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Warriors at the Little Bighorn 1876



Richard Hook

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

3

- The battle – the early researchers
- The village – numbers and tactics – warrior societies
- Pictographic art: Red Horse – Standing Bear – White Bird – Amos Bad Heart Bull
- Clothing and adornment – society regalia – horses – counting coup
- Weapons & shields: firearms – bows and arrows – bow-lances – lances – knives – clubs – sabers – tomahawks – shields

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES & PLATE COMMENTARIES

- RAIN IN THE FACE (Plate A1) 13
- ONE BULL (Plate A2)
- MOVING ROBE WOMAN (Plate A3) 17
- BAD HEART BULL (Plate B1)
- TWO MOON (Plate B2)
- BRAVE WOLF (Plate B3) 19
- WOODEN LEG (Plate C1)
- SCABBY (Plate C2)
- NO TWO HORNS (Plate C3)
- LITTLE BIRD (Plate C4) 22
- HE DOG (Plate D1)
- FLYING BY (Plate D2)
- WATERMAN (Plate D3)
- LEFT HAND (Plate D4)
- CRAZY HEAD (Plate E1) 33
- SUN BEAR (Plate E2)
- YOUNG LITTLE WOLF (Plate E3)
- STANDING BEAR (Plate E4)
- GALL (Plate F1) 35
- WHITE ELK (Plate F2)
- FOOL BULL (Plate F3)
- CRAZY HORSE (Plate G1) 38
- WHITE BULL (Plate G2)
- NOISY WALKING (Plate G3)
- ANTELOPE WOMAN (Plate G4)
- YELLOW NOSE (Plate H1) 43
- BLACK ELK (Plate H2)
- LAME WHITE MAN (Plate H3)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

47

INDEX

48



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Warriors at the Little Bighorn 1876



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Series editor Martin Windrow

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Dedication

The author/illustrator dedicates this book to the memory of his friends John Datlen and Peter Jackson.

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WARRIORS AT THE LITTLE BIGHORN, 1876

INTRODUCTION

ALIFETIME'S AMBITION was achieved in May 1998: I was in the USA and actually on the Little Bighorn battle site. My wife and I were driving along the road above the river back to the museum and cemetery, with the top of the cliffs to our left, when a cloud of dust alerted us to the presence of a young Indian dressed in camouflage fatigues, riding a piebald pony with unbelievable skill and driving half a dozen steers along the face of a near-vertical slope. Stupidly going into tourist mode, I got out of the car with my camera. In those few seconds Indian, pony and steers disappeared. Ghosts? No – on seeing my intention of taking pictures, the young man had simply melted into the landscape. This experience caused me to see the battle of the Little Bighorn in a new light. With a little imagination, I had just witnessed the unique abilities of Custer's enemy.

On Sunday June 25, 1876, on the eve of the United States' centenary celebrations, a large Lakota (Sioux) and Cheyenne village in the valley of the Little Bighorn river was attacked by the US 7th Cavalry. Within a few hours the regiment had suffered a costly defeat; and the five companies under the personal command of Lieutenant Colonel George Armstrong Custer were annihilated, no single soldier surviving. Yes, it has all been said before, in numerous books and other publications; and it has been 're-enacted' many times on film. So why yet another book?

The purpose of this volume is to attempt to bring briefly to life some of the Plains Indians who fought that day: to shed light on their individual appearance, to put them in the context of where they were and what they did – and to do it using only information supplied by those who took part in the battle.¹

This information comes in two forms: testimonies and pictographic drawings. In the past the testimonies given by Indian survivors of the Little Bighorn have often been ignored, even treated with contempt by historians and academics, in favor of second-hand accounts or guesswork, to the detriment of the truth. The pictographic art is of importance in that it often supports the verbal descriptions.

It has to be accepted that the accounts given in the 1880s were contradictory and confusing,

¹ Readers new to this aspect of American history will find it useful to read Men-at-Arms 163, *The American Plains Indians*, for general background material on social and material culture. For the historical context, and the events of June 25, 1876, see also Osprey Essential Histories 59, *The Plains Wars 1757–1900*, and Campaign 39, *Little Big Horn 1876*.

Wooden Leg with Dr Thomas B. Marquis at Miles City, Montana, on June 23, 1931. (Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument, National Park Service)



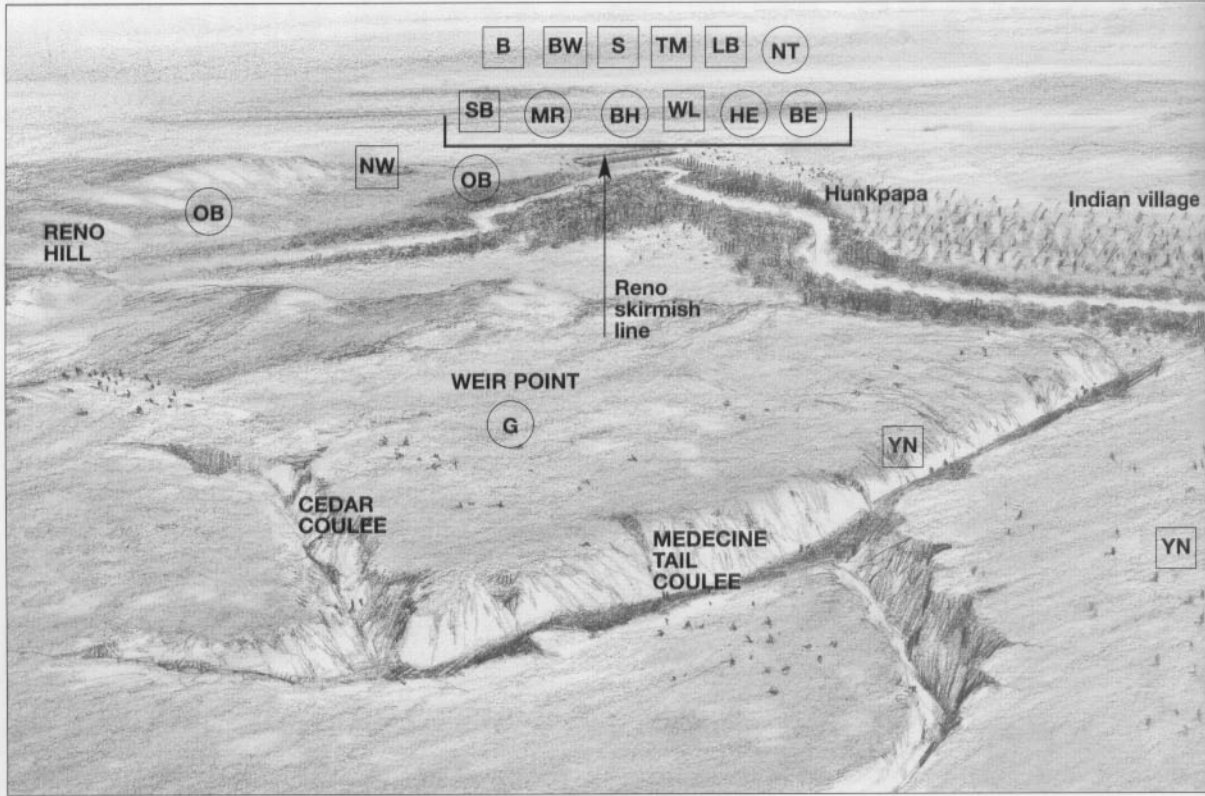


Illustration of the battlefield, looking roughly north east to south west, showing positions and movements of the warriors and women featured in the biographies and color plates. While the subject of this book is the Indian warriors, a brief summary of the 7th Cavalry's movements is necessary.

Approaching the valley from the east (left), at about mid-day LtCol George A.Custer divided his force into three battalions: to the left, Companies H, D & K under Capt Frederick W.Benteen; in the center, Cos A, G & M under Maj Marcus A.Reno; to the right, Custer himself with Cos C, E, F, I and L. Company B followed with the pack train. Benteen was ordered to the south to reconnoiter while Reno and Custer rode west; they later separated, and Reno forded the river to attack the south east end of the Indian village while Custer continued to move roughly west along the high ground on the north bank.

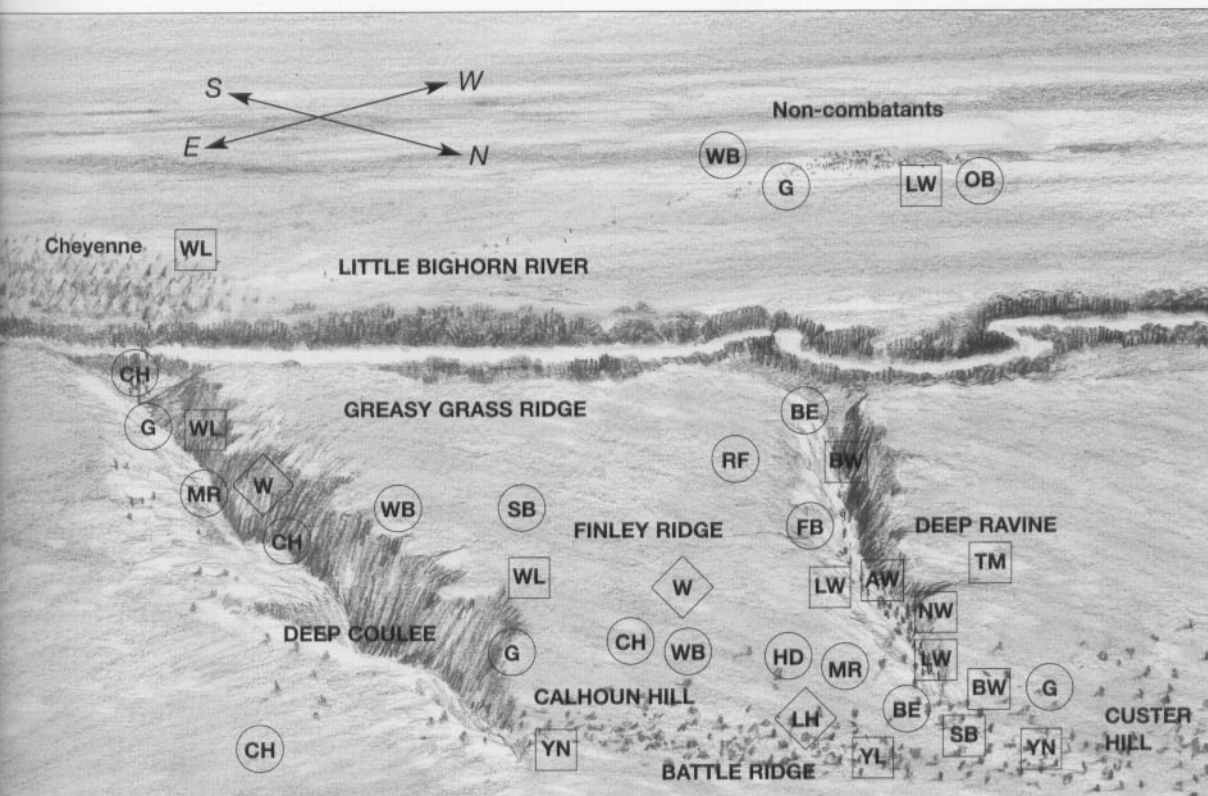
Many warriors at first resisted and then forced back Reno's battalion; after taking up two successive defensive

lines Reno eventually retreated to what is now known as Reno Hill. Here he was later joined by Benteen and by the pack train, and held out until the end of the battle.

Meanwhile Custer's battalion rode north west above the valley. They may have separated into two wings, the left wing going down Medicine Tail Coulee towards the river while the right wing continued along the bluffs. Large numbers of warriors crossed the river to attack them; those troops who had turned down towards the riverbank later returned to the heights by Deep Coulee to Calhoun Hill (seeking to join up again, if they had indeed separated into two wings). The survivors fought their way north west along Battle Ridge to Custer Hill, where the last of Custer's battalion were killed. There is little doubt that Reno's battalion were aware of Custer's plight. Attempts to reach him were made by Capt Weir with Co D, but were driven back from what is now known as Weir Point.

probably due to a combination of problems over translation, fear of reprisal, and the white man's tendency to sensationalize such stories for public consumption in the daily news sheets. Information was there, but it was virtually inaccessible.

It was not until the 1890s that the gathering of testimonies began in a painstaking and unbiased manner. The results of this work have often been criticized. It must be admitted that too much time had elapsed, and once-clear memories were dimming. There was a basic cultural problem in that the interviewees did not share the white man's linear view of time, and did not present information in a chronological order.



One other source of distortion was the straightforward problem of translation, in that most interviews were conducted through a third party. Some interviewers, however, were skilled in sign language.

Amongst those conducting such interviews during the period between 1890 and the 1920s were Judge Eli S. Ricker, a Civil War veteran; Dr John G. Neihardt, a historian, biographer and poet; and George Bird Grinnell, a naturalist, best known for his work on the Cheyenne nation. From 1920 the work continued, notably amongst others by Dr Thomas B. Marquis, an agency physician to the Northern Cheyenne, and Stanley Vestal (born Walter S. Campbell), a World War I veteran, biographer, novelist and historian. Much of the information used in producing the plates and commentaries in this book is based on interviews conducted by these researchers.

The village

Our knowledge remains imperfect on several basic points: for instance, the much argued question of the area covered by the Indian village along the bank of the Little Bighorn. It is unlikely that we will ever know for certain the length of the village from north to south, or the width from the river to the west. The Indian answers to the question 'How big was the village?', when given in miles, are nonsensical, the concept of measurements in miles being incomprehensible to the Indian mind at that time. However, when the answer is given by descriptions using geographical landmarks, i.e. named ravines and coulees, then the answers make perfect sense; statements can be cross-referenced successfully, and give an area much smaller than most estimates: about one and a half miles

INDIVIDUALS:

Sioux/Lakota (circles): RF = Rain in the Face; OB = One Bull; MR = Moving Robe Woman; BH = Bad Heart Bull; NT = No Two Horns; HD = He Dog; FB = Flying By; SB = Standing Bear; G = Gall; CH = Crazy Horse; WB = White Bull; BE = Black Elk

Cheyenne (squares): TM = Two Moon; BW = Brave Wolf; WL = Wooden Leg; LB = Little Bird; S = Scabby; SB = Sun Bear; YL = Young Little Wolf; NW = Noisy Walking; AW = Antelope Woman; LW = Lame White Man; YN = Yellow Nose

Arapaho (diamonds): W = Waterman; LH = Left Hand

Non-combatants: Temporary position of indicated warriors while ensuring safety of women and children

Whereabouts unknown: Fool Bull, Crazy Head, White Elk



'Battle of Little Bighorn', by White Bird. The painting shows the Indian encampment from the south; Army dead show the position of Reno's skirmish line, and a line of horse tracks indicates Reno's retreat to his dug-in defense of Reno Hill (right). Custer's beleaguered force is shown on the left. Note that all warriors are attacking from the south. (West Point Museum Art Collection, US Military Academy)

long. The general consensus as to the number of tipis contained within the village is about 1,400, based on the statistic that there were some 7,000 people in the village, with an average of five occupying each tipi. It is often argued that a village of 1,400 tipis would have to have been much longer, but this is not so – 1,400 tipis fit easily into an area one-and-a-half miles long by half to three-quarters of a mile wide. The overall size of the village is important, in that it has a bearing on warrior movements during the battle as described by informants.

There were six tribal 'circles' in the village. Furthest to the north were the Northern Cheyenne, including some important Southern Cheyenne and five Arapaho visitors. Furthest south were the Hunkpapa; and in between these, the Oglala, Minneconjou, Sans Arc and Brulé, together with Two Kettle and the Blackfoot Sioux. Also in the village were a small number of Santee and Yanktonai tipis.

Numbers and tactics

As with the exact size of the village, the precise number of warriors who fought against Custer's separated forces will never be known. If it is accepted that the village contained 7,000 people then a reasonable estimate is about 2,000 warriors. Published figures for warrior numbers vary from as few as 1,000 (Charles Eastman in 1900) to 4,000 (David H. Miller).

However many warriors were involved, it is important to grasp that – contrary to the military historians' instinct to portray the Cheyenne and Sioux as an organized force, following a 'tactical plan' under the leadership of 'generals' – these people were fighting as individuals to defend their families from an invading force. Where an individual such as Crazy Horse did exercise a leadership role, this was not through any formal right of command, but by charisma, reputation and example. That day was ideal for the Plains warrior – 'a good day to die': he was fighting in front of his own people, in a terrain which was not foreign to him as it was to his enemy, a terrain ideally suited for guerrilla tactics.

Warrior societies

Each tribe had a number of warrior societies. In some cases membership was determined by age – the active span of a warrior was typically between 15 and 37 years of age. Society membership as an *akicita* (commonly translated as ‘soldier’ or ‘guard’) was normally achieved by invitation. Rivalry between societies was intense, whether in horse-capturing, display of bravery, or standard of dress.

The Cheyenne divided into four societies: the Kit Foxes, Elk Soldiers or Elk Horn Scrapers, Dog Men, and Red Shields. Later two more societies were formed: the Crazy Dogs, and the Bow Strings. These may have been in existence in 1876.

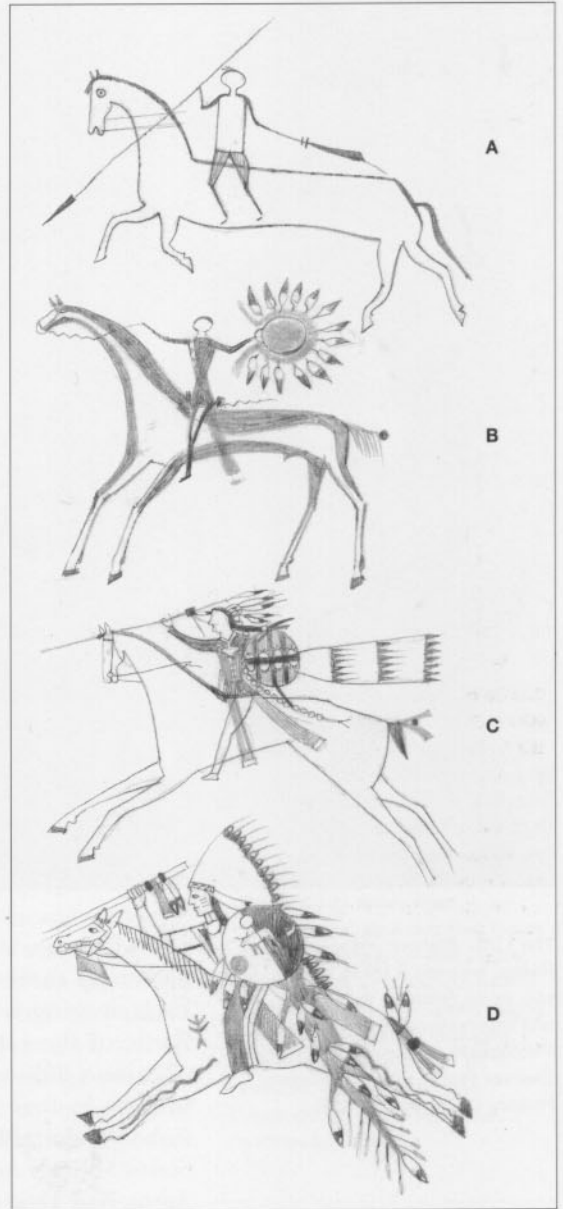
The Lakota societies were Kit Fox, Crow Owner, Brave Heart or Strong Heart, Badger, Bare Lance Owners, White Marked or Carrying Something White, and Miwatani (the last does not translate). Each society was led by an elected warrior chief, whose role was not that of commander but instructor and advisor. Tasks such as policing and guard duties were passed on to the *akicita* by warrior chiefs directed by tribal leaders. Each society had its own complex ceremonies, dress and weaponry. *Akicita* would form war or hunting parties as society members, but when the tribe went into battle societies did not fight as coordinated units.

Pictographic art

Plains Indian drawings developed through the 19th century from original very simplified outline human forms which showed no European influence (‘European’ is used in this text to mean white American, for the sake of simplicity). Those drawn on war shirts usually depicted war honors, coups counted or horses captured. As the century progressed the style of drawing developed, becoming increasingly influenced by the white man’s art; they became more realistic – but perhaps to the detriment of the purity shown by the earlier, less sophisticated images.

Drawings made after 1876 depicting scenes from the Little Bighorn battle were mostly produced in ledger books but also on muslin and sheets of manila paper, according to availability. They provide a wealth of information as to the warriors’ appearance, costume and weaponry. Some drawings show many figures, some only one or two; these latter are usually self-portraits, which often complement the artist’s verbal description given in testimony. Research benefits from the fact that in Plains culture details of an individual’s attire and adornment were regarded as very significant.

Although these pictographic drawings are a superb source of reference, they do present problems. In scenes containing many figures few individuals are named. We are also obliged to face the question of



Progression showing the development of pictographic styles: (A) based on mounted warrior portrayed on the breast of a war shirt, 1820; (B) based on ledger book pencil and ink drawing, 1868; (C) from Cheyenne ledger pencil and crayon drawing, 1871; (D) based on Cheyenne ledger drawing, 1890.



The Little Bighorn veteran Red Horse, wearing a trade shirt, two eagle feathers in his hair and otterskin-wrapped braids. Photograph by D.F.Barry. (Denver Public Library, Western History Collection, B-484)

whether the artist has portrayed warriors not as they actually appeared in the battle, but in forms of dress by which they could easily be identified. In self-portraits, however, they always show themselves as described in the interviews. Drawings made by four artists have been studied for this work:

Red Horse In 1881 the Minneconjou warrior chief Red Horse was interviewed on the Cheyenne River Agency by Charles E. McChesney. To supplement this testimony Red Horse gave McChesney 41 sheets of manila paper (24ins x 26ins) covered with detailed drawings of the battle. It should be emphasized that only five years had passed between Red Horse fighting at the Little Bighorn and his making these drawings; they are now housed in the National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington DC.

Standing Bear (For illustration and biographical note, see Plate E4). Standing Bear, a Minneconjou veteran of the battle at the age of 16, produced some beautiful and elaborate artworks. Among these was a muslin sheet measuring 72ins x 72ins depicting, in pencil and water-color, the battle and events leading up to the conflict, including Sitting Bull's sun dance. This work was probably completed in 1899, and was collected by Elbridge Ayer Burbank on the Pine Ridge Reservation, South Dakota, between 1899 and 1903.

White Bird This Northern Cheyenne was 15 years old when he fought at the Little Bighorn. In 1894-95 White Bird produced three paintings on muslin for Capt Richard L. Livermore. Each drawing is titled, and the largest (67½ins x 98ins) is called 'The Battle of the Little Bighorn'. The other two are 'Custer's Last Fight' (27¾ins x 35¾ins) and 'Reno's Retreat' (25ins x 30ins); the latter is of interest in that it clearly portrays Isaiah Dorman (see under Moving Robe Woman, Plate A3). These artworks are now housed in the United States Military Academy, West Point, New York.

Amos Bad Heart Bull This Oglala was born in Wyoming in 1869. Bad Heart Bull is the family name on government rolls; the Lakota name is *Tatanta Cante Sica*, which translates as 'Bad Heart Buffalo'. Amos was also known as Eagle Lance. In 1890-91, while serving as an Army scout at Fort Robinson, Amos purchased a 300-page ledger book from a clothing store. From 1890 to 1910 he produced page after page of detailed drawings of Oglala history, including many images of the Little Bighorn battle.

At seven years old Bad Heart Bull did not take an active part in the battle and was probably in the hills to the west; but his father, also Bad Heart Bull, and his uncles He Dog (see below, Plate D1) and Short Bull certainly did. There can be no doubt that these Little Bighorn veterans were among the advisors directing the art of Amos, who was now recognized as a tribal historian, as had been his father before him.

When Amos Bad Heart Bull died young in 1913 the ledger book passed into the hands of his sister, Dollie Pretty Cloud. In 1926 Helen

Blish, a graduate student from the University of Nebraska, learned of the book and visited Pretty Cloud, who showed her this prized possession. Helen Blish rented the ledger for periods of study between 1927 and 1940, and Professor Hartly Burr Alexander photographed every page; he made two sets of prints, one for himself and one for Helen Blish. It is fortunate that he did so, for in 1947 Pretty Cloud died and, true to custom, the book was buried with her. (In 1959 Pretty Cloud's descendants understandably refused permission to disinter the ledger.) Thanks to the foresight of Professor Alexander, the wonderful images and the mass of information that make up the work of Amos Bad Heart Bull still exist, even though not in their original form.

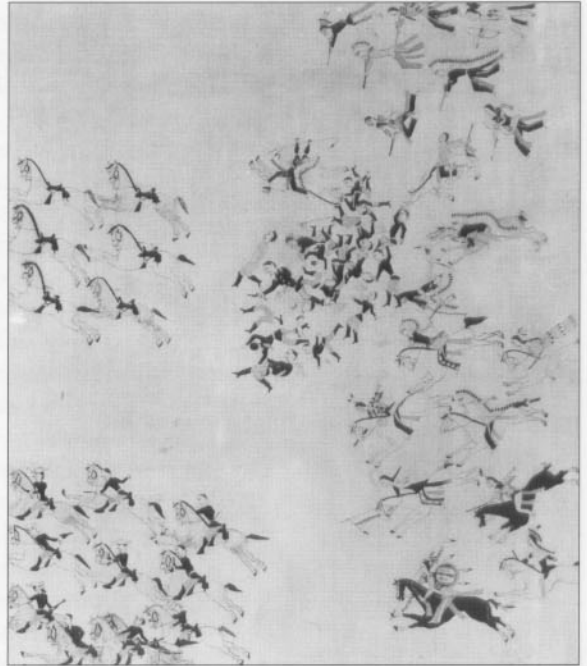
The following notes on material culture are based largely on the surviving pictographic art.

CLOTHING, ADORNMENT AND EQUIPMENT

As described in testimonies and as illustrated in pictographs, the appearance of warriors at the battle of June 1876 was varied and complex. Some men were stripped to the breech clout – not as many as is often claimed, in that when a warrior is so dressed it is described in testimonies as unusual.

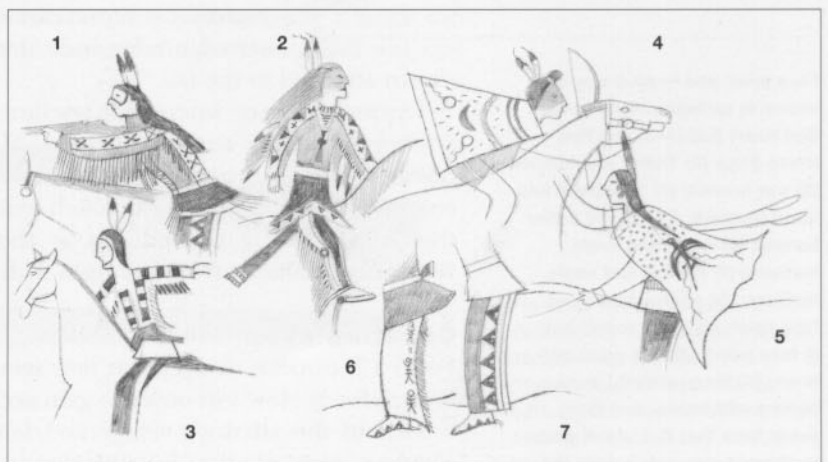
Was it possible to tell for certain the difference in appearance between warriors of one Lakota tribe and another? The answer has to be no – it would be difficult enough to observe clear differences between Cheyenne and Lakota warriors. It can be said that certain beadwork or painted symbolism was used more by one tribe than another; but even so, there is much evidence for items of dress being exchanged or gifted between members of different tribes. There are clear statements in testimony of a warrior describing himself as wearing clothing of a tribal manufacture other than his own.

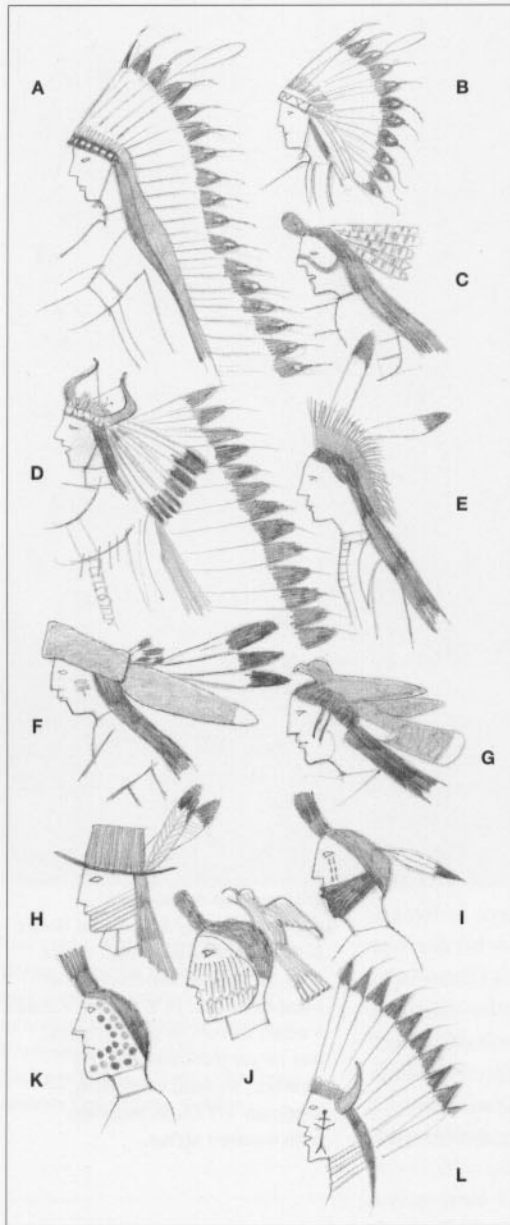
In studying the ledger drawings it can be said that virtually every form of dress known to have been worn by Lakota or Cheyenne warriors in 1876 is represented. The following can clearly be identified: war shirts, cloth shirts, war capes, buckskin and cloth leggings, blankets belted at the waist, moccasins, breech clouts and hairpipe breastplates. Head-dresses shown include eagle feather bonnets and bonnets with



Muslin painting by White Bird – 'Custer's Last Fight'. (West Point Museum Art Collection, US Military Academy)

Evidence of dress from pictographs, by Amos Bad Heart Bull, Standing Bear and White Bird. (1, 2 & 3) Warshirts with beaded strips. (4 & 5) War capes – often shown in pictographs, but rarely documented. (6) Painted, fringed buckskin leggings. (7) Cloth leggings with beaded strips.





Face paint and head-dresses shown in pictographs by Amos Bad Heart Bull (A-G) and Red Horse (H-L): (A) Trailer war bonnet; (B) war bonnet; (C) face paint and hawk feathers; (D) horned trailer bonnet; (E) roach and eagle feathers; (F) fur cap and eagle feathers; (G) stuffed hawk and face paint; (H) white man's hat; (I) face paint; (J) face paint and hawk; (K) face paint; (L) trailer bonnet with horns, and face paint. Note that C, I, J & K show traditional pompadour hair style.

trailers, fur hats, roaches, horned bonnets, stuffed birds, various feather arrangements and European hats. Face painting is well illustrated in pictographs by Red Horse.

Society regalia

Shown clearly in all pictographs studied are warriors wearing society regalia. These consist of fox fur sashes worn at the neck and waist, society head-dresses, and society stake-down sashes. Society head-dresses shown are those usually associated with the Miwatani society, consisting of a cap of crow or magpie feathers with a central crest of upright eagle feathers. Other head-dresses of this type are documented with the main cap being of owl feathers. Horned bonnets were also worn as warrior society regalia. Stake-down sashes were worn by Cheyenne and Lakota warrior societies. Vowing to fight to the death or victory, the sash wearer would face his enemy with the end of his sash pinned to the ground; there he would remain until killed or released by another society member.

Horses

It takes little imagination to understand the advantage enjoyed by mounted Indian warriors over the US Cavalry when fighting in terrain such as the Little Bighorn battlefield. The lighter Indian pony, ridden by a warrior highly skilled in equestrian arts, would have negotiated the complex of bluffs and gullies with ease, compared to the heavier-mounted and usually much less skilled cavalryman.

All warriors shown in pictographs are riding bareback; there is no representation of saddles and stirrups. Various styles of bridle are shown: elaborately decorated with German silver, and sometimes with feathers; a simple bridle, sometimes with a scalp hung below the horse's jaw; and a very simple rein tied around the lower jaw. Methods of tying ponies' tails up for war are shown, usually by representations of red trade cloth with a selvedge edge indicated. Sometimes eagle feathers are

shown attached to the tail.

During years of intertribal warfare the horse had grown to be a symbol of wealth and importance. Horse-raiding and the taking of horses in battle brought to the warrior a prestige second only to the counting of coups. There is much evidence in Indian testimonies for this activity being carried out at the Little Bighorn, with warriors returning jubilantly from the fight with captured Army horses.

Counting coup

From a European viewpoint it may seem that to 'count *coup*' (from the French for 'a blow') in order to gain acclaim, while in the heat of a battle to defend the warrior's village and family, was to indulge in strangely frivolous game-playing; but this was not the Indian view. That it took

place is evident from repeated references and claims in testimonies. To count coup was to touch the enemy with a decorated wand of willow carved specifically for that purpose, or with a quirt (whip), the hand, or any other weapon. There was no honor to a warrior in shooting an enemy from a distance, even though this was important to the outcome of a battle. The honor came from the demonstration of bravery in close combat, and to swoop in to arm's length in order to count coup before springing away again was the supreme display of superior prowess.

WEAPONS & SHIELDS

Firearms Bullets and cartridges discovered on the 600-acre battlefield, besides helping to validate Indian testimonies, give evidence for over 40 types of firearms used by the warriors. Among these were 16-shot repeating Winchester and Henry carbines, Sharps carbines, various flintlock and percussion pistols and rifles, captured Springfield carbines and Colt revolvers. These weapons would have been decorated with brass tacks, and many repaired with rawhide binding; a large number were cut down and modified. Kate Bighead (see Plate G4) reported that although the Indians had many guns and plenty of ammunition, in this fight the bow was better.

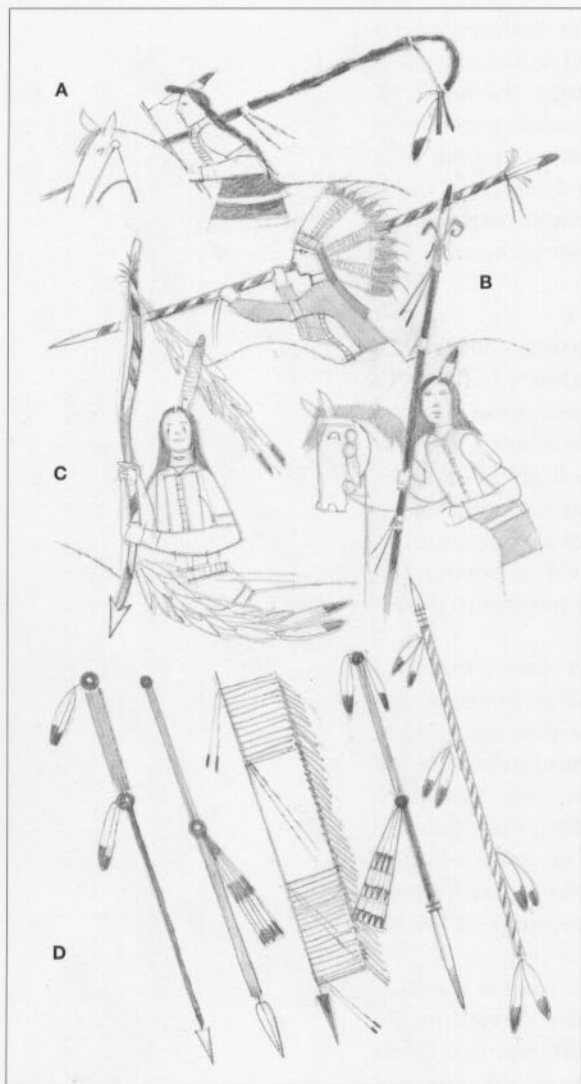
Bows and arrows The value of the bow and arrow under these conditions is obvious, in that it can be used from cover without the archer exposing himself, i.e. by shooting the arrow in an arc from a position hidden from the enemy. Bow and arrows were carried in a combined bowcase and quiver, of fringed buckskin usually decorated with beadwork and sometimes with quilled lines. Some had additional painted embellishment. The carrying position varied depending upon whether the warrior was mounted or on foot. The bowcase/quiver was sometimes worn across the shoulders; resting behind on the horse's rump; or low on the left side, requiring a cross-body draw of arrows.

As much is made of the warriors' ability to launch arrows at speed as of their power or accuracy. Arrows for instant use were carried in the bow hand and in the mouth. As to accuracy, it is of interest that Little Bighorn veteran One Bull (Plate A2) – when 90 years old, and not having used a bow for many years – shot six arrows in quick succession into a foot-square cardboard box from a distance of about 30 yards (Laubin – see Bibliography).

Bow-lances The bow-lance or 'medicine bow' was basically a lance the shaft of which was bow-shaped; it was sometimes strung, but was not



Firearms with Indian brass tack decoration. Top, Sharps carbine, 1853 model, .36 cal. (Robert Wagner Collection); bottom, Winchester 'Yellow Boy' carbine, 1866 model, .44 cal. (Heinz Bründl Collection).



Examples of lances shown in pictographs by Amos Bad Heart Bull (A, B & C) and Red Horse (D); (A) Crooked lance; (B) lances; (C) bow-lance; (D) lances showing various decoration.

intended to shoot arrows. This weapon was carried by warrior society leaders and 'contraries' (see under Brave Wolf, Plate B3). It is often claimed that the bow-lance was not carried as a weapon, but only as a symbol of office and in ceremonial use. Pictographs, however, clearly show warriors fighting with medicine bows.

Lances The use of the lance is heavily portrayed in pictographs of the battle. Sioux and Cheyenne lances were 6ft to 7½ft long, and were decorated in many and varied ways with trade cloth, paint, fur, feathers and hairlocks. Some supported banners edged with eagle feathers. Most lances were metal-tipped, the heads often being made from saber or knife blades.

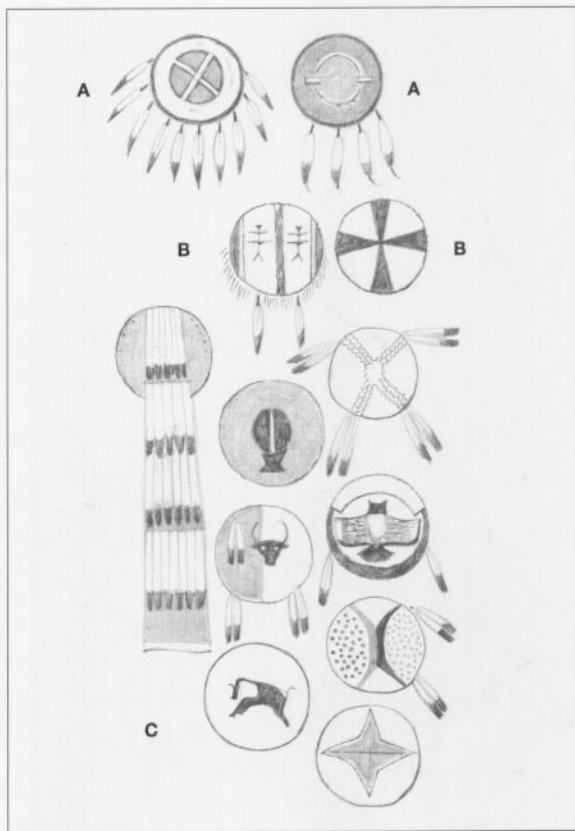
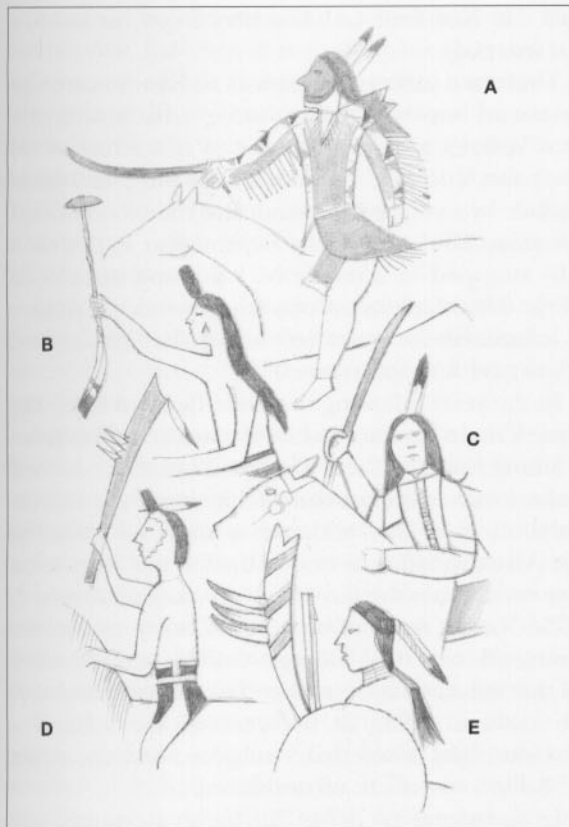
Knives Knives were obtained by trade. Some were Indian-made by being fashioned from other metal implements such as pans, saws and files. Where only a blade had been acquired then handles of wood and horn were added. Knives were contained in sheaths of leather or rawhide, some decorated with beadwork, others with quill designs, paint or brass tacks.

Clubs Two types of club are shown in pictographs. The stone-headed type was (obviously) a stone, round or oval, attached to a decorated handle. In some cases the stone head was not attached directly to the handle, but at the end of a short length of twisted, flexible rawhide; the whipping action lent more force to the blow. Warriors were also armed with the fearsome knife-club. These were longer than stone-headed clubs, with knife blades – usually three – set into a painted and brass-tacked wooden handle.

Sabers It is surprising how many warriors armed with sabers are shown in Little Bighorn pictographs. This weapon, decorated with fur trailers and eagle feathers, was part of the regalia of some warrior societies. There is evidence in testimony descriptions of the saber blades being painted (e.g. see Plate E3).

Tomahawks In the many ledger drawings studied for this book not one warrior is shown carrying a tomahawk. In testimonies the word 'hatchet' is used, which could describe a totally different implement (see Gall, Plate F1). It may be that by 1876 the pipe-tomahawk no longer served its intended purpose as a weapon and was now only carried as a feature of a warrior's overall attire.

Shields The shield was as important for its spiritual protective power as for its physical defensive value. The manufacture of shields was varied and complex, resulting in an object imbued with spiritual energy and emblazoned with decoration. The majority of Lakota and Cheyenne shields consisted of a main shield of buffalo rawhide 12ins to 26ins in diameter, and a buckskin cover, both being painted with a warrior's personal (often vision-related) design. Further decoration



consisted of trailers of cloth and buckskin festooned with the feathers of eagles and other birds of prey. Many shields had talismanic objects attached, such as birds, parts of birds, claws and personal medicine bundles.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES & PLATE COMMENTARIES

The subjects for the plates have been selected according to the available information. The ideal is an Indian of whom we are able to determine what he looked like, what he wore, some idea of his biography, and how and where he participated in the battle. In many cases all of these categories can be established, whereas for some others we only have knowledge of their appearance. The main aim of the illustrations is to present the warriors as they appeared on June 25/26, 1876. Where additional information is available an extended commentary is given.

PLATE A

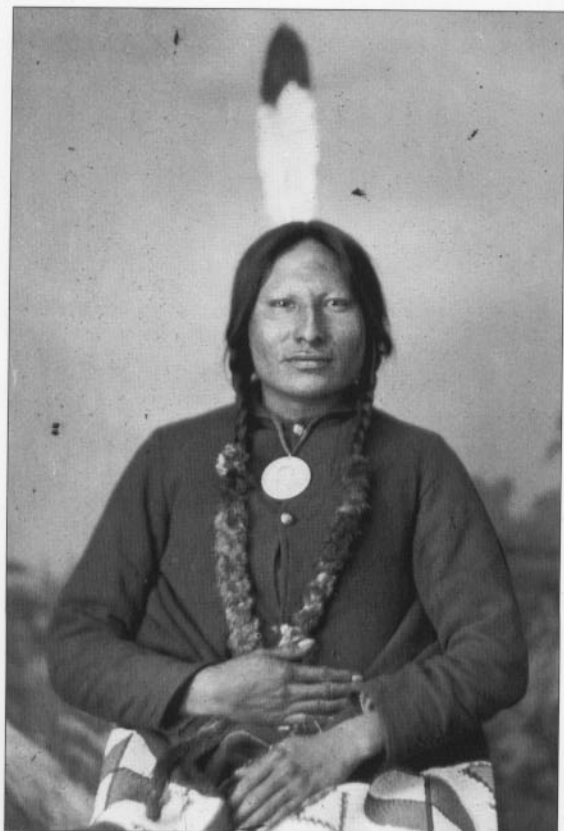
RAIN IN THE FACE

One of two brothers from his father's second marriage, the Hunkpapa Rain in the Face was born in 1836 near the Cheyenne River in South Dakota. His younger brother Shave Head was killed in 1890 while serving as a first sergeant of Indian police during the arrest of Sitting

ABOVE Examples of shield designs from ledger art: (A) Two shields by Standing Bear; (B) two shown by White Bear; (C) eight shields taken from the work of Red Horse.

ABOVE LEFT Examples showing use of swords and clubs depicted in pictographs by Standing Bear, Amos Bad Heart Bull and Red Horse:

(A & C) Use of saber, shown by SB and ABHB; (B) stone-headed club, by ABHB; (D & E) two images of knife-clubs by RH. Note in (D) the ends of the breech clout tucked into a belt - see Crazy Horse, Plate G1.



Rain in the Face in his prime, photographed in 1874. He wears an Army 'sack coat' and a peace medal. The blanket around his waist is decorated with a beautiful example of a Lakota beaded blanket strip. Photograph by D.F.Barry. (Denver Public Library, Western History Collection, B-496)

Bull. He had four half-brothers from his father's first marriage.

There are various theories as to how he came by his name, one being that during a battle with the Gros Ventres a sudden shower of rain streaked his face paint; another, that as a boy he was punched in the face by a young Cheyenne and the blood flowed like rain. The most likely explanation is that as a baby strapped in a cradle he was hung outside on a fine day, when raindrops from a sudden shower so infuriated the swaddled infant that his amused elders gave him this name.

In the years following the Little Bighorn battle the name Rain in the Face became as well known as those of Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse. Although he himself spoke to Charles Eastman of his desire for warrior status, there is little evidence to show his achieving this. An explanation as to how the fame of Rain in the Face spread into the outside world starts on August 4, 1873. Ninety men of the 7th Cavalry under the command of LtCol George Custer were attacked on the Yellowstone by a large Lakota war party, and two civilians riding at the rear of the column – Dr Housinger, a veterinary surgeon, and the sutler Mr Ballion – were cut off and killed.

In the winter of 1874/75 Charley Reynolds, one of Custer's scouts, reported to the colonel at Fort

Abraham Lincoln that when watching an Indian dance at Standing Rock Agency he had heard Rain in the Face recounting his war exploits, among which he described the killing of Housinger and Ballion. Lieutenant Tom Custer, under orders from his brother, was dispatched with a force of a hundred cavalry to find and arrest Rain in the Face.

Not knowing of the soldiers' presence within, Rain in the Face entered a trading post and was taken prisoner. He was taken to Fort Abraham Lincoln, interviewed by LtCol Custer, and then imprisoned until he succeeded in escaping in April 1875. He had been chained to a wagon master convicted of stealing grain and hay from the quartermaster's store; somehow the pair cut their chains and made off separately (possibly with inside help, according to Charles Eastman). The wagoner, trailed by Indian scouts, was recaptured, but Rain in the Face made good his getaway.

It was during this episode that Rain in the Face is said to have made a vow that would lead to his world-wide renown: to kill Tom Custer, cut out his heart and eat it. Reports of the alleged vow came to the notice of the poet Longfellow, resulting in his poem 'The Revenge of Rain-in-the-Face', which reads in part:

'But the foemen fled in the night,
And Rain-in-the-Face, in his flight
Uplifted high in air
As a ghastly trophy, bore
The brave heart, that beat no more,
Of the White Chief with yellow hair.'

It cannot be said for certain whether or not Rain in the Face carried out his vow; however, it is undeniable that unlike most of the warriors fighting at the Little Bighorn, he would have been able to recognize both George and Tom Custer. In interviews he steadfastly denied having carried out his bloodthirsty threat; but a letter from Miss Mary C. Collins (a missionary to the Lakota) to DeCost Smith states that in a deathbed confession Rain in the Face – when assured there was no danger of punishment – said, ‘Yes, I killed him. I was so close that the powder from my gun blackened his face.’

After the battle political manipulations by agency officials, intent on diminishing the reputation and tribal standing of Sitting Bull in favor of others, increased the mythologizing and the exaggeration of Rain in the Face’s fame.

Sometime around 1880 he received a severe leg injury while running down a buffalo, caused, he said, by his pistol firing accidentally and wounding him in the knee. Others said that he had been wounded in a fight with the Arikara. From that day on, although still able to ride, Rain in the Face had great difficulty in walking, and felt that this degraded his tribal standing. Nevertheless, his fame still stood him in good stead amongst his old white enemies: he took part in the World’s Fair exhibition in Chicago in 1893, and in 1901 he was selling his autograph at Coney Island. He died in 1905 at Standing Rock Agency, North Dakota.

Very little is known about Rain in the Face’s role in the battle. His presence at the north of the Little Bighorn valley is described in a number of Indian testimonies. It should be noted that, being 40 years old, he was beyond the usual retirement age for warriors, and not expected to play the more active role assumed by the younger men.

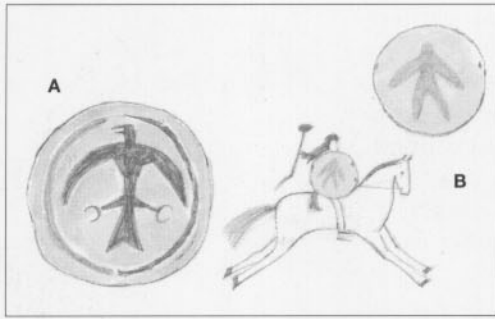
Plate A1

The appearance of Rain in the Face is based on his own description given to DeCost Smith. He wears a trailer bonnet of immature golden eagle feathers, with beaded brow band and ermine side drops. He is painted yellow. He is armed with bow and arrows, in a combined bowcase and quiver, and a stone-headed club. A brass-tacked wooden quirt hangs by its beaded strap from his right wrist. He carries a small blue-painted shield, its only decoration an eagle ‘breath’ (under-) feather from a long string. Tucked through his belt is his ermine medicine pouch, which he was still carrying when photographed on his wedding day by D.F. Barry. His moccasins are decorated with quill- and beadwork, the tongues embellished with tin cones and dyed horsehair. He was described as mounted on a ‘buckskin’ pony.

ONE BULL

The adopted son of his uncle Sitting Bull, the Minneconjou One Bull was born at Bear Butte, South Dakota, in 1853. He was a member of the Strong Heart and Kit Fox warrior societies.

At the start of the battle One Bull was in the Hunkpapa camp circle. Taking his old muzzle-loading musket, he immediately went to Sitting Bull’s tipi and was presented with his uncle’s war club and shield. This act was a symbolic gesture; the shield was for One Bull to carry as Sitting Bull’s representative, firstly in an attempt to negotiate with the soldiers, or, failing that, in the ensuing battle. One Bull was known to have been



Sitting Bull's shield. (A) is taken from pictographs by Sitting Bull portraying himself carrying this shield; it is reconstructed in color on Plate A2. (B) is from One Bull's drawing depicting himself at the Little Bighorn carrying his uncle's shield and club; it shows a red man or bird figure on a green background. There are many and varied written descriptions of this shield, but few take account of these images.

Sitting Bull (left), spiritual leader of the Lakota, photographed with his nephew One Bull in 1884. (Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, LC-USZ62-122853)



in the early stages of the fighting against Reno's force, when he killed two mounted troopers in the bluffs south of the village and a third during the fighting in the river. It was during this episode that he rescued Good Bear Boy, who was shot through both legs; One Bull took him up on his pony and out of the battle – as recorded by One Bull in a painting on muslin made in 1900. In the latter stages of the battle he was with Sitting Bull on the hills to the north-west, probably in his role of bodyguard.

After the battle One Bull went to Canada with Sitting Bull, and was one of the last to surrender in 1881. On the reservation he joined the Indian police, resigning over divided loyalties during the Ghost Dance troubles. He was then employed hauling freight from Mandan to the agency. As an old man One Bull was photographed by his adopted daughter, Gladys Laubin, wearing a trailer bonnet and war shirt with beaded strips symbolizing the Little Bighorn battle. On a white background three bars of blue and yellow represent the three companies of Reno's command; blue and red triangles symbolize the opposing cavalry and Indian forces.

One Bull died on June 23, 1947, aged 94. He lies buried next to his wife, Red Whirlwind, in the Mission Cemetery on Little Oak Creek, South Dakota.

Plate A2

The hairstyle, striped cloth shirt, armbands, bracelets and choker of dentalium shell and metal beads are from an early photograph of One Bull. He wears quilled and beaded moccasins and a folded blanket around his waist. He is armed with a stone-headed club. The shield he carries as representative of Sitting Bull was given to the latter by his own father, Jumping Bull. There is some confusion as to the shield's decoration, and written descriptions vary considerably. There are at least two pictographic drawings of Sitting Bull's shield. The horse's bridle is ornamented with German silver; its tail is tied up for war with a strip of trade cloth, and decorated with eagle feathers.

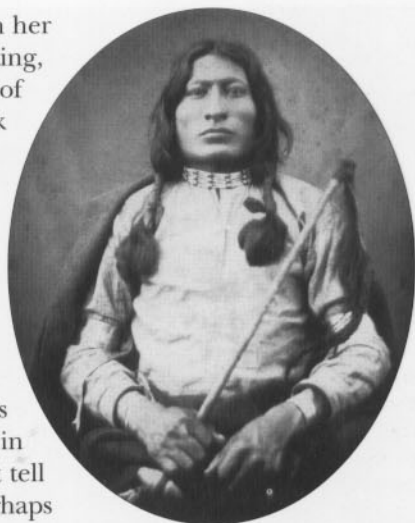
MOVING ROBE WOMAN

Moving Robe Woman – also known as Her Eagle Robe, and as Mary Crawler on the Standing Rock Agency rolls – was born in 1854. She was the daughter of Crawler, a celebrated Hunkpapa Lakota warrior, and when as young as 17 years old she had accompanied Lakota war parties against the Crow.

On June 25, 1876, the 23-year-old Moving Robe Woman was digging wild turnips several miles from the camp site when she became aware of the sounds of battle. She hurried to her family tipi, where her mother met her with the news that her brother, One Hawk, had been killed at Reno Creek. (One Hawk is often confused with Deeds, the young Indian killed by soldiers whilst picketing horses early in the day. Deeds was not Hunkpapa but Sans Arc; his father's name was Brown Back, not Crawler.)

Mourning her brother, Moving Robe Woman galloped south with her father to the Reno battle, where she was in the thick of the fighting, armed with a captured revolver. She is implicated in the killing of Isaiah Dorman (known to the Lakota as Teat), who was a black interpreter married to a Hunkpapa woman. That day he rode into battle with the Army against his wife's people; he paid the price, being shot and badly mutilated, not necessarily in that order. Dorman is clearly shown on some pictographs. Eagle Elk described having seen a woman shoot Dorman who, unhorsed, was sitting on the ground. The woman spoke to Dorman; the first time she pointed a gun at his head it failed to fire, but with the second attempt she killed him. Eagle Elk described this woman as seeking revenge for a relative killed in the battle, and thought her name was Her Eagle Robe. Moving Robe Woman makes no mention of this in her testimonies, but does say that, not wishing to boast, she did not tell all. Perhaps Dorman was killed by another Indian woman; perhaps Moving Robe Woman had begun to avenge the death of her brother.

After the cavalry had been driven back into the bluffs Moving Robe Woman and her father Crawler rode back along the valley. She describes riding with warriors in columns of five, singing victory songs. Having crossed the river in shallow water below a beaver dam, she made her way through the fighting in Deep Coulee and on to Battle Ridge, where she gave the *coup de grâce* to two soldiers, the first with her revolver, the second with her knife. Moving Robe Woman had avenged the death of her brother. She was photographed in 1937 living at Standing Rock Agency at the age of 83 years.



One Bull carried Sitting Bull's shield and club during the battle. Here he wears a choker of metal beads and dentalium shells, a striped trade cloth shirt and metal armbands, and carries a stone-headed club with fur trailer. (Denver Public Library, Western History Collection, X-31837)

Plate A3

Moving Robe Woman has her hair braided and her face and hair parting painted red, as she described. She wears a choker and eardrops of dentalium shell, the eardrops ending in plates of abalone shell; and many German silver bracelets. Her calico dress is typical of everyday non-ceremonial dress of this period. She wears simple undecorated cloth leggings and quilled and beaded moccasins. Around her waist a blanket is secured by a conch-decorated harness-leather belt, attached to which is her brass-tacked knife sheath and bead-decorated awl case. Gall described her as carrying her brother's war staff, here interpreted as a crooked lance. She is firing the Colt revolver captured in the valley fight against Reno's force.

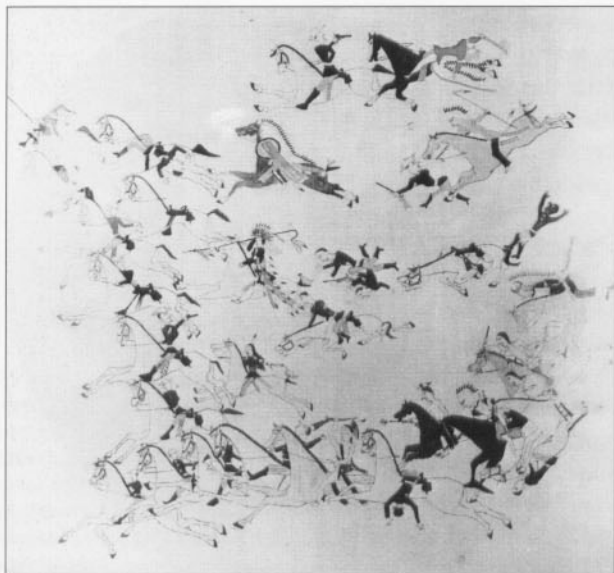
PLATE B

BAD HEART BULL

Bad Heart Bull was the brother of He Dog (see below, Plate D1) and Short Bull. They were of the Bad Face band of the Oglala Lakota, and he was a prominent member of the Kit Fox warrior society. He fought in the Reno battle at the southern end of the valley; his whereabouts later in the day are uncertain.

Plate B1

Information on Bad Heart Bull is supplied by the pictographs drawn by his son, Amos Bad Heart Bull. One drawing shows Bad Heart Bull



'Reno's Retreat', painted on muslin by White Bird. The black interpreter Isaiah Dorman, reportedly killed by Moving Robe Woman, is clearly shown at center right. Note the warrior just left of center wearing a Miwatani head-dress and a stake-down sash and carrying a crooked lance. (West Point Museum Art Collection, United States Military Academy)

wearing Kit Fox regalia and killing an Arikara scout with his society bow-lance during the Reno engagement.

Here he is reconstructed dressed and armed as shown in the Amos Bad Heart Bull ledger drawings. He carries an unstrung bow-lance, which is bead-wrapped along the shaft; below the iron head it has a trail of clusters of owl feathers with two eagle feathers – only the bravest of warriors were honored by carrying this. Like the eagle-feather-decorated fox skin worn around his waist, it is a Kit Fox society emblem. He has a cloth shirt over which is worn a hairpipe breastplate and silver armbands, with cloth leggings and Lakota moccasins. His face is painted and he wears two upright eagle feathers in his unbraided hair. As with many of the war ponies shown in ledger drawings, his mount's bridle is decorated with German silver.

TWO MOON

Two Moon was born in Wyoming in 1842. He was the son of Carries the Otter, an Arikara captive, and his mother was Cheyenne. As young as 13 years old he was scouting for the government; at 16 years he was involved in warfare against the Omaha. By the time he was 20 years old he had twice been wounded, once by a Pawnee bullet through the leg and on the other occasion being shot in the arm by a Crow.

There is misunderstanding as to Two Moon's tribal standing. The title of Chief was put upon him not by his people but by Gen Nelson A. Miles after the Cheyenne surrender in 1877. The Cheyenne council approved this in the expectation that Two Moon's good relationship with the whites would be of advantage to the Cheyenne people. In interviews Two Moon exaggerated his political status when describing his role in the battle of the Little Bighorn.

At the start of the battle Two Moon was in the Cheyenne village. He rode south to join the fight against Reno; here he made a charge into the timber, succeeded in knocking a soldier from his horse, caught a riderless horse, and took cartridges and a container of whiskey from the saddlebags. Two Moon went back up the valley and on to the high ground north of Deep Ravine. He watched the cavalry dismount on Battle Ridge, then took part in an unsuccessful charge against the 'gray horse' troop. This charge took the warriors over the ridge and on to the eastern slopes, where the ponies were rested and weapons reloaded. He took part in two more charges against Keogh's troop. At the end of the battle he took the scalp of a wounded soldier, and clothing and weapons from a group of four dead.

Two Moon surrendered in 1877 at Fort Keogh. He traveled to Washington in 1913 and 1914, when he met President Wilson. He died in 1917.

Plate B2

Two Moon described wearing a white cloth shirt, cloth leggings and fully beaded Cheyenne moccasins. He wears a cartridge belt and carries a

carbine, both taken eight days before at the battle of the Rosebud. He is mounted, again as he described, on a white war pony.

BRAVE WOLF

Born about 1820, the son of the famous prophet Horn, the Cheyenne Brave Wolf was married to Corn Woman. In 1866 she left him – some said, due to Brave Wolf's adultery. Brave Wolf begged her to return but she refused; and in his sadness he became a 'contrary', accepting the rigors, isolation and hardship that this entailed. To be a contrary a warrior acted as the word implies – behavior and speech were inverted. If he said 'come' he meant 'go'; if told to ride, he would walk. Brave Wolf remained a contrary until after the Little Bighorn battle, but relinquished this way of life when his 'thunder bow' was destroyed in the burning of Dull Knife's village in 1876. Eventually Corn Woman returned to him, and stayed with Brave Wolf until his death in 1910.

Little is known of Brave Wolf's actions in the battle. He fought against Reno, and was at Deep Ravine and Battle Ridge. It is of interest that Brave Wolf ended his interview with Grinnell, referring to the Cavalry, with the words: 'I have been in many hard fights but I never saw such brave men.'

Plate B3

Everything that Brave Wolf wears denotes him as a contrary, except for the swift hawk skin on his head and the bone whistle in his mouth. These were his personal medicine; the whistle would be used to imitate the call of the hawk. He is completely painted with dark red paint, including his hair. His robe, leggings and moccasins are made from old lodge skins. The only decoration is hair from a buffalo beard attached to his moccasin heels. He carries a sacred thunder bow, sometimes referred to as a 'lightning lance'; many ceremonies and taboos were associated with this holy weapon. It is a bow-lance strung with two lengths of buffalo sinew; at the grip is a bundle of sage, wrapped with bear intestine, and below the iron head is tied the skin of a stuffed Louisiana tanager. From the dark red-painted shaft of the bow are hung elaborate trails made up of swift hawk and short-eared owl feathers, ending in two golden eagle feathers.

PLATE C

WOODEN LEG

Wooden Leg of the Northern Cheyenne was born in 1858 on the Cheyenne River; his mother was Eagle



A wonderful portrait of the ageing Cheyenne, Two Moon. Photograph by Richard Throssel. (Denver Public Library, Western History Collection, X-32029)

The Cheyenne warrior, Brave Wolf, who fought in the battle as a contrary, photographed outside a sweat lodge in 1889. (Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument, National Park Service)



Feather on the Forehead, and his father White Buffalo Shaking off the Dust. He was originally known as Eats from his Hand, his later name being given for his ability to walk long distances without tiring.

He was a lifelong member of the Elk Horn Scrapers warrior society, which he joined when he was 14 years old. At 17 years of age he took part in a war party against the Crow, counting his first coup. Four times in 1876 Wooden Leg fought against the US Army; in March, defending Old Bear's and Box Elder's village against Reynolds; in June, against Crook at the Rosebud and Custer at the Little Bighorn; and during the winter of the same year, against Miles at Belly Butte.

At the Little Bighorn, Wooden Leg prepared for war by painting his face, removing his everyday attire and putting on his best clothes; he did not have time to braid his hair. His interview provides a perfect example of the importance placed by Indian culture on dressing for war. Contrary to the often stated opinion that the warriors did not have time to dress and paint on June 25, there are many such examples; some warriors even went as far as to change their dress during the battle.

During the fighting against Reno, Wooden Leg took a carbine from a fleeing trooper, having dazed him with a blow from his elk horn quirt. He took part in the mêlée in the river, using the captured carbine as a club, and described taking a pasteboard box of cartridges from a dead trooper. He rode back to the Cheyenne camp circle where he obtained a fresh mount, then rode up Deep Coulee. In his interviews with Marquis he described the success of the warriors shooting arrows from cover in the ravine at the exposed soldiers on the ridge above. From Deep Coulee he arrived on Calhoun Hill after the battle. He fired in the direction of the last surviving soldiers with pistol and carbine, even though, as he describes, he could see no one through the dust and smoke.

Wooden Leg surrendered at Fort Robinson. From there he was sent to the Oklahoma Territory, where he and his family remained for six years. When the Cheyenne were eventually allowed back to their homeland, Wooden Leg's family settled on the Tongue River. In 1889 he enlisted in the Cheyenne scouts at Fort Keogh. In later life Wooden Leg farmed a 21-acre site near the town of Lame Deer and was appointed an Indian judge, a post he held for ten years. He died in 1940.

Pictograph by Wooden Leg; he portrays himself during the Little Bighorn battle, pulling a soldier from his horse by his carbine belt. (Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument, National Park Service)



Plate C1

Wooden Leg is shown as described by himself and from his self-portrait pictographs. His face is painted yellow outlined black; his hair is unbraided and tied behind his neck, and in his pictographs he appears to wear a dyed feather. A striped blanket is held in place by a military cartridge belt. His attire is completed with a dentalium shell choker, white linen shirt, his best moccasins, and finally Sioux leggings – a gift from a Hunkpapa friend. From his shoulder are hung a powder horn and bullet bag, necessary for his cap-and-ball pistol (here shown as a .44-caliber Model 1860 Army

Colt); he also carries a captured carbine. An elk horn quirt, which he used as a weapon, hangs from his right wrist.

SCABBY

Scabby has gone down in Cheyenne history for his role in the early stages of the battle against Reno's force; his story was related to Thomas Marquis by Kate Bighead.

Reno's troopers had dismounted and formed a line across the southern end of the valley. With controlled fire from prone positions they held back the mounted warriors. Most of the warriors present at this stage of the fighting were Lakota, but there were some Cheyenne, one of whom was Scabby. Perhaps to break the stalemate or to test his spirit powers, this warrior stripped off all his clothing and wrapped himself in a flag. He mounted his pony, and galloped back and forth five times in front of the skirmish line; although many soldiers must have fired at him, not one bullet touched him. There are other examples of warriors making these solo rides, both at the Rosebud battle and the Little Bighorn, presumably to test their courage or medicine protection, or even to encourage by example those less daring.

Scabby died in November 1876 defending Dull Knife's village against the US 4th Cavalry under Col Ranald Mackenzie.

Plate C2

Scabby is shown armed with a cloth-covered lance. His scalplock can be clearly seen; his braids are loosely tied with trade cloth; and his moccasins are decorated with a beaded 'morning star' design. As described by Kate Bighead, he is wrapped in a flag; exactly what flag cannot be confirmed, but it is shown here as an infantry regimental national color.

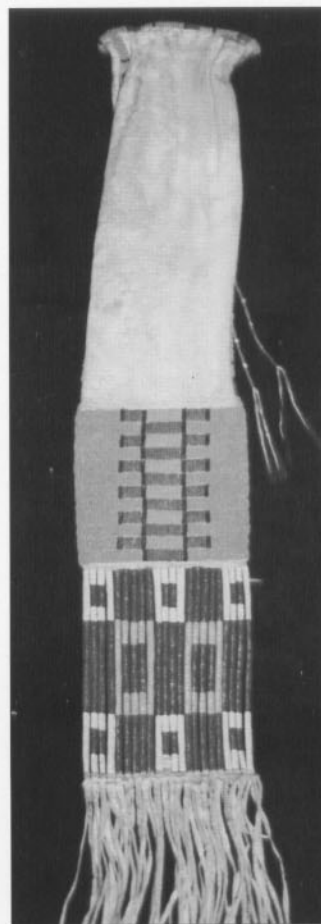
NO TWO HORNS

No Two Horns was born in 1857, the son of Red Hail, a cousin of Sitting Bull. He was a member of the Kit Fox warrior society, and he rode with war parties against the Assiniboine when he was only 14 years old.

Although it is not certain where this Hunkpapa warrior fought at the Little Bighorn, it is probable that he left the Hunkpapa camp circle at the southern end of the camp to take part in the fighting against Reno's command. Here his horse was shot from under him and he took a bullet in the leg, so took no further part in the fighting. After the battle he escaped to Canada with Sitting Bull. In the 1880s he was on the Standing Rock Reservation, where he produced many pictographs, mostly of his own war exploits. No Two Horns died at Standing Rock Agency in 1942.

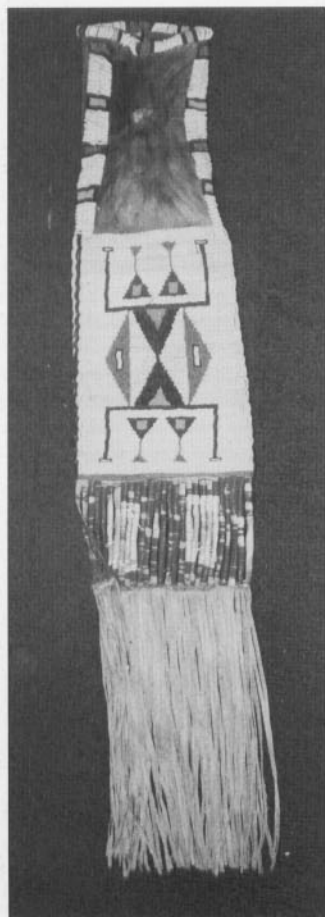
Plate C3

No Two Horns is shown as he portrays himself in pictographs. His hair is pulled up into a pompadour style, decorated with a single dyed feather (not eagle), and his braids are wrapped in otter skin. His face paint mimics the wavy line patterns on his shield. Over his cloth shirt he wears a small bone hairpipe breastplate. Around his waist is an Army ammunition belt under which is thrust a large harness-leather knife sheath. His leggings of blue trade cloth are decorated with beaded



Cheyenne pipebag; the buckskin shows some traces of ochre paint. The colors of the upper beadwork are pumpkin and yellow with dark blue edging, on a powder blue background. The colors of the quilled slats below are mainly white and red, with yellow central frame shapes on the red. (Ian West Collection)

Hunkpapa Lakota pipebag.
Beadwork in red, yellow, dark
and light blue on a white
background. Quilled slats
predominantly red, with white
panels. (Author's collection)



strips. His beaded moccasins are of typical Lakota design. No Two Horns carries a Winchester rifle, and from his wrist hangs his wooden, leather-thonged quirt.

His shield still exists and is now in the Denver Art Museum, Colorado. In his pictographs No Two Horns shows the shield with four mature eagle feathers hanging from the outer edge; today the shield has four eagle breast feathers attached to the claws and tips of the wings of the main thunderbird image. It is shown here as it now exists, but with the eagle feathers as shown in his pictographs. The wavy lines radiating up from the thunderbird's wings possibly represent spiritual power or thunder and lightning. At the top of the shield is a green-edged box over which is strung a group of clipped feathers. During his years on the Standing Rock Reservation, No Two Horns made a number of copies of his shield, from muslin painted in a similar way to the original but with slight variations; these replicas were often sold to tourists.

LITTLE BIRD, Plate C4

Very little is known about this Northern Cheyenne warrior, which is surprising, since he was important enough to wear a trailer war bonnet at the Little Bighorn. He fought with Wooden Leg against Reno's force early in the day, when he was wounded in the thigh by a pistol shot fired by a retreating trooper.

PLATE D

HE DOG

He Dog was born in 1840 in an Oglala village near Bear Butte, South Dakota, the son of Blue Day Woman and Black Rock. His reputation as a warrior and leader culminated in the 1860s in his being made a 'shirt wearer', taking on all the responsibilities that this office entailed. He became head man and lance carrier of the Crow Owner warrior society in 1870. When engaged in fighting against Crow tribal enemies He Dog killed a woman with his Crow Owner society lance – an action that he bitterly regretted, and vowed never to repeat. This event is recorded in an Amos Bad Heart Bull ledger drawing.

In interview, He Dog's descriptions of the battle of the Little Bighorn give valuable details of other people's actions and whereabouts, but very little as to his own. He does describe himself as having had time to dress and prepare himself for war; he then rode south to a rise west of Reno's skirmish line. He Dog took part in a running battle against cavalrymen who had charged out of the tree line, and during this engagement he singled out and killed Indian scouts.

He then left the Reno fight and rode north to the Hunkpapa camp circle, from where he observed soldiers around Medicine Tail Coulee. On Battle Ridge, He Dog rode with Crazy Horse in the charge that broke through the soldiers' lines.

He Dog surrendered with his people on May 6, 1877, at Fort Robinson. For many years he held the post of judge to the court of Indian offences. It is of interest that He Dog is identified in one of his nephew's pictographs with the words *sunka bloka wayasin*, which

translates as 'He Dog, Judge.' Prior to his death He Dog was blind and crippled with arthritis; he passed away in 1936, at the age of 96.

Plate D1

This reconstruction is based upon his nephew's drawing. He Dog's horned trailer head-dress has a cap of clipped owl feathers, a beaded browband, ermine side drops, and a trailer of painted buckskin to which are attached mature eagle feathers with horsehair embellishments. The shaved buffalo horns are tipped with ermine and dyed horsehair. He wears a cloth shirt over which is a hairpipe breastplate and German silver armbands, all based on the pictograph, as are his legging strips and the blanket with beaded strip decoration worn at his waist.

Photographs of He Dog taken in 1874 by Mitchell and 1875 by Bell show him holding the brass-studded, bird-headed knife-club illustrated here. There is always a danger in using this type of image for information, as many photographers owned Indian artifacts as studio props. A number of warriors photographed by the same photographer might all be wearing the same war bonnet or carrying the same pipebag supplied by the 'shadow catcher.' We may be more confident about He Dog's knife-club, shown in images taken by different photographers in different studios a year apart.

FLYING BY

Plate D2

This aged Oglala warrior should not be confused with the Minneconjou of the same name who was born in 1850, and would have been in his prime in 1876. Many men are shown in ledger drawings of the battle wearing war shirts. Hardly any named warriors are described as being dressed in this way in Indian testimonies, but an exception is Flying By. During an interview conducted by Gen Hugh L.Scott, Red Feather of the Oglala told of seeing Flying By, an old man, in the heat of the battle, shouting encouragement to younger warriors as they fought their way up Deep Ravine; he was wearing a war shirt, and had his gray hair tied behind his head. He is reconstructed here wearing a painted Lakota war shirt embellished with beaded strips and quill-wrapped hair locks. His painted buckskin leggings are decorated with broad beaded strips, narrow beaded edging and quill-wrapped hair locks. Flying By's costume is completed by a pair of beaded moccasins; and he carries his beaded pipebag.

WATERMAN

There were only five Arapaho at the Little Bighorn, one of whom was Waterman. They had left the agency at Fort Robinson, and when they first entered the encampment the Arapaho

The Hunkpapa warrior Crow King was in the fighting with Crazy Horse in Deep Coulee and on Calhoun Hill. In this photograph he wears a single painted feather in his hair, otter fur wrapping on his braids, a choker of metal beads and dentalium shell, and a military coat embellished with officer shoulder straps, cuff lace and hair locks; over this he wears a hairpipe breastplate, and he carries a catlinite pipe with a brass-studded stem. Crow King lost two brothers at the Little Bighorn: White Bull (not to be confused with the Minneconjou of the same name), and Swift Bear, who were killed in the valley fight against Reno. Photograph D.F.Barry. (Denver Public Library, Western History Collection, B-920)





Arapaho men, taken by an unknown photographer at Camp Supply. Note the pectoral, and dentalium and abalone shell ear drops worn by the left-hand man; and stud decoration and an Army shoulder strap on the vest of the other. (Denver Public Library, Western History Collection, X-32008)

were taken prisoner under the suspicion of being Army scouts; Two Moon (see above) negotiated their release. During an interview conducted by Col Tim McCoy in 1920, Waterman told how he had fought his way up the north-west side of Deep Coulee with the Cheyenne. He took part in a charge led by Lame White Man (see below, Plate H3), and shot and killed a wounded soldier at the end of the battle. Waterman described seeing the last five men of Custer's troop alive, all wounded; he believed LtCol Custer to have been one of these.

Plate D3

Waterman is shown as he described himself to Col McCoy. He wears a war bonnet of mature eagle feathers with quilled drops and quilled browband, from which are hung hawkbells. His face is painted. He wears a cloth shirt and breech clout, and heavily fringed painted buckskin leggings with bead decoration. Around his neck is a thong holding his deerskin medicine bag. He is armed with a brass-tacked Sharps carbine.

LEFT HAND

Left Hand's father's name was Cherry. He had always lived with the Arapaho, but in fact was part Blackfoot and part Cheyenne. It was unusual for an Indian to be left-handed, but Left Hand was – hence his name. He left the agency with Yellow Eagle, Yellow Fly, Waterman and Green Grass, all arriving at the Lakota-Cheyenne encampment. Again in interview with Col McCoy, Left Hand told of his part in the Little Bighorn battle. It would seem that he was only in the fighting on the ridge against Custer's men; even so, he claimed 13 coups. During close fighting he mistook a wounded Lakota for an Army scout, and killed the warrior with his lance, somehow surviving the consequent anger of the Lakota.

Left Hand had a role in the movie *Covered Wagon*; and he appeared with Col Tim McCoy at the opening of Sid Grauman's Egyptian Theater in Hollywood in 1923.

Plate D4

Left Hand is shown dressed according to his own description. He wears a patterned cloth shirt and selvedge-edged trade cloth breech clout. In his hair is a buffalo hide cross with two eagle feathers attached; this is his personal medicine. His hard-soled moccasins are decorated with typical Arapaho beadwork. He carries a lance, and a Springfield carbine and cartridge belt. He claimed that the weapon was handed to him by a soldier whom he did not kill, but a Lakota warrior did; Left Hand then returned and took the cartridge belt.

(continued on page 33)

1: Rain in the Face 2: One Bull 3: Moving Robe Woman



1: Bad Heart Bull 2: Two Moon 3: Brave Wolf



1: Wooden Leg 2: Scabby 3: No Two Horns 4: Little Bird



1: He Dog 2: Flying By 3: Waterman 4: Left Hand



1: Crazy Head 2: Sun Bear 3: Young Little Wolf 4: Standing Bear



1: Gall 2: White Elk 3: Fool Bull



1: Crazy Horse 2: White Bull 3: Noisy Walking 4: Antelope Woman



1: Yellow Nose 2: Black Elk 3: Lame White Man



PLATE E

CRAZY HEAD

Crazy Head's mother was of the Crow people, his father a Cheyenne. He took part in war parties against the Pawnee in 1862; and four years later he was warrior chief of the Cheyenne in the Fetterman fight near Fort Phil Kearny. The same year he was made council chief, and in 1873 he traveled to Washington in a tribal delegation. Three years later he was one of the 12 Cheyenne bonnet wearers at the battle of the Little Bighorn. His role in the battle was one of encouragement, leaving the fighting to younger warriors. Little is known of Crazy Head's life after the battle, apart from the fact that he surrendered with Two Moon in April 1877.

Plate E1

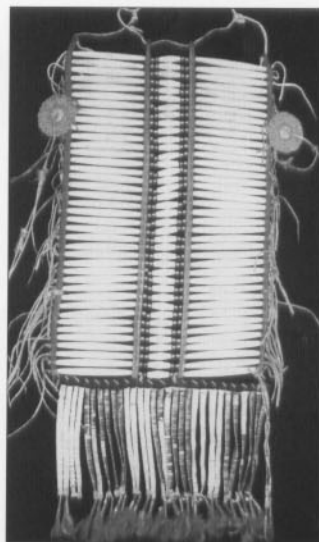
Crazy Head wears a war bonnet of immature golden eagle feathers, with a beaded browband and ermine drops. His braids are wrapped in otter fur. His shirt is a trade item; a beaded strip adorns the blanket around his waist. Typical Cheyenne beadwork decorates his moccasins and painted, fringed buckskin leggings. Crazy Head carries his pipe and beaded and quilled pipebag, symbols of his office as council chief. Some details of his dress are from an Alexander Gardner photograph taken in Washington in 1873.

SUN BEAR

The Cheyenne Sun Bear was born in 1843. Little is recorded of his early days; in an interview with Thomas Marquis he refers to having been in war parties against the Pawnee, Shoshoni and Crow. He was a participant in the Fetterman fight in 1866. Details of his whereabouts at the Little Bighorn are scarce, but he was in the fighting against Reno. Wooden Leg described to Marquis seeing him with two other Cheyenne, Eagle Tail Feather and Little Sun, plus the Lakota White Bull (see below, Plate G2), chasing three mounted soldiers back to the high ground. His actual movements from the south of the valley to Battle Ridge are not recorded, but he did take part in the fighting on Custer Hill. He was nearly killed in the first Cheyenne charge, when a bullet glanced off his forehead, throwing him from his horse; he remounted and carried on fighting. Sun Bear was still alive in 1928.

Plate E2

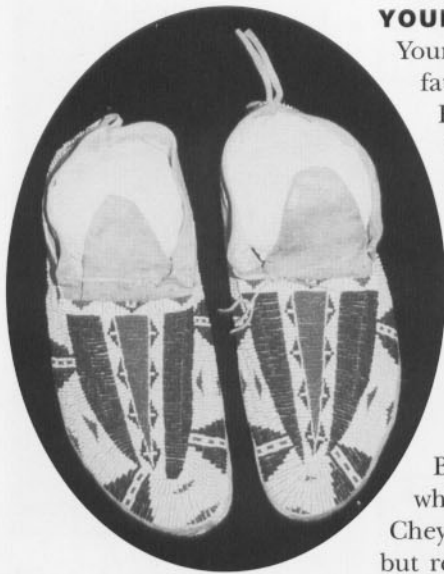
Sun Bear's appearance is based on Marquis's interviews with Wooden Leg, and the Amos Bad Heart Bull ledger drawings, plus the Little Wolf pictograph. He wears an eagle feather trailer bonnet with ermine cap and drops and beaded browband. This head-dress is distinctive due to the addition of a single upright buffalo horn, which is said to have had phallic symbolism. Wooden Leg emphasized that, as shown here, Sun Bear was a 'naked' warrior, stripped to his breech clout, and that this was unusual in that the Cheyenne nearly always dressed in their best for war. He is armed with bow and arrows, his combined bowcase and quiver with beaded decoration hanging behind him. Sun Bear's face paint and the painting on his war pony are based on pictographs. Note the wooden, brass-studded quirt hanging from a beaded and fringed wrist strap, and his fully beaded, hard-soled Cheyenne moccasins.



Cheyenne breastplate consisting of two widths of hairpipes and brass beads. The quilled slats at the bottom are colored red and white, with tin cone janglers and red-dyed hair at the end of each. (Ian West Collection)

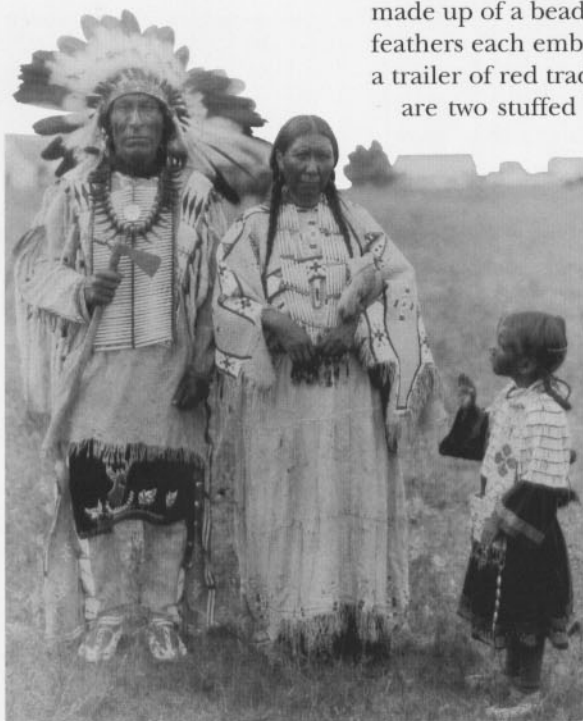


Cheyenne fully beaded moccasins. The beadwork, on a white background, shows large dark green panels, and smaller motifs in light and dark blue and red; the buckskin tongues and uppers are stained yellow. (Ian West Collection)



Lakota (Sioux) beaded moccasins, with dark blue and red designs on a white background. (Ian West Collection)

Little Bighorn veteran Dewey Beard with his wife and daughter, photographed between 1880 and 1900. (Denver Public Library, Western History Collection, X-31958)



YOUNG LITTLE WOLF

Young Little Wolf was born into the Cheyenne nation in 1850. His father's name was Long Horn, but he was later known as Big Left Hand or Left Hand. His uncle was the renowned Cheyenne chief Little Wolf. Prior to being given his uncle's name, Young Little Wolf was known first as Young Hawk or Red Bird, and later as Thorny Tree. He was a member of the Elk Horn Scrapper warrior society and later of the Crazy Dogs. In his first battle the young warrior's exploits – counting two coups on Shoshoni enemies – so pleased his uncle, Chief Little Wolf, that he honored him by giving him his name and his sacred war bonnet and painted saber. At the age of 17 Young Little Wolf was a participant at the Wagon Box Fight in 1867.

Very little is known of Young Little Wolf's role at the Little Bighorn battle, except that he took part in the final stages, during which he dropped and lost the blue- and red-painted saber. After the Cheyenne surrender Young Little Wolf was sent to Indian Territory, but returned north with his uncle's band in 1878. Little Wolf's band surrendered at Fort Keogh, Young Little Wolf with a few followers at Pine Ridge.

In 1886 Young Little Wolf was still fighting, during what must have been one of the last intertribal conflicts; he killed several men of a Crow horse-stealing band. In his later years Young Little Wolf was elected tribal leader of the Northern Cheyenne. He died in 1927.

Plate E3

Young Little Wolf is shown wearing the sacred trailer bonnet presented to him by his uncle; information for the bonnet is from a ledger drawing of Little Wolf counting coup on a Nez Perce warrior. The bonnet is made up of a beaded browband, ermine tail side drops, immature eagle feathers each embellished with ermine spots and yellow horse hair, and a trailer of red trade cloth ending in a selvedge edge. Tied to the trailer are two stuffed birds, here shown as rusty blackbirds; and mounted above the browband is another stuffed bird skin, here shown as a belted kingfisher.

Young Little Wolf's shield, heavily hung with ermine skins and eagle tail feathers, is drawn from the one which he carries in a photograph taken by G.J.McMurry at the 50th anniversary of the Little Bighorn battle. It may be wishful thinking; but it is not impossible that this shield could have been the one that he carried at the Little Bighorn – the style is appropriate to that period. He is armed with the painted saber.

STANDING BEAR

This Lakota of the Minneconjou was born in 1859 on the Tongue River, Montana. On the morning of the battle the 16-year-old Standing Bear had crossed the river and climbed Black Butte, from where he saw the advancing cavalry. He returned to the village with difficulty – he was not wearing



Cheyenne warriors photographed in 1887; all carry Springfield carbines. (Left to right) Standing Elk, Young Little Wolf and Wild Hog. (Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, LC-USZ62-13538)

Europe with the Buffalo Bill Show, Standing Bear returned home in 1890. During the winter of that year his wife Red Elk and probably his seven-year-old daughter were killed at Wounded Knee. In later years Standing Bear farmed and raised cattle. He married Louise Renick, a nurse at Pine Ridge; she was the eldest daughter of an Austrian family in whose care he had convalesced after being injured in the Buffalo Bill Show. They had three children. Standing Bear was an exceptionally fine artist, who left some of the finest Indian art depicting the battle of the Little Bighorn. He died in 1934.

Plate E4

Standing Bear's greased and braided hair is decorated, as he described, with his protective medicine of a red bird, here shown as a hepatic tanager. He wears a trade cloth shirt but no leggings. His bowcase and quiver are slung low on his back, but he made no reference to using his bow during the fighting. His pistol is shown here as a Remington .44 revolver.

PLATE F

GALL

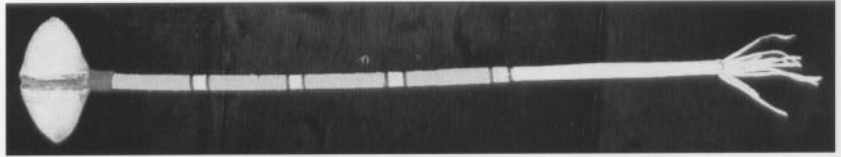
Gall was born in a Hunkpapa village on the Moreau River in South Dakota. The exact date of his birth was probably never known. References to his age in 1876 vary considerably, from 29 to 38 years old, the latter probably being nearer the truth. He was also known as *Pizi*, 'Man Who Goes in the Middle.'

There are extraordinary parallels between the lives of Gall and Rain in the Face (see above), and both men were lionized to a point beyond their real significance. Both were acquaintances of the agent McLaughlin and the photographer Barry. Their lives prior to the Little

moccasins, but had to negotiate an area of cactus. Having armed himself with bowcase and quiver plus a pistol, the young warrior crossed the river again and went up on to Finley Ridge below Calhoun Hill. For much of the time he managed to keep clear of the fighting, but eventually found himself caught up in a full charge, which turned into a *mêlée*. In interviews Standing Bear eloquently describes the confusion and horror of this experience. Fighting by instinct, and finding that he had emptied his revolver at he knew not what targets, he clubbed a soldier with the empty pistol, unhorsing him and probably killing him under the horse's hooves (in some testimonies it is said that Standing Bear killed the trooper after clubbing him with his gun). He took a fringed buckskin coat from a dead soldier and gave it to his mother.

In 1879 Standing Bear led a successful war party against the Crow, returning in triumph with 30 captured horses. After traveling to

Stone-headed war club; the buckskin-wrapped handle is beaded in pale blue, yellow and dark blue, and a small strip of red cloth is bound below the head. (Ian West Collection)



The Hunkpapa, Gall, wears a single eagle feather in his hair. On his chest is a metal cross, which might represent either the dragonfly, the morning star or the four directions. (Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument, National Park Service)



Bighorn battle show similar incidents. Rain in the Face was convicted of killing two civilians attached to the Army, was imprisoned, allegedly made his vow of vengeance, and escaped. In 1867 military orders were given for Gall's arrest; while resisting capture he was shot, bayoneted and left for dead. He survived, and despite severe winter conditions managed to drag himself to the safety of a relative's lodge. He swore revenge, and carried it out, killing and scalping seven whites, including Lt Eben Crosby on October 14, 1871.

Gall did not have the dubious honor of having a poem written about him, but many lurid newspaper headlines made up for this. Again like Rain in the Face, Gall was dragged into the political intrigues by agency officials to diminish Sitting Bull's standing. It is well documented that in his efforts to defame Sitting Bull, Maj James McLaughlin, reservation agent at Standing Rock, went so far as to proclaim Gall as having been 'commander-in-chief' of all the warriors at the Little Bighorn – note the wholly inappropriate military terminology.

Gall did not lead a first massed cavalry charge up Deep Coulee as is so often described. As Gregory F. Michno successfully demonstrates in his book *Lakota Noon*, by the time Gall forded the river the engagement at Calhoun Hill was already well under way; in fact, eye-witness accounts have Gall crossing the river alone.

It is of interest to consider his whereabouts earlier in the day. Thanks to Michno's in-depth research we are able to determine that Gall rode the length of the valley three times; then climbed the bluffs with Iron Cedar, and watched some of Custer's command travel down Medicine Tail Coulee. He failed to find his family with the rest of the women and children west of the Cheyenne camp; desperately galloping back to his deserted tipi in the Hunkpapa camp, he found his two wives and three children dead amongst the trees south of the village. Gall swore in vengeance that from then on he would kill all his enemies with a hatchet. After a short period of mourning he rode north up the valley again, and was seen by Pretty White Buffalo fording the river and heading up Deep Coulee at about 5pm.

Having made his way up Deep Coulee, Gall probably arrived near Calhoun Hill at around 5.30pm. By now Calhoun's force was suffering heavy losses under sniper fire from the surrounding gullies. It is at this time that there is

evidence of leadership from Gall, in that he gathered warriors for the final charge on Calhoun's command. From here he fought his way across the ridge to take part in the final assault on Custer's position, no doubt taking revenge for the deaths of his family. Two telling statements were made by Gall: 'It was like chasing buffalo'; and 'the dust and smoke were as black as evening.'

Gall surrendered at Poplar Creek, Montana, in 1880. He became a justice of the Indian police force court at Standing Rock Agency. He died on December 5, 1893, from an overdose of weight reduction medicine.

Plate F1

The only description available of Gall's appearance is a rather flowery one by Charles A. Eastman, who describes him as 'without a garment upon his superb body, mounted on a black charger.' Without other information, he is shown here using details from photographs by D.F. Barry; fortunately many of these exist, the first taken in 1881 at Fort Buford. This occasion was obviously before Barry established a good relationship with Gall. The two of them ended up confronting one another, Gall with a knife, Barry with a revolver – it seems that Gall had decided against having his photograph taken and was intent on destroying it. Gall is shown with otterskin braid wraps, and a single eagle feather embellished with ermine, fluffy and horsehair. His dragonfly earrings, which appear in many photographs, have protective 'thunder' power. The white stripes of paint on his arms, according to Hardorff, symbolize his having escaped from enemy captivity – perhaps the near-death experience of 1867? He is armed with a hatchet, based on one in the Smithsonian Institution.

WHITE ELK

The Cheyenne White Elk, also known as Wandering Buffalo Bull, was born between 1848 and 1850. He was a prominent member of the Elk Horn Scraper warrior society. He fought in every major engagement against the US Army, including Fort Phil Kearny in 1866 and the Rosebud battle on June 17, 1876, where he made well-documented solo bravado rides in front of the troopers' lines. Primary sources give little detail as to his role in the Little Bighorn battle. It is known that no horse was available to him when Custer approached the valley, and Without Weapon, widow of Red Bear, lent him a war pony. At the end of the day White Elk returned leading two gray captured Army horses, one of which he presented to Without Weapon.

As an old man White Elk still kept an Army revolver that he had taken during the fighting, not having surrendered it with other Cheyenne guns at the White River Agency. White Elk died in about 1914.

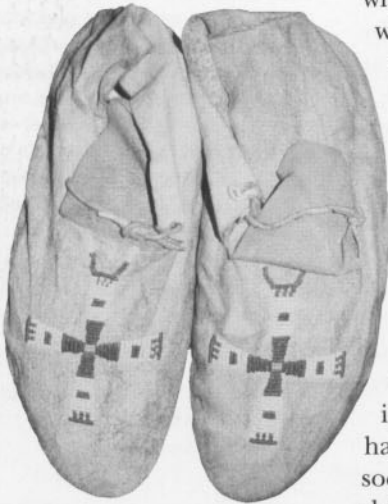
'Strike-a-light' pouches most often contained – as the name implies – flint and steel, and usually hung from women's belts, though were sometimes attached to a bowcase/quiver. The left-hand pouch is Lakota. It is beaded in red, yellow, green, dark and light blue on a white background; the remnants of dyed red feathers remain in the tin cone janglers attached at the bottom. The Arapaho pouch on the right is beaded in green, yellow, red and dark and light blue on a white background. The back of this pouch is leather cut from the leg of a boot. (Author's collection)



Plate F2

Apart from his war bonnet, the appearance of White Elk is based upon his own ledger drawing showing him mounted, armed with a lance and killing a dismounted trooper. His war bonnet is as he described it to Grinnell; it was presented to him by his uncle just prior to the battle of the Rosebud. This head-dress is unusual in that, in place of the normal quilled or beaded browband, the cap where the brow band would normally be is painted with butterflies and dragonflies; this decoration would also continue over the rest of the cap. To the bonnet trailer are attached eagle 'breath' feathers interspersed with lead bullets; low down on the trade cloth trailer is tied the skin of a swallow, the personal medicine of White Elk's uncle.

The rest of White Elk's appearance is interpreted from his self-portrait pictograph. His face is painted. He wears long otterskin braid wraps, a dentalium shell choker, a hairpipe breastplate, cloth leggings without beaded strips, and typical Cheyenne moccasins. He carries a shield with a trailer of five rows of horse hair-tipped eagle feathers; and an iron-tipped lance embellished with blue and red trade cloth below the head and a single eagle feather at the butt.



Hollow Horn Bear's moccasins; at 26 years old, this Brulé son of Iron Shell fought at the Little Bighorn. The decoration is beaded in turquoise, powder blue, greasy yellow and red on a white background. (Author's collection)

FOOL BULL, Plate F3

Fool Bull, a Brulé warrior and shaman, was born in 1844 and married to Red Cane. He was photographed by John A. Anderson between 1900 and 1910 on the Rosebud reservation. In this photograph Fool Bull holds a quirt and the shield that he carried at the Little Bighorn battle; this shield has survived the years, and is now in the Lakota Museum in Rapid City, South Dakota. Fool Bull is shown wearing two upright eagle feathers at the back of his head, his hair loose on one side and cloth-wrapped on the other. He carries a society quirt made of pinewood with foxfur wrist strap. His painted shield, decorated with trade cloth, clipped owl feathers, hawk and golden eagle feathers, is based on the Anderson photograph. He also wears a plain cloth shirt and a carved bear-claw necklace, and holds a feather-decorated lance.

PLATE G

CRAZY HORSE

Crazy Horse was born in 1841 or 1842. His father, also named Crazy Horse, was of the Oglala; his mother, sister of Spotted Tail, was Brulé. As a boy he was known as Curly. He was honored with his father's name when, aged 17, he was successful in war against the Arapaho, killing two warriors.

As a young man Crazy Horse's prowess as a warrior quickly grew in battles against tribal enemies, the Crow and Shoshoni. In the years that followed he was involved in many engagements against the whites, including Powder River in 1865, the Fetterman massacre in 1866 and the Wagon Box Fight in 1867. Eight days before the Little Bighorn battle Crazy Horse was fighting at the Rosebud.

There is no doubt that the charisma of Crazy Horse was important to the morale of the warriors at the Little Bighorn; where Crazy Horse

went, others followed. He was in the fighting against Reno both in the valley, where he killed soldiers on the river bank with his warclub, and in the bluffs to the south east.

For years chroniclers of the battle have felt the need to describe the Indian tactics from a white perspective – to have ‘generals’ leading their ‘commands’ – and like Gall, Crazy Horse was placed in this role. How convenient to have one force led by Crazy Horse sweeping from the north, and Gall leading his massed warriors from the south in a ‘pincer movement’ upon the beleaguered Custer. This can only be accepted if the testimonies of the warriors who fought there and survived are ignored. Gregory Michno’s *Lakota Noon* successfully shows the fallacy of ‘regimental’ Indian movements. Analysis of Indian accounts makes clear that instead of riding ahead of a vast Lakota army in a sweep to the north, Crazy Horse in fact went up Deep Coulee to Calhoun Hill, where with White Bull (Plate G2) he attacked the soldiers, probably making inspirational solo charges. It is doubtful that Crazy Horse was in the fighting on Custer Hill; the eyewitness account of Flying Hawk describes him to the east, chasing a lone mounted trooper and bringing him down.

For a year after the battle Crazy Horse managed to stay free, attempting to keep his people away from reservation life. On May 6, 1877, persuaded by Miles, Crook, Spotted Tail and Red Cloud, he submitted and led his Oglala into the Red Cloud Agency. Four months later Crazy Horse was dead. White and Indian political intrigue led to him being arrested by his own people; during his arrest, apparently resisting the prospect of imprisonment, Crazy Horse was held by his friend Little Big Man and bayoneted in the back by a prison guard.

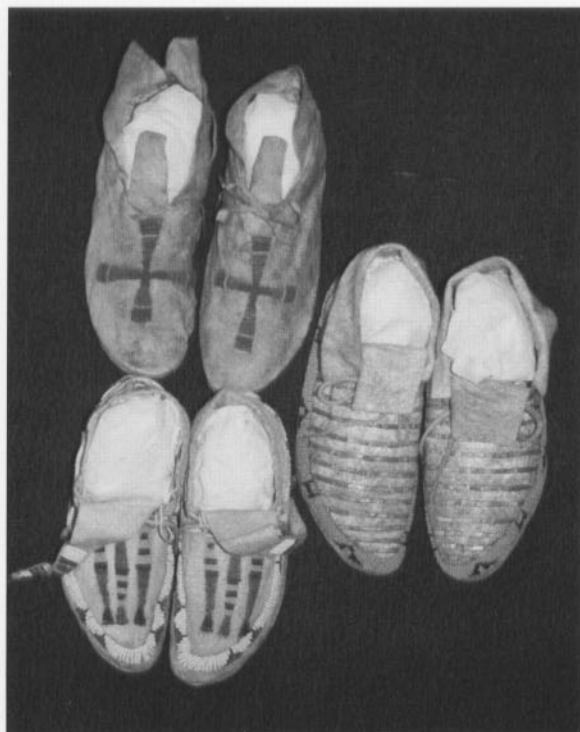


The brother of He Dog, Short Bull was of the Oglala; he was in his early twenties when he took part in the fighting against Reno's battalion. He described seeing Crazy Horse crossing the river, and riding up Deep Coulee followed by other warriors. Photo by D.F.Barry. (Denver Public Library, Western History Collection, B-567)

Plate G1

Despite the amount of information available on Crazy Horse he remains a man of mystery, and his appearance at the Little Bighorn still cannot be described with any certainty. The ledger drawings of Amos Bad Heart Bull provide the main reference for this figure; the drawings were approved and even directed by that artist's uncles and father, all Little Bighorn veterans. Amos Bad Heart Bull's drawings show Crazy Horse wearing a single eagle feather upright in his unbraided hair, which is described by Short Bull and Little Killer as unusually brown and wavy. Selvedge-edged trade cloth belted at his waist could be interpreted either as a small blanket, or more likely – as shown here – the ends of his breech clout pulled up and tucked under his cartridge belt.

It is confusing that the pictographs all show Crazy Horse's body painted with red spots on yellow, contrary to all descriptions that he painted himself with white spots representing hail, as portrayed here.



Partially decorated moccasins. (Top left) Cheyenne; the cross is beaded in green, red and light blue. (Bottom left) Cheyenne; the line of beadwork above the sole is white with dark blue, red and green designs; the three beaded lines running down the vamp are of grouped bars of dark blue and yellow, and green and red. (Right) Lakota; red quilled lines run across the foot, which is edged by a line of light blue beadwork with dark blue and greasy yellow designs, from toe to heel. (Author's collection)

Did Amos's informants tell him that, contrary to other information, Crazy Horse's paint was different on this day from that which he normally wore? – or, not having the luxury of opaque white paint available, did the artist take license by using colors other than described?

The drawings do not show the calfskin cape often described. From this it might be concluded that it was worn at the Rosebud battle but not at the Little Bighorn. All the Amos Bad Heart Bull drawings show fully beaded moccasins, a stone-headed club, a rifle (shown here as a brass-tacked 'Yellow Boy' Winchester) and a pistol (shown here as a .44 Remington percussion revolver).

WHITE BULL

The Minneconjou White Bull was born in 1850; he had three sisters and two brothers. His father was Makes Room, his mother Pretty Feather Woman, who was Sitting Bull's sister. His boyhood name was Buffalo Standing with Cow. White Bull's impressive warrior record started in 1865 when, at 16 years old (and still known as Buffalo Standing with Cow), he fought Army scouts on the Powder

River; here he counted his first coup, recorded his first kill and captured horses. For these deeds he was honored by his father by being named White Bull after his grandfather. (According to Stanley Vestal, White Bull's correct Lakota name was *Pte San Hunka* – 'Lazy White Buffalo'.) The following year White Bull distinguished himself in the fighting against Fetterman's soldiers near Fort Phil Kearny. He recorded many of his war exploits with pictographic drawings, some of which show him in battle against the Crow in 1868, and fighting the Flathead in 1870. White Bull continued to gain battle honors in the years that followed. He was a bonnet wearer at the battle of the Rosebud, again as depicted by a self-portrait.

On the morning of June 25, 1876, White Bull had taken his and his father-in-law's horse herd, first for water at the river and then to graze. Upon hearing cries of alarm and distant gunfire he rushed back to his tipi in the Sans Arc village (his wife, Holy Lodge, was Sans Arc Lakota, which would explain them not being camped in the adjacent Minneconjou village). After escorting Holy Lodge and his two sons to the relative safety of the hills to the west, he galloped south to the Hunkpapa camp and the sounds of Reno's attack. By the time he arrived the fighting was well under way; apart from taking a potshot at a retreating soldier, he took little active part in this stage of the battle.

Becoming aware of Army movements to the north, White Bull rode back up the valley. (In his testimony to Stanley Vestal he describes stopping and removing his leggings, although this is contrary to how he shows himself dressed in pictographs.) He crossed the river, then went up Deep Coulee to Calhoun Hill. Here he made a solo charge against mounted troopers, without suffering any injury. In interviews White Bull seems to have seen himself as in competition with Crazy Horse; in later

years he corrected some of his earlier statements critical of Crazy Horse. White Bull was with Crazy Horse in the charge that broke the mounted troopers' lines. His horse was shot from under him, and he was involved in hand-to-hand fighting. The description of one particular incident led to a controversy over whether White Bull killed George Custer; the fact that this hand-to-hand fight took place on or around Calhoun Hill makes this most unlikely.

In the October following the battle of the Little Bighorn, White Bull was badly injured in the left arm by a bullet during fighting against the Army. Encouraged by Sitting Bull, White Bull was ordered by his father, Makes Room, to fight no more. To such a man as White Bull life on the reservation must have been somewhat tedious; nevertheless he became an Indian policeman and a judge of the Indian court, and learnt to read and write in his own language. But even though he was an apparent pillar of society, White Bull's spirit was far from cowed. He refused to agree to the leasing of Indian land to cattle barons, considering the price offered to be too low. His stubbornness so infuriated the Indian agent that he had White Bull thrown into jail, where he remained in solitary confinement for three months; he stubbornly refused to sign the agreements, and the agent had no choice but to release him.

White Bull's first wife, Holy Lodge, died in 1894. His matrimonial history is complex; it is recorded that during his long life he had 15 wives, not always one at a time. In 1926 White Bull rode at the head of the Indians to Custer Hill for the 50th anniversary of the battle; Gen Godfrey presented him with an American flag, which he treasured for the rest of his days. White Bull died at the age of 98 on July 26, 1947.

Plate G2

The main sources for this figure are White Bull's pictographs showing himself at the Little Bighorn, and his own descriptions. His hair is unbraided, decorated with two upright eagle feathers. He wears a cloth shirt gathered by two cartridge belts, through which his beaded knife sheath is thrust. He wears no leggings; White Bull made a point in interviews of mentioning that he removed them between the Reno fight and Deep Ravine. A thong over his right shoulder supports his personal war medicine: hung from a rawhide loop are four buckskin pouches, a buffalo tail and an eagle feather. He carries a Winchester carbine and a captured holstered pistol and cartridge belt.

White Bull's horse has a scalp hanging from the rope bridle, and an eagle feather in its mane. It is of interest that White Bull drew himself after the battle, driving off captured horses with his horse now festooned with eagle feathers – probably 'heraldry' of his recent achievements.

A studio photograph of the Minneconjou, White Bull, wearing a war shirt with beaded strips and heavily hung with ermine, as are his leggings. Note his brass-studded quirt hanging from his right wrist, and the eagle feather fan in his left hand. (Denver Public Library, Western History Collection, X-31640)



NOISY WALKING

The Cheyenne Noisy Walking was the son of Wool Woman and Ice; his father was also known as White Bull – not to be confused with his Minneconjou namesake (above). His aunt was Antelope Woman.

Noisy Walking was one of five warriors who had made suicide pledges during ceremonies the night before the battle, vowing to fight to the death. The fact that these ceremonies took place on the night of June 24 does put an interesting slant on the question of how aware the Indians were of an impending attack. Little is known of Noisy Walking's movements during the battle. He was probably in the later stages of the Reno fight, and he definitely took part in hand-to-hand fighting at the top of Deep Ravine. Here he was found by Antelope Woman, mortally wounded; he had been shot through the body and stabbed.

Plate G3

Noisy Walking is shown wearing a cloth breech clout, Cheyenne buckskin leggings with beaded strips, and partially beaded moccasins. He is armed with a lance decorated with trade cloth and a stone-headed club. As described by Antelope Woman, a red cloth is tied around his neck so that he may be recognized by his aunt during the battle.

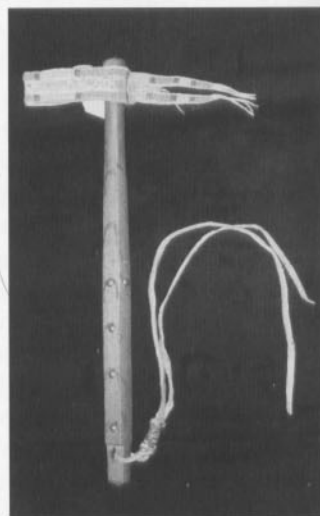
ANTELOPE WOMAN

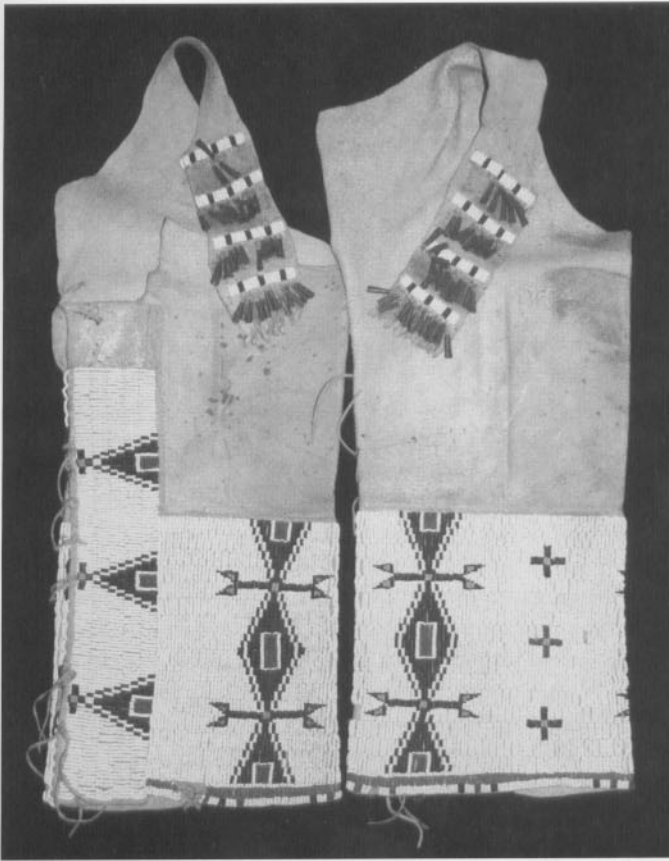
Antelope Woman was born in a Cheyenne camp near the North Platte River in 1847. She had two brothers, White Bull (also known as Ice) and White Moon. Antelope Woman survived the slaughter at Black Kettle's village in 1868. In 1927 Antelope Woman, under her agency roll name 'Kate Bighead', told her story to Thomas Marquis.

On the morning of June 25, Antelope Woman persuaded her brother White Bull to lend her a horse in order to follow the battle, to watch for and sing 'strong-heart' songs for her nephew, Noisy Walking. During interview Antelope Woman told of the successful use of bows and arrows from cover, this proving very effective for warriors shooting from concealment in the coulees and gullies at the soldiers exposed on the ridges above. Antelope Woman showed no reticence in describing the mutilation of fallen soldiers (which is hardly surprising for a



ABOVE White Bull in a war bonnet and carrying a crooked lance during the 50th anniversary veterans' parade in 1926. (Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument, National Park Service)





A beautiful pair of Lakota woman's buckskin leggings. The beadwork panels show dark blue, red and greasy yellow motifs on a white background, with a line of green just above the bottom edge. The drops from the ties are decorated with dark blue and white beadwork and lines of tin cones. (Ian West Collection)

OPPOSITE The handle of this Cheyenne wooden quirt is painted with black hoof marks and diagonal red lines. The buckskin of the wrist strap is stained red, and beaded in pale blue, red and yellow. Antelope Woman (Plate G4) is shown carrying this quirt. (Ian West Collection)

survivor of the Black Kettle massacre). She spoke of the fear of the women after the battle upon seeing what they believed to be more cavalry approaching; these proved to be warriors bringing in captured Army horses and dressed in garments taken from fallen troopers.

Antelope Woman traveled the battlefield looking for Noisy Walking; her search ended tragically when she found her nephew lying in a gully, shot through the body and stabbed. Antelope Woman helped carry him back to the Cheyenne village, where he died. Her attachment to her nephew was due to her having no son of her own. In later years, however, Antelope Woman did give birth to a son, William Bighead, who served in the Cheyenne police in the 1920s.

Plate G4

Antelope Woman is shown wearing typical women's dress of this period. Over a patterned cloth dress is a shawl, gathered at the waist with a brass-tacked harness-leather belt, from which hang an awl case, a strike-a-light case and her knife sheath, all decorated with beadwork of typical

Cheyenne designs. Her cheeks and hair parting are painted red. Her jewelry consists of German silver earrings and bracelets. Note that she wears beaded hard-soled moccasins and beaded leggings. She holds a wooden quirt with a beaded wrist strap (see accompanying photograph).

PLATE H

YELLOW NOSE

In 1858 a Southern Cheyenne named Starving Bear took captive a Ute mother and her four-year-old son; he adopted the boy and named him Yellow Nose. Starving Bear was killed by soldiers in 1864, and Yellow Nose was taken into the tipi of Old Spotted Wolf. As young as 11 years old Yellow Nose took part in war parties, receiving the first of many wounds in a skirmish against white men. He was severely wounded by a gunshot to the chest at Platte Valley in 1865. He served as a Dog Soldier under Tall Bull, surviving the destruction of Tall Bull's village at Summit Springs in 1869. Over the next seven years Yellow Nose's reputation as a warrior grew, culminating in his deeds at the Little Bighorn, where he is remembered for taking an Army guidon with which he counted coups.

Yellow Nose was with a band of Southern Cheyenne visiting the Northern bands. He did not go south from the Cheyenne camp to fight Reno's men, but crossed the river quite late in the day and went up

Medicine Tail Coulee and on to Butler Ridge, between Medicine Tail Coulee and Deep Coulee; this is probably where he captured the guidon. As with many such heroic legends, the taking of the guidon has been exaggerated and mythologized. The story varies, from the warrior and a trooper charging each other like medieval knights, to Yellow Nose snatching it from the hand of a badly wounded but still mounted soldier, or taking it from where it stood planted in the ground as he galloped by. One other version of particular interest has Yellow Nose finding the swallow-tailed flag separated from its staff and, like Scabby (see Plate C2), wrapping it around his body.

He was in the thick of the combat on Calhoun Hill and in the running fight along Battle Ridge. Yellow Nose had a narrow escape in the final stages of the engagement; fired upon from close range, he took powder burns to his face and eyes and a gash to the forehead. For his bravery, Yellow Nose was not only honored by the Cheyenne but also made a chief of the Lakota; he is held in high esteem to this day.

Plate H1

Yellow Nose is dressed as in his self-portrait pictograph. He wears a patterned cloth shirt gathered with an Army cartridge belt, over which is a trade vest with brass buttons. He has a long cloth breech clout, ribbon-trimmed with a wide selvedge edge; cloth leggings without beaded strips, and Southern Cheyenne moccasins. In all his self-portraits Yellow Nose shows legging strips decorated with tadpoles, but not at the Little Bighorn. Note the wooden quirt hanging from a fringed strap round his right wrist, and the pony's German silver bridle decoration. In his pictograph he shows himself carrying three captured carbines as well as the guidon. It is often stated that Yellow Nose took LtCol Custer's personal flag, but – as shown here – he portrayed himself carrying a company guidon.

Yellow Nose's ledger book drawing shows him carrying the captured guidon and three carbines. Plate H1 is based on this image.

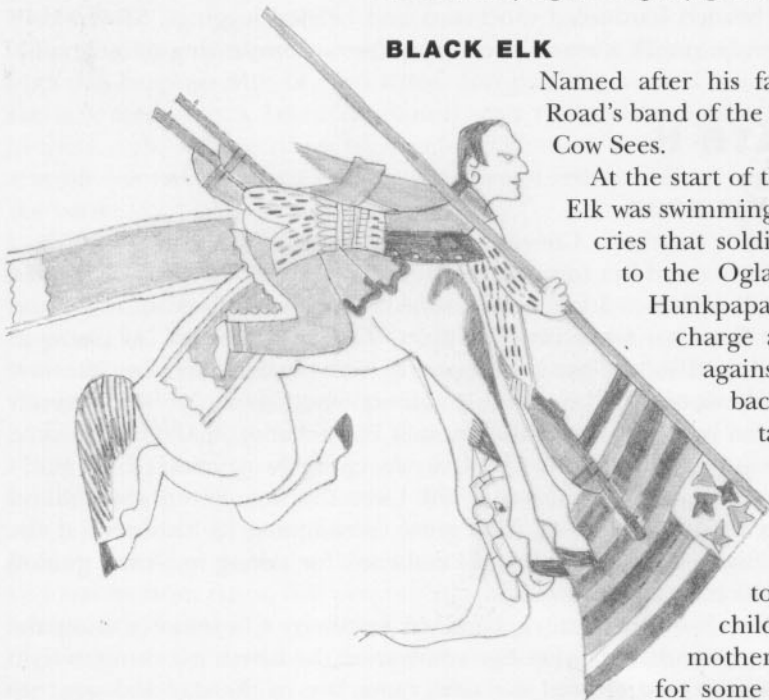
BLACK ELK

Named after his father, Black Elk was born into Big Road's band of the Oglala in 1863; his mother was White Cow Sees.

At the start of the day of battle the 13-year-old Black Elk was swimming in the river when he heard warning cries that soldiers were coming. He made his way to the Oglala village and then south to the Hunkpapa camp, where he witnessed a cavalry charge and the early stages of the fighting against Reno. After the soldiers had pulled back he was encouraged by a warrior to

take the scalp of a wounded trooper; he shot the man in the forehead using a pistol he had found.

Carrying his grisly trophy, the boy made his way to the higher ground to the west where the women and children waited. Here he presented his mother with the soldier's scalp, then stayed for some time with the women watching the



battle. Not content with watching from a distance, however, Black Elk and some other boys crossed the river and went up Deep Ravine to the fighting on Battle Ridge, where Black Elk took a pocket watch from a dead soldier; not knowing what it was, he hung it around his neck. The 13-year-old killed other wounded troopers with bow and arrows, and took a second scalp.

After the death of Crazy Horse in 1877, Black Elk went with the Oglala to Canada where he stayed for three years. After returning to the United States he started on the path of a shaman, a decision brought about by mystical visionary experiences. Religion played an important part in his life, both as a revered Lakota medicine man and as a Roman Catholic convert; he was baptized into the Catholic church as Nicholas Black Elk. In 1886 Black Elk joined the Buffalo Bill Wild West Show. After performing at Madison Square Gardens the show traveled to Europe, and before returning to the USA Black Elk traveled in France, Italy and Germany. He arrived back at the Pine Ridge Agency in 1889. In 1892 Black Elk married Katie War Bonnet; they had three sons. Katie died in 1903, and he was married again in 1906 to Anna Brings White, who bore him two children. Black Elk died in Manderson, South Dakota, on August 19, 1950.

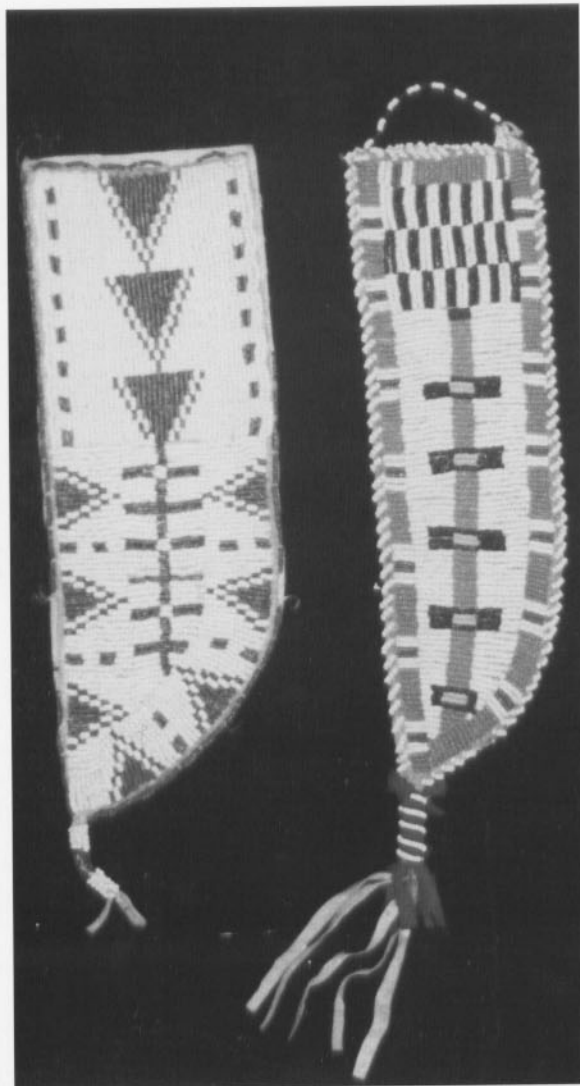


Plate H2

Around his neck Black Elk wears the pocket watch taken from a dead soldier. He is armed with bow and arrows, an Army Colt revolver, and a brass-tacked, harness-leather knife sheath under his belt. He is naked but for his cloth breech clout and partially beaded moccasins; he started the day swimming in the river, and at no time did he describe his adding any other form of dress. It is an interesting anomaly that one Indian shown in this plate had traveled to Washington, while another did not know what a pocket watch was.

LAME WHITE MAN

Lame White Man was Southern Cheyenne by birth; he came north after the Sand Creek Massacre in 1864, and married Twin Woman of the Northern Cheyenne. He was said by his people to have been the bravest and wisest of his tribe. Lame White Man was known by other names, many in reference to his bravery, such as Mad-Hearted Wolf, Mad Wolf and Wolf Tooth. He was chief of the Northern Cheyenne Elk Horn society and council chief of the Southern Cheyenne. In 1873 he represented his people in a delegation to Washington.

At 39 years old in 1876, Lame White Man would have been considered old for a warrior. He was in a sweat lodge near the river with Tall Sioux when he was made aware of the attack on the villages to the

Knife sheaths. (Left) Lakota, beaded in medium blue and red on a white background, thinly edged in green. (Right) Cheyenne; the white ground is beaded in light and dark blue, yellow, and around the edges light green barred with red on white. The fringes at the point are wrapped in red cloth. (Ian West Collection)



Fifty-two years after their victory, Wooden Leg (right) reminisces with other veterans over a map of the battle in 1928. (Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument, National Park Service)

The Sans Arc warrior Spotted Eagle carries what appears to be a .44 rimfire Ballard carbine. Across his chest is a full bandolier, and hung from his neck is a scalp. He wears a cloth breech clout and leggings, and his braids are cloth-wrapped. (Denver Public Library, Western History Collection, X-31563)

south. He returned to his tipi, still stripped from the sweat lodge. His wife Twin Woman had his pony ready; but with no time to prepare and dress for war, Lame White Man simply belted a blanket around his waist, put on his moccasins, grabbed his gun, and then escorted his wife, daughter and son to the relative safety of the benchlands in the west. He took part in fighting in Deep Ravine and led a charge to Battle Ridge. During the fighting on that feature Lame White Man was killed. Accounts of his death vary: some describe his riding alone recklessly into the soldiers, others that he died while leading a charge on Company E. He was killed by a bullet to the chest, and his body was found on the slope of Custer Hill close to the mortally wounded Noisy Walking, in the midst of the dead soldiers. Lame White Man was the oldest Cheyenne to die in the battle.

Plate H3

Lame White Man's portrait is based on a photograph of 1873. He is shown with unbraided hair. A trade blanket with beaded Cheyenne strip and roundel is belted around his waist. He is armed with a Sharps carbine with Indian brass tack decoration.

The yellow-piped US Cavalry jacket that he wears – an 1872 pleated fatigue blouse – was taken from where it was tied to the cantle of a trooper's saddle; this is described by Yellow Nose. It would explain some reports that Lame White Man was mutilated and scalped by Lakota warriors, who in the heat of battle mistook his body for that of an Army scout.



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INDEX

Figures in **bold** refer to illustrations

Abraham Lincoln, Fort 14
Alexander, Professor Hartley Burr 9
Amos Bad Heart Bull 8, 17-18, 22, 39, 40
Anderson, John A. 38
Antelope Woman **G4**, 42
Arapaho tribe 23-4, **24**

Bad Heart Bull 17-18, **B1**
Bad Heart Bull, Amos 8, 17-18, 22, 39, 40
Barry, D.F.
 photographs by **14**, 15, 37
Benteen, Captain Frederick 4
Big Left Hand *see* Young Little Wolf
Black Elk **H2**, 44-5
Blish, Helen 8-9
bow lances 11-12, **12**
bows and arrows 11
Brave Wolf 19, **19**, **B3**
Buffalo Bill Show 35
Buffalo Standing with Cow *see* White Bull

Cheyenne tribe 7, 21, 33
 breastplate **33**
 clothing 9-11
 firearms **35**
 knife sheaths **45**
 leggings **43**
 moccasins **33**, **40**
 pipebag **21**
 wooden quilt **42**
clubs 12, **36**
Collins, Mary C. 15
'counting coup' 10-11
Covered Wagon 24
Crawler, Mary *see* Moving Robe Woman
Crazy Head **E1**, 33
Crazy Horse, Chief 6, 22, 23, **G1**, 38-40, 40, 41
Crow King **23**
Crow Owner warrior society 22
Curly *see* Crazy Horse, Chief
Custer, Lieut. Colonel George Armstrong 3,
 14, 24, 41

Dewey Beard **34**
Dollie Pretty Cloud 8-9
Dorman, Isaiah 17

Eastman, Charles A. 14, 37
Egyptian Theatre, Hollywood 24

Fetterman fight 33, 38, 40
firearms 11, 11, 24, **D3**, **D4**, **E4**, **G1**, **G2**,
 35, 40, 41, **46**
Flying By 23, **D2**
Fool Bull **F3**, 38

Gall **F1**, 35-7, **36**
Good Bear Boy 16
Grauman, Sid 24

He Dog 22-3, **D1**
Her Eagle Robe *see* Moving Robe
 Woman
horses 10

Hunkpapa Lakota tribe
 pipebag 22

Indian pictographic sources **7**, 22, 39, 40
 of battle fields 3, 7-9, **9**
 of clothing **9**, 9-11
 of face paint and head-dresses **10**
 of horse riding 10
 of One Bull **16**
 of Reno's Retreat **18**
 of Sitting Bull's shield **16**
 of society regalia 10
 of weapons **12**, **13**
 of Wooden Leg at Little Bighorn **20**
 of Yellow Nose **44**

Indian warrior forces 6-7
Indian warrior societies 7
Indian weapons **11**, 11-13, **12**, **13**
 see also clubs; firearms

knives 12

Lakota Noon 36, 39
Lakota tribe 3, 7, 16, 21, 24
 see also Hunkpapa Lakota tribe
 clothing 9-11
 knife sheaths **45**
 moccasins **34**, **40**
 pipebag 22

Lame White Man 24, **H3**, 45-6
lances 12, **12**
Laubin, Gladys 16
Lazy White Buffalo *see* White Bull
Left Hand 24, **D4**
 see also Young Little Wolf
leggings **43**
Little Bighorn, battle of **4-5**, **6**, 15, 16, 18,
 20, 21, 22, 24, 34, 40, 41
 historical sources for 3-5
Little Bighorn village 5-6
Little Bird 22, **C4**
Little Wolf 34
Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth 14

McChesney, Charles E. 8
McCoy, Colonel Tim 24
Mackenzie, Colonel Ranald 21
McLaughlin, Major James 36
McMurray, G.J. 34
Marquis, Dr. Thomas B. 5, 20, 33, 42
Michno, Gregory F. 36
Miles, General Nelson A. 18
moccasins **33**, **34**, **38**, **40**
Moving Robe Woman 16-17, **A3**

No Two Horns 21-2, **C3**
Noisy Walking **G3**, 42

One Bull 15-16, **16**, **17**, **A2**

pictographs *see* Indian pictographic
 sources

Pizi *see* Gall
pouches **37**
Powder River 38, 40
Pretty Cloud, Dollie 8-9

Rain in the Face 13-15, **14**, **A1**, 35, 36
Red Bird *see* Young Little Wolf
Red Horse 8, **8**
Reno, Major Marcus A. 4, 16
Reno battle 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 39
Reno's Retreat **18**
The Revenge of Rain-in-the-Face
 (Longfellow) 14
Rosebud battle 21, 40

sabers 11
Scabby 21, **C2**
Scott, General Hugh L. 23
Sharps carbine 1853 **11**, **H3**, 46
Shave Head 13-14
shields 12-13, **13**
Short Bull **39**
Sioux *see* Lakota tribe
Sitting Bull 15, 16, **16**, 36
Smith, DeCost 15
Spotted Eagle **46**
Springfield carbines **D4**, **35**
Standing Bear 8, **E4**, 34-5
'Strike-a-light' pouches **37**
Sun Bear **E2**, 33

Thorny Tree *see* Young Little Wolf
Throssel, Richard
 photographs by **19**
tomahawks 12
Two Moon 18-19, **19**, **B2**

United States Army
 7th Cavalry 4, 14, 21

Wagon Box fight 34, 38
Wandering Buffalo Bull *see* White Elk
warrior forces 6-7
warrior societies 7
Waterman 23-4, **D3**
weapons *see* Indian weapons
White Bird 8
 'Custer's Last Fight' 9
White Bull **G2**, 40-1, **41**, **42**
White Elk **F2**, 37-8
Winchester 'Yellow Boy' carbine 1866
 11
Wooden Leg 3, 19-21, **C1**, **46**

Yellow Nose **H1**, 43-4
Young Hawk *see* Young Little Wolf
Young Little Wolf **E3**, 34

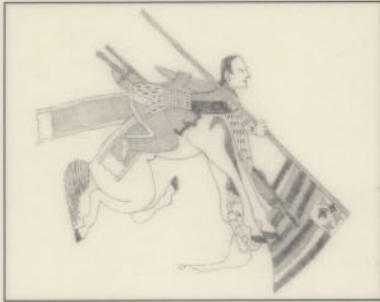
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