The Story of the Oglala and Brule Sioux in the Pine Ridge Country in the Middle Seventies

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Maps: Pine Ridge; nation-wide highway routes to Chadron, the heart of the Pine Ridge; state highways to the Pine Ridge; leading railway lines of Nebraska
The Story of the Oglala and Brule Sioux in the Pine Ridge Country of Northwest Nebraska in the Middle Seventies

BY E. P. WILSON

The Sioux Nation, as the Dakota Indians are commonly known, is a confederation of many bands within the great family tribe. At the opening of the nineteenth century three great divisions of the Sioux were recognized — Eastern, Central, and Western. The Teton Sioux (known as the Sioux of the West) were in turn divided into seven bands — or, as the Tetons designated them, "Seven Camp Fires," as follows: Oglala, Brule, Mineconjou, Hunkpapa, Sans Arc, Two Kettle, and Blackfeet Sioux. Of these seven bands the Oglala and the Brule were the largest and most important, numbering in all about thirteen thousand souls.1*

Until the middle of the nineteenth century the Sioux of the West owned or occupied an imperial domain which included within its borders the western parts of North Dakota, South Dakota and Nebraska, northwestern Kansas, northeastern Colorado, and the eastern parts of Wyoming and Montana. The boundary lines which circumscribed this huge section of the country ran from the middle part of what is now western Kansas in a northwesterly direction to the Big Horn mountains; thence north along the crest of that range down to the line of the Musselshell river, and north beyond the forty-ninth parallel into Canada for a distance of perhaps seventy-five miles; thence east to a point north of the site of Fort Peck, Montana; thence south to the Missouri River, and down that stream to a point just below the mouth of the Niobrara; from thence the line extended in a southwesterly direction to its place of beginning.2

The area described here was the land of the Sioux of the

* List of the documentation appears in the last pages of this magazine.
West and did not include the lands held and occupied by the eastern and central divisions of the Sioux tribe. This land, with that lying to the south, constituted the great buffalo grazing lands—the greatest “pasture” in the country. Here on these plains roamed millions of these great animals, grazing as far north as Dakota and western Canada in the spring, and as far south as Texas in the fall.

The buffalo was “the staff of life” to the Plains Indians. He was more: he was the symbol of leadership and the type of long life and plenty. His skin furnished shelter and clothing, his flesh, food; his sinews furnished bowstrings, his bones were transformed into implements of agriculture, his hooves and horns supplied drinking vessels and spoons—even the dung was utilized as fuel. There were other animals in the land of the Sioux—antelope, deer, elk, bear, beaver and wolves, all contributing flesh and fur to the support of the Indians—but no animal in such vast numbers as the buffalo.

Through this vast buffalo range cut the great trails to Oregon, Utah, and California. Day by day the irresistible pressure of the westward movement of the white population increased. By the Fort Laramie Treaty of September 17, 1851 (council held at Horse Creek, Scotts Bluff County, Nebraska), the area of the Sioux empire was greatly restricted on the south, the west, and the north, and the discovery of gold in Montana in 1861 increased the tendency of the whites to trespass on the Sioux lands.

Under the terms of the Fort Laramie Treaty of April 29, 1868, the Sioux were given a reservation whose area included “the following district of country, to wit, viz: commencing on the east bank of the Missouri River where the forty-sixth parallel of north latitude crosses the same, thence along low-water mark down said east bank to a point opposite where the northern line of the State of Nebraska strikes the river, thence west across said river, and along the northern line of Nebraska to the 104th degree of longitude west from Greenwich, thence north on said meridian to a point where the forty-sixth parallel of north latitude intercepts the same, thence due east along said parallel to the place of beginning; . . .” In addition to the foregoing described reservation the tribes that were parties to this agreement
Detail Map of the Pine Ridge Country
in the Middle Seventies

The places of especial interest belonging to this period are marked, as well as military roads and other roads and trails. The names of a few towns are included to establish geographical connection between past and present.

The position of Pine Ridge Agency could not be shown in this Nebraska map. As indicated by marginal arrow, it lies about three miles above the state line on Big White Clay Creek.
Pine Ridge Agency

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A. E. SHELDON. SUPERINTENDENT.
A. E. FULLER. TOPOGRAPHER.
The Treaty of 1868 paved the way for the full development of the agency system in the Sioux territory. Wild game was becoming scarce and, in addition, the hunting grounds of the Indians had been reduced. It was not until 1871, however, after nearly three years of discussion, that the powerful Oglala band under Red Cloud was located at what later became known as the Old Red Cloud Agency — on the north side of the North Platte River, about thirty-two miles below Fort Laramie, and about a half-mile west of the Nebraska-Wyoming line (not far from the present town of Henry, Nebraska).

This location proved unsatisfactory to the government because of the demoralization of the Indians through the sale of liquor by parties of white men along the Oregon Trail, which here extended along the south side of the North Platte River. Besides, it was twenty-five miles from any considerable amount of timber and there was a lack of good grazing for the ponies. It was deemed best, therefore, to move the agency to the upper part of the White River valley. This country long had been a favorite haunt of the Indians. Here were clear spring-fed streams and a great abundance of timber — mostly pine, while the high bluffs and the pines furnished ample protection to the valleys along the streams. In addition to these natural advantages the open spaces in the Pine Ridge area and the adjacent prairies produced a great amount of rich buffalo grass. Finally, in 1873, the transfer to the White River valley was made, and the Red Cloud Agency was located on the south side of the White River just above the place where that clear, swiftly flowing stream emerges from the deep valley it has cut through Pine Ridge. It was supposed to be in Dakota. By the survey of the north line of Nebraska, made in the summer of 1874, it was shown to lie in Nebraska, in Dawes County, not far from the present town of Crawford.

There was much dissatisfaction with this location. The Nebraska Legislature demanded the removal of the agency and subsequently action was taken. On November 1, 1877, after having

reserved "the right to hunt on any lands north of the North Platte, and on the Republican Fork of the Smoky Hill River, so long as the buffalo may range thereon . . ."5
lived in this valley since August 1, 1873, the Oglala began the long journey down White River to a new location on the west bank of the Missouri River in Dakota. They reached their new agency November 25th and there they remained until the spring of 1878, when the Pine Ridge Reservation was established in the southwest part of South Dakota, one and one-half miles north of the Nebraska state line. Upon the opening of the reservation Red Cloud and his Oglala were moved in and there they still live.

Throughout the years of uncertainty and transition Red Cloud, the Chief of the Oglala, remained with his band. During the years of the Indian war he was one of the great leaders of the Sioux. After the Treaty of 1868, which he signed November 6th, Red Cloud became one of the most constructive statesmen of his nation. During the course of his long life he made many trips to Washington in the interest of his people.

The turning point in the history of the Oglala was reached during the years that the agency was on the south side of the White River—1873-1877. The Oglala numbered more than 9,000, and during part of the time more than 2,000 Northern Cheyenne and 1,500 Northern Arapahoe were located there also. The old life of freedom was past. The Sioux knew that never again would they hunt the buffalo or spend the winters in their villages in the country where their ancestors had lived. Although allowed to establish their camps a few miles distant from the agency, they were under the control of the army. Camp Robinson, which developed so rapidly that two years later it was named Fort Robinson, was established three miles upstream from the Red Cloud Agency in 1874. Throughout this entire period the Indians at the Red Cloud Agency were restless. To them their condition was tragic. Farther northwest in the Upper Missouri country were the irreconcilables—those so-called "hostile" Indians.

The Pine Ridge Country, and the leading national highways to this beautiful and historic area.

Note the Black Hills and Mount Rushmore to the north. To the northeast is Yellowstone Park. Between Pine Ridge and the Park lies the Big Horn country of eastern Wyoming and southern Montana, famous for its battlefields of the Indian Wars in the seventies.
During these years the situation at Red Cloud Agency was frequently tense, often dramatic. There was always an element among the agency Indians that desired to break away and join the hostiles. In the fall of 1876 the officers at Fort Robinson became convinced that Red Cloud and a large number of his band were planning an escape to the country of the hostiles. The Indians were camped on Chadron Creek about twenty-five miles northeast of the agency—(about three miles southwest of the present city of Chadron). Here, before daylight on the morning of October 23, they were surprised by four hundred troops of the Fourth and Fifth Cavalry under the command of General McKenzie. The troops were accompanied by the famous Pawnee scouts led by the brothers Frank and Lute North. The captured Indians, disarmed and their ponies confiscated, were returned to the immediate vicinity of Fort Robinson where they were required to remain. This effectively checked any effort to escape.

The winter of 1876-1877 was hard on the hostiles in the upper Missouri country. Blizzards were frequent, snow was deep, and game was scarce. Through the bitter cold and deep snow Spotted Tail, Chief of the Brule, fought his way to the camp of Crazy Horse (who was his nephew) — in the heart of the buffalo country along the Tongue River at a point near Suicide Creek — to implore him to come in and make peace with the government, as so many of the hostile bands had already done. In the spring of 1877 Crazy Horse, in response to Spotted Tail’s pleas, led his half-starved band down to Fort Robinson where he surrendered to the military authorities. The last camp of this great chief, one of the most invincible warriors and the idol of his people, was located about five miles northeast of Fort Robinson on the north side of White River. His tragic death occurred at Fort Robinson September 5th of that year.

The Brule Sioux, after the signing of the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868, were located at Whetstone Agency in Dakota, on the west side of the Missouri, where they remained until 1871. On June first of this year they were transferred to the south bank of the White River, twelve miles west of White Clay Creek, in Dawes County, Nebraska — about ten miles northeast of the present town of Chadron, Nebraska. This location was but a
STATE HIGHWAYS TO THE PINE PEAKS

Famous for its Connection with the Historical Site

On this map may be seen the main highways in Nebraska leading to Pine Ridge.
THE PINE RIDGE COUNTRY

the History of the Sioux Nation

in Nebraska, all leading directly or indirectly to the Ridge.
few miles below the Red Cloud Agency. The Spotted Tail Agency was located at two or three different places in this vicinity, none of which proved satisfactory. Finally, in 1874, they were given a new location in the eastern part of the Pine Ridge country on the Big Beaver, in early days called West Beaver. Here was an abundance of timber, protection from storms, and plenty of water. The location was supposed to be in Dakota, but a survey later showed it to lie in Nebraska—twelve miles south of the north line of Nebraska and twelve miles east of the present town of Chadron. This location remained their home until the fall of 1877, when once again they were taken to the west bank of the Missouri River in Dakota. The following year, 1878, they were brought west and located on the Rosebud Reservation. Here, on the south fork of the White River, in Todd County, South Dakota, they still live.

While living on the Big Beaver the Brule numbered more than eight thousand. Nearly twelve hundred Mineconjou Sioux were with them at that time. They, as well as the Oglala, recognized the Pine Ridge country as a desirable place in which to live. Camp Sheridan, occupied by a detachment of soldiers, was established a quarter of a mile northeast of the Brule camp, whose headquarters were known as Spotted Tail Agency in honor of the great chief who was head of this band.

The experience of the Brule at the Spotted Tail Agency was similar to that of the Oglala at the Red Cloud Agency. They were held in check by the strong hand of Spotted Tail who, in his younger days, was great in war, in his more mature years, great as a statesman, and, as shown by the following, an eloquent orator:

Alas! There is a time appointed for all things. Think for a moment how many multitudes of the animal tribe we have destroyed. Look upon the snow that appears today—tomorrow it is water! Listen to the dry leaves that were green and vigorous, but a few moons before! We are a part of this life and it seems that our time has come.

Ye note how the decay of one nation invigorates another. This strange white man—consider him. His gifts are manifold, his tireless brain, his busy hands do wonders
Spotted Tail
for his race, yet, he is so great and so flourishing there must be some virtue and truth in his philosophy. I wish to say to you, my friends! Be not moved alone by heated argument and revenge. These are for the young. We are young no longer. Let us give counsel as old men.\textsuperscript{12}

Major Bourke, long a member of General Crook's staff, later commanding officer at Camp Sheridan, and a well known authority on the Sioux wars of the seventies, had this to say of Spotted Tail:

\ldots if ever the day shall come when loyal and intelligent friendship for the American people shall receive due recognition, the strong, melancholy features of "Sintiega-leska" or "Spotted Tail," cast in enduring bronze, will overlook the broad area of Dakota and Nebraska, which his genius did so much to save to civilization. In youth a warrior of distinction, in middle age a leader among his people, he became, ere time had sprinkled his locks with snow, the benefactor of two races.\textsuperscript{13}

The discovery of gold in the Black Hills became definitely known in 1874. The rush of miners to that place was so great that the government thought it advisable to buy the Black Hills from the Sioux Nation, and to that end appointed a commission to hold a General Council with representative members of the Sioux bands. In the summer of 1875 a delegation which included the Honorable A. Comingo, Reverend S. F. Hinman, and W. H. Ashby, Esquire, accompanied by twelve young Indians selected by Red Cloud and Spotted Tail, visited the various bands of Sioux in the Black Hills and east as far as the Missouri River, announcing a Grand Council at which the sale of the Black Hills was to be considered. Each band was to be represented by its chiefs and head men.

When the commission arrived at Red Cloud Agency on September 4, 1875, it found misunderstanding between the Red Cloud and Spotted Tail agencies as to the place of meeting, the former insisting that the council be held at Red Cloud, and Spotted Tail insisting that it should be held on Chadron Creek, twenty-five miles from Red Cloud Agency and the same distance from the Spotted Tail Agency. Their differences were so bitter that for a time it was doubtful whether a grand council could be con-
SIGNING THE FORT LARAMIE TREATY COUNCIL OF 1868
On the 17th of September, however, agreement was reached and the place stipulated was an open plain about eight miles from the Red Cloud Agency, on the White River, directly north of Crow Butte. The Grand Council opened on September 20, at the place designated.

The government commission was composed of notable men. The chairman was the Honorable W. B. Allison, United States Senator, Dubuque, Iowa. A company of cavalry under Captain Egan was sent from Fort Laramie to act as guard. Upon the opening of the Grand Council the chairman, Senator Allison, read his instructions and stated the objects and wishes of the government, following which the Indians asked time to consult. It was soon apparent that the Indians were divided into two camps—those who were willing to part with the hills if a large price could be had, and those who would not part with the Black Hills at any price.

As no agreement could be reached at the meeting on September 20, the council adjourned without results. The next two or three days were occupied by debates and disputes between the various Indian chiefs and bands.

Three days later, on September 23, the council met again—this time, according to the weight of evidence, on lower Chadron Creek midway between the Red Cloud and Spotted Tail agencies and about twenty miles north and east of the site of the previous meeting north of Crow Butte. Since the Indians were afraid that their chiefs and head men would sell the Black Hills, the great majority of them came with their leaders. The secretary of the Allison Commission estimated that full twenty thousand were encamped in the White River Valley at this time.

This second meeting of the council was dramatic in the extreme. The evidence shows that it was held in the presence of seven thousand Indians mounted and armed, painted and bedecked. For a long time no Indian chief would speak. Threats had been made to shoot the first one who favored selling the land. At length a solitary Indian, riding bareback and naked, flourishing his rifle, charged into the council circle. This was Little Big Man, who roared, "I am here to kill any white man that wants
TASUNKA-KOKIPAPI

"Young-Man-Afraid-of-His-Horses"
to take my land away!" Thereupon the infuriated Indians closed in upon the commission. It was a critical moment.

At this crisis Young-Man-Afraid-of-His-Horses, well known for his friendliness to the whites, dashed through the crowd and lined up his warriors in front of Captain Egan's little troop, so that Indians would receive any shots fired at the soldiers. The situation was indescribably tense, for his purpose was not recognized at first. Captain Egan was uneasy; the faces of the commissioners blanched. Then Young-Man-Afraid returned to the council center and in forceful language persuaded the Indian bands to disperse. "Go to your lodges until your heads are cool!" he commanded. His magnetic presence and strong personality saved the day. The great Indian assembly scattered, the meditative commissioners returned to Red Cloud Agency, and the cavalry that escorted them went on to Fort Robinson.

Further talks with Indian chiefs on September 27, 28 and 29 made it clear that no agreement for purchase of the land could be made. Chief Spotted Tail asked the commission to put in writing what they would pay for the Black Hills. This was done. The chiefs refused to accept it, the conferences ended on the 29th, and the Indian bands returned to their homes over the reservation.

Editorial: There are three chief sources for this report of the final councils with the Sioux in September, 1875:

1. The printed report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1875;
2. the report of John S. Collins, Post trader at Fort Laramie, who was present;
3. the testimony of Pine Ridge Indians who accompanied Professor Wilson over the ground about five years ago, one of whom, very old, identified the place; also, the written story of Win Birdsal, derived from statements of frontiersmen who were in the neighborhood at the time and who conferred together on the site about nine years after the event; and further, the statement made to William Phillips by William Mace, a freighter who was present at the council, and who, as the two were traveling to Chadron, pointed out the place.

These accounts differ in a number of respects, particularly upon the question of whether there were two council sites— one
THE LEADING RAILWAY LINES OF NEBRASKA

Note that the Chicago and Northwestern and the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy run through the Pine Ridge country, and that from the main line of the Union Pacific at Sidney there is a railway connection with Pine Ridge over the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy.
north of Crow Butte, the other on Chadron Creek, about four miles west of Chadron — and what occurred at each place. After painstaking comparison of all these accounts the editor has concluded that the council did convene at Chadron Creek “under a lone cottonwood tree” on September 23, and that the dramatic episode in which Little Big Man and Young-Man-Afraid-of-His-Horses played leading roles occurred at that place and on that date. And it was this event in particular that Mr. Borglum planned to memorialize.

It was not until a year later that the Black Hills treaty was signed. This was accomplished by a government commission, headed by the Honorable George W. Manypenny, former Commissioner of Indian Affairs. There was no Grand Council of all the tribes, but merely separate councils at each agency. Red Cloud and his chiefs and head men signed at the Red Cloud Agency. Spotted Tail and other chiefs and head men signed at their respective agencies.

In 1877 the government transferred to the Indian Territory (in what is now the state of Oklahoma) the surviving members of the Northern Cheyenne. The altitude was low, the climate moist, and it was hot during much of the year. The conditions among these Indians were deplorable in every way and the death rate was high. They begged to be allowed to return to their old home in the north. Permission was refused. Becoming desperate the Cheyenne, on September 9, 1878, broke away from their reservation and, under the heroic leadership of that great genius and patriot, Dull Knife, made a dash for the north.

With incredible speed they crossed western Kansas and western Nebraska until they were north of the Niobrara River. In their mad dash through Kansas they killed settlers, replaced their exhausted horses with others taken from ranchmen and homesteaders, and eluded pursuing detachments of cavalry. They divided into two bands. The smaller, under Little Crow, escaped into the sandhills and later rejoined the remnant of the tribe in Montana. The larger band, under Dull Knife, continued on to the north and camped on Chadron Creek in the Pine Ridge area.
Here troops from Camp Sheridan and Fort Robinson surrounded them, and after some parleying Dull Knife and his band consented to go to Fort Robinson. In vain they pleaded for permission to remain in the north country. The government was adamant in its determination to return them to the Indian Territory and, even though it was midwinter, they were to be returned without delay.

Dull Knife and his men declared their intention to die before complying with the order. On the night of January 9, 1879, they escaped from the barracks and struck out in a northwesterly direction, through the rough country with its pine-clad hills. It was bitterly cold. The endurance of the Indians, among whom were women and children, was incredible. Troops had been sent in pursuit and there were a number of minor engagements, with casualties on both sides. At last—just twelve days after their escape—Dull Knife and his Spartan band made their last stand in a small canyon on the north side of Antelope Creek, in the extreme northwest corner of the state, about forty miles northwest of Fort Robinson, and nearly all were killed. They had proved their statement—they had preferred death to a return to the Indian Territory!18

It is proposed to create in the Pine Ridge country of northwest Nebraska a suitable memorial to the Sioux Nation, and to include in this a memorial to Dull Knife and his band of Northern Cheyenne. It was here in this picturesque area, with its beautiful woods and its many clear streams flowing north through deep-cut valleys into White River, that the vast majority of the great Sioux Nation passed through the bitter and humiliating experiences that characterized their transition from monarchs of the northern plains, the Black Hills, and the eastern slopes of the Big Horn and eastern Montana Rockies, to the status of reservation Indians. This rugged area, the outpost of a still more rugged country to the north and west, was the stage on which were enacted the closing scenes in the life of the Sioux Nation as a free people. The late Gutzon Borglum appropriately designated them as "the Romans of the Plains." Here in this region those notable statesmen of the Sioux Nation—Red Cloud and Spotted Tail—performed their greatest ser-
vices to their people and to the white race. Here, Young-Man-Afraid-of-His-Horses, by an act of supreme courage and wisdom, proved himself one of the most remarkable men of his tribe. Here, Crazy Horse, unconquerable in spirit and resourceful in war, met his tragic fate; and here, Dull Knife and his band, with iron resolution and incredible valor, chose death in combat to death by disease in Indian Territory.

The proposed memorial is to include a monument to perpetuate the memory of the great Sioux Nation. The suggested location for it is in the heart of the Pine Ridge country, by the side of a paved highway, with a lofty ridge of butte rock partially covered by pine trees as a background. In addition, several smaller monuments are to be erected, each to commemorate a place of historic interest as mentioned above and, in most cases, a great chief as well. It is proposed to locate these smaller monuments at the sites of the Red Cloud and Spotted Tail Agencies; the site of Red Cloud's camp on Chadron Creek where he and his band were captured October 23, 1876; the sites of the two meetings of the Grand Council of September, 1875, held between the Sioux Nation and the Allison Commission regarding the sale of the Black Hills; the last camp of Crazy Horse at the time of his surrender at Fort Robinson, and the site where Dull Knife and his band made their last stand, January 22, 1879. These smaller monuments will constitute an enduring witness through succeeding centuries, each contributing its chapter to the dramatic story of the last heroic struggle of a proud, liberty-loving race against the ruthless aggression of many alien peoples seeking freedom, opportunity, wealth and empire, who—themselves having fled domination in the old world—set up dominion in the new.

An association has been formed for the purpose of assuming responsibility for this project. It includes a number of the best known citizens of Nebraska. The project is a challenge to the creative ability of the highest talent in the field of sculpture. If the plans and ideas of those interested are realized, the memorial will be of nationwide interest.
Editor's Notes:

For a number of years there was variance in the census reports on the number of Oglala and Brule Sioux. This arose from the desire of the Indians to secure the greatest possible amount of government rations and goods, also from an equal ambition of the agents to handle the largest possible amount of supplies.

No photo of Crazy Horse appears in these pages for the reason that none was ever taken. Shortly after the death of the great chief a wily photographer induced one of the Brule Sioux to pose for a picture which afterward was published far and wide as that of Crazy Horse. Questioned on this point, Dr. McGillicuddy wrote: "I never obtained his picture. His invariable reply was, 'My friend, why should you wish to shorten my life by taking from me my shadow?' He was much of a mystic, and positively refused to pose."

The sifted and investigated facts as finally adopted in this account of the councils between the Sioux and the U. S. Commission held in September, 1875, and the original printed paragraphs found on pages 264, 269, 273 of the last issue of this magazine, deserve a word of explanation to avoid confusion on the part of historical students who read both issues. Mr. Wilson is not responsible for the errors found in his article as previously published. One of our research workers was asked to check all statements with the original sources. This worker changed Mr. Wilson's manuscript in important respects. Some of these changes were wholly incorrect, notably that fixing the death of Dull Knife in the last battle of his band in Sioux County, which ended January 21, 1879. Chief Dull Knife escaped from that fight and died years later at the Tongue River Agency in Montana. Another paragraph was changed to state that no Sioux council was held on September 23, 1875.

The correction of these misstatements is important.

If ever any people was goaded into war, it was the Sioux in 1876. And if the World Court of today had sat in that period, the United States would have been ruled an "aggressor nation." The Sioux War of 1876 was fought because the Government could not make its own citizens abide by its treaties.

Crazy Horse, one of the most tragic and heroic figures of modern history, combined in his own character most of the virtues of his people, and even hard-bitten Indian fighters like Crook and Miles and Bourke yielded him ungrudging admiration. He made hundreds of friends by his charity to the poor. Generous and brave, of few words and great deeds, it is not overstatement to say that he was to the Sioux what the great Robert E. Lee was to that other lost cause—the Confederacy.—Paul I. Wellman, in Death on the Prairie.