: Charles F. Larrabee to U.S. Indian Agent, Standing Rock Agency, Washington, D.C., May 2, 1908, typescript at <http://www.primeau.org/sittingbull/wmsittingbull.html>.
- 387 **“Naturally, Major McLaughlin would not”**: Frank Zahn to W. S. Campbell, Fort Yates, June 1, 1932.
- 388 **three of Weldon’s letters**: These letters and her miscellaneous notes are in Vestal, *New Sources*, 103–17.
- 388 **“No one in the world was as happy”**: As quoted in “Among the Ghost Dancers,” *The Sun*, December 28, 1890.
- 388 **her tragic death in 1921**: Caroline Weldon obituary, *The Standard Union*, March 16, 1921; “Pioneer Dies in Blaze in Eastern City,” *The Bismarck Tribune*, March 21, 1921; and Eileen Pollack, *Woman Walking Ahead: In Search of Catherine Weldon and Sitting Bull* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002), 316.
- 388 **two of her paintings of Sitting Bull**: A second Weldon painting is in the collec-



- tions of the Historic Arkansas Museum, Little Rock. Like the painting at the North Dakota State Museum, it's also based on a photograph of the chief.
- 389 **"as fine a specimen of a warrior":** As quoted in "Anent Chief Gall," *Bismarck Weekly Tribune*, December 21, 1894.
- 389 **"On all occasions [Gall] advises":** B. M. Robinson, "The Indian," *The Chattanooga Daily Times*, TN, January 11, 1891.
- 389 **purchase a wagon for the chief:** McLaughlin to T. J. Morgan, Standing Rock, February 17, 1891, typescript at <https://www.welchdakotapapers.com/2012/04/james-mclaughlin-indian-agent-standing-rock-copybook-february-1891-82-letters/#no-161>; and R. V. Belt to McLaughlin, Washington, D.C., March 14, 1891, Standing Rock, Misc. Correspondence Received, 1864–, RG 75, NA-KC.
- 389 **a medal and a silver-headed cane:** Paul L. Hedren, "The Crazy Horse Medal: An Enigma from the Great Sioux War," *Nebraska History* 75 (Summer 1994): 195–99; Paul L. Hedren, "Postscript," *Nebraska History* 77 (Summer 1996): 114; and "How General Custer Died," *The Chicago Tribune*, December 7, 1890.
- 389 **report on Crazy Horse's bungled arrest:** Clark to General Crook, Camp Robinson, NE, September 5, 1877, in Hardorff, ed., *Surrender and Death*, 181.
- 389 **"with great satisfaction":** "The Pipe of Peace," *The Leavenworth Times*, October 17, 1878.
- 389 **only when none of his fellow Lakotas:** "Bayoneted by a Soldier," *The Omaha Daily Bee*, September 2, 1888.
- 390 **Red Tomahawk took more and more credit:** "Tells How He Shot Down Sitting Bull," *The Bismarck Tribune*, April 29, 1911; "Barry Tells How Sitting Bull Met Death," *The Billings Gazette*, August 23, 1931; and "Relics of Days When Sioux Were Mighty, Knife and Two Rifles Owned by Sitting Bull, Are Now in Possession of Joseph Dixon," *The Bozeman Courier*, MT, January 12, 1934.
- 390 **audiences with three presidents:** "Met Red Tomahawk and the Rest of 'Em," *The Los Angeles Times*, April 8, 1903; "Choice May Be Peace or War," *Evening State Journal*, Lincoln, NE, September 10, 1919; and "Chief Tomahawk on Official Visit," *The Evening Star*, June 21, 1929.
- 390 **His many stops included:** "East Accorded Red Tomahawk Honors of Potentate on Historic Visit," *The Bismarck Tribune*, June 25, 1929.
- 390 **"There are mysterious flowers":** Red Tomahawk interview, Fort Yates, 1915, <https://www.welchdakotapapers.com/2012/04/red-tomahawk/>.
- 391 **the money he made by cooperating:** DeBarthe, *Life and Adventures*, 175 and 178.
- 391 **married in the spring of 1895:** Her name was Belle Ostrander. Their marriage license, dated April 6, 1895, is found in the marriage records for Andrew County, Missouri. The couple had a son, Frank, in May 1896. Belle's brother, William Ostrander, was a printer employed at St. Joseph's Combe Printing Company, which published DeBarthe's *Life and Adventures*. For William Ostrander, see "Ostrander's Death to be Investigated," *St. Joseph News-Press*, July 30, 1909; and "Probe Death, But Find No Violence," *St. Joseph Gazette*, July 31, 1909.
- 391 **marriages in Sioux country:** Mari Sandoz to E. A. Brininstool, New York, May 3, 1947, and Sandoz to Eleanor Hinman, New York, December 10, 1947, Sandoz Collection; *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, January 10, 1882; Margaret Brock Hanson,



- ed., *Frank Grouard, Army Scout* (Kaycee, WY: Margaret Brock Hanson, 1983), 187–88; and Hardorff, ed., *Surrender and Death*, 30–31 n. 9.
- 391 ***“They are ready to go to war with Spain”***: “Will Lead the Sioux to War,” *The*
World, April 18, 1898.
- 391 ***Frank’s life ended***: *St. Joseph News-Press*, August 17 and 18, 1905.
- 392 ***“white man’s motives”***: As quoted in Ray Tassin, *Stanley Vestal: Champion of the*
Old West (Glendale, CA: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1973), 168.
- 392 ***“a displacement of one immigrant people”***: Peter Cozzens, *The Earth Is Weeping:*
The Epic Story of the Indian Wars for the American West (New York: Alfred A.
 Knopf, 2016), 9.
- 393 ***“We owned the Black Hills”***: As quoted in “Sioux Would Fight Custer Battle
 Again For Freedom,” *Rapid City Journal*, September 2, 1948.
- 394 ***reportedly grown to nearly \$2 billion***: Nick Estes, “The Battle for the Black
 Hills,” *High Country News*, Paonia, CO, January 1, 2021, [https://www.hcn.org/](https://www.hcn.org/issues/53.1/indigenous-affairs-social-justice-the-battle-for-the-black-hills)
[issues/53.1/indigenous-affairs-social-justice-the-battle-for-the-black-hills](https://www.hcn.org/issues/53.1/indigenous-affairs-social-justice-the-battle-for-the-black-hills).
- 394 ***“If we accept the money”***: Theresa Two Bulls as quoted in “Why the Sioux Are
 Refusing \$1.3 Billion,” August 24, 2011, [https://www.pbs.org/newshour/arts/](https://www.pbs.org/newshour/arts/north_america-july-dec11-blackhills_08-23)
[north_america-july-dec11-blackhills_08-23](https://www.pbs.org/newshour/arts/north_america-july-dec11-blackhills_08-23).
- 394 ***“I want you to hold these grounds”***: One Bull and Mrs. One Bull interviews,
 CC, box 105, folder 19.
- 394 ***“We won the battle against Custer”***: Lionel Bordeaux as quoted in “Why the
 Sioux Are Refusing \$1.3 Billion.”

American Indian Informants

- 401 ***“If the white historians”***: W. S. Campbell to “Dearest Girls,” McLaughlin, SD,
 September 6, 1929, CC, box 104, folder 10.

RESOURCES

Manuscripts and Visual Resources

Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut

Thomas M. Anderson manuscript, "Army Episodes and Anecdotes," WA MSS 6
George Bent Papers, 1904–1926, WA MSS 32

Bent's Old Fort National Historic Site, La Junta, Colorado

Thomas Fitzpatrick Letters, 1846–1853 (digital file)

Buffalo Bill Center of the West, Cody, Wyoming

Sitting Bull drawings, Pratt-Evans-Pettinger-Anderson Collection

Buffalo Bill Center of the West, McCracken Research Library

"David Humphreys Miller—Indians Who Fought Custer: Survivors of the Little Big Horn," MS007

Colorado Springs Pioneers Museum, Colorado Springs, Colorado

Francis W. Cragin Collection



Denver Art Museum, Denver, Colorado

Crazy Horse Ledger Book

Denver Public Library, Colorado

Robert S. Ellison, Walter M. Camp Papers

History Colorado, Denver

James R. Walker Collection, MSS 653

George B. Dubois Collection, MSS 215

Kansas Historical Society, Topeka

Joseph G. Masters Collection

Merrill-Cazier Library Special Collections and Archives Division, Utah State University, Logan

Addison Pratt family papers, 1830–1931

Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul

James Boyd Hubbell Papers, 1865–1906, A/.H876

Museum of the Fur Trade, Chadron, Nebraska

Crazy Horse File

Josephine Waggoner Papers

National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

Four Horns copy of Sitting Bull and Jumping Bull drawings, Manuscript 1929A

Sitting Bull drawings, Manuscript 1929B

National Archives at Kansas City, Missouri

Record Group 75—Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs

Nebraska State Historical Society, Lincoln

Eleanor Hamlin Hinman Papers, RG3200.AM

Charles Philander Jordan Papers, RG2095.AM

The Newberry, Chicago, Illinois

Elmo Scott Watson Papers, 1816–1951

Olin Dunbar Wheeler Papers, 1892–1924



South Dakota State Historical Society, Pierre

Crazy Horse Biography File

John R. Brennan Family Papers, H72-002

August Von Clossman Papers, H74-043

James McLaughlin Letter, 1920, H74-115

Tim Nowak Collection, H2010-094

Sitting Bull Biography File

The State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia

John G. Neihardt Papers

State Historical Society of North Dakota

Frank Bennett Fiske Papers, 1850–1979, #10105

Historical Society Administration Superintendent's Correspondence, #3023

Eric C. Jacobsen Papers, 1883–1939, #10898

E. D. Mossman Papers, #10173

Allen Siegert Papers, #20603

Matthew Forney Steele Papers, #10115

Frank Zahn Papers, 1869–1948, #10162

Pioneer Biography Files, 1936–1940

University of Nebraska-Lincoln Libraries, Archives & Special Collections, Lincoln, Nebraska

Mari Sandoz Collection

University of Oklahoma, Western History Collections, Norman, Oklahoma

Walter Stanley Campbell Collection

Welch Dakota Papers

<https://www.welchdakotapapers.com/>

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Audio Recordings

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Larry Belitz, Hot Springs, South Dakota

James "Putt" Thompson, Crow Agency, Montana

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Posthumus, David C. "Transmitting Sacred Knowledge: Aspects of Historical and Contemporary Oglala Lakota Belief and Ritual." Ph.D. dissertation. Indiana University, Anthropology, 2015.

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