

WHAT DID CRAZY HORSE LOOK LIKE?

BY RANDY KANE



The site where Crazy Horse was killed is located on the 1870s parade ground within Fort Robinson State Park in the northwest corner of Nebraska. Visitors to the site often ask if Crazy Horse had his picture taken, and if not, why, and what did he look like? This article examines why the famous Oglala war chief likely never had his image taken, and also examines the recorded descriptions of Crazy Horse by those who knew him.

Though no historically credible photo of Crazy Horse has ever been found, a number of images have been proffered over the years. All have been shown to be lacking.¹ Much of the desire to have an image of the notable Oglala war chief rests with his fame in leading warriors against the army during the summer of 1876. He is credited with stalemating Crook at the Battle of the Rosebud and annihilating Custer at the Little Bighorn. The combination of personality, cultural alienation, and especially the narrow timeframe when a photograph of Crazy Horse could have been taken, together make the existence of a photograph unlikely.

Crazy Horse surrendered, along with almost 900 of his people, near Camp Robinson on May 6, 1877. Their tipis were in tatters and most of their dogs had been eaten along with some of their horses. Crazy Horse was reluctant and distrustful of the whites, but determined to make the best of a situation he was being forced into.² The federal government, through the military, initially catered to Crazy Horse in hopes of using his influence to obtain his people's adaptation to agency life. As the summer progressed, however, that hope faded.

The chance to gain Crazy Horse's image was fleeting. He lived in the white man's world for only four months before he was killed on September 5, 1877. This window of opportunity was further reduced when, by mid-August, his wish for an agency further north in the Powder River country remained unfulfilled and the promise of a buffalo hunt for his people in that country was cancelled. Crazy Horse became sullen and withdrawn from the white world.

The opportunity to have his photograph taken was available, however, at least during the early summer of 1877. As many as nine photographers were present at Camp Robinson and Red Cloud Agency from 1874 to 1877. Five were recorded as being present in 1877 alone. First Lieutenant Thomas Wilhelm, a Civil War veteran, was the first photographer to visit Red Cloud and Spotted Tail Agencies in May 1874. Wilhelm repeatedly

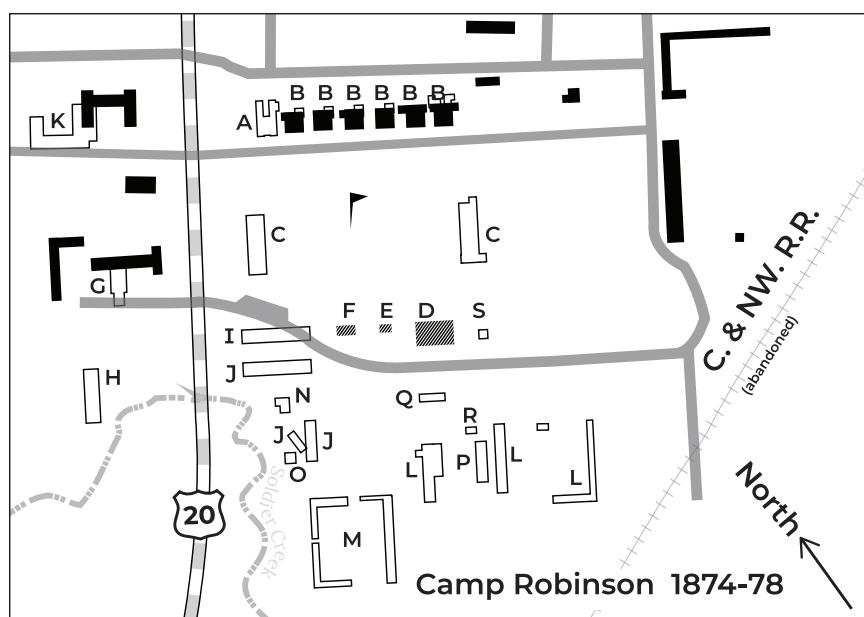
encountered distrust of his camera by the Indians.³ "They initially saw the black and white images as shadows of themselves . . . captured and locked into the paper or tintype . . . they thought the camera somehow captured some part of their own power, hence, the reference to photographers as "shadow catchers."⁴

Newspaper correspondent Robert Strahorn visited Camp Robinson in late January 1877 as the first bands of northern Oglala and Cheyenne began to come in and surrender at the agencies. He noticed a small log cabin studio doing a lively business near the post trader's store, but no identification of the studio is given and no surviving photographs exist from this studio.⁵ James H. Hamilton, who had a studio in Sioux City, Iowa, arrived at Red Cloud and Spotted Tail agencies sometime in August 1877.⁶ Hamilton once attempted to get a picture of a delegation of Lakota going to Washington, D.C., but they balked when the tube of the camera reminded them of a cannon barrel. Some photographers enlisted a white man the Indians trusted, such as trader J. W. Dear, to allay their fears. Others had a white man sit close



Left: Camp Robinson, 1877, the year Crazy Horse surrendered and was later killed. History Nebraska RG1517-13-09

Above: A sketch described by interpreter Louis Bordeaux and other close associates of Crazy Horse gives a fair legible facial representation of his general appearance. The scar, however, based on other first-hand accounts, is too high on his cheek and not pronounced enough. William J. Bordeaux, *Custer's Conqueror*



LEGEND

- Razed buildings
- Existing original buildings
- Reconstructed buildings

- (A) site of commanding officer's quarters, 1875
- (B) officers' quarters, 1874-75
- (C) site of infantry barracks, 1874
- (D) reconstructed cavalry barracks, 1874
- (E) reconstructed adjutant's office, 1875
- (F) reconstructed guardhouse, 1875
- (G) site of hospital, 1875
- (H) site of laundresses' quarters, 1874
- (I) site of commissary storehouse
- (J) site of commissary storehouse, 1874
- (K) site of post trader's store, 1874
- (L) site of cavalry stables, 1874-75
- (M) site of quartermaster's corral and stables, 1875
- (N) site of bakery, 1875
- (O) site of butcher shop, 1876
- (P) site of ordnance storehouse, 1875
- (Q) site of carpenter and paint shops, 1875
- (R) site of ammunition magazine, 1875
- (S) site of tailor-saddler shop, 1874

Camp Robinson diagram, 1874-78: the adjutant's office and the guardhouse were involved in the death of Crazy Horse. History Nebraska

while they photographed the Indians.⁷ Hamilton did include in his list of stereoscopic images a portrait labeled "104. Crazy Horse." However, an example of this image with the negative number marked 104 on it has not been found.⁸

Camp Robinson post surgeon Dr. Valentine McGillicuddy, who attended to Crazy Horse's sick wife during the summer of 1877, said he tried hard to have a picture taken of the war chief, but that Crazy Horse's invariable reply was, "My friend, why should you wish to shorten my life by taking from me my shadow?"⁹ Red Cloud Agency interpreter William Garnett offered another explanation. He replied to a later inquiry from McGillicuddy that "Crazy Horse never had a picture taken that I know of, and if there was one taken, some one sneaked up and took it, for he never would consent to be photographed. He was very peculiar about this, and was a very modest man, considering his fighting ability, and bravery."¹⁰

The failure to take a photograph of Crazy Horse can be marked down both to resistance and to lack of opportunity. First, Crazy Horse lived near the agency, in the white man's world, for only four months. The time period when he could possibly have been induced to have his photograph taken was further reduced when he became alienated by the government's failure to respond to his wishes by mid-August. Secondly, it's possible he distrusted the white man's image-making machine, that it would somehow capture some of his personal power. Crazy Horse did not live long enough to overcome this distrust. It is interesting that two of his chief 'lieutenants' who surrendered with him, He Dog and Little Big Man, were not photographed until after his death, September 5, 1877. Finally, Crazy Horse tended to eschew public display; having his picture taken was foreign to his nature.

Two men close to Crazy Horse for most of his life—and who commented later on his physical appearance—were Horn Chips and He Dog. Horn Chips, four years older than Crazy Horse, was raised in the same Oglala camp, becoming his adopted brother by ceremony and spiritual mentor as they grew to manhood.¹¹ It was Horn Chips who counseled Crazy Horse on what to wear and what charms to carry to protect him in battle. He directed Crazy Horse to wear only one feather. Crazy Horse never wore a war bonnet. Horn Chips said Crazy Horse painted his face with a zigzag streak of red earth from the top of his forehead down one side of his nose to his chin which represented lightning.¹² Other selected items were carried on his person or in a pouch.



Horn Chips described Crazy Horse as “a small man in stature, rather light in frame and weight, [and] light in complexion.” His hair was always light, reaching down below his hips.¹³ In a later interview Chips stated, “Crazy Horse [was of] medium height and was slender. [He had] light hair and light complexion and [had a] full face. [He was] a full-blood Oglala.”¹⁴

He Dog was a fellow Oglala warrior who was born the same year as Crazy Horse. Said He Dog, “We grew up together in the same band, played together, courted girls together, and fought together.” When they were young men, the Oglala band divided into two groups; He Dog and Crazy Horse stayed with the camp led by Man-Afraid-of-His-Horse. Later Man Afraid’s band divided again, He Dog went with the northern half and Crazy Horse stayed with the southern half. As a result of their prowess in battle and leadership in peace, both were appointed shirt-wearers (protectors of the people) of their respective bands.¹⁵ When Crazy Horse came in to Camp Robinson the spring of 1877, He Dog’s participation at the surrender ceremony was second only to that of Crazy Horse.¹⁶

He Dog described Crazy Horse as having very light-colored hair. “His father was an Oglala Sioux. His mother was a Minikowoju Sioux. He was not a very big man. He was of medium stature and build.”¹⁷



During the summer of 1870 Crazy Horse induced Black Buffalo Woman, wife of fellow Oglala warrior No Water, to elope with him while No Water was away. Upon returning to their village and finding his wife gone, No Water tracked them down, walked into the tipi where Crazy Horse was lodged, and fired point blank into his face. Crazy Horse was severely wounded but recovered. The wound left a pronounced scar on the left side of Crazy Horse’s face. Horn Chips and He Dog give us the most exact description of the scar. Horn Chips said of the wound in Crazy Horse’s face that “the ball entered at the side of his nose low down on the right side and came out at the base of the skull on the back side.”¹⁸ This is countered by He Dog who said, “No Water shot him just below the left nostril. The bullet followed the line of the teeth and fractured his upper jaw.”¹⁹

Others, who witnessed the scar on Crazy Horse’s face during the summer of 1877, corroborate that the scar was on the left side of his face. George

Horn Chips and his wife in 1907. Horn Chips was Crazy Horse’s spiritual mentor. History Nebraska RG1227-25-2

He Dog, warrior associate and close friend of Crazy Horse. History Nebraska RG2955-7

Left: White Bull, Miniconjou warrior who participated in Battles of Rosebud and Little Bighorn with Crazy Horse during the summer of 1876. State Historical Society of North Dakota

Right: Frank Grouard was captured by the Sioux in 1869 and lived with Crazy Horse's Hunkpatilla band 1873-75. He was General Crook's favorite scout during the 1876 campaigns. Missouri History Museum, PHO:35168



Washington Oaks, who hauled freight to Camp Robinson in 1877, "saw Crazy Horse three or four times." He said Crazy Horse had quite a scar on his left cheek.²⁰ A sketch described by interpreter Louis Bordeaux, Crazy Horse's relation Mrs. Amos Clown (Julia Iron Cedar), and other close associates, gives a fair legible facial appearance of Crazy Horse. This source shows and states that the scar was on the left cheek.²¹ Also, an unidentified newspaper reporter for the *New York Sun* wrote of Crazy Horse when he came in to surrender on May 6, 1877, that, "A bullet wound through his left cheek, . . . disfigures his face and gives to the mouth a drawn and somewhat fierce or brutal expression."²²

That the bullet wound left a pronounced scar on his face was also confirmed by a reporter for the *New York Tribune* on May 7, 1877: "Crazy Horse is an Ogallalla Sioux, tall, slender, and about 37 years old . . . He exhibits two bullet wounds, one through the face, leaving an ugly scar."²³

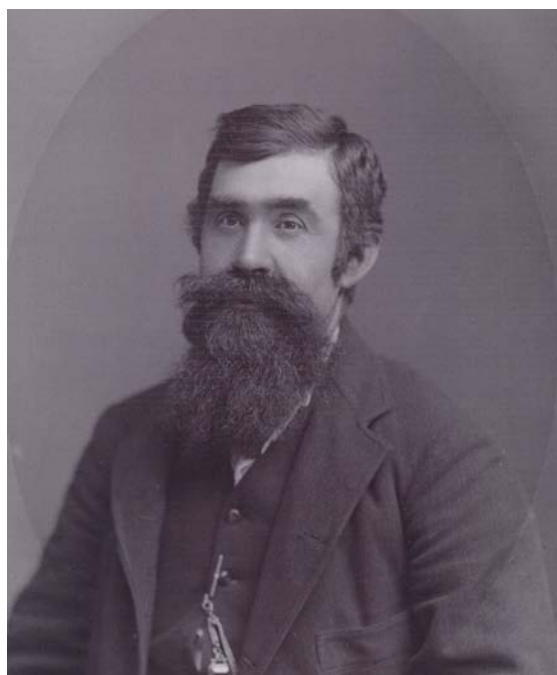
Other Oglala warriors who grew up with Crazy Horse and who commented on his appearance included Red Feather, who was the younger brother of Crazy Horse's first wife and a member of Crazy Horse's band, 1876-1877. Red Feather said, "Crazy Horse was a nice-looking man, with brown—not black—hair, a sharp nose, and narrow face. His nose was straight and thin. His hair was very long, straight, and fine in texture."²⁴ Short Bull,

youngest brother of He Dog, also described Crazy Horse's appearance: "Crazy Horse was a man not very tall and not very short, neither broad nor thin. His hair was very light . . . He was a trifle under six feet tall . . . [He] had a very light complexion, much lighter than other Indians . . . His features were not like 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."²⁵ Finally, we have Little Killer, who was connected to Crazy Horse by marriage—being the younger brother of Club Man, who married Crazy Horse's sister. Little Killer was a member of Crazy Horse's band and a personal admirer. He said, "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."²⁶

White Bull, a Minniconjou Lakota warrior who fought both in the Fetterman fight and at the Little Bighorn with Crazy Horse, said that the last time he saw Crazy Horse was after the Little Bighorn fight and before the battle of Slim Buttes in September 1876. White Bull came upon a party led by Crazy Horse returning from a raid in the Black Hills. White Bull said, "That evening [while camped together] Crazy Horse wore white cloth leggings and a white muslin sheet for a robe. His face was not painted." White Bull described Crazy Horse as being about 5 feet, 10 inches tall "but slimmer, with a light



Left: William Garnett and Louis Bordeaux standing center and left in this 1875 Sioux delegation photo taken in Omaha while en route to Washington, D.C. Seated from left are the Oglala Sitting Bull, Swift Bear, Spotted Tail, and Red Cloud. Standing right is Omaha curio store owner Julius Meyer. Photo by Frank Currier, 1875, courtesy AZUSA Publishing, LLC, Englewood, CO



Right: Baptist 'Big Bat' Pourier, guide and interpreter for General Crook's 1876 campaigns. Oglala Lakota College Archives

complexion, small, sharp nose, aquiline [shape], quiet in manner, and rated a good warrior.”²⁷ Later, in a separate interview, White Bull described the battle dress of Crazy Horse as follows: “In a fight, he generally wore a white buckskin suit, both shirt and leggings . . . , painted his face with small white spots . . . His hair he wore loose and flying. This costume, paint, and hairdo were the wo-ta-we or battle-charm of Crazy Horse.”²⁸

Other witnesses to Crazy Horse’s appearance were primarily mixed-blood scouts and interpreters. Frank Grouard knew Crazy Horse longer than did any of the others. Grouard was of mixed race, either Tahitian (Pacific Islander) and white, or black and Indian. He was captured by the Sioux around 1869 and initially lived in Sitting Bull’s camp. After a serious falling out with Sitting Bull he went to live with Crazy Horse’s Hunkpatila (Oglala) band in 1873. Sometime in the spring or early summer of 1875 he drifted into Camp Robinson and became a scout for the army. He was General Crook’s most trusted scout during the 1876 campaigns.²⁹ Grouard had this to say of Crazy Horse’s appearance: “Crazy Horse had somewhat peculiar features. He had sandy hair and was of very light complexion. He didn’t have the high cheekbones that the Indians generally have . . . He was a young looking Indian—appeared much younger than his age. There were a few powder marks on one side of his face.”³⁰ Grouard later commented, “Crazy Horse was remarkably

white for an Indian . . . His hair, which was a sandy brown, was unlike any other man’s in the tribe.” Grouard said Crazy Horse was fine looking, “A trifle less than six feet tall, he was straight as an arrow. He was naturally spare and could stand any amount of hardship.”³¹

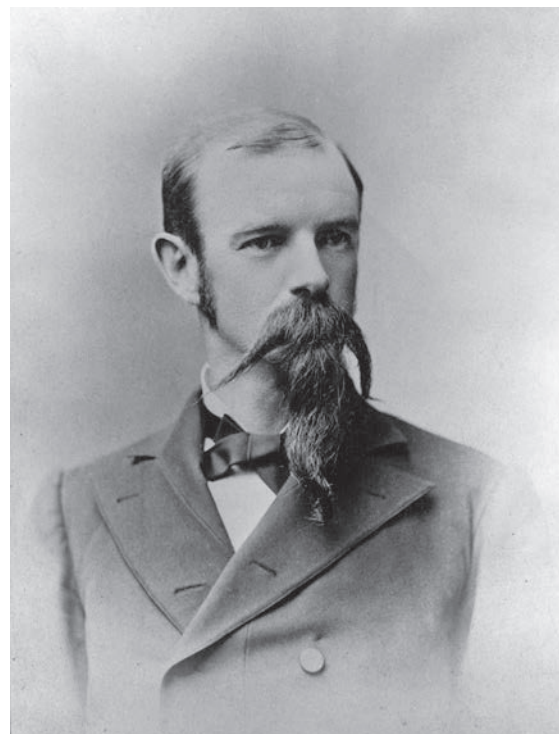
A number of other interpreters interacted with Crazy Horse during the summer of 1877. William Garnett, the son of an army officer and an Oglala woman at Fort Laramie, was an interpreter at Red Cloud Agency and was actively involved as an interpreter for the army that summer. Garnett, who witnessed Crazy Horse’s fatal struggle with Little Big Man outside of the guardhouse of Camp Robinson, said that Crazy Horse was relatively small in frame compared to his antagonist.³² Garnett later wrote, “Crazy Horse was an Indian a little past 30 years old when he was killed . . . Crazy Horse never wore a war bonnet in his life and I am very sure he never had his photograph taken.”³³

Louis Bordeaux, the son of trader James Bordeaux and a Brule woman, became a government interpreter at Spotted Tail Agency and Camp Sheridan. He was also active as an interpreter at Camp Robinson during the summer of 1877. Bordeaux said that Crazy Horse was “slight in form, tall, very light in complexion, hair long and hung down to his hips.”³⁴ Baptiste ‘Big Bat’ Pourier was another interpreter of French extraction born in St. Charles, Missouri. At age fourteen he moved west as a teamster with Indian

Top Left: Susan Bettelyoun Bordeaux, ca. 1902. She was the mixed-blood daughter of trader James Bordeaux and sister of interpreter Louis Bordeaux. History Nebraska RG3113-01-06



Top Right: Dr. Valentine McGillicuddy, army contract surgeon stationed at Camp Robinson. He attended to Crazy Horse's sick wife, Black Shawl Woman, during the summer of 1877. He also tended to the dying Crazy Horse upon his being bayonnetted. South Dakota State Historical Society



Bottom Left: Second Lieutenant John G. Bourke, 1875. Bourke served as an aide to General Crook in 1876 campaigns and became the chronicler of Crook's western campaigns. The Huntington Library, San Marino, California



Bottom Right: Lt. Col. Luther P. Bradley of the 9th Infantry and commander of Camp Robinson during the summer of 1877. Bradley oversaw events which led to the killing of Crazy Horse. Wyoming State Archives: Neg. 1459b





traders. He married Josephine Richard, an Oglala mixed-blood of French extraction. The army employed him as a scout, guide, and interpreter for many years. He was active in the Sioux campaigns of 1876.³⁵ Pourier, who thought highly of Crazy Horse, said that he was “a slim, light man; weight about 140 pounds.”³⁶

Louis Bordeaux’s sister, Susan, said this of Crazy Horse’s appearance:

My husband, Charles Tackett, was a scout, but when he was not on duty he clerked at Jewett’s store [at Spotted Tail Agency] and had waited on Crazy Horse. My mother-in-law and I drove up to the store one day when Crazy Horse was there. She pointed him out to me. He was a very handsome young man of about thirty-six years or so. He was not so dark. He had hazel eyes, nice long light brown hair; his scalp lock was ornamented with beads and hung clear to his waist; his braids were wrapped in fur . . . He was above medium height and was slender.³⁷

White men also commented on Crazy Horse’s appearance. Post surgeon Dr. Valentine McGillicuddy came to know Crazy Horse well



Pastel drawing of Crazy Horse by Mary Bryan Forsyth, 1957. This image captures Crazy Horse’s facial features best: light colored hair and skin, relatively narrow face and sharp straight nose, pronounced scar to the left and below his left nostril. Mari Sandoz Heritage Society – M. A. Anderson and E. Hamilton

Tintype image promoted by some as a photo of Crazy Horse. The man’s facial features and dress, as well as the elaborately painted studio backdrop all argue against it. Wikimedia Commons

during the summer of 1877 while attending the chief’s wife, who was sick with tuberculosis. McGillicuddy was also the attending surgeon at Crazy Horse’s wounding and death. In the 1920s, in response to a picture purported to be of Crazy Horse, McGillicuddy decided it was a fake. Referring to his unusual appearance for a Lakota, McGillicuddy stated, “Crazy Horse was a strange looking Indian, and I would have known him anywhere.”³⁸

Lieutenant John Gregory Bourke spent many years as an aide to General George Crook in both Arizona and the northern Plains and became his chronicler. He was active in the Sioux campaigns of 1876. Bourke wrote the following comment upon Crazy Horse’s surrender on May 6, 1877: “I saw before me a man who looked quite young, not over thirty years old, five feet eight inches high, lithe and sinewy, with a scar in his face. The expression of his countenance was one of quiet dignity, but morose, dogged, tenacious, and melancholy. He behaved with stolidity, like a man who realized he had to give in to Fate, but would do so as sullenly as possible.”³⁹

Lieutenant Colonel Luther Bradley became commander of Camp Robinson in late May 1877. Bradley saw extensive service in the Civil War and became brigadier general of volunteers at the end

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of the war. He became lieutenant colonel of the Ninth Infantry on March 15, 1869.⁴⁰ It was Bradley who oversaw events during the summer of 1877 that eventually resulted in the death of Crazy Horse. Upon meeting Crazy Horse for the first time in May 1877 Bradley wrote to his wife, "I had an introduction to Crazy Horse and a hand shake. He is a young, slender and mild mannered fellow but is evidently the leader of his band."⁴¹

From these firsthand accounts we get an impression of what Crazy Horse looked like. That he was somewhat different in appearance from the average Lakota man is evident. He had light skin and light hair that hung down well below his waist. He had a somewhat narrow face with a sharp, straight nose and lacked the prominent cheekbones of the majority of his people.⁴² The bullet wound delivered by No Water struck the jawbone just to the left and below the left nostril, glanced off the underlying bone structure and deflected through the fleshy layer of the gum and the cheek, fracturing the upper jaw before exiting the neck near the base of the skull. The bullet wound gave the left side of his mouth a drawn and fierce expression.⁴³ He appeared to be slightly above average height, possibly 5 feet 10 inches, but light in frame and weight.⁴⁴

Purported Crazy Horse images persist to this day. One tintype repeatedly surfaces, though it has been generally discredited by historians. The privately owned Custer Battlefield Trading Post and the Custer Battlefield Museum at Garryowen, Montana, each promote this tintype as an authentic image of the Oglala chief. The image shows a man with broad cheek bones, lacking a sharp beak-like nose, with no evident scarring or disfigurement of his face. In addition, he wears a breast plate that He Dog and other Oglala contemporaries of Crazy Horse said he was not known to have worn. Finally, the elaborately painted backdrop suggests an urban studio rather than that of Red Cloud Agency or Camp Robinson.⁴⁵

The stone carving of the Crazy Horse Memorial in the Black Hills does partially match his description: a relatively narrow face and straight beak-like nose. However, there is no evidence of disfigurement on the left side of the sculpture's face.

So why should we care what Crazy Horse looked like? To this I reply that his prominence as a Lakota war chief demands attention. Sitting Bull, Red Cloud, and Spotted Tail all lived long enough to have their photograph taken numerous times. Crazy Horse did not. The window of opportunity to have his photo taken was limited to three months;

by mid-August 1877, his wishes denied, he had become so alienated from white authority that he was barely approachable. In addition, he either failed to overcome his distrust of photo technology, or had some cultural aversion, or having his photo taken was simply not important to him. It is quite possible that his personality precluded any chance that he would live long enough to consent to have his photograph taken.

NOTES

¹Tom Buecker, "The Search for the Elusive (and Improbable) Photo of Famous Oglala Chief," *Greasy Grass* 14 (May 1998): 27-35.

²Descriptions of Crazy Horse's surrender are found in Kingsley M. Bray, *Crazy Horse: A Lakota Life* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006), 282-85, and Thomas Powers, *The Killing of Crazy Horse* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 2010), 261-65. Other accounts include John G. Bourke, *On the Border with Crook* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1971), 412-15; "Crazy Horse's Surrender," *New York Herald*, May 7, 1877; "Crazy Horse's Surrender," *New York Tribune*, May 8, 1877. All New York newspaper accounts are in Marc H. Abrams, ed., *Newspaper Chronicle of the Indian Wars*, Vol. 8, Jan. 4, 1877–Aug. 31, 1877 (Brooklyn, NY: Abrams Publications, 2010).

³Ephriam D. Dickson III, "Capturing the Lakota Spirit: Photographers at the Red Cloud and Spotted Tail Agencies," *Nebraska History* 88 (Spring-Summer 2007): 5-6.

⁴*Ibid.*, 21.

⁵*Ibid.*, 11.

⁶*Ibid.*, 13.

⁷Thomas R. Buecker, *Last Days of Red Cloud Agency: Peter T. Buckley's Photograph Collection, 1876-1877* (Lincoln: Nebraska State Historical Society, 2016), 141; "Address of Judge Charles C. Hamilton Before the Academy of Science and Letters of Sioux City, Iowa November 27, 1928," *Annals of Iowa* 41 (1972), 826-27.

⁸Ephriam Dickson, "Photographers at Fort Robinson," www.American-Tribes.com.

⁹McGillycuddy correspondence, in E. A. Brininstool, "Chief Crazy Horse, His Career and Death," *Nebraska History Magazine* XII (January-March 1929): 36, 42; Letter, Valentine McGillycuddy to William Garnett, April 15, 1926, in Robert A. Clark, ed., *The Killing of Chief Crazy Horse* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1976), 113. Historian Tom Buecker challenges this statement by McGillycuddy as "probably another piece of McGillycuddy folklore," and that may be true, but it is documented that Indians when first confronted with cameras were reluctant to have their picture taken. Crazy Horse had just surrendered to the white world and may have shared that distrust. Buecker, "The Search for the Elusive Photo of Famous Oglala Chief," 29-30.

¹⁰Letter, William Garnett to Valentine McGillycuddy, April 26, 1926, in Clark, *The Killing of Crazy Horse*, 114. Garnett suggests that Crazy Horse may have had a motive beyond distrust of cameras in not having his picture taken: that he

was not prone to public display. Cultural alienation may also have been a factor.

¹¹ Chips interview, February 14, 1907, in Richard E. Jensen, ed., *Voices of the American West, Volume 1: The Indian Interviews of Eli S. Ricker, 1903-1919* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 273-74; Bray, *Crazy Horse: A Lakota Life*, 23-26; Powers, *The Killing of Crazy Horse*, 177-80.

¹² Chips interview, *ibid.*, *Indian Interviews*, 274.

¹³ Chips interview, February 14, 1907, in Richard G. Hardorff, ed., *The Death of Crazy Horse: A Tragic Episode in Lakota History* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska History, 1998), 74-75.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 90.

¹⁵ He Dog interview, July 7, 1930, in Eleanor H. Hinman, "Oglala Sources on the Life of Crazy Horse," *Nebraska History* 57 (Spring 1976): 9-10.

¹⁶ From He Dog, as written down by his son Eagle Hawk, in Clark, *The Killing of Chief Crazy Horse*, 56-59; Hardorff, *The Death of Crazy Horse*, 89n11; "Crazy Horse With Us," *Chicago Times*, May 7, 1877; "Surrender of Crazy Horse," *New York Tribune*, May 7, 1877; "Crazy Horse's Band," *New York Herald*, May 28, 1877.

¹⁷ Eagle Hawk manuscript, in Clark, *The Killing of Chief Crazy Horse*, 68.

¹⁸ Chips interview, February 14, 1907, in Hardorff, *The Death of Crazy Horse*, 75. Chips likely mistakenly described the scarring on the right side of Crazy Horse's face while looking at him.

¹⁹ He Dog interview, July 13, 1930, in Hinman, "Oglala Sources," 17.

²⁰ Ben Jaastad, *Man of the West: Reminiscences of George Washington Oaks, 1840-1917* (Tucson: Lawton Kennedy, 1956), 44.

²¹ William J. Bordeaux, *Custer's Conqueror* (Sioux Falls: Smith and Co., Publishers, no date), 1.

²² "The End of the Sioux War," *New York Sun*, May 23, 1877.

²³ "Surrender of Crazy Horse," *New York Tribune*, May 7, 1877.

²⁴ Red Feather interview, July 8, 1930, in Hinman, "Oglala Sources," 30.

²⁵ Short Bull interview, July 13, 1930, in Hinman, *ibid.*, 40.

²⁶ Little Killer interview, July 12, 1930, in Hinman, *ibid.*, 45.

²⁷ White Bull statement through Owns Horn, Crazy Horse's cousin, Campbell letters, October 13, 1932, Walter S. Campbell Collection, University of Oklahoma. Crazy Horse may have appeared taller than he was due to his lean frame.

²⁸ White Bull statement, Campbell letters, July 16, 1948, Walter S. Campbell Collection.

²⁹ Hardorff, *The Death of Crazy Horse*, 30n9; Powers, *The Killing of Crazy Horse*, 60-64, 69.

³⁰ Joe DeBarthe, *Life and Adventures of Frank Grouard* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958), 54.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 180.

³² Garnett interview, January 15, 1907, in Jensen, *Indian Interviews*, 70.

³³ Letter, William Garnett to Valentine McGillicuddy, December 14, 1927, in Clark, *The Killing of Chief Crazy Horse*, 130.

³⁴ Louis Bordeaux interview, August 30, 1907, in Jensen, *Indian Interviews*, 295.

³⁵ Richard E. Jensen, ed., *Voices of the American West, Volume 2: The Settler and Soldier Interviews of Eli S. Ricker, 1903-1919* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 255.

³⁶ Baptiste Pourier interview, March 6, 1907, *ibid.*, 271.

³⁷ Susan Bordeaux Bettelyoun, *With My Own Eyes: A Lakota Woman Tells Her People's History* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 108-109.

³⁸ Letter, Valentine McGillicuddy to William Garnett, April 26, 1926, in Clark, *The Killing of Chief Crazy Horse*, 116.

³⁹ Bourke, *On the Border with Crook*, 414-15.

⁴⁰ Luther Bradley, like many officers during the Civil War, gained elevated rank in the greatly expanded mostly volunteer army. After the war most of these officers experienced reduced rank in the much smaller regular army. Robert M. Utley, *Frontier Regulars: The United States Army and the Indian, 1866-1891* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1973), 13.

⁴¹ Luther Bradley Papers, letter to his wife Ione, May 26, 1877 (U. S. Army Military History Institute, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania).

⁴² Hardorff, *The Death of Crazy Horse*, 18.

⁴³ He Dog interview, July 13, 1930, in Hinman, "Oglala Sources," 17; "The End of the Sioux War," *New York Sun*, May 23, 1877.

⁴⁴ White Bull statement through Owns Horn, Campbell letters, October 13, 1932; Hardorff, *The Death of Crazy Horse*, 18.

⁴⁵ Carl Rieckmann, "'Proven' Sole 1877 Photo of Crazy Horse Finds Home at Custer Battlefield Museum," *Big Horn County News* (June 19, 2003); Angela Aleiss, "Is This Crazy Horse? Investigating Indian Country's Most Controversial Photo," *Indian Country Today* (February 20, 2015); Buecker, "The Search for the Elusive Photo of Famous Oglala Chief," 31-32; Mari Sandoz to Thomas Wright, Dec. 1, 1959, Sandoz Papers, History Nebraska Archives, Lincoln.