

A Brief Biography of Afraid of Lightning

Lilah Morton Pengra

© May 2015

Afraid of Lightning, aka James Ree (Palani),¹ was the son of Tacanhipito (most often translated as Blue Tomahawk but also as Blue Hatchet or Blue War Club) and his second wife, Targucha-maza (Iron Antelope). In 1982, his descendants said that he was born in 1872 at Rosebud Agency,² but when he was interviewed by a social worker from the SD Emergency Relief Administration (SDERA) in 1935, he said he was born west of the Black Hills and was 14 years old when he and his father participated in the Custer fight³ which meant he was born in approximately 1862 when his parents were living near Fort Laramie. The birth year for the ages he reported on various documents ranged from 1862 to 1876.⁴ He and his family might have given a younger age for him in the early years to disguise the fact that he would have been old enough to be a warrior at a battle that at that time still elicited violent reprisals from white people in the area.

Blue Tomahawk, Afraid of Lightning's father, was born at the Forks of the Platte in 1839, the son of Okiyakapi-win (They tell about it) and Hupahumaza (Iron Wing), chief of the Short Hair band (aka Peshla) of Oglala.⁵ He signed the 1868 Ft. Laramie Treaty as Blue War Club on the list of Oglala signers. He and his two wives, Akicita-waste (Good Warrior) and Iron Antelope whose family was Sicangu (known to Euro-Americans as Brulé) moved to the newly created Whetstone Agency that year with the Corn Loafer Band led by Swift Bear.⁶ Almost immediately Blue Tomahawk, along with Swift Bear, Thigh, Yellow Hair, Flatnose John and Cook, signed a letter to the Indian Agent to file a claim for the loss of some of their horses to white thieves. Four years later he signed another letter, along with Thigh, Goggle Eyes, Kick, Red Nose and Cut Pecker, to request the farming tools that they had been promised by the 1868 Ft. Laramie treaty and that had not yet been sent to them.⁷ The letters established his presence at the agency that eventually was called Rosebud and showed that he was considered by the people to be one of the leading men of the Corn Loafer band.⁸ By the 1880s, the Corn Loafer band settled in an area that today is known as the Corn Creek community, located at the junction of SD Highways 44 and 63. Afraid of Lightning's mother, Iron Antelope, and sister, Tatanka-mani-win, later called Alice Walking Bull (born ca. 1880, died after 1940), lived there.⁹

In 1876, Blue Tomahawk and his family traveled with Hump in response to a message from Crazy Horse to people at the agencies to join him in Powder River country. In early summer they held a Sun Dance on the Rosebud River in what is today the state of Montana.¹⁰ At the conclusion of the Sun Dance, the people moved to the Greasy Grass River to find forage for the great number of horses with them. It was the river called Little Bighorn by white people and was where Hump and his warriors helped repulse an attack by Major Marcus Reno and his troops on June 25. Less than 30 minutes after the initial attack by Reno, Lt. Col. George Custer and his troops approached the lower end of the line of camp circles along the Greasy Grass so Hump and many of his warriors went there to fight. In an 1881 interview, Hump said, "There were a good

many agency Indians in our camp. They all took part in the fight, same as the hostiles. The agency Indians had come out, and all made report to us that Long Hair was coming to fight us. So the Indians all got together that he might not strike small parties, and not for the purpose of fighting or counciling¹¹ with Long Hair what he was coming for, but they were getting ready to be strong to defend themselves.”¹² There were distinctions made between “non-treaty” and “agency” Indians or people who at that time were called “loafers” or “friendlies” if they lived near the forts or at the agencies in contrast to “hostiles” or “wild Indians” if they refused to live near the white colonists and continued their traditional way of life instead. However, who lived where was quite fluid as people went to agencies for annuities, worked at forts for cash and rations and also went far away to hunt, prepare food for winter, trade, visit relatives and seek spiritual renewal.

After the Custer fight, Blue Tomahawk and his family stayed with Hump who headed toward Canada with Crazy Horse to find protection from the U.S. Army which was looking for them to force them to live on reservations. But, the people were starving so Hump broke away from Crazy Horse and led his people back south to hunt on the Tongue River. There they encountered some Cheyenne with their leaders Two Moon and White Bull. Hump’s people and the Cheyenne camped together until early spring of 1877 when a captured Lakota woman and an interpreter came to their camp from General Nelson Miles. She told them that Gen. Miles wanted them to surrender. The next day, Cheyenne leaders Two Moon, White Bull, Sleeping Rabbit, Iron Shirt, Crazy Mule, Black Bear, Little Creek, White Thunder and Crazy Head and their people as well as Hump and his Lakota people started the journey to Fort Keogh to surrender to Gen. Miles.¹³ Between March 28 and May 15, Gen. Miles’ quartermaster, Lt. William Clark, enlisted over 200 men as scouts. All but 27 of them were mustered out in June. The apparent reason for this action was to feed the Lakota and Cheyenne who surrendered because the pay for enlisted Indian scouts at that time included daily rations for the scout and his family. Swift Bear enlisted April 1 and Blue Tomahawk on May 12, 1877. They served in Montana and re-enlisted on September 1 in Nebraska at Fort Robinson. On October 1 they were transferred to Camp Sheridan, the military sub-station located at Red Cloud Agency, and mustered out there on December 31 that year.¹⁴ Thus, Blue Tomahawk was present at Fort Robinson when Crazy Horse was killed on September 5. While residing at Fort Sheridan, Blue Tomahawk had three ponies stolen by a white man. He again applied for restitution. The claim was still pending in 1932.¹⁵

Two documents pertaining to Blue Tomahawk, “Chief of the Ogallala,” were auctioned by Heritage Auction Galleries, Dallas, TX, in 2008. The auction pamphlet showed photographs of a March 20, 1879 document that stated “This is to certify that Blue Tomahawk is a chief of the Ogallala under treaty stipulations with the United States Government promised his great father to be always friendly towards white men, and any white man to whom he may show this paper, is requested to treat him in a friendly manner, and give him no cause to break his promise. H.C. Bulis, special U.S. Indian Agent in charge.” The second document is a discharge certificate and reads, in part, “Know ye that Blue Tomahawk a private of 2nd Lieutenant George W. Baxter, 3rd Cavalry Company of the Spotted Tail Indian Scouts who was enrolled on the 1st of July, 1878 to serve four months or during the war, is hereby discharged from the service of the United States.” It was signed and dated October 31, 1878.¹⁶

In 1879 Blue Tomahawk was baptized in the Episcopal Church. The minister said that he could have only one wife, so he chose to live with Good Warrior. The children who remained with him and Good Warrior in their household were the girls Wounded Many and Walking Bull and one boy, Set Fire. In 1889, Blue Hatchet signed the "Agreement to Divide the Great Sioux Reservation" although those who signed believed that they were signing in exchange for employment of indigenous people at the agency, construction of gristmills, removal of the ban on dancing, increased educational appropriation and other benefits. Congress never ratified the promised benefits, but nonetheless, Sioux reservations were reduced by nine million acres.¹⁷

186				
Baptisms.				
Day and Date.	PLACE.	No.	CHRISTIAN NAME and SURNAME.	Place and Date of Birth
Sunday after Ascension Day May 25 th 1879	Church of Jesus (Morgansd Mun.) Rosebud Ag.	218	Mary Elizabeth Antoine	Rosebud Ag. May 7 th 1871
"	"	219	Joseph (P.) (?)	Near Camp La 1873.
3 rd Sun. aft O. June 29 th 1879	"	220	Elizabeth	Catka-Bordeaux Yankton Agency May 1879
Easter Day Apr. 13 th 1879	"	221	Sophie (Adult)	Tokala win 22 nd old
1 st S. aft Trin. July 27 th 1879	"	222	Rosette +	Dorian June 25 th 1879 Rosebud Agency
"	"	223	Ellen Met	Moran May 25 th 1879 Rosebud Agency
Aug. 10. 1 st S. aft Trin. 1879	"	224	Ta-can-hipi-to + (Adult)	Blue-tomahawk Forks of the Platte 40 th old

Upper left quarter of two-page entry from *Episcopal Parish Record*, Vol. B, Sicangu Heritage Center, Mission, SD, scanned by the author September, 2014.

Iron Antelope left Blue Tomahawk's household in 1879 with her son Palani and soon married Bad Wild Horse (aka Bad Mustang) of the Wazhazha band at Rosebud Agency.¹⁸ Possibly she met him when she previously lived at Fort Robinson because Bad Wild Horse

served there as a scout for the U.S. Army from December 1876 to May 1878.¹⁹ Bad Wild Horse and Crazy Girl, Iron Antelope's co-wife, had sons Walter, born 1877 and Albert, born 1885. Iron Antelope did not have children with Bad Wild Horse. He died between 1900 and 1910 after which she lived with her daughter at Corn Creek community.

Afraid of Lightning's descendants reported that he attended Carlisle Indian Boarding School.²⁰ However, this reminiscence probably confused him with his brother because in 1935, Afraid of Lightning told the SDERA social worker that he had never attended school and "expressed a dislike of boarding school. One of the boys had died at . . . school and had not been able to see his parents before his death."²¹ His brother, Strikes First, aka Dennis, was in the first class enrolled at Carlisle in 1879. He died of TB and was buried in the cemetery at the school. Although his grave marker showed a death date of January 19, 1880, and the Carlisle Barracks cemetery files recorded a death date of January 19, 1885,²² the school superintendent, Richard



Photographed in 2008 at Carlisle Indian School, Carlisle, PA, by Lilah Morton Pengra.

Pratt, wrote to Blue Tomahawk on January 8, 1881, apparently in response to a written request from him to send his son home. Pratt said that "even though you have lost two daughters" Dennis was too sick to travel so he could not allow him to leave.²³ Although Blue Tomahawk was not included, the Indian Agent appointed a contingent of leaders from Rosebud to visit the school in 1880, including Black Crow, Iron Wing, Spotted Tail, Two Strike, John Bridgman and White Thunder, because he wanted to impress on them the power of the U.S. government. Spotted Tail was so appalled by what he saw that he brought his five children home. A photograph taken of Blue Tomahawk's "children and relatives" included Joe Taylor, Strikes First, Warrior and Ear. No school records were located for Joe Taylor or Warrior, but Ear died at Carlisle in August, 1880.²⁴

Afraid of Lightning married White Eagle Woman who was the daughter of Bull Man. Bull Man was the son of Sitting Eagle and Brown Rainbow.²⁵ They were probably in the camp of Sicangu and Oglala at the head of Blue Water Creek in 1855 when General William Harney attacked them in what was later called the Battle of Ash Hollow or the Blue Water Creek Massacre. The U.S. Army killed 86 and captured 70 Lakota. Some of the survivors fled toward Ft. Laramie and others went south of the Platte River. Harney then held a peace conference at Ft. Pierre the following spring where he appointed chiefs for various bands, including Bull Man as one of the chiefs of the Sicangu.²⁶

Bull Man married sisters, The Earth and Fearful who were the daughters of Little Knife.²⁷ Bull Man and Fearful were the parents of Pretty Horse, born 1869 and later called Agnes, Brings Plenty (1873 – 1883) and White Bonnet, born 1878 and later called Thomas Eagle Staff. Bull Man and The Earth, later called Julia, were the parents of Afraid of Lightning (ca. 1863 – 1890), Hunts in Winter (1871 – 1890), White Eagle Woman, born in 1876 and later called Sarah, and Shows Her Shield (1878 – 1896).



Stereoview of (left to right) “Children and relatives of Blue Tomahawk: Joe Taylor, Strikes First, Warrior and Ear” who were in the first class at Carlisle Indian Industrial School, Carlisle, PA. Pratt sent President Hayes stereoview photographs of the first students to attend the school as a thank you for his support of its founding. Photograph by John N. Choate provided courtesy of the Lucy Webb Hayes Photograph Collection, Rutherford B. Hayes Presidential Center, Spiegel Grove, Fremont, OH.

Bull Man also participated in the Custer fight and afterward went with Sitting Bull to Canada where his son White Bonnet and daughter Shows Her Shield were both born.²⁸ Bull Man and his family returned with Sitting Bull to Fort Buford in 1881 and were recorded on the Sitting Bull surrender census. Because people knew that the white men recording the census did not like native families with multiple wives, sometimes a second wife was described as “sister” which, in this case was accurate because she was sister to Exciting Woman (aka Fearful) as well as wife to the head of the household.

FAMILY 433					
<i>Ta-tan-ka-wi-ca-sa</i>	Bull Man		M	M	41
<i>I-ni-han-win</i>	Exciting Woman	wife	M	F	36
<i>Ma-ka-ce</i>	Land	sister	S	F	33
<i>Ta-sin-ke-wa-ste-win</i>	Pretty Horse	daughter	S	F	12
<i>Wan-ye-tu</i>	Winter	son	S	M	10
<i>O-ta-a-gli</i>	Bring in Many	son	S	M	8
<i>Wa-pa-ha</i>	Bonnet	son	S	M	4
<i>Wan-bli-ska-win</i>	White Eagle	daughter	S	F	5
<i>Wa-ha-can-ka-tan-in-ki-ye-win</i>	Showing Shield	daughter	S	F	3
<i>Mi-la-ci-qa</i>	Little Knife	father-in-law	W	M	65
Personal Property: Horses - 2 Dogs - 1					
Game: Buffalo - 64 Deer - 14					

Ephriam D. Dickson III, *The Sitting Bull Surrender Census*, Pierre, SD: SD State Historical Society Press, 2010, p. 120. In the first column, M stands for married, S for single and W for widowed. The second and third columns note sex and age.

Bull Man and his family were not imprisoned at Fort Randall as Sitting Bull and his tiospaye were. Instead they headed down the Missouri River and by 1886 were settled at Cheyenne River Agency. Bull Man lived with Fearful and two of their children. His oldest son, Afraid of Lightning, lived in another household with his siblings. The Earth was not recorded on that census. Early in 1890 James Ree and White Eagle Woman married. Her brothers and father were Spirit Dancing at Plum Creek near Cherry Creek with Hump and Spotted Elk,²⁹ but whether she and her husband joined them was not ascertained. She was pregnant with their first child, Stand As They Kill, later called Moses Circle Bear.³⁰ In December, people fled Standing Rock after Agency police killed Sitting Bull and traveled to Cheyenne River to find refuge with Spotted Elk, Hump and the Spirit Dancers at Cherry Creek. Soldiers from Fort Bennett tried to stop them from dancing so they planned to go to the Stronghold at Pine Ridge to join Short Bull and Kicking Bear. According to Clement Long, elder at Takini and High Hawk’s great grandson, Hump and several other leaders sought guidance from a yuwipi man on whether or not they should join the dancers at Pine Ridge. After the ceremony he told them that the rock people said not to go, so Hump and some others stayed at Cherry Creek.³¹

However, Bull Man and some of his family decided to go to Pine Ridge. Palani might have joined them because he was not on either the Rosebud or Cheyenne River censuses for 1890 through 1892; and, his wife lived with his mother in 1890 at Rosebud and with her mother in 1891 and 1892 at Cheyenne River. That time period coincided with the absence of other dancers because the Harries Commission investigated the dancers stranded at Pine Ridge and determined which Sicangu as well as which Oglalas and Wazhazha from Rosebud were going to be allowed to leave or be required to stay permanently at Pine Ridge. Their final report was submitted to Congress in late 1891. Thus, many people were not able to return home until 1892.³²

Family history recorded that “Sarah’s family gave James Ree the name of Afraid of Lightning for their son who had been killed at Wounded Knee Creek.”³³ One hundred years later, Mario Gonzalez and Elizabeth Cook-Lynn prepared a list of people killed or wounded and of people who were present but not wounded at the Wounded Knee massacre.³⁴ Bull Man was listed as a survivor and his son Winter (aka Hunts in Winter) was recorded as killed. His son Afraid of Lightning was not listed, possibly because he died on the way there.³⁵ However, the list is a work in progress because the names of additional survivors and victims are still being discovered. For example, Afraid of Lightning’s wife, also named White Eagle, and one of their infant twin daughters died that year, possibly at Wounded Knee, and are not on the list.³⁶

In a final bizarre irony, Bull Man and 750 other Lakota on five reservations applied for property damage reimbursement for depredation that newspaper reporters claimed had been committed by other Lakota during the days before and after the massacre. In order to receive payment, each man had to swear that he had never been hostile to the U.S. government “during the Ghost Dance trouble,” attach a list of property damaged or stolen and have two witnesses attest to the value of the property. The claimants did not have to disclose whether or not they had danced, only that they had never been “hostile” to the government, a term that was not defined by the investigator, Special Agent James A. Cooper. Bull Man served as witness for Red Dog, Touch Cloud, Acts the Bear and Red Horse. Red Dog and Acts the Bear testified on behalf of Bull Man.³⁷ Twenty-nine people at Cheyenne River filed claims and, a year later, received payments such as \$5 for household furniture and 50 cents for family photographs.³⁸ Bull Man filed for \$117.00 and received \$77.66 (see scan of final settlement on following page).³⁹

Due to the impact of the Great Depression, in 1935 the SDERA surveyed the health and economic needs of people living on reservations in the state. Social worker V. Lewis visited the Afraid of Lightning family on October 4, 1935. Moses Circle Bear accompanied him and interpreted. The report stated that “They had had eight children; seven of whom had died of T.B. All were grown at the time of their death. Two had married. One daughter was married to William War Bonnet, and had three children; Josephine, age eleven; Dolly, age eight; and Goldie, age six or seven. These grandchildren lived with their paternal grandparents at Red Scaffold.” Lewis also recorded the health status of “the man and woman,” both of whom were in very poor health; and, he noted, “man stated that most Government doctors did not help the Indians. He stated that he had done his best to follow their advice.” Afraid of Lightning and White Eagle Woman lived in a dirt-floored, one-room cabin on the Cheyenne River in summer and another one-room house near the Bridger school in winter. They owned 620 acres of land, but because Afraid of Lightning was too infirm to ranch, he and his wife each received \$10 a

CR.

Claim No		amt claimed	amt allowed
20	Bull Man		
	to 1 Horse	40 00	40 00
	" 6 Pards of Hay	42 00	30 00
	" 3 Irons	14 00	8 00
	" 1 Suit Clothes	15 00	7 00
	" 4 Blades	1 00	40
	" 2 Rumps	2 00	1 00
	" 1 Ax	1 00	50
	" 1 Looking Glass	1 00	50
	" 1 Fork	1 00	20
	Total	117 00	87 60

I recommend that Bull Man be allowed the sum of seventy seven ⁶⁶ 60 in full settlement of his claim
 Oct 20 1892
 James A. Cooper
 U. S. Special Indian Agent

I am convinced after a thorough investigation of this claim, that property was taken by disaffected bands of Indians, and not by soldiers and whites as claimed.
 James A. Cooper
 U. S. Special Indian Agent.
 Mch. 29/92

Claim #651-C20 for Bull Man, age 53, for property loss during the "Ghost Dance" disturbances. Scanned courtesy of Ruth Huffman, May 2015.

year in lease payments. To supplement their income, he did odd jobs, such as haul water for neighbors when he hauled water for his family, hunted for meat, mostly rabbits; and, White Eagle Woman made moccasins which she sold for 50 cents a pair. The social worker also noted that "Woman had a sister, Mary Bull Man, who was the wife of John Little Star. Their son, Moses Circle Bear, lived near them, with his [wife and six children]." He went on to write that

“the man was a member of the Congregational Church, the YMCA, and woman was active with the Ladies’ Aid. She stated that last year the Ladies’ Aid accumulated forty dollars which they sent for the support of missions.” He concluded that “The family was in need of a mattress, bedding, a complete outfit of winter clothing, food to supplement their rations, and direct relief. . . [and that] some means be discovered of obtaining these relief needs.”⁴⁰

Afraid of Lightning did not tell the social worker that he also sometimes sold his possessions to white people who collected “Indian artifacts.” One of these people, Usher Burdick, was well-liked because he brought people raw materials that he purchased in Chicago and elsewhere and that were no longer available on the reservation. He then commissioned artists to create objects “in the old way” and came back later to purchase them.⁴¹ He eventually donated his collection to the State Historical Society of North Dakota (SHSND). His son, Eugene Burdick, also was a collector, but he bought lesser quality items which he then took to Chicago to sell at an “Indian curio” shop. The profits partially paid for his college education. Some of the items he collected, however, were of superior quality or were not marketable so he donated them to the SHSND. Among these items was a “strip of Negro skin” that he obtained in Bridger, SD, in 1932 from a “formerly hostile Indian.” Another item he collected in Bridger that same day, an elk horn saddle used at the Little Bighorn, and donated at the same time as the strip of skin was purchased from Afraid of Lightning. The strip of skin was said to have been cut from the body of Isaiah Dorman after his death at the Little Bighorn.⁴² Dorman worked as the interpreter at Fort Rice from 1871 until his death. He was born in Pennsylvania, the son of a black man from Jamaica and a native Delaware woman who had been enslaved in the state of Delaware and was granted her freedom when her enslaver died. Dorman eventually migrated to Minnesota where he worked as a teamster. He married Celeste St. Pierre whose family was Lower Yanktonai and traveled between Fort Pierre and the Red River Valley as wasna traders. The unnamed person who sold or gave the strip of skin to Eugene said that it was taken in Isaiah’s memory, but did not say by whom. Based on circumstantial evidence, Afraid of Lightning’s mother was the niece of Celeste St. Pierre whose brother, Cepa, was also among the people who surrendered at Fort Robinson with Crazy Horse and later lived at Rosebud. However, no oral or written documentation has been found to verify the specific kinship connection.

James Afraid of Lightning died in 1944. Sarah White Eagle Woman died in 1951.



South Dakota's Ziebach County: History of the Prairie included the photograph on the left and identified it as Afraid of Lightning and his daughter. James and Sarah's youngest daughters were Lillian, who was born in 1913, and Louise, who was born in 1914 but died the following year. Therefore, this photograph was taken in approximately 1916 when Afraid of Lightning was between 44 and 54 years of age. The undated and unidentified photograph on the right is from the SD State Historical Society collection and was included by Donovin Sprague in *Cheyenne River Sioux, South Dakota* [Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2003, p. 90]. The man might possibly be Moses Circle Bear because he bears a striking resemblance to Afraid of Lightning.

¹ Afraid of Lightning's descendants said that his name was James Ree. An exhaustive search of records revealed no document that would connect the name Ree to his father Blue Tomahawk; therefore, it was hypothesized that he was not named for his father in the English manner that was later required by missionaries, Indian agents and boarding schools but was originally named Palani in the Lakota manner where children were given their own names. Palani is translated as Arikara (Sahnish) and is shortened by English-speakers to Ree. The "first name" of James was probably added later. It was also possible that his given name was a shortened form of a name containing the word Palani, e.g. similar to Palani Sica (Bad Ree) who traveled with Hump after the Custer fight as did James' parents, Blue Hatchet and Iron Antelope, so might have been a relative. Children sometimes were given a relative's name after particularly noteworthy events. Bad Ree

surrendered at Fort Robinson in 1877 [Thomas R. Buecker and R. Eli Paul, *The Crazy Horse Surrender Ledger*, Lincoln, NE: State Historical Society of Nebraska, 1994, p. 77].

² Anonymous, "Afraid of Lightning or Circle Bear," *South Dakota's Ziebach County: History of the Prairie*, Dupree, SD: Ziebach County Historical Society publication, 1982, p. 259; and Indian census lists for Rosebud Agency 1887. It is unknown whether the Ziebach Historical Society asked the family for the birth year of Afraid of Lightning or used Indian census records.

³ South Dakota Emergency Relief Administration, *Survey of Indian Reservations*, 1935. Compiled by the South Dakota Emergency Relief Administration, Arlington, VA: University Publications of America, 1975, Roll 2 entry for Afraid of Lightning interview, Bridger, SD. The interview with Afraid of Lightning was interpreted by his son, Moses Circle Bear.

⁴ The apparent consistency of the birth year of 1872 in the Indian censuses for Cheyenne River Reservation are a result of the manner in which the census was conducted. The first year, ages were given by the family or approximated by the enumerator. The records were then copied each year by a clerk with one year added for each household member and home visits conducted only to record births and deaths. Federal censuses, however, asked the respondent for his or her age each time a census was taken. Afraid of Lightning reported birth years of 1876 and 1864 on federal censuses where he was listed.

⁵ Episcopal Parish Record, Vol. B, Sicangu Heritage Center, Mission, SD. Blue Tomahawk was baptized at an estimated age of 40 in 1879 by Rev. William J. Cleveland. The record included his birth place and parents' names. However, the 1886 Indian Census at Rosebud estimated his birth year as 1835. His father, Iron Wing, became disillusioned with the 1851 Ft. Laramie treaty so moved his family north to winter with the Hunkpapa [Kingsley M Bray, "Lone Horn's Peace: A New View of Sioux-Crow Relations, 1851-1858," *Nebraska History* 66 (1985):40]. Blue Tomahawk must have returned within a few years because he signed the 1868 Ft. Laramie treaty. This Oglala man named Iron Wing should not be confused with a younger man, also named Iron Wing, who was Sicangu and later lived at Rosebud and was part of the contingent that visited Carlisle Indian School in 1880.

⁶ George E. Hyde, *A Sioux Chronicle*, Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956, p. 7. Blue Tomahawk traveled with Swift Bear whose sister's daughter was Susan Bettelyoun. She and two white missionaries taught school for children as the agency was moved from its location near present Chadron, NE, to Ponca Agency and finally to its present location. The school teachers and Rev. Cleveland who later baptized Blue Tomahawk traveled with the people as they moved with the agency [Susan Bordeaux Bettelyoun and Josephine Waggoner, *With My Own Eyes: A Lakota Woman Tells Her People's History*, Lincoln, NE: Bison Books, 1999, pp. 102-103].

⁷ Letters to Indian Agents quoted by Kingsley Bray on amertribes.proboards.com, accessed March, 2015.

⁸ The "Corn Loafers" were so named because the band was formed from members of the Corn band of Sicangu who combined with some Oglala who had become known as Loafers when they lived near Ft. Laramie. The Sicangu Corn band was named because, according to the Swift Bear winter count, they began to plant corn along the White River in 1823 [Bettelyoun and Waggoner, *op cit.*, pp. 137-138].

⁹ Walking Bull might have been his sister by his mother's co-wife. On the 1887 Rosebud Indian census, after Iron Antelope left Blue Tomahawk's household, Walking Bull was listed as six years old and still living with her father. Usually the departing woman took her children with her so she might have been Good Warrior's daughter. However, it seems more likely that Walking Bull was Afraid of Lightning's sister through his mother because on the 1900 U.S. census, Iron Antelope reported that she had given birth to 2 children and both were still living. On the 1910 and 1920 federal censuses, Iron Antelope lived in Alice Walking Bull's household at Corn Creek. She must have died before 1930 because she does not appear on any further censuses. On the 1940 census Walking Bull was living with her husband, James Moves Camp, at Wamblee, SD, and gave her birth year as 1877. Her children were Henry, Nellie, Daniel and Theodore. There also was a family named Walking Bull at Rosebud who were Yanktonai and not related to this family. Many of Alice Walking Bull's descendants now live in Wamblee on Pine Ridge.

¹⁰ Joseph M. Marshall III, *The Journey of Crazy Horse: A Lakota History*, New York, NY: Viking Press, 2004, pp. 215-218. Afraid of Lightning told the social worker from South Dakota Emergency Relief Administration [*op cit.*] that his family went with Hump.

¹¹ Vernacular at that time for the word "counciling" meant to hold a council and discuss an issue. Information added by Pengra and not part of original quotation. In this quote and all following quotes, spelling and punctuation will be recorded as in the original without the use of [sic].

¹² Quoted in W.A. Graham, *The Custer Myth: A Source Book of Custeriana*, Harrisburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1953, p. 79 and again in Richard G. Hardorff, *Indian Views of the Custer Fight: A Source Book*, Norman, OK:

University of Oklahoma Press, 2004, p. 59. For the best analysis of Hump's actions relative to other Lakota warriors that day, see Gregory Michno, *Lakota Noon: The Indian Narrative of Custer's Defeat*, Missoula, MT: Mountain Press Publishing Company, 1997. Although Michno uses Lakota testimony, his analysis still describes the battle from the point of view of the U.S. Army. Hump never mentioned the "Agency Indians" by name, but Blue Tomahawk and his son might well have fought in the same general areas as Hump.

¹³ George Bird Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes*, New York, NY: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915, pp. 369-373. Grinnell's book was based on interviews with Two Moon and White Bull who gave many specifics about other Cheyennes but only mentioned Hump and his people in passing and not by name. It was assumed that Blue Tomahawk did not stay with Crazy Horse when Hump's band split off because he was not listed in the Crazy Horse surrender census taken at Fort Robinson in 1877 [Buecker and Paul, *op cit.*] although some people who might have been Iron Antelope's relatives were listed, e.g., Fat and Bad Ree of the Wazhazha band.

¹⁴ *U.S. Army Register of Enlistments, 1866-1877, Indian Scouts*. Accessed at ancestry.com, April 2015.

¹⁵ *Senate Document 72-2, Vol 11: Claims of Individual Sioux Indians*, December 13, 1932.

¹⁶ Heritage Auction Galleries, *Heritage Western Photography & Early Artifacts Auction #689*, Dallas, TX: 2008, p. 93.

¹⁷ Senate Exec. Doc. 51, February 10, 1890, *Report of the President on the Division of the Great Sioux Reservation*; Robert Utley, *The Last Days of the Sioux Nation*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1963, p. 56.

¹⁸ U.S. Indian Census, Rosebud, 1887 and 1892. That the woman named Iron Antelope and married to Bad Wild Horse was the same woman named Iron Antelope and previously married to Blue Tomahawk was established by the presence in her household in 1891 at Rosebud of her daughter-in-law White Eagle.

¹⁹ *U.S. Army Register of Enlistments, op cit.* He also was listed as Bad Mustang on the Crazy Horse surrender ledger [Buecker and Paul, *op cit.*, p. 77] with one wife and two sons.

²⁰ Carlisle Indian School records were searched but no enrollment by the names of Palani, James Ree or James Blue Tomahawk were found. Records might have been lost or his registration entered under a different name. Or, he might have attended a different boarding school because by that time there were two other schools taking children from Rosebud Agency, Genoa Indian Industrial School in Nebraska and Hampton Agricultural Institute in Virginia. He was not found in Hampton records. No records survive from this period for Genoa.

²¹ *Survey of Indian Reservations, op. cit.*

²² The Carlisle Barracks record recorded his name as Dennis S.O. Blue Tomahawk buried in Section C, Site 11. His name was also given as Strikes First in the Sioux student list at Dickinson College, Carlisle, PA.

²³ *Richard Henry Pratt papers*, Yale Collection of Western Americana, Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, WA Mss S-1174, Box 10, f 4, January 8, 1881 from Richard Henry Pratt, Carlisle Indian School, to Blue Tomahawk, Rosebud Agency, Dakota Territory.

²⁴ NARA RG75 E1328, Carlisle Indian Industrial School Student Record Cards, Box 1, for Nathan, aka Ear, from Loafer band, Rosebud Agency.

²⁵ *Ziebach County History, op cit.* In later Indian census records he was recorded as Bull Man #2 because there were two men by that name at Cheyenne River Reservation. They are easy to distinguish in other records because Bull Man #1 was 30 years older than Bull Man #2. The 1886 Rosebud census showed a 68-year-old man, Presses It Like a Cunt, in Bull Man's household. There was no indication of what relationship he was to other members of the household.

²⁶ *Council with the Sioux Indians At Fort Pierre*, 34th Cong., 1st Session, 1856, Senate Doc. 94 and House Doc. 130.

²⁷ Ephriam D. Dickson III, *The Sitting Bull Surrender Census*, Pierre, SD: SD State Historical Society Press, 2010, p. 120. Through the years of censuses, Fearful was also translated as Excited and The Earth as Land.

²⁸ White Bonnet, aka Thomas Eagle Staff, reported on the 1920 census that he was born in Canada. Shows Her Shield died prior to the inclusion of indigenous people on federal censuses.

²⁹ Alice Ghost Dog memoir, reprinted in William S.E. Coleman, *Voices of Wounded Knee*, Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2000, pp. 242-246.

³⁰ The first census at Cheyenne River that listed names of family members was recorded in 1886 and is available on ancestry.com. The 1917 census recorded both names, Moses Circle Bear and Stand As They Kill, and showed that both names applied to the same person.

³¹ Interview with Clement Long by Lilah Morton Pengra, Takini, SD, April 10, 2015. Non-indigenous historians have written that Captain E.P. Ewers convinced Hump not to go. Hump enlisted as a scout in April 1877 at Fort Keogh and continued in service there through 1881 during which time he became acquainted with Ewers who came to visit him late in December 1890. However, Ewers' suggestion was probably not the

deciding factor for Hump because he would have consulted a yuwipi man to help guide him in his final decision.

³² U.S. Congress, Senate, *Affairs of the Indians at the Pine Ridge and Rosebud Reservations in South Dakota*, S. Doc. 58, 52nd Cong., 1st Session, 1891, pp. 84-100.

³³ *Ziebach County History*, *op cit*.

³⁴ Mario Gonzalez and Elizabeth Cook-Lynn, *The Politics of Hallowed Ground: Wounded Knee and the Struggle for Indian Sovereignty*, Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1999, Appendix F, pp. 296-315.

³⁵ The death rate at Cheyenne River and other reservations prior to the Wounded Knee massacre was quite high due to starvation and tuberculosis.

³⁶ Afraid of Lightning, born between 1856 and 1863, and his wife White Eagle, born 1866, had a son Joseph, born 1886, and twin daughters, Mary and Louise born in May, 1890. All were recorded on the census in June 1890 at Cheyenne River Agency. On the 1891 Cheyenne River census, five-year-old Joseph and his one-year-old sister, Brings Them, lived in the household of James and Sarah Afraid of Lightning. Sarah's brother and his wife and the other twin child never again appeared on an Indian census so it can be assumed they died in late 1890.

³⁷ National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C., RG75 Incoming Correspondence of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Accounts Division, #7805-92, Bull Man claim, 651-C20.

³⁸ R. Eli Paul, "Dakota Resources: The Investigation of Special Agency Cooper and Property Damage Claims in the Winter of 1890-1891," *South Dakota Historical Collections* 24:212-235 (1994).

³⁹ 52nd Congress, 2nd Session, *Exec. Document No. 93*: Letter from Secretary of Interior in response to Senate resolution of February 21, 1893, relative to claims of friendly Indians for depredations committed during the Pine Ridge disturbance. Bull Man also served as a witness in the claims of Red Horse, Touch Cloud and Acts the Bear, who, like Bull Man, claimed the damage had been perpetrated by soldiers and white men. The investigator concluded that the depredation had been by other Sioux and paid reduced claims. Bull Man was still being held at Pine Ridge when the claim was filed. NARA RG75 PI-163 E561, Box 20, Records Relating to Sioux Property Claims, 1891-1892.

⁴⁰ *Survey of Indian Reservations*, *op. cit*.

⁴¹ Audrey Porsche, *Yutō'keca = Transitions: the Burdick Collection*, Bismarck, SHSND, 1987.

⁴² Lilah Morton Pengra saw the strip of skin which is in locked and restricted storage at SHSND along with other human and animal remains and objects too sacred to display publically. The documents accessing the loan of the strip of skin in 1932 and the transfer of it as a gift in 1984 were also reviewed at that time by Pengra.