



He Dog (Sunka Bloka), a subchief, Cut Meat District, 1900. (John A. Anderson Collection, Nebraska State Historical Society)

OGLALA SOURCES ON THE LIFE OF CRAZY HORSE

Interviews given to Eleanor H. Hinman

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

In June, 1930, Eleanor Hinman, a stenographer at the University of Nebraska, drove to the Pine Ridge and Rosebud Sioux reservations in South Dakota. She was accompanied by Mari Sandoz, and they traveled in a Model T Ford coupe. The two women (Miss Hinman was 30, and Miss Sandoz was 36) were members of Quill, a literary club for women. Miss Hinman had become interested in the life of Crazy Horse, the great Oglala warrior, and the purpose of her trip was to interview Indians who had known him. It is not known why Miss Hinman invited Mari Sandoz, who at this time had written nothing about the Indians.

Their work at the reservation was aided by Helen Blish, a Lincoln friend who had interviewed elderly Sioux for her graduate thesis. As Miss Blish had done, they hired John Colhoff, official interpreter for the Pine Ridge Agency. After their work was concluded, they visited the Black Hills and the Custer battlefield.

On October 9, 1930, Miss Hinman sent a copy of her interviews to Dr. Addison E. Sheldon of the Nebraska State Historical Society:

Here at long last is the record of our interviews on Crazy Horse. I put them into your hands to do what you think best with. By way of keeping faith with our friends up on the reservation, I want their stories to go on record in their own words somewhere so that any student of Indian or frontier history who digs deeply enough into the materials may find

them. The interviews are of very unequal value, but I think you may find some of them of interest in connection with some of your own studies. Thanking you for your assistance and encouragement, I am, Sincerely yours, Eleanor Hinman.

The interviews are published as they were presented to the Society by Miss Hinman; her footnotes and introduction are not changed. Much research has been published on the subject in the intervening years, but it does not seriously change any of her work. It is not known why Miss Hinman decided to discontinue her biography of Crazy Horse, but she turned her other materials and the interviews over to Miss Sandoz, who published *Crazy Horse, the Strange Man of the Oglalas*, in 1942. The author's dedication reads: "To Eleanor Hinman, who spent many faithful months on a biography of Crazy Horse and then graciously volunteered to relinquish her prior claim to me."

Eleanor Hinman was born in Lincoln on December 9, 1899, to Edgar Lenderson and Alice Julia (Hamlin) Hinman. Her father was a member of the philosophy department at the University of Nebraska. After attending the Lincoln schools, she entered the university and was graduated in 1920. As a feature writer for the *Lincoln Daily Star*, one of her finest articles was an interview with Willa Cather in November, 1921. Miss Cather gave few interviews during her long career as a novelist, and the one with Miss Hinman is yet today basic to any Cather scholar. After holding various positions in Lincoln, Miss Hinman retired to San Francisco, where she still lives.

Information regarding the history of the interviews was provided by Dr. Helen Stauffer, Kearney (Nebraska) State College English professor, who is writing a biography of Mari Sandoz. — Paul D. Riley, Research Associate.

AUTHOR'S INTRODUCTION

The young Oglala war leader Crazy Horse (Tasunke-Witko) was the soul of the Indian defense of the Black Hills in 1876, of which Sitting Bull was the voice. This was recognized by Gen. Philip H. Sheridan in his Report to the Secretary of War for 1876. More recently, the military gifts and the patriotic motives of Crazy Horse have been enthusiastically acknowledged by white historians, notable among them P. E. Byrne, John Neihardt, and Grace Hebard.¹

The published sources on the life and death of Crazy Horse are

almost exclusively the accounts of the white men who fought against him. The exceptions to this statement are a twenty-page sketch by Charles A. Eastman and a few scattered reminiscences in a book by Luther Standing Bear.² Both these writings are very informal in matter and method. Believing that some Indians still living could throw light on an interesting personality and a debated episode in American history, the writer spent two weeks in July, 1930, on the Pine Ridge reservation interviewing witnesses of various events in the life of Crazy Horse. These interviews are presented as nearly as possible exactly as they were translated by the interpreter, being written up each evening from notes taken at the interview. In some places they have been condensed somewhat, and irrelevant matter is omitted.

Some notes upon the standing and personal connections of the persons interviewed are necessary to help in evaluating their evidence.

He Dog (Sunka Bloka) is the last surviving representative of the Oglala grand councillors. These were appointive chiefs of the highest rank, officially known as "owners of the tribe" or "supreme head men" (wicasa yatapika). As these titles proved too heavy for Oglala democracy, these functionaries were popularly nicknamed "shirt-wearers" because of a particular type of ceremonial shirt they wore as a robe of office. Red Cloud and Crazy Horse were among these "shirt-wearers," together with the other chiefs, less known to the white people, whom He Dog names in his narrative. Although a nephew of Red Cloud, He Dog sided with Crazy Horse in the fighting in 1876, and he and his brothers took a very active part in several of the battles of that year. Together with Crazy Horse, he surrendered at Fort Robinson on May 7, 1877. When the Court of Indian Offenses was established upon the Pine Ridge reservation in the 1890's, He Dog was made a judge of it. He served in this capacity for many years until his advanced age and failing sight made further service impossible. At present he lives near the town of Oglala with his great-niece, upon whose family he is dependent.

In spite of his 92 years and his infirmities, He Dog is possessed of a remarkable memory. He is the living depository of Oglala tribal history and old-time customs. Anyone digging very deeply into these subjects with other old-timers is likely to be referred to him: "He Dog will remember about that." In interviewing He Dog one can hardly fail to be impressed with his strong historical

sense and with the moderation and carefulness of his statements.

Two long interviews with He Dog are presented here. The third, dealing with the battles of the Sioux war of 1876, is not reproduced for the following reason. Shortly after the interview of July 7, 1930, He Dog was told by a young Indian that the interviewer was very likely a government spy hoping to lure the old-timers into admissions of depredations alleged to have been committed during the war of 1876. The claims of the Sioux nation against the United States government for compensation for the taking of the Black Hills are pending in the United States Court of Claims and the Indians were expecting an early hearing upon them. It appears that a counter-claim has been filed charging damages against the Sioux for all soldiers and civilians killed and property damaged during the war. On this account the old chief was advised not to talk too freely with us for fear his words might be twisted into evidence in support of this counter-claim. Unfortunately the next interview, on July 10, dealt with the war of 1876, and He Dog's statements were so extremely guarded as to add practically nothing to what is already known of this fighting.³ Accordingly, this interview is omitted. The misunderstanding was straightened out, thanks to the help of John Colhoff and to He Dog's own fair-mindedness. But the interviewer thereafter confined her questions to the personal biography of Crazy Horse. It was feared that the existing situation might color any accounts given of the war of 1876. Later He Dog's brother Short Buffalo volunteered a brief but comprehensive account of this war from the Oglala point of view, which is presented.

Red Feather was the younger brother of Crazy Horse's first wife. He was a member of Crazy Horse's band during the fighting of 1876 and up to that chief's death. At this time he was one of the younger men. Later on he became a prominent figure upon the reservation and used his influence to support the government authorities during the unrest of 1888 to 1890. He became a Catholic and attends mass three times a week at the Holy Rosary Mission. His friendship with the fathers at this mission and his relations with the agency have brought him into frequent contact with white people. He receives a government pension. Red Feather has the reputation of being a skilful diplomat and a shrewd judge of character. The reader may perhaps find some indications of these qualities in his narrative.

He lost a leg through blood poisoning a few years ago while in the agency hospital, and this experience may help to account for the poor opinion of physicians revealed in one of his observations.

Red Feather and He Dog had apparently had differences of a personal nature over a matter of historical fact, and each of them warned us to be skeptical of the other. In spite of these warnings, the actual disagreements between their narratives are not greater than one would expect to find between witnesses of events which took place more than fifty years ago.

Short Buffalo (Tatanka Ptečila)⁴ is the youngest brother of He Dog and shares the remarkable memory which seems to be a family characteristic. Anyone who will take the pains to compare his account of the John Brughier incident or of the surrender of Crazy Horse with the accounts by white officers published thirty-five years or more ago will be struck by Short Buffalo's accuracy after so many years. None of the men interviewed had any means of access to the published accounts. In certain other instances Short Buffalo's version of events differs sharply from the published accounts but in such a way as to suggest that the Indian version deserves at least consideration. Short Buffalo was in his early 20's at the time of the events described here.⁵

Mrs. Carrie Slow Bear is a daughter of Red Cloud. She was not an eyewitness of the events she describes, although she was upon the reservation at the time. Her father and husband were eyewitnesses. When the opportunity to interview her presented itself, it was snatched at. Her narrative represents the official version of the story current in the Red Cloud family.

White Calf was a government scout at Fort Robinson during the year 1876. He was a witness of the stabbing of Crazy Horse. He did not know the chief personally at all well. His family and political connections were with the Red Cloud band. He was 23 or 24 years old at the time of the events narrated.

Little Killer was connected with Crazy Horse by marriage, being the younger brother of the man (Club Man) who married Crazy Horse's older sister. He was a member of Crazy Horse's band and a personal admirer, as his narrative testifies. He is approximately the same age as Short Buffalo and White Calf.

All the persons interviewed here except Red Feather are either relatives of Red Cloud or close neighbors of relatives of Red Cloud. After the interview with Mrs. Slow Bear, the Red Cloud connection appeared to take a certain interest in the movements

of the interviewer, and members of it were present at the interviews with Short Buffalo and Little Killer. When this series was completed, the interviewer drove up to Manderson, South Dakota, where the few surviving blood relatives of Crazy Horse live. But their testimony could not be obtained. Luke Little Hawk, approached by John Colhoff on behalf of the interviewer, replied in effect that no questions had been asked about Crazy Horse at the time of his death, and he did not care to answer any now. Black Elk said he felt he ought to be paid for telling us the biography of Crazy Horse (he suggested a rate of 2 cents a word!) and that it would require about two weeks. This was taken to be another form of refusal. The interpreter, Emil Afraid-of-Hawk, told us that Crazy Horse's relatives had repeatedly refused to make any statement about him to white people or indeed to Indians of the opposite faction.

Some points not brought out in the interviews were added by our interpreters. It was one of them—T. W. C. Killer—who told us the character he had heard given the informer Woman Dress when the Indians are talking among themselves: "He was like a two-edged sword against his own people." Killer was asked why our informants evaded the questions we asked them about Woman Dress: "That is the way with our people. We don't like to say anything against one of ourselves to someone from outside." Another interpreter, Samuel Stands, became so much interested that he went of his own initiative to "an old-timer" (whose name he would not tell us), and asked some questions of his own. The old man's reply as quoted by Stands was, "I'm not telling anyone—white or Indian—what I know about the killing of Crazy Horse. That affair was a disgrace, and a dirty shame. We killed our own man." This remark is quoted to illustrate the difficulties of getting to the bottom of the problems involved and not to exculpate the white officers, who asked no questions at the time when questions were in order.

With the possible exception of Red Feather, the Indians seem to have been as unaware of what went on among the white men at the fort and the Spotted Tail Agency outside their immediate range of observation as the white men were unaware of the alarms and rivalries among the Indians.⁶ For a well-balanced view of events, therefore, the Indian testimony must be studied in connection with the white sources already published.

In addition to the interviews with the Indians, a part of a letter



Red Cloud and wife.



J. W. Dears Trading Post at Red Cloud Agency, 1876.

Early photo of Sioux Indians at Red Cloud Agency.



from Dr. V. T. McGillicuddy is presented. After reading Dr. McGillicuddy's testimony as presented in the *Nebraska History Magazine* of December, 1929, the interviewer wrote to him for further information, particularly with regard to reservation politics during the summer of 1877. Dr. McGillicuddy was assistant post surgeon at Fort Robinson at that time, and later (1879-1886) agent at the Pine Ridge Indian Agency.

INTERVIEW WITH HE DOG

Oglala, South Dakota, July 7, 1930

Thomas White Cow Killer, Interpreter

I will be glad to tell you about Crazy Horse or any others of our old-time chiefs about whom you may wish to know because I am an old man now and shall not live many years longer, and it is time for me to tell these things. Whatever I tell you will be the exact truth because I was in a position to know what I talk about. There are a lot of old Indians hanging about the reservation who like to talk to the white people and would just as soon tell you anything, whether it is true or not. They are men whom we would not have had as servants, those of us who were chiefs in the old days.

I and Crazy Horse were both born in the same year and at the same season of the year. We grew up together in the same band, played together, courted the girls together, and fought together. I am now 92 years old, so you can figure out in what year he was born by your calendar. When we were 17 or 18 years old we separated. Crazy Horse went to the Rosebud⁷ band of Indians and stayed with them for about a year. Then he came home. After he had been back for a while, I made inquiries about why he had left the Rosebud band. I was told he had to come back because he had killed a Winnebago woman.⁸

Less than a year after Crazy Horse left camp, I joined in a trip against the Crow Indians. When I got home, the crier was announcing that Crazy Horse was back in camp. Only his name was not Crazy Horse at that time. He had three names at different times of his life. His name until he was about 10 years old was Curly Hair. Later, from the time he was 10 until the time

he was about 18 years of age, he was called His-Horse-on-Sight, but this name did not stick to him. When he was about 18 years old there was a fight with the Arapahoes, who were up on a high hill covered with big rocks and near a river. Although he was just a boy, he charged them several times alone and came back wounded but with two Arapaho scalps. His father—whose name was Crazy Horse—made a feast and gave his son his own name. After that the father was no longer called by the name he had given away but was called by a nickname Worm.

Crazy Horse, the son, was one of three children. The oldest was a sister, the next was Crazy Horse, and the third was a brother. All are dead now.

When we were young men, the Oglala band divided into two parts, one led by Red Cloud and one by Man-Afraid-of-His-Horse, the elder. I and Crazy Horse stayed with the part led by Man-Afraid-of-His-Horse. Later this half subdivided again into two parts. I stayed with the more northern half, of which I and Big Road, and later Holy Bald Eagle and Red Cloud, were appointed joint chiefs ("shirt-wearers," so called from a particular kind of ceremonial shirt worn by this class of chieftain as insignia of office). Crazy Horse remained with the southern quarter of the tribe. The council of this division awarded the chieftainship to Crazy Horse, American Horse, Young-Man-Afraid-of-His-Horse, and Sword. It was many years after our first battles before we were made chiefs. A man had to distinguish himself in many fights and in peace as well before he could be chosen as a chief.⁹

(Part of an interview held by John Colhoff with He Dog is inserted here because it bears on this subject. The material obtained through John Colhoff is italic.—E. H. H.)

The name of Crazy Horse's band was the Hunkpatila ("End-of-Circle") band because when the tribe was encamped together it occupied one end of the tribal crescent.

At about the time these appointments were made Crazy Horse moved up toward the White Mountains (Indian name of the Big Horn Mountains). Crazy Horse and I went together on a war trip to the other side of the mountains. When we came back, the people came out of the camp to meet us and escorted us back and at a big ceremony presented us with two spears, the gift of the whole tribe, which was met together. These spears were each



He Dog and wife, 1899. Note log house in background, tipi in foreground.



Chief
American Horse
With Squaw No. 2
Copy Righted Jan 29
1891
by the Wm. W. & Co.
Madison, Wis.

TRAGER & KUHN,

Wigwam
Photographers

American Horse and his second wife.

three or four hundred years old and were given by the older generation to those in the younger generation who had best lived the life of a warrior.

Crazy Horse was still single when he was made a "shirt-wearer." A few years after this he began to pay attention to the wife of a man named No Water. No Water did not want to let the woman go.

In the Battle "When They Chased the Crows Back to Camp," He Dog and Crazy Horse were the lance-bearers of the Kangi Yuha (Crow Owners' Society).¹⁰ About ten days after that battle Crazy Horse started off on a smaller war expedition and No Water's wife went along with him.

No Water followed them and came to the tipi of Bad Heart Bull¹¹ and asked to borrow a certain good revolver which Bad Heart Bull owned. He said he wanted to go hunting. Crazy Horse and the woman were sitting by the fire in a tipi belonging to some of their friends. No Water entered the tipi, walked up to Crazy Horse as near as I am to that stove (about four feet) and shot him through the face. The bullet entered just below the left nostril. That is how Crazy Horse got his scar. No Water took his wife back.

Because of all this, Crazy Horse could not be a "shirt-wearer" any longer. When we were made chiefs, we were bound by very strict rules as to what we should do and what not do, which were very hard for us to follow. I have never spoken to any but a very few persons of what they made us promise then. I have always kept the oaths I made then, but Crazy Horse did not.

Later on the older, more responsible men of the tribe conferred another kind of chieftainship on Crazy Horse. He was made war chief of the whole Oglala tribe. A similar office was conferred on Sitting Bull by the Hunkpapa tribe. This was still early, a long, long time before the Custer fight. At this time the government did not know who we were.

Crazy Horse always led his men himself when they went into battle, and he kept well in front of them. He headed many charges and was many times wounded in battle, but never seriously. He never wore a war bonnet. A medicine man named Chips had given him power if he would wear in battle an eagle-bone whistle and one feather and a certain round stone with a hole in it. He wore the stone under his left arm, suspended by a leather thong that went over his shoulder. The one central

feather that is in the middle of the war-eagle's tail, that was the feather he wore in his hair.

(He Dog denied, with a chuckle, various stories told about how Crazy Horse on certain occasions threw away his rifle and charged in with a war club or a riding quirt—a characteristic Indian mode of seeking death in battle.—E. H. H.) Crazy Horse always stuck close to his rifle. He always tried to kill as many as possible of the enemy without losing his own men.

He never spoke in council and attended very few. There was no special reason for this; it was just his nature. He was a very quiet man except when there was fighting.

Crazy Horse was married three times. The first time was to No Water's wife, but she only stayed with him a few days. Shortly after that he married Red Feather's sister. By her he had one child, a little girl who died when about 2 years old. A long while after, when he had surrendered at Fort Robinson, he married a young half-breed girl. He did not have any children by her.

INTERVIEW WITH HE DOG

Oglala, South Dakota, July 13, 1930

John Colhoff, Interpreter

Question—Dr. Charles Eastman, whose Indian name is "Ohiyesa," has written in a book that Crazy Horse, when he was a young man, was intimate friends with a famous Oglala war chief called Hump or High Back Bone.¹² We wonder if He Dog can tell us anything about this man and his friendship with Crazy Horse.

Answer—High Back Bone and Crazy Horse were sworn friends and went on nearly all their war expeditions together, and the one was as great a war leader as the other. The first and last time these two disagreed was the time when High Back Bone got killed. He and Crazy Horse were on a war expedition together against the Shoshones. They had stationed their men at the Wind River. It was in the fall, and there was a drizzly rain turning into snow. Crazy Horse said, "I wonder if we can make it back to Cone Creek. I doubt if our horses can stand a fight in this slush. They sink in over their ankles."

Messengers took this word to High Back Bone, who said, "This is the second fight he has called off in this same place! This time there is going to be a fight." He came to Crazy Horse and said, "The last time you called off a fight here, when we got back to camp they laughed at us. You and I have our good name to think about. If you don't care about it you can go back. But I'm going to stay here and fight."

Crazy Horse said, "All right, we fight, if you feel that way about it. But I think we're going to get a good licking. You have a good gun and I have a good gun, but look at our men! None of them have good guns, and most of them have only bows and arrows. It's a bad place for a fight and a bad day for it, and the enemy are twelve to our one."

They fought all the same; but the Shoshones had the best of it. Pretty soon the Oglalas were on the run, with only three men left who were doing any fighting: Good Weasel, Crazy Horse, and High Back Bone. It was a running fight, with more running than fighting—only these three were fighting at all. Crazy Horse charged one side of the Shoshones and High Back Bone the other. When they came back, High Back Bone's horse was stumbling. He said, "We're up against it now; my horse has a wound in the leg."

Crazy Horse said, "I know it. We were up against it from the start."

Both made charges. When Crazy Horse got back he found only Good Weasel left. High Back Bone had fallen from his horse and the Shoshones surged over him. That was the last seen of High Back Bone. Good Weasel and Crazy Horse got away.¹³

Question—About how old was High Back Bone—was he about the same age as He Dog and Crazy Horse, or was he an older man?

Answer—Just about the same age as Crazy Horse and I.

Question—We have read that Crazy Horse had a younger brother, to whom he was very much attached, who died in battle. Can you tell us about this?

Answer—The younger brother went on a war expedition south of the Platte river and never came back. Crazy Horse wasn't along. This was during the time when No Water and Crazy Horse got into that scrape¹⁴ and Crazy Horse was not yet well from his wounds. When Red Cloud went to Washington (later in the same year), Crazy Horse went south and found his brother's body and buried it.

Question—What was this brother's name?

Answer—Crazy Horse's brother's name was Little Hawk. After the young man's death his father's brother took the same name. The old men claim the first Little Hawk would have been a greater man than his brother Crazy Horse if he had lived. But he was too rash.

All the time I was in fights with Crazy Horse in critical moments of the fight, Crazy Horse would always jump off his horse to fire. He is the only Indian I ever knew who did that often. He wanted to be sure that he hit what he aimed at. That is the kind of a fighter he was. He didn't like to start a battle unless he had it all planned out in his head and knew he was going to win. He always used judgment and played safe. His brother and High Back Bone were reckless. That is why they got killed.

Question—When my friend and I got back to our camp after the other interview, we found there were several things in the story of the quarrel between Crazy Horse and No Water we did not understand the same way. We wonder if He Dog will tell that story again. In particular, we were not clear which No Water did the shooting—the No Water who is living now, the No Water who was the husband of the woman with whom Crazy Horse eloped, or the father of the woman's husband.

Answer—The old No Water did the shooting—the husband of the woman. The woman was the mother of this No Water who is living now. He was a little boy when it happened. The woman had three children; he was the oldest. She gave them to different people to take care of when she left with Crazy Horse. When her husband No Water got back, his wife and children were gone. He went around to the various tipis and found his children. Crazy Horse had been paying open attention to the woman for a long time, and it didn't take No Water very long to guess where she had gone. He gathered up a fairly strong war party and went after him.

Crazy Horse had taken the woman and a few followers and gone on a war expedition against the Crows. On the second night he came to a place on Powder River where several bands had joined together and they stopped with friends.

Little Shield¹⁵ was with Crazy Horse at the time he was shot. No Water overtook him on the second night after he had left camp with the woman. Crazy Horse and the woman were sitting by the fire in a friend's tipi when No Water rushed in saying,

"My friend, I have come!" Crazy Horse jumped up and reached for his knife. No Water shot him just below the left nostril. The bullet followed the line of the teeth and fractured his upper jaw. He fell forward into the fire. No Water left the tent at once and told his friends he had killed Crazy Horse.

The woman went out the back of the tent, crawling under the tent covering, when No Water fired. She went to relatives and begged for protection. She did not go back to Crazy Horse.

It was Bad Heart Bull's revolver that No Water borrowed for the shooting. Yellow Bear brought back the revolver and the word that No Water had killed Crazy Horse. Later, someone brought word that Crazy Horse was not dead.

No Water had a fast mule which he had ridden when he came to kill Crazy Horse. He left without it—in a hurry. When Crazy Horse's men had convinced themselves that they could not find No Water to punish, they killed his mule instead. No Water's friends made a sweat lodge hot and purified him of the murder. Then he disappeared.

No Water was a brother of Holy Bald Eagle,¹⁶ nicknamed the Black Twin. He really was a twin; the "White Twin," Holy Buffalo, was a little lighter in complexion. Holy Bald Eagle said to No Water, "Come and stay with me, and if they want to fight us we will fight."

Crazy Horse's men did not take him back to his people but to the camp of his uncle Spotted Crow to be nursed. They were very angry and thought they ought to have No Water turned over to them to be punished, or else wage war on his people. For a while it looked as if a lot of blood would flow. But by good luck there were three parties to the quarrel instead of two. Bull Head, Ashes, and Spotted Crow, the uncles of Crazy Horse and the head men of that band, worked for peace. Also, Bad Heart Bull and I thought we were involved in it, since Bad Heart Bull's revolver had been used for the shooting. We did what we could. After a while the thing began to quiet down. No Water owned a very fine roan horse and a fine bay horse; he sent these and another good horse to atone for the injury he had done. Spotted Crow, Sitting Eagle, and Canoeing brought No Water's wife to Bad Heart Bull's tent and left her there on condition that she should not be punished for what she had done. This condition was demanded by Crazy Horse. Bad Heart Bull arranged for her to go back to her husband in peace. If it had not been settled this

way, there might have been a bad fight.

But Crazy Horse could not be a "shirt-wearer" any more on account of his adultery.

The trouble flared up once more after it was supposed to have been quieted. There were several bands encamped near the mouth of the Big Horn river. They had been hunting buffalo across the Missouri [Yellowstone?]. Some were through dressing their meat and others were not. Iron Horse and Crazy Horse had finished and were coming back with their ponies loaded with packs of meat. A man named Moccasin Top was still dressing his kill. Moccasin Top owned a fast buckskin horse, and had it tethered near him while he worked. No Water came along that way and saw Crazy Horse coming. He untied the buckskin horse of Moccasin Top and jumped on it and started off across the prairie pretty fast.

Then Crazy Horse came along and saw Moccasin Top. He said, "Are you here? Then who was the man that just rode off on your buckskin horse?"

Moccasin Top said, "That was No Water."

Crazy Horse said, "I wish I had known it! I would certainly have given him a bullet in return for that one he gave me."

Then he stripped off his pack, jumped on his pony, and gave chase. He chased No Water to the Missouri [Yellowstone?] River. No Water made the horse plunge into the river and swim across. Crazy Horse did not follow him any further. No Water quit camp and went south among the Loafer Indians at the Red Cloud Agency and never went back. He stayed at the agency all through the war with the white people and had nothing more to do with the hostiles. We only saw him once after that until we came down to the agency. My father and No Water's father were related; that was how Bad Heart Bull and I came to be drawn into the quarrel.

Question—What was the name of No Water's wife?

Answer—This woman was named Black Buffalo Woman. She was a daughter of Red Cloud's brother.¹⁷ They claim that a few months after she went back to No Water, this woman gave birth to a light-haired little girl. Many people believe this child was Crazy Horse's daughter, but it was never known for certain. This daughter is living now.

No Water's friends accused Chips—the medicine man who gave Crazy Horse his war medicine—of giving him a love-charm

to make this woman run away with him. They were going to kill Chips. The Black Twin (Holy Bald Eagle) tried to get Chips to acknowledge that he had given Crazy Horse a love-charm, but Chips stoutly denied it. He said he knew nothing whatever about the affair. So after a while they let him go. After that Chips stayed away from the Badger band.

Question—When a “shirt-wearer” broke his oath, how did they go about it to take his office away from him?

Answer—There is an outfit called the White Horse Riders or the Short Hairs.¹⁸ They are the ones that decide who are to have the ceremonial shirts. When a shirt-wearer died or broke his oath, the shirt was returned to the White Horse Riders or the Short Hairs. These chose who was to have it next.

Question—Who was chosen to succeed Crazy Horse after he had to return his ceremonial shirt?

Answer—The shirt was never given to anybody else. Everything seemed to stop right there. Everything began to fall to pieces. After that it seemed as if anybody who wanted to could wear the shirt—it meant nothing. But in the days when Crazy Horse and I received our shirts, we had to accomplish many things to win them.

Question—How long was it from the time when Crazy Horse received his shirt until he lost it?

Answer, He Dog—It was about five years that he was a chief; maybe longer.

Answer, Little Shield—It was about the fourth year that the trouble started.

INTERVIEW WITH HE DOG

Oglala, South Dakota, July 7, 1930

Thomas White Cow Killer, Interpreter

I was present at the killing of Crazy Horse. I can tell you just what happened, who was present, and the condition of the weather.

In the year we fought with the white people (1876) the band I led had joined the Crazy Horse band during the fighting. In the winter after the fighting, Spotted Tail went north and persuaded

Crazy Horse to come down to the agency the following spring. When we started in, I thought we were coming to visit and to see whether we would receive an annuity, not to surrender. I thought we would be allowed to go back home afterwards. But when we got near Fort Robinson, I found we were coming to surrender.¹⁹ Spotted Tail had laid a trap for us. Later on I found that Spotted Tail was telling the military things about Crazy Horse which were not so.

Spotted Tail and others kept urging Crazy Horse to go to Washington and talk to the President, as they wanted him to do. After a while Crazy Horse became so he did not want to go anywhere or talk to anyone. One day I was called in to see White Hat [Lieutenant William Philo Clark, temporarily in command at Fort Robinson] and asked to bring Crazy Horse in for a talk because I was such a friend of his. I asked Crazy Horse, but he would not come. This made me feel bad, so I moved my people from where Crazy Horse was camping [on Little Cottonwood Creek] and camped over near the Red Cloud band. There was no quarrel; we just separated.

Crazy Horse said to me that if they would have the agency moved over to Beaver Creek, then he would go to Washington as they asked him. The reason he gave for this condition was that Beaver Creek was in the middle of the Sioux territory, while the location at Fort Robinson was on the edge of it.²⁰

After I had moved camp to the Red Cloud Agency close to Fort Robinson, I was given orders to go and camp a couple of miles east of Fort Robinson at the foot of the White Butte.²¹ Word was brought that Three Stars [Gen. George Crook] was coming that evening and all the Indian leaders were to have a meeting there next day with Three Stars. But Crazy Horse did not come to that council, and neither did Three Stars. After a while we were summoned to Fort Robinson and told that it would be necessary to arrest Crazy Horse.

The next day when I went to Fort Robinson I was told that Crazy Horse had escaped with a part of his band. The Indian police were given orders to bring him back. Next day they brought him back. I was still encamped at the White Butte, and they brought him past my camp on their way to the fort. I saw them coming and sent orders for them to bring Crazy Horse into my tipi. I meant to give him a good talking-to. But the police didn't stop; they took him straight on to the fort. When I saw

this, I could only put on my war bonnet and get on my horse bareback and follow.

When I came to the fort I found Crazy Horse in the lead on his horse, wearing a red blanket. A military ambulance followed—a couple of army officers were in it, but no Indians. I rode up on the left side of Crazy Horse and shook hands with him. I saw that he did not look right. I said, "Look out—watch your step—you are going into a dangerous place."

I was standing just south of the entrance to the adjutant's office at the fort. Red Cloud with his men stood to the east of the building which had the adjutant's office in it; American Horse with his men, to the west. Crazy Horse was taken in to the office and after a little while led out toward a building just north of it.²² I knew this building was the jail because I had been sent out by White Hat once or twice to get some Indians who had done something bad, and they had been taken to this building. But Crazy Horse did not know it. Turning Bear walked ahead of Crazy Horse; on either side of him were Little Big Man and Wooden Sword; behind him was Leaper.

Soon after Crazy Horse had gone into the jail, a noise began in there. Crazy Horse had a revolver with him and tried to draw it, but it was taken away from him. Then he drew his knife. American Horse and Red Cloud shouted to their men, "Shoot to kill!" The white sentry who was on guard outside the jail ran in behind Crazy Horse as he was fighting with the Indian police and lunged—twice—with his bayonet. Crazy Horse cried, "They have stabbed me!" He staggered backward and fell on the campus [parade ground]. I looked around and saw that soldiers and cavalry had formed all around the edge of the parade ground. I stood there, ready to drop.

Then White Hat appeared and said I might go up to Crazy Horse. I did so. There were soldiers standing all around him. The bayonet was laying on the ground beside him and also the knife he had used, and they were red. I tore in two the large red agency blanket which I was wearing and used half of it to cover him. He was gasping hard for breath. "See where I am hurt," he gasped. "I can feel the blood flowing."

I pulled back his shirt and looked at the wound. He was thrust nearly through twice. The first stroke went from between the ribs in the back, on the right side, and very nearly came through in front under the heart. A lump was rising under the skin where

the thrust ended. The second wound was through the small of the back, through the kidneys.

Most of Crazy Horse's people had disappeared. Standing Buffalo and another Indian came across the parade ground and gave him their blankets. Then Dr. V. T. McGillicuddy²³ came up. Crazy Horse died early in the next morning.

INTERVIEW WITH HE DOG

Oglala, South Dakota, July 13, 1930

John Colhoff, Interpreter

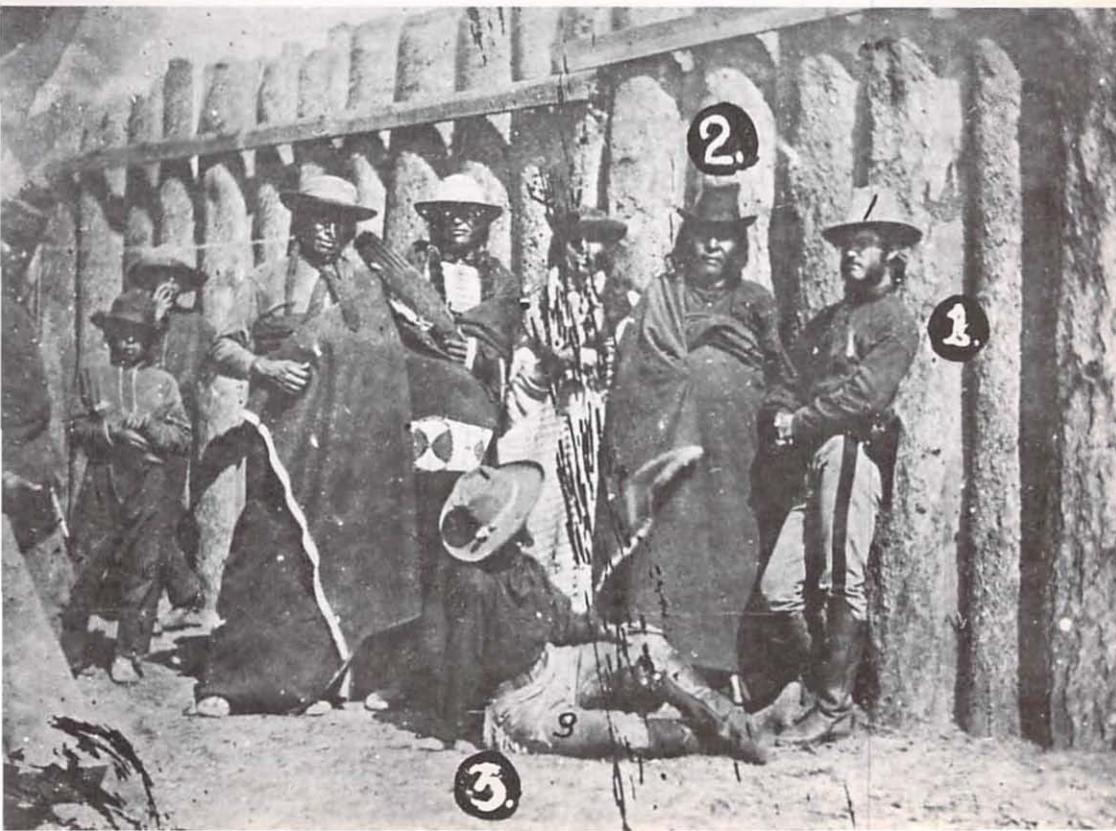
Question—The first time we came to see you, you started to tell us something about one time when two white men came to visit Crazy Horse and gave him a present of two cigars and a knife and shook hands with him in a way that made him suspicious. Our interpreter did not tell us this that day, but a few days later he came around and told us. We would like to hear about that again because we thought it might throw some light on how some of the stories perhaps got started, those that were told about Crazy Horse.

Answer—This was at the time when Crazy Horse was camped a few miles from Fort Robinson, and orders came for everybody to go over and camp beside the White [Crawford] Butte because they were going to hold a big council there.²⁴ Everybody did so except Crazy Horse. Those in his camp who wanted to go to the council were told to move across the creek. I got up in council and I said, "All who love their wife and children, let them come across the creek with me. All who want their wife and children to be killed by the soldiers, let them stay where they are."

Afterwards Crazy Horse asked me and Iron Hawk to come to his tipi. We did. He was leaning back on a pile of blankets and cushions, and he reached under it and pulled out a knife and two cigars. He said this was a present brought him by two visiting white men who had come to see him that afternoon. He did not like the way they shook hands with him, and he did not like their talk, and he did not like their gift. He thought the gift of the knife meant trouble was coming. He thought they shook hands with him as if they did not mean him any good. He was afraid



Fort Robinson—Old Parade Ground: Buildings, left to right, include main building, barracks, 1874 Adjutant's Office where Crazy Horse died, 1884 Guardhouse, and 1874 Guardhouse where Crazy Horse was wounded. . . . (Bottom) Soldiers and Indians at Red Cloud Agency, 1874: 1. Lieutenant W. H. Carter; 2. Red Dog; 3. J. Tavernier, artist.



there would be trouble at that council. One of these white men was the soldier chief from Fort Laramie [Gen. Luther Prentice Bradley]; the other was D. H. Russell (?).²⁵

I said, "Does this mean that you will be my enemy if I move across the creek?"

Crazy Horse laughed in my face. He said, "I am no white man! They are the only people that make rules for other people, that say, 'If you stay on one side of this line it is peace, but if you go on the other side I will kill you all.' I don't hold with deadlines. There is plenty of room; camp where you please."

After that White Hat [Lt. William P. Clark] sent for me and told me about these white men and wanted me to get Crazy Horse to talk to them some more. They sent over presents of food and I made a big feast and invited the white men and sent a messenger to Crazy Horse. But he wouldn't come. He sent back word, "Tell my friend that I thank him and I am grateful, but some people over there have said too much. I don't want to talk to them any more. No good would come of it." I did not think he was really angry, but he had taken offense. They did not approach him right. He did not say whether he would or would not go to Washington.

Question—Yugata [Frank Grouard] says in his book that he listened outside Crazy Horse's tent and heard Crazy Horse plot to bring his men to that council at the White Butte—or else to an earlier council—with weapons hidden under their blankets. When Crazy Horse shook hands with the white officer his men were to draw their weapons and kill all the white people present, according to this story.²⁶ We wondered whether perhaps Yugata might have been watching from outside when Crazy Horse pulled out the knife the white officers had given him and explained about the queer way they shook hands with him, and got his idea about the plot from that.

Answer—It was Long Chin, Lone Bear, and Woman Dress who spied around Crazy Horse's tent and told the white people those stories about him. I never heard until now that Yugata was in it. But I don't know—he may have planned the whole thing for all I know.

Stories like that are what caused ill-feeling. But I don't believe they were true. If I heard Crazy Horse say it once I heard him say it many times: "I came here for peace. No matter if my own relatives pointed a gun at my head and ordered me to change that word I would not change it."

When we first came down to the agency, Crazy Horse was willing to go to Washington. He said to me, "First, I want them to place my agency on Beaver Creek west of the Black Hills. Then I will go to Washington—for your benefit, for my benefit, and for the benefit of all of us. And that is the only reason why I will go there."

Spotted Crow and others told him, "That about going to Washington is only a decoy. They want to get you away from us and then they will have you in their power." After a while Crazy Horse got so he thought it might be true. At last he told the officers, "I am not going there. I wanted to go, but you have changed my mind. Still deep in my heart I hold that place on Beaver Creek where I want my agency. You have my horses and my guns. I have only my tent and my will. You got me to come here and you can keep me here by force if you choose, but you cannot make me go anywhere that I refuse to go."

INTERVIEW WITH RED FEATHER

Pine Ridge, South Dakota, July 8, 1930

Mrs. Annie Roland, Interpreter

What is the date by your calendar? Write it down that I am telling you the story of Crazy Horse on July 8, 1930. I will tell you the true facts about Crazy Horse, because I am a Catholic now and it is a part of my religion to tell the truth.

"Black Beard" made a treaty with the Indians.²⁷ In this treaty boundaries were set to the country of the Dakotas. The Indians all stayed together inside these boundaries. The white people kept sending to Crazy Horse to leave his country and come in to the agency, but he wanted to keep his own land. The Indians always stayed inside these boundaries and they are still inside them. So are a lot of white people.

Some Indians who were staying at the agency kept coming out to Crazy Horse to ask him to come in to the agency. One of these Indians was named Keeps-the-Sword, the other Spotted Tail.

Crazy Horse and another chief named He Dog were camping on the Powder River. Keeps-the-Sword and Spotted Tail took tobacco out to them and killed a lot of buffaloes. They told Crazy

Horse that the agent wanted him. If he would go in to the agency, the agent would issue rations, blankets, and clothing, and then allow him to go back home. Crazy Horse didn't want to go. He didn't answer them for a long time. He told them to go over to the other Indians [He Dog's band] and he would do the same as the others did. These others were camping in the White Mountains [Big Horn Mountains]. Crazy Horse did not take the tobacco—he sent it over to the others.

After they took it over they had a big council of all the chiefs of both bands. The man that took the tobacco said the agent sent them, that is why they came. One old man named Iron Hawk spoke first and answered, "You see all the people here are in rags, they all need clothing, we might as well go in." Crazy Horse said whatever all the rest decided to do, he would do. So they all agreed to go in. They promised to go over, get the rations and the clothing, and return west of the Black Hills again.

I was right there when Crazy Horse was killed. Crazy Horse had never been to an agency since he was a young man. Neither had I. The Indians who were in the Big Horn Mountains started for the agency. They found Crazy Horse waiting on the Powder River and all came on in together. When they were only about one day's journey from the fort, the people from the agency brought out rations to them. When they got to the fort, the agent gave them rations, clothing, and blankets. Everyone was very jolly. All the women made new clothes. Before that they all wore buckskin, but now their clothes were of bright-colored cloth. After the agent gave them clothes he told Crazy Horse to become a scout. It was about April when they came in.²⁸

When we came in we were promised that we might go back, but after we were there we were not allowed to go back. All the white people came to see Crazy Horse and gave him presents and money. The other Indians at the agency got very jealous.

One day the soldiers called Crazy Horse over to the fort. He didn't want to go. I coaxed him to go. When they got him over to the fort they made him promise to become a scout.

Then old Billy Garnett told me the Indians were telling lies about Crazy Horse. One Indian named No Water promised the scouts he would kill Crazy Horse. All the rest of the Indians made a council. Crazy Horse called White Hat [Lt. William P. Clark] to the council. He wanted to tell White Hat that he and his people were ready to go back where they came from. Garnett was



Woman's Dress and family at Agate, Nebraska, 1914.

coming out to this council with White Hat. Three Stars [General George Crook], the white man, was with them. A scout named Woman's Dress stopped them saying Crazy Horse was going to kill them at the council. This was not true. White Hat asked Woman Dress if Crazy Horse said that and Woman Dress said he heard it.²⁹

[When Red Feather started to tell this story he misspoke himself, and said it was No Water who met Crook and Clark and turned them back. At this the interviewer exclaimed, and said she had always heard the man's name was Woman Dress. Red Feather then corrected himself. At this point the interviewer asked if Woman Dress and No Water were two names for the same man. Red Feather's answer follows.] No, they were different men. No, I do not know of any reason why Woman Dress should have wanted to do Crazy Horse an injury.

After White Hat and Three Stars heard this story they went back to the fort and called together all the scouts. White Hat offered \$100 and a sorrel horse to any Indian who would kill

Crazy Horse. I heard about this and went over to the fort. After I went over Garnett told me the scouts and soldiers were going after Crazy Horse. I went with another man to Crazy Horse and told him the soldiers were coming. Crazy Horse had given his gun and gun case to me the night before and had only his knife. He was waiting like that for the soldiers. When the soldiers were coming I went out to meet them. The soldiers told me to tell Crazy Horse they were coming, and he was to do as they said. When I came back with this message, Crazy Horse wasn't there. He had taken his wife over to the Spotted Tail Agency—she was sick with a swollen arm. He left his wife with her mother in Spotted Tail's camp on Beaver Creek.³⁰ Some of the Indians said he had run away. But he hadn't run away. When he had left her where she would be out of the trouble, he went on to see the agent down there. Yes, this wife was my sister.

Some scouts met Crazy Horse going from Spotted Tail's camp to Touch-the-Cloud's camp which was near by. They brought him back to Fort Robinson where the soldiers were. I heard about it and went along over to the fort.

Three of the scouts bringing Crazy Horse in were from the Spotted Tail Agency and two from the Red Cloud Agency. The men of Spotted Tail's band who came along were telling the Oglalas they didn't want Crazy Horse and his people on their reservation. The scouts took Crazy Horse into a little house. They told Crazy Horse's Indians not to go around there. I and another Indian named White Calf sneaked around behind and looked in.

White Hat was sitting in a room in the little house. After they took Crazy Horse in, White Hat said Crazy Horse should go in the next house and stay there all day and after they got through supper they would take him to Washington. One Indian called Little Big Man or Chasing [Charging] Bear followed Crazy Horse in; he had promised to stay by him all the time. Little Big Man said, "We'll do whatever White Hat says."

The house where they told Crazy Horse to go was about as far away as from here to that stake on the hill [about 200 or 300 feet]. They said go in there. A soldier was walking back and forth with a bayonet over his shoulder. When the soldier saw them coming, he lowered the bayonet and let them go in.

Afterward I heard talking and excitement inside. Spotted Tail's scouts cried out, "It's the jail!" and left Crazy Horse and



*Little Big Man,
Oglala Sioux*

ran outside. Crazy Horse drew his knife and started to follow them. Little Big Man, who had promised the soldiers to stay with Crazy Horse, caught his hands and held them behind his back. Crazy Horse cut his wrists as they were fighting for the knife. The sentry came in behind them and ran Crazy Horse through once. The thrust went through the kidneys. This was done a little before sunset.

An Indian named Closed Cloud picked up Crazy Horse's blanket, which he had dropped inside the jail, and spread it over him. Crazy Horse seized him by the hair and jerked him this way and that: "You all coaxed me over here and then you ran away and left me!" They carried Crazy Horse into the house. Everyone was ready to fight. But they all cooled down.

Everyone ran away from him, that was why it happened. The scouts were the cause of it. If they had held him and had not run away, he would not have been hurt.

After Crazy Horse was taken into the little house, the other Indians were not allowed in. His father, Spider,³¹ White Bird, and another were with him all night. Crazy Horse died later in the evening.

I asked one of the Rosebud men—Turning Bear—why they left Crazy Horse and ran out. I told them they made it worse when they said, "Look out, this is the jail!" and ran out. Turning

Bear knew nobody was going to put *him* in jail. I said, "Why didn't you stay and hold him?" All those Rosebudders were cowards and they ran away. I started to cry. I had my gun with me, and they thought I was starting to fight. The Rosebud men held me.

When Crazy Horse was dead, they brought a soldier's wagon with mules hitched to it and put his body in it and took him back to camp. After they took him back I helped undress him and put a buckskin shirt on him. It was then I saw where the wound was.

Crazy Horse was a nice-looking man, with brown—not black—hair, a sharp nose, and a narrow face. Nobody on the reservation nowadays looks like him. His nose was straight and thin. His hair was very long, straight, and fine in texture. I knew him well, knew everything about him, but not his age, or where he was born, or where he was buried. His own people buried him, and not even his wife, who was my sister, knew what they did with him.

Crazy Horse married my sister six years before he was killed. He had only one child, a little girl who looked like him. She died when about three years old. Black Shawl was my sister's name. She died near here only a few years ago in the year when so many Indians had influenza. She must have been about 84 years old. She never took another husband.

Crazy Horse was a big chief over all his land. His father hid his body so not even my sister knew where it was buried. Before he was buried a war-eagle came to walk about on the coffin every night. It did nothing, only just walked about.

Question—Does Red Feather remember about when they asked Crazy Horse to go and help fight the Nez Perce Indians? That happened maybe seven days before Crazy Horse was killed. We heard that Crazy Horse didn't want to go and that this had something to do with the misunderstandings that arose.

Answer—We heard the Nez Perce Indians were having a fight with the white people. The soldiers wanted Crazy Horse to go along and help fight them. Crazy Horse didn't want to go. Finally he told the soldiers he wanted thirty-five dollars a day for himself and each of his men if he fought the Nez Percés. When he came in to the agency, the soldiers had made him promise not to go on the war path any more. They told him not to fight, and then to fight.

Question—We would like to have Red Feather tell us about

the time when Crazy Horse was a young man, before he came onto the reservation, and before the fighting with the white people started.

Answer—I knew Crazy Horse ever since I was a little boy. The enemy killed his saddle horse under him eight times, but they never hurt him badly. During war expeditions he wore a little white stone with a hole through it, on a buckskin string slung over his shoulder. He wore it under his left arm. He was wounded twice when he first began to fight but never since—after he got the stone. A man named Chips, a great friend of his, gave it to him. My son, young Red Feather, has it now. He was the leader in many fights. He was the leader in the Custer fight. I was in that Custer battle. He came in a year after that and made a treaty, as I have told you. All that land where the fighting was is full of white people now.

Question—How did Crazy Horse get to be a chief?

Answer—He was a chief ever since he was grown up.

Question—I have heard that when he was a young man Crazy Horse was great friends with a man named Hump, or Big Breast, or High Back Bone. We would like to know more about that.

Answer—High Back Bone was about the same age as Crazy Horse and was related to him. They used to go on war expeditions together. One time they went on a war expedition against the Shoshones, and High Back Bone was killed in the fight. I was in that fight. Four days later Crazy Horse and I went back to find High Back Bone and bury him. We didn't find anything but the skull and a few bones. High Back Bone had been eaten by coyotes already. There weren't any Shoshones around. When the Shoshones found out whom they had killed, they beat it.

INTERVIEW WITH RED FEATHER

Pine Ridge, South Dakota, July 11, 1930

Mrs. Annie Rowland, Interpreter

Question—I have been told that when Crazy Horse first came down to the reservation the white officers liked him so well that they wanted to make him chief over all the Oglalas in place of

Red Cloud if he would stay at the agency, but he didn't want to stay. The doctor who took care of Crazy Horse while he was dying said this to me, and also Luther Standing Bear said it in his book.³² Does Red Feather know if the officers ever said anything to Crazy Horse about this?

Answer—White Hat [Lieutenant Clark] told Crazy Horse that they were going to take him to Washington and ask him two questions: (1) to quit fighting and (2) to pick out a land for himself and make a homestead. Crazy Horse answered, "Yes, when I get over my tiredness I will go with him and when I pick out a land I will pick one right near the Black Hills." But White Hat didn't come for him until they killed him.

Crazy Horse's father told me he thought that doctor gave Crazy Horse poison. The doctor gave him some medicine³³ and he died awful quick after that.

Question—We wanted to ask about a secret council said to have been held in Crazy Horse's tipi about five or six nights before his death. There was to be a council with White Hat the next day to decide whether Crazy Horse and others would go as scouts to help fight the Nez Percés. The night before this council with White Hat, this secret council is said to have been held. The scout Yugata (Frank Grouard), who claims to have been listening outside the tent, told White Hat that Crazy Horse was planning to bring his warriors armed to the council next day and that at a sign from Crazy Horse they would pull their weapons from under their blankets and attack. We wondered if there really was a council held in Crazy Horse's tipi the night before the council with White Hat, and, if so, what happened at it.

Answer—I do not know of any such council. I had never heard that Yugata had anything to do with those stories, until now. I had always heard that it was Woman Dress and Lone Bear who listened outside Crazy Horse's tent with their blankets over their heads and told those stories. I think maybe Yugata heard what they said and claimed to have done the listening himself. Yugata was the interpreter.

Question—We have been told that Woman Dress was closely related to Red Cloud. Is this true?

Answer—Woman Dress was Red Cloud's first cousin and always stayed with him.³⁴

Question—Was Crazy Horse related to Spotted Tail?

Answer—I don't know.

Question—What were the names of Crazy Horse's father and mother?

Answer—Crazy Horse's father was named Crazy Horse until he gave his name to his son. After that he was called Worm (Waglula). I do not remember the name of the mother.

Question—What was the name of Crazy Horse's little daughter that died?

Answer—She was called "They-Are-Afraid-of-Her" (Kokipapi).

Question—Does Red Feather remember anything about the marriage of Crazy Horse with his sister Black Shawl?

Answer—All I can say about that is, that both Crazy Horse and my sister stayed single much longer than is usual among our people.

INTERVIEW WITH SHORT BUFFALO (SHORT BULL)

[No location given], July 13, 1930

John Colhoff, Interpreter

I will tell you about one of the war stunts that Crazy Horse pulled off that I thought was great. It was in a fight with the Shoshones in which the Shoshones outnumbered the Oglalas. Crazy Horse and his younger brother were guarding the rear of their war party. After a lot of fighting, Crazy Horse's pony gave out. Crazy Horse turned it loose and the younger brother, who did not want to leave him, turned his own pony loose. Two of the enemy, mounted, appeared before them for single combat. Crazy Horse said to his brother, "Take care of yourself—I'll do the fancy stunt." Crazy Horse got the best of the first Shoshone; the other one ran away. He got the horses of the two Shoshones and they caught up with their party. They had saved themselves and their party and got the two horses and the scalp of the Shoshone who was killed. This happened near the present agency.

Another time when the Crows pretty nearly got Crazy Horse was the fight on Arrow Creek, the same fight where Runs Fearless performed his great deed. Crazy Horse charged the Crows, his horse was shot under him, and he was surrounded by the enemy. The Oglalas tried to help him but could not get near



Short Bull and Joseph Horn Cloud.

him. A man named Spotted Deer made a last effort to reach him. He broke through the enemy and Crazy Horse got onto his pony behind him and they made a charge for the open. They both made it back to the Sioux lines, riding double and closely pursued. This battle is known to the Indians as "The Time Yellow Shirt was Killed by the Crows." Pictures of it are shown in the Bad Heart Bull manuscript.³⁵ Yellow Shirt was a member of the White Horse Owners' society; that is, he was one of the "shirt-wearers" of the northern Montana Sioux. At the time of this battle, Crazy Horse and He Dog were the two lance-bearers of the Has-the-Crow-Skin (Crow Owners') Society.

[Short Buffalo was asked to tell about what happened from the time the hostiles decided to come in to the agency until Crazy Horse was killed. His narrative follows.]

About one hundred men went out from the agency to coax the hostiles to come in under pretense that the trouble about the Black Hills was to be settled. The bands of Crazy Horse, He Dog, Holy Bald Eagle, and Big Road gathered to hear these men and to hold a council at the forks of the Tongue River, where a big city of the white people is now [Sheridan, Wyoming]. All the hostiles agreed that since it was late and they had to shoot for tipis [i.e., shoot buffalo] they would come in to the agency the following spring.

The next spring He Dog and the Cheyennes were camped on Powder River, working in slowly toward the agency. Early one morning a lot of soldiers sent by General Crook jumped them and took away everything they had—tipis, clothing, food, everything. Crazy Horse was camped a little further down the same river. He Dog and the Cheyennes were going toward him but had not yet reached him when they were jumped by the soldiers. The chiefs of the Cheyennes with He Dog were Little Wolf and Ice. A man by the name of Crawler had come out from the reservation and brought a message from Red Cloud saying, "It is spring; we are waiting for you." Crawler was fired on too, although he came out there on behalf of the white people.³⁶

This attack was the turning point of the situation. The following summer Crook attacked us and then Custer got into it. If it had not been for that attack by Crook on Powder River, we would have come in to the agency that spring, and there would have been no Sioux war.

The first message we got that Custer was coming to fight us



Sioux Warriors (left to right): High Hawk, Little Wound, Big Road, Two Strike, Fire Lightning, Young Man Afraid of His Horses(?), Spotted Elk.

was early in the summer. A small band of Indians coming from North Dakota came in and told about an encounter with Custer. One of this band cited for great bravery in that encounter was named Long Elk.³⁷ After they joined us we left that place and moved over onto the next river, the Rosebud. Here the Cheyennes joined us. They came north past Fort Laramie. What they reported was that a lot of soldiers were massing at Fort Laramie and that Crook had enlisted a lot of Crows and Shoshones and was coming north to capture all the Sioux.

So it wasn't long until we had a fight with Crook on the Rosebud and pushed him back. The Crows, Shoshones, and Crook together made up a strong force. In the Rosebud fight the soldiers first got the Sioux and the Cheyennes on the run. Crazy Horse, Bad Heart Bull, Black Deer, Kicking Bear, and Good Weasel rallied the Sioux, turned the charge, and got the soldiers on the run. Good Weasel was a kind of lieutenant for Crazy Horse—he was always with him. When these five commenced to rally their men, that was as far as the soldiers got.

Crook moved back to Goose Creek after the fight. If he had got word to Custer, he could have told him that there were a lot of us Sioux. But he didn't get word to him.

Crazy Horse used good judgment in this Rosebud fight.

Six days after the Rosebud fight, Custer ran into us. In this Custer fight I was helping fight Reno and never noticed Custer coming. We had Reno's men on the run across the creek when Crazy Horse rode up with his men.

"Too late! you've missed the fight!" we called out to him.

"Sorry to miss this fight!" he laughed. "But there's a good fight coming over the hill."

I looked where he pointed and saw Custer and his blue coats pouring over the hill. I thought there were a million of them.

"That's where the big fight is going to be," said Crazy Horse. "We'll not miss that one."

He was not a bit excited; he made a joke of it. He wheeled and rode down the river, and a little while later I saw him on his pinto pony leading his men across the ford. He was the first man to cross the river. I saw he had the business well in hand. They rode up the draw and then there was too much dust—I could not see any more.

The next day we saw Bear Coat³⁸ coming from below along the river. These soldiers are the ones that dug in the ground and

didn't do much fighting. In the morning they joined forces with Reno on his hill. The Indians quit and went away.

There had been three armies after us—Crook, Custer, and Bear Coat (Terry). If all three forces had struck together, it might have been a different story. But each struck separately.

The day we saw Bear Coat, Crazy Horse was in charge. He placed scouts to see Bear Coat did not follow us. But he did not. His soldiers made racks [litters] and hauled the wounded to the mouth of the Big Horn. I was one of the scouts who saw this and reported to Crazy Horse.

Our next fight was the Slim Buttes fight. In that, five leaders were prominent—Crazy Horse, Kicking Bear, Wears-the-Deer-Bonnet, He Dog, and Brave Wolf. There was no one commander. No leader did anything extraordinary.

This was the last battle I myself saw Crazy Horse take part in. The Indians call it "The Fight Where We Lost the Black Hills." Six Indians were taken prisoner in this battle; we call them the Black Hills Captives. Charging Bear [Little Big Man] was one of the captives.

[Here the interpreter, John Colhoff, put in a word, saying that he had read in a book that the Chief American Horse was mortally wounded and taken prisoner in this battle; but that was a mistake. American Horse was not taken prisoner in this battle; neither did he die of wounds received there. Short Buffalo confirmed the younger man in this. Asked who the man was who was shot through the intestines while concealed in the sand-pit, and who died that night and was left for the Indians to bury, Short Buffalo replied:]

Iron Plume was the man shot in the sand pit. There were women in that pit too. Iron Plume didn't give up until he was too badly wounded to live. It was Iron Plume, not American Horse. One woman was wounded—they let the injured woman and the dead man's wife go. Three women and one child were found dead after the battle. The story might have been different here too, but most of the men were out trading for ammunition when the attack came, and they had not got back.³⁹

After this we went north to the Tongue River and sent eight men to make a treaty. Our peace envoys ran into the Crow camp and lost five men. The other three came home. Then we had the fight where Big Crow got killed. Crazy Horse was in this fight, although I did not see him. His horse was killed under him. He

was one of four men who served as a rear guard to cover the retreat of the others, and then made their getaway. The Big Crow who gave his name to this fight was a Cheyenne. The Cheyennes spent that winter with Crazy Horse and He Dog.

[Short Buffalo was asked if there was anything to the story that Crazy Horse had refused to share his scanty supplies with the Cheyenne refugees from the Battle of Hole-in-the-Wall, led by Dull Knife, and that they were at odds with him on this account. This story is told by Major Bourke in *On the Border with Crook*, page 394, and denied by George Bird Grinnell on the strength of Cheyenne testimony in *The Fighting Cheyenne*, page 368. Short Buffalo said:]

There is nothing to that story. We helped the Cheyennes the best we could. We hadn't much ourselves.

After that we started toward the Rocky Mountains to hunt. An Indian [half-breed] named Big Leggings [John Brughier] brought back three women captives taken by General Miles and asked the hostiles to consider peace. Big Leggings, interpreter for General Miles, was a Hunkpapa. His coming to us that way was a brave deed. He would have been killed, but He Dog protected him until the ill feeling was over. There was always a pretty good bunch of men hanging around He Dog in those days. As soon as people knew what Big Leggings came for, and that the women had not been hurt, then it was all right.⁴⁰

While we were up there, Crow Hawk, Running Fire, and Sword came out to us with a message. They wanted us to come back to the Red Cloud agency and quit fighting. When the messengers came to He Dog we learned that Crazy Horse had already come down to Lodgepole Creek near the Powder River; he was already moving toward the agency. So at this Powder River we all met and had a big council and decided to go in together. The Cheyenne chiefs, Two Moon, Ice, and Little Wolf, took another course in.

When we got to the head of the Powder River (?) we found Red Cloud with one hundred other chiefs to bring us a welcome message: "All is well; have no fear; come on in." Some squaw-men came with him—the two Genise boys and others. From there we all went in to the agency in good spirits. There was no bad feeling among the chiefs or anybody. When we had all come together as far as Hat Creek we sent messengers ahead and followed slowly.

On a big flat near Fort Robinson, Red Cloud and White Hat (Lt. Clark) with two troops of cavalry met Crazy Horse. They shook hands and said they were glad to see him; everybody had come in peace. Crazy Horse spread out his blanket for Red Cloud to sit on and gave his shirt to Red Cloud; He Dog did the same for White Hat. This meant that they gave up to these two. He Dog gave his war-horse and saddle to White Hat. You can see by this that there was no ill feeling toward the whites.⁴¹

In all the talk they had on this day, Crazy Horse said, "There is a creek over there they call Beaver Creek; there is a great big flat west of the headwaters of Beaver Creek; I want my agency put right in the middle of that flat." He said the grass was good there for horses and game. This flat is near where the town of Gillette, Wyoming, is today. After the agency was placed there he would go to Washington and talk to the Great Father. There was another site he had picked for an agency, over near the White (Big Horn) Mountains. This was near where the town of Sheridan, Wyoming, is today. But if he couldn't go there, this place near Beaver Creek would be all right. This was the only cause of misunderstanding at that time. Crazy Horse wanted to have the agency established first, and then he would go to Washington. The officers wanted him to go to Washington first. The difference of whether Crazy Horse should go to Washington before or after the site of the agency was settled upon brought on all the trouble, little by little. When Iron White Man [a relative of Crazy Horse] made his trip to Washington, he tried to make that clear.⁴²

He Dog, I, and all our family are related to Red Cloud. So, after a while we naturally moved over and camped near Red Cloud. Right away after that I joined the scouts and went out with a bunch of them to try to persuade the Lame Deer band to come in. I was away on this errand when Crazy Horse was killed. So this is as far as I know about Crazy Horse.

Crazy Horse was a man not very tall and not very short, neither broad nor thin. His hair was very light—about the color of yours.⁴³ He was a trifle under six feet tall. Bad Heart Bull was the same general type. But Crazy Horse had a very light complexion, much lighter than the other Indians. He usually wore an Iroquois shell necklace; this was the only ornament he wore. His features were not like those of the rest of us. His face was not broad, and he had a sharp, high nose. He had black eyes

that hardly ever looked straight at a man, but they didn't miss much that was going on all the same.

I have seen two photographs of Crazy Horse that I think were really he, both showing him on horse-back. One showed him on a buckskin horse he owned, one on a roan. I have seen a third photograph that I am sure was he, because it showed him on the pinto horse he rode in the Custer fight. I could not possibly make a mistake about that horse, and nobody rode it but Crazy Horse. The man who owns these pictures got them from soldiers who used to be at Fort Robinson. He has quite a collection of pictures of chiefs. I think he lives out in California now, near the National Park there. I do not remember his name.

INTERVIEW WITH CARRIE SLOW BEAR

Oglala, South Dakota, July 12, 1930

Samuel Stands, Interpreter

Before Crazy Horse came down to the agency, all I knew about him was that I had heard he was brave. A big part of the tribe was away off beyond the Black Hills. Crazy Horse was off there with them. He was one of the bravest. He said he wanted to stay out back there in the desert with his people. Red Cloud had come in to the agency. He wanted to make friends with the white people. Crazy Horse did not.

The white people wanted Crazy Horse to come in to the agency and quit fighting. Slow Bear went out with Red Cloud to get Crazy Horse to come in. Finally they got him to come in.

Then the white people wanted Crazy Horse to go to Washington, but he didn't want to go. So after a while they arrested him and brought him to the fort. They were going to take his fighting materials away from him—his gun and his knife—but he wouldn't let them do it. So then they stabbed him with a sword. That is all I know.

Question—I have read in a book that Crazy Horse was related by marriage to Red Cloud. Is that true?

Answer—Crazy Horse was no relation to Red Cloud.

Question—Red Cloud acted like a good friend to Crazy Horse when he got him to come in to the agency, because if he had not,

the soldiers were going to set out with a bigger expedition than ever and the hostiles would have had a hard time. But how did they get along together after Crazy Horse came in? I have been told that some people wanted to have Crazy Horse made chief of all the Oglalas instead of Red Cloud and that they got to be envious of one another on this account.

Answer—Crazy Horse was killed when he had only been at the agency a little while. I do not think there was time for them to have quarrelled, or to have got jealous of each other.⁴⁴

Question—Did you know a man named Woman Dress?

Answer—Yes, I knew him.

Question—He told some queer stories about Crazy Horse, which was the reason why the officers decided to arrest him. Do you know anything about the character of this Woman Dress, whether he could be believed or not?

Answer—Woman Dress was a scout for twenty years at Fort Robinson. I don't really know what sort of a person he was, whether he was a good man, or whether he was a bad man. The white people at the fort liked him.

Question—Do you have any idea why Crazy Horse was unwilling to go to Washington?

Answer—Crazy Horse was willing to go there in the first place, but so much was said about it that he got afraid something would be done to him there. Red Cloud and Slow Bear told him the truth when they went out and got him to come in. They told him that he ought to go to Washington and that it would be all right. But another Indian told him they would kill him either at Fort Robinson or in Washington.

Question—Who was it told him that?

Answer [slowly]—Little Big Man told him that.

INTERVIEW WITH WHITE CALF

Pine Ridge, South Dakota, July 11, 1930

Philip White Calf, Interpreter

The first I knew of Crazy Horse he was out on the Cheyenne river. I was in Red Cloud's band at the old agency near the fort. I was a scout at the fort. Red Cloud received word that Crazy

Horse was coming in to meet us. So then he came in and made a treaty with the soldiers.

I was right there at the time when Crazy Horse was killed. A bunch of Rosebud Indians brought Crazy Horse to Fort Robinson. The soldier chiefs had called him to the fort four times. They called him three times and he would not come, so the fourth time they were going to arrest him. The fourth time the crowd brought him back and took him to jail.

When they got to the jail, all the Indians cried out "It's the jail!" and they would not go in with him. Only one went in with him. It was Little Big Man—Chasing [Charging] Bear—who went in with him. The others who came with him were Iron Hawk, Turning Bear, Big Road, and Long Bear. Crazy Horse and Little Big Man went in.

When Crazy Horse found it was the jail, he turned back and took out his butcher knife. He wanted to hurt somebody. Little Big Man caught his hands behind his back. Crazy Horse dragged him through the door, out onto the parade-ground. He cut Little Big Man in the wrists. The soldier who was walking up and down outside the jail stabbed Crazy Horse from behind with his bayonet. Crazy Horse fell, crouching. I was about twenty-three or twenty-four years old at the time these things happened.

Then someone said they were going to take Crazy Horse to the hospital. He died there and they brought him back to camp the next morning. Do you want to know how Crazy Horse was dressed, at the time he was killed? He wore beaded moccasins, buckskin leggings, and a white cotton shirt. He had a red blanket.

Question—Did you know a scout named Woman Dress?

Answer—Yes, I knew him well.

Question—Woman Dress told the officers from the fort that Crazy Horse was planning to kill them at a council. That is why the officers wanted to arrest Crazy Horse. But we wondered about this Woman Dress—what sort of a person was he? Could he be believed or not?

Answer [slowly]—I don't know whether he could be trusted or not.

Question—How did the people in Red Cloud's band feel toward Crazy Horse? Did they like him, or were they jealous of him?

Answer [slowly]—Well, I expect maybe they might have been jealous of him.

INTERVIEW WITH LITTLE KILLER

Oglala, South Dakota, July 12, 1930

Samuel Stands, Interpreter

I was with Crazy Horse all the time, like that (both forefingers pressed close together). But I was not with him when he was killed. If I had been, maybe I would have been killed too.

I was with Crazy Horse's people when they came out to him from Fort Robinson with tobacco and asked him to come in. Crazy Horse said, all right, he would come to Fort Robinson in the spring.

Crazy Horse moved in a little ahead of me. I trailed him when he was coming in and joined him. When we were a little distance from Fort Robinson people came out bringing us meat. This meat was not buffalo meat but beef and other food. Crazy Horse told me that he was "captured" [i.e., had surrendered] and was going to Fort Robinson and from there on to Washington. The white people at Fort Robinson wanted our guns and horses—the things we fought with. Crazy Horse said, "All right, let them have them."

When he left the horses and fighting materials go, he wanted to go to Washington. He wanted to tell the President he had picked out a place where he wanted to stay. The place where he wanted to go was back over near the White [Big Horn] Mountains, near the Tongue River. Crazy Horse had a white man carve a stone marker and gave it to my brother to take over and set up in that country where he wanted to go. This brother was named Club Man. He is dead now. If he were living he would be chief of the whole tribe. He had married Crazy Horse's older sister. He had eight children, but none of them lived long enough to get allotments from the government.

When Crazy Horse first came to Fort Robinson, he wanted to go to Washington. But other Indians were jealous of him and afraid that if he went to Washington they would make him chief of all the Indians on the reservation. These Indians came to him and told him a lot of stories. After that he would not go there. So then he was arrested and killed.

I was not with Crazy Horse when he was killed. I had been sent to the Spotted Tail agency with a message. When I got back, I heard about it.

Question—Were you at the Spotted Tail agency at the time when Crazy Horse came there to see the agent, Captain Jesse M. Lee?

Answer—No, I was not there then. I heard about that afterward.

Question—Can you tell us what Crazy Horse looked like?

Answer—Crazy Horse was a short little man. He did not have black hair; he had brown hair like a white man's, and a long straight nose. His eyes were black like a Lakota's.

Question—Can you tell us about Crazy Horse's family—to whom he was married and if he had any children.

Answer—All the time I knew Crazy Horse before he was "captured" he was married to one woman. Afterwards he was married to two—one a white woman [mixed breed]. His first wife was Red Feather's sister. She was the only one by whom he had children—a little girl who died young. Crazy Horse's sister and her children all died before 1901.

PORTIONS OF LETTER FROM DR. V. T. MCGILLYCUDDY
TO ELEANOR H. HINMAN

May 6, 1930—Interviewer's questions,

Dr. McGillicuddy's answers

Question—When and how did you first meet Crazy Horse and what were your first impressions of him?

Answer—I first met or became *distantly* acquainted with Crazy Horse at the Battle of the Rosebud, June 17 [sic] 1876, eight days before the Custer fight, when he attacked General Crook's command of 1,100 with his 3,000 warriors [in which command I was surgeon of the 2nd U. S. Cavalry] and in September following when he again attacked Crook's command at the Battle of Slim Buttes on our starvation march to the Black Hills, after the Custer battle.

From my observation of his leadership and tactics employed in these two battles, and from the close association and friendship established between us after his surrender at Fort Robinson early in May, 1877, I could not but regard him as the greatest leader of



Dr. Valentine McGillycuddy in Washington in 1883. Others are Young Man Afraid of His Horses, William Garnett, Captain Sword, and Standing Soldier.

his people in modern times. He was but thirty-six.⁴⁵ In him everything was made secondary to patriotism and love of his people. Modest, fearless, a mystic, a believer in destiny, and much of a recluse, he was held in veneration and admiration by the younger warriors, who would follow him anywhere.

These qualities made him a danger to the government, and he became *persona non grata* to evolution and to the progress of the white man's civilization. Hence his early death was preordained.

At about eleven p.m. that night in the gloomy old adjutant's office, as his life was fast ebbing, the bugler on the parade ground wailed out the lonesome call for Taps, "Lights out, go to sleep!" It brought back to him the old battles; he struggled to arise, and there came from his lips his old rallying cry, "A good day to fight, a good day to die! Brave hearts..." and his voice ceased, the lights went out, and the last sleep came. It was a scene never to be forgotten, an Indian epic.

Question—You speak in your article in the *Nebraska History Magazine* of last December and also in your official report of 1879 of the jealousy and resentment felt toward Crazy Horse by Red Cloud and possibly (although he is not named) by Spotted

Tail. Have you any idea at what date this hostility began to take active shape? Spotted Tail and Red Cloud had both seemed to play a friendly role in helping to negotiate Crazy Horse's peaceful surrender the preceding spring and in allaying the suspicions felt by the officers when he was so slow about coming in to the fort. If at that time they had wanted to do him an injury they had an excellent opportunity, but did not take it. What had happened between May and September to make them change their minds?

Answer—While the Custer battle, or massacre as it is termed, was a great victory for the Sioux, preceded as it was by the Battle of the Rosebud, it was a victory but temporary, ending in the scattering of the Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse forces, and the retreat of the bulk of the hostiles under Sitting Bull into British America for food and shelter, for the United States troops were increasing in numbers and in extent of country. The leaders of the Sioux, including Red Cloud and Spotted Tail, were forced to a realization that they had made their "last stand," and that the time had come for a final and lasting peace. Hence these two chiefs turned in honestly, and assisted in every way to bring about that peace.

Spotted Tail and Red Cloud, however, did not realize or anticipate the "hero worship" that always follows the return to his people of a successful great military leader, which Crazy Horse had developed into. Hence the jealousy. Spotted Tail, more of a diplomat, did not show it so much.

In the fall of 1876 there was held in Washington a peace conference between the President and the leading agency chiefs of the several Sioux agencies. Present were Spotted Tail, Red Cloud, and Gen. Crook. In this meeting Crook practically ignored Red Cloud as untrustworthy, and threw his weight to Chief Spotted Tail.

The following spring, early in May, Crazy Horse after many months of solicitation from Gen. Crook came in with his people and surrendered at Fort Robinson and entered into a solemn peace treaty with Crook to abstain from all war for the future. He intended to and did keep the promises entered into, subsequent reports to the contrary notwithstanding.

Gen. George Crook, Department Commander, made a brilliant record in the Civil War, and had become a past master in his dealings with the Indians. He studied and became thoroughly acquainted with their nature, psychology, view



Monument of Oglala War Chief Crazy Horse was unveiled by leading chiefs of the Sioux on September 5, 1934, at Fort Robinson.

points, and so forth, and enjoyed their confidence. From the British line south to the Mexican border, they trusted the "Gray Fox," and he never betrayed that confidence. In the south he had met marked success in overcoming Geronimo and his Apaches...In Crazy Horse however he had a different problem to deal with, an Indian leader who had established his military leadership at the Battle of the Rosebud, and eight days later at the Battle of the Little Big Horn.

Crazy Horse was the "Stormy Petrel" of the Great Plains, idolized by the young fighting element of the Sioux and Cheyennes, thousands in number. He asked not toleration, suffrance, or protection from the white man. He was willing to agree to a treaty of peace, and did so. But he retained a right to a free life on his hunting grounds, and to live on the game, instead of the beef of the white man. These things were his heritage from the Great Spirit, given to his people ages before the coming of the white man.

To solve the problem the General contemplated supplanting Red Cloud, who was an old confirmed reactionary and opposed to civilization, by having Crazy Horse made head chief of the Oglalas. But the inactivity of agency life palled on the young Indian leader. He was not intended to lead his young fighting men into the paths of civilization, but preferred the free hunting life which he claimed as his right. He did not however contemplate again going on the war path, unless attacked. He was a free-born, aboriginal leader, neither a politician nor a diplomat.

NOTES

1. See P. E. Byrne, *Soldiers of the Plains* (Minton, Balch and Co., 1926); John G. Neihardt, *Song of the Indian Wars* (Macmillan Co., 1925); Grace R. Hebard, *Washakie* (Arthur H. Clark Co., 1930).

2. Charles A. Eastman (Ohiyesa), *Indian Heroes and Great Chieftans* (Little, Brown, and Co., 1918); 83-106; Luther Standing Bear, *My People, the Sioux* (Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1928), 83-88, 100.

3. For example, here is a specimen: *Question*—About how many fighting men were there with you and Crazy Horse at the Battle of the Rosebud? *Answer*—In the old days we did not stop to count whether there were two of us, or whether there were two thousand. We just went ahead and fought.

4. The name is commonly translated Short Bull, but it is rendered Short Buffalo here to escape confusion with the Brule medicine man of Ghost Dance fame.

5. The question of the attitude of He Dog and Short Buffalo toward their uncle Red Cloud may be of some interest in evaluating their testimony, in view of the accusations made by Dr. V. T. McGillycuddy and others that the rumors of treachery on the part of

Crazy Horse originated with the Red Cloud party. Both the men quoted here maintained a policy independent from that of their celebrated uncle. Short Buffalo's personal attitude is reflected in a statement made to Miss Helen Blish about a year before this in an interview on the subject of Oglala chiefs' societies: "Red Cloud was never a Short Hair (i.e., a member of the Pekin Pte Pte Cela or Han Skaska, a certain Oglala society of chiefs). Those whose prowess and battle accomplishments and characters were *undisputed* were feasted and honored. He Dog and Short Buffalo were so honored many times while Red Cloud was not, although he was a chief." (Helen Blish MSS. Notes of an interview with Short Buffalo, July 23, 1929).

6. For example, all the Indians interviewed say that Crazy Horse was brought back under arrest from the Spotted Tail Agency, while General (then Captain) Jesse R. Lee, who brought him back, says that he came back voluntarily upon the pledge that he would be heard.

7. That is, to the Brules, of whom Spotted Tail was afterward chief.

8. According to ancient Lakota custom, coup could be counted on an enemy woman if she was killed in the sight of the fighting men of her tribe. The theory was that the enemy would fight even harder to protect or avenge one of their women than one of their men. But the Brules were already agency Indians, and the authorities took a different attitude about it. Apparently Crazy Horse himself changed his mind about the ethics of this custom, if the speech of his reported by Captain Hans in "The Grate Sioux Nation" is correct.

9. After consultation together He Dog and the interpreter dated these appointments as having been made about 1865 by the white man's calendar. On the duties and qualifications of a "shirt-wearer," see Clark Wissler, "Societies and Ceremonial Associations of the Oglala divisions of the Teton-Dakota," *Anthropological Papers of the American Bureau of National History*, II, 7, 36, 39-40.

10. The battle "When They Chased the Crows Back Into Camp," a Sioux-Crow fight which is celebrated in tribal annals, took place in 1870. On the Crow Owners' Society and the somewhat exciting duties of its officers, see Clark Wissler "Societies and Ceremonial Associations of the Teton-Dakota," 23-25.

11. Bad Heart Bull was a brother of He Dog. He is now dead.

12. Charles A. Eastman, *Indian Heroes and Great Chieftains* (Little, Brown and Co., 1918), 90.

13. This fight has been dated as 1870.

14. Spring or summer of 1870.

15. Little Shield is a brother of He Dog. He was wandering around outside the cottage when this was said, so the interpreter went out and invited him in. He was present during the remainder of the interview and contributed to it.

16. A "shirt-wearer" of one division of the Oglala tribe—a colleague of He Dog, Red Cloud, and Big Road.

17. This makes her a first cousin of He Dog, Bad Heart Bull, and their brothers.

18. The chief's society in the northern division of the Oglala tribe was called the Short Hairs; that in the southern or "Red Cloud" division, the White Horse Owners. See Clark Wissler, "Societies and Ceremonials of the Teton-Dakota," 7, 36, 49-40.

19. This statement illustrates one of the misunderstandings which were the curse of negotiations with the Indians. The officers thought they were promising the Indians that they might leave the agency temporarily for a buffalo hunt the following summer when things had quieted down. He Dog thought he was being promised that he could go back west to stay. As it turned out, things had not quieted down much by the following summer, and the officers withdrew even the permission for the promised buffalo hunt. See General Jesse V. Lee's account of this trouble in *Nebraska History Magazine*, XIX (1929), 7-12.

20. Beaver Creek in eastern Wyoming is meant. The interpreter, T. W. C. Killer, added that he believed Crazy Horse wanted to get his people farther away from the military.

21. Apparently the Crawford Buttes, near where the town of Crawford is now.

22. The directions given in this paragraph are a little wrong. He Dog was speaking under the impression that the guardhouse was north of the adjutant's office; judging from the blueprints of the old fort, it was west-northwest. This error throws his other directions off a little. Fort Robinson is not oriented according to the points of the compass, and it is easy to become confused about directions even when one is there in person.

23. Assistant post surgeon and Crazy Horse's white friend.

24. September 1 or 2, 1877.

25. He Dog gave this man's Indian name. The interpreter gave the identification with the same hesitation.

26. Joe De Barthe, *The Life and Adventures of Frank Grouard* (St. Louis: Combe Printing Co., 1894), 337-341. Considerable doubt has lately been thrown on Grouard's reliability as a witness. See the narratives of Captain Jesse M. Lee and Dr. V. T. McGillicuddy in *Nebraska History Magazine*, XIX (1929), 12-17, 36-38.

27. This was the Treaty of 1868-1869.

28. It was May 7, 1877, when they reached Fort Robinson. They started in April.

29. For a full account of the Woman Dress incident see William Garnett's narrative in P. E. Byrne, *Soldiers on the Plains*, 235-243.

30. Beaver Creek in southern South Dakota is meant. This is a different stream from the Beaver Creek in Wyoming, where Crazy Horse wanted his agency.

31. A nickname of American Horse.

32. Luther Standing Bear, *My People, the Sioux* (Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1928), 88. Dr. V. T. McGillicuddy's statement is given on page 69 of this article.

33. Doubtless an opiate. Dr. McGillicuddy was a warm admirer of Crazy Horse.

34. Lone Bear was a brother of Woman Dress. In later years, however, Lone Bear earnestly denied both that he had ever heard Crazy Horse plot such treachery as was charged to him and that he had ever said he had heard of such a plot. See the Garnett narrative referred to earlier. The story reached the officers from Woman Dress and Grouard.

35. The Bad Heat Bull manuscript is a pictographic chronicle of Oglala tribal history and customs. It was drawn by Amos Bad Heart Bull, a nephew of Short Buffalo and He Dog, now dead. (It was being prepared by Miss Helen Blish for publication in 1930).

36. This is the Powder River fight of March 17, 1876. The whites thought they had hit Crazy Horse. For a white account see J. M. Bourke, *On the Border with Crook*.

37. These were apparently the Yanktons under Inkpaduta.

38. Bear Coat is the Indian name of General Nelson A. Miles; but Short Buffalo obviously means General Alfred H. Terry, more commonly called The Limping Soldier or The-One-with-No-Hip.

39. For a white account of the battle, see J. F. Finery, *War-Path and Bivouac* (Chicago: Donohue and Henneberry, 1890), 244-266.

40. For a further account of this incident, see Nelson A. Miles, *Persons Recollections*, 239-240.

41. For an account of this same scene from the white officers' point of view, see Major J. M. Bourke, *On the Border with Crook*, 412-415.

42. Apparently Crazy Horse was afraid that if he went to Washington before the site of his agency was settled upon, the authorities might try to intimidate him into signing a transfer of his people to the Indian Territory, where, in fact, his Cheyenne allies were sent in June of the same year with disastrous consequences both to Cheyenne and to neighboring Kansas settlers. Either this, or he feared that he was to be punished for the Custer affair. The Indians interviewed seem to have been reluctant to state these suspicions in so many words to the white interviewer.

43. The interviewer could be described as "medium blonde."

44. Crazy Horse surrendered on May 7 and was killed on September 5, 1877.

45. He Dog's narrative makes him 39 at the time of his death and Eastman (*Indian Heroes and Great Chieftains*, 83) makes him 33.



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Article Summary: In June, 1930, Eleanor Hinman, a stenographer at the University of Nebraska, drove to the Pine Ridge and Rosebud Sioux reservations in South Dakota. Accompanied by Mari Sandoz, the two women, along with John Colhoff, official Pine Ridge Agency interpreter, proceeded to interview witnesses to various events in the life of Crazy Horse.

Cataloging Information:

Names: Eleanor H Hinman, Mari Sandoz, John Colhoff, Paul D Riley, Helen Stauffer, Helen Blish, Addison E Sheldon, Alice Julia Hamlin, Edgar Lenderson, Crazy Horse [Tasunke-Witko], P E Byrne, John Neihardt, Grace Hebard, Charles A Eastman, Luther Standing Bear, He Dog [Sunka Bloka], Red Cloud, Crazy Horse, Short Buffalo, Red Feather, Mrs Carrie Slow Bear, White Calf, Little Killer, Luke Little Hawk, Black Elk, Emil Afraid-of-Hawk, T W C Killer, Woman Dress, Samuel Stands, V T McGillycuddy, Man-Afraid-of-His-Horse, American Horse, No Water, Bad Heart Bull, Sitting Bull, Chips, High Back Bone, Good Weasel, Little Hawk, Little Shield, Holy Bald Eagle, Spotted Crow, Ashes, Bull Head, Sitting Eagle, Canoeing, Iron Horse, Moccasin Top, Black Buffalo Woman, Black Twin [Holy Bald Eagle], Thomas White Cow Killer, Spotted Tail, White Hat [Lieutenant William Philo Clark], Three Stars [General George Crook], Luther Prentice Bradley, D H Russell, Yugata [Frank Grouard], Long Chin, Lone Bear, Spotted Crow, Annie Roland, Black Beard, Keeps-the-Sword, Billy Garnett, Closed Cloud, Spider, White Bird, Turning Bear, Black Shawl, Big Breast, They-Are-Afraid-of-Her, Short Bull, Joseph Horn Cloud, Crawler, Custer, Long Elk, Black Deer, Kicking Bear, Good Weasel, Bear Coat, High Hawk, Little Wound, Big Road, Two Strike, Fire Lightning, Young Man Afraid of His Horses, Spotted Elk, Kicking Bear, Wears-the-Deer-Bonnet, Brave Wolf, Charging Bear [Little Big Man], Iron Plume, Big Crow, Dull Knife, Major Bourke, George Bird Grinnell, Big Leggings [John Brughier], General Miles, Crow Hawk, Running Fire, Sword, Two Moon, Ice, Little Wolf, Iron White Man, Lame Deer, White Calf, Philip White Calf, Chasing [Charging] Bear, Jesse M Lee, Reno, Geronimo, Willa Cather, Philip H Sheridan

Place Names: Pine Ridge Reservation; Rosebud Sioux Reservation; South Dakota; Black Hills; Fort Robinson; Spotted Tail Agency; Red Cloud Agency; Oglala, South Dakota; Big Horn Mountains [White Mountains]; Wind River; Cottonwood Creek; White Butte; Crawford Butte; Fort Laramie; Washington, DC; Powder River; Slim Buttes; Rocky Mountains; Lodgepole Creek; Beaver Creek; Cheyenne River; Great Plains; Manderson, South Dakota

Keywords: *Crazy Horse, the Strange Man of the Oglalas*; the Dakotas; "Black Beard"; Nez Perce; Shoshone; *On the Border with Crook*; *The Fighting Cheyenne*; Custer battle; "Gray Fox"; "Stormy Petrel"; Apache; Oglala; Quill; Pine Ridge Agency; Nebraska State Historical Society; *Lincoln Daily Star*; "shirt wearers"; "owners of the tribe;" "supreme head men;" Court of Indian Offenses; Court of Claims; Holy Rosary Mission; John Brughier incident; surrender of Crazy Horse; Crow Indians; Worm; Hunkpatila [End-of-Circle] band; Trager & Kuhn

Photographs / Images: He Dog [Sunka Bloka] 1900; Red Cloud and wife; J W Dears Trading Post at Red Cloud Agency, 1876; Early photo of Sioux Indians at Red Cloud Agency; He Dog and wife, 1899; American Horse and

his second wife; Fort Robinson Old Parade Ground; Soldiers and Indians at Red Cloud Agency 1874 including Lieutenant W H Carter, Red Dog and J Tavernier; Little Big Man, Oglala Sioux; Short Bull and Joseph Horn Cloud; Sioux Warriors: High Hawk, Little Wound, Big Road, Two Strike, Fire Lightning, Young Man Afraid of his Horses, Spotted Elk; Dr Valentine McGillicuddy in Washington in 1883 with Young Man Afraid of His Horses, William Garnett, Captain Sword, and Standing Soldier; Monument of Oglala War Chief Crazy Horse at Fort Robinson