



One Bull: A Man of Good Understanding

By Carole Barrett

Many historians of the American West cite Sitting Bull's death on December 15, 1890, as the watershed event signaling the final dissolution of Plains Indian life. Noted western historian Robert Utley says Sitting Bull's death "was the end of an era, not only for Standing Rock Agency but for the whole American West."¹ North Dakota historian Edward Milligan proclaimed the demise of the Plains Indian culture in dire imagery, declaring, ". . . with the death of this great leader [Sitting Bull] the flames of the Seven Council Fires had been extinguished, and the death knell of the Sioux Nation had been sounded."²

For the Lakota people, Sitting Bull's death was an extremely sad and tragic event, but it did not represent an end point in their life or culture. As evidence, one need only look as far as his nephew and adopted son, **Henry Oscar One Bull**, who is a representative figure during this early time of transition to the reservation life imposed on the Lakotas. Adopted by his uncle, **Sitting Bull**, at a young age, he was raised in the traditional Lakota world, yet he was able to carry the teachings and perspectives from this older way of life into the twentieth century. Sitting Bull imbued him with a particular set of values, disposition, and world view that sustained and influenced him through-

out his life. He, like many men and women in his generation, was a vital and active participant in the newly developing culture of the Standing Rock Agency. His long and intimate relationship with Sitting Bull provided him with direction in coping with the myriad challenges brought about by this new life on the reservation. One Bull became an important informant for a number of historians, including being the principal Indian source for Walter Stanley Campbell's biography, *Sitting Bull: Champion of the Sioux* (published under the pseudonym Stanley Vestal). One Bull's insights into his uncle's personality, his firsthand accounts of Sitting Bull's leadership in war and peace, and his spiritual

Figure 1. One Bull was about seventy-one years old when this photograph was taken at Fort Yates, North Dakota. Photographer Frank Fiske's identification is "At dinner, Field day, 1924." (Frank Fiske Collection, SHSND 1952-5816)



teachings, made One Bull a most valuable contact for researchers, and makes his own life worthy of further examination.

One Bull was born into a prominent family north of Bear Butte on the Belle Fourche River in South Dakota, probably in the spring of 1853. By his account, he was born the year a famous Crow warrior, Four Horns, was killed in a fight with the Lakota.³ His father Kiyukapi, Makes Room, a noted war leader and headman, was from the Miniconjou band of Lakota. His mother, Wiyaka Wastewin, Good Feather Woman, was from the Hunkpapa band and Sitting Bull's oldest sister.

In 1857 Sitting Bull lost a three-year-old son and his wife to sickness, and, in keeping with Lakota tradition, he took his nephew One Bull and raised him as a son. Although he lived in Sitting Bull's camp, One Bull had frequent extended contact with his birth family and was especially close to his older brother White Bull.

According to Lakota custom, a child taken to replace a dead child was lavished with attention and carefully raised and taught, and Sitting Bull demonstrated great care and kindness in rearing One Bull. As an old man, One Bull recalled an affectionate song Sitting Bull made for him as a little boy. The song, in Lakota, and translated into English, follows:

Ate Ayate Tawe makiyin na
Father, The Tribe of birds has given me as mine
Yuha iyotiye wikiye
With them hard times I am having
Heon lecela wastelakapi
Hence, Alone my baby is loved by everyone.⁴

Sitting Bull was a patient, slow-talking father, thoughtful and deliberate in all his actions. One Bull remembered him as a "straight man" and a good teacher.⁵ Like all Lakota parents, Sitting Bull followed certain principles and values called *Lakol wicohan*—today more commonly referred to as "the Lakota way" or "the Indian way"—that guided and directed Lakota people. The concept



Figure 2. Sitting Bull is surrounded by members of his family at Fort Randall, Dakota Territory, 1882. Standing (left to right) are Good Feather (his oldest sister and One Bull's mother) and Walks Looking (his daughter); seated are Her Holy Door (his mother), Sitting Bull, and Has Many Horses (his daughter), holding Tom Fly (his grandson). (Photograph from the Bailey, Dix, and Mead series, SHSND A2952)

of *Lakol wicohan* that formed the bedrock of Lakota society was embodied in four virtues—fortitude, bravery, generosity, and wisdom—which established a blueprint for childrearing. Spiritual development, an aspect of wisdom, was also a key concern in Lakota child development. Sitting Bull was a very spiritual man, and he set One Bull on this path at an early age. One Bull recalled the two of them would rise and stand out in the open near daybreak, with their right hands toward the sun, and sing a prayer of thanksgiving for the gifts of the Great Spirit. It was a custom One Bull maintained throughout his long life.⁶

Like most Lakota boys, many of One Bull's early childhood activities centered on training to become a warrior and hunter, skills that stressed fortitude and bravery. He was active in outdoor sports such as races, swimming, sledding, hunting small

animals and birds with a bow and arrow, snaring prairie dogs, and trapping foxes. As was customary for young Lakota boys, when he was about six years old, One Bull received a pinto pony from Sitting Bull. He prized this horse, which he named Itancan (Chief), and it soon became the swiftest pony in camp and won many horse races.

This pony became an opportunity for Sitting Bull to teach his nephew some important lessons about Lakota virtues. One Bull discovered Itancan missing one morning, and, after a three-day search, he finally sought help from his uncle, who arranged for a round of ceremonies to aid in locating the lost pony. Through the ceremonies, One Bull was guided to a deep gulch where he found his pony, broken and near death. He wept bitterly and urged Sitting Bull to find the person who had done this and seek revenge. Instead, however, Sitting Bull counseled him that the pony was killed out of jealousy, and it would only cause problems to uncover the culprit. In the interests of maintaining harmony among the people, a paramount concern to the Lakota, it was best to drop the matter. This decision required One Bull to practice all the Lakota virtues, but most especially, to respect his uncle's wisdom. Soon after Sitting Bull gave One Bull another pinto pony to replace *Itancan*.⁷



Figure 3. This image of Sitting Bull is from the ledger drawings of No Two Horns, Hunkpapa (1852–1942). Sitting Bull, wearing a Strongheart Society war bonnet and carrying a coup stick, kills a Crow warrior. (SHSND 9380-PP)

Possibly it was this second pony One Bull rode when he killed his first buffalo at the age of about fourteen. One Bull's success that day fulfilled an expectation of males in Lakota society, so when the hunters returned to camp, Sitting Bull had the camp crier announce One Bull's deed. In accordance with Lakota custom and to honor One Bull, marking his entry into the ranks of the buffalo hunters, his uncle gave away the boy's hunting horse. Though this was a great honor, One Bull burst into tears at the loss of his pony, not because it was a prized possession but because of the great affection One Bull felt for his horse. Throughout his life, he took great pride in his horses. He became noted as a skilled and generous hunter, much like Sitting Bull. He willingly distributed the meat from his first kill to the old people in camp, and he customarily brought home two buffalo, one for his family and one for the old and needy.⁸

As One Bull honed his prowess as a hunter, he also learned the skills necessary for success in warfare, which, in traditional culture, focused on raiding enemy camps for horses, engaging in hand-to-hand combat, and counting coup on an enemy—efforts that won the greatest war honors. Increasingly, however, young men of One Bull's generation also learned skills needed to fight against United States Army troops.

During this training period in warfare, various men's **warrior societies** recruited promising young men to enter their ranks. A number of societies sought out One Bull at a rather young age because he was an accomplished horseman and marksman with the bow and arrow. At age sixteen, One Bull joined the **Stronghearts**, and over time, also became a member of the Fox, White Horse Riders, and Silent Eaters societies. Each had its own obligations, songs, distinctive clothing, and stories of bravery.⁹ Initially when young men joined societies, they served as assistants on horse raids, fetching water, caring for the horses of society members, and helping out wherever they could. In 1871, at age eighteen, One Bull stole his first horse from a Crow camp. He rode a buckskin horse with a group of about thirty men—a large raiding party—and they boldly

entered the camp and snatched many horses. One Bull was shot at but dodged the bullets, and, considered a great hero for his bravery in that exploit, earned the right to recount the story. In his retelling of this event, One Bull remembered the Crow as “good fighters, very brave and very skilled.”¹⁰ Until this time, One Bull had been called by a boyhood name, but to recognize his bravery and fortitude on this raid, Sitting Bull announced that his nephew was to be known as **Tatanka Wanjila**, One Bull. The new name derived from a vision Sitting Bull’s father had had, and it was from this same vision that Sitting Bull got his name.

In 1867–1868, at about the time One Bull’s warrior training intensified, the northern Lakota bands, which included the Hunkpapa, experienced increased pressure from soldiers and settlers moving through their homeland. In response, the northern Lakota attempted to form an alliance and designated a supreme leader or supreme chief, *wicasa yatapika*. Sitting Bull, noted as a war leader and a man who embodied the Lakota virtues, was chosen by a coalition of band leaders to direct and guide this new alliance of the people. In 1867 at a ceremony near Rainy Butte in southwestern North Dakota, Sitting Bull assumed his duties.¹¹

Even as overall leader of the northern Lakota, Sitting Bull continued to take an active role in guiding, advising, and encouraging One Bull. One Bull remained close to his uncle spiritually and recalled numerous times that he accompanied and assisted Sitting Bull when he isolated himself from the people to seek guidance from the Great Spirit and to pray for his people.

Customarily, at about the age of eighteen or twenty, a young man would go on a hill and fast and pray “in order that he might have a vision from which he would learn to direct his living.”¹² Around the age of twenty, One Bull embarked on his vision quest in the winter near Bear Butte, a particularly sacred area near the Black Hills. He fasted and thirsted for two days and two nights and pledged he would live a “right life.” Upon his return to camp One Bull shared his experiences with four men who waited

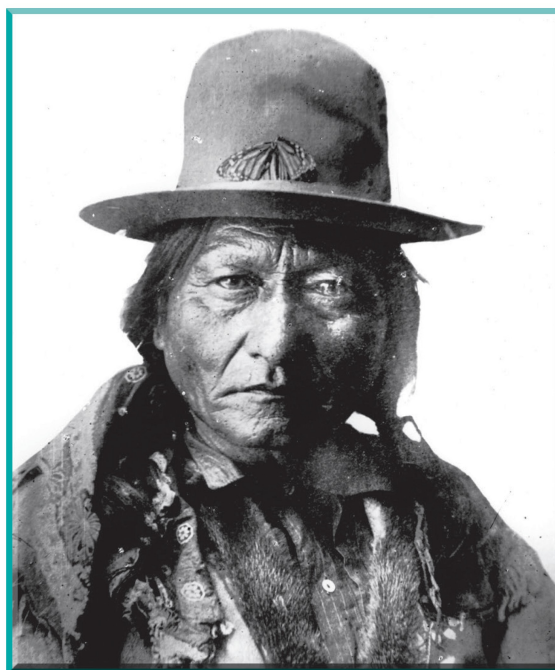


Figure 4. Sitting Bull, 1883, in Pierre, Dakota Territory. The photograph was taken by R. Kelly while Sitting Bull was en route by steamboat from Fort Randall to the Standing Rock Agency. (Frank Fiske Collection, SHSND 1952-5185)

for him and prayed during the time he was on the hill. He sketched his vision in the sand and smoked the pipe, and his advisors told him this experience meant he would be a strong man who would be able to withstand all hardship.¹³ His vision quest humbled and renewed him spiritually, and he took part in his first **sun dance** that summer.¹⁴ During his life, One Bull participated a number of times in the vision quest and sun dance—rituals that embody the concept of *Lakol wicohan* in their purest form and entail personal sacrifice and prayer.

Around the age of twenty, One Bull married for the first time. Marriage among the Plains tribes was a social institution, not tied to religion. In the old days a man would select a woman he was interested in, honor her by offering gifts to her family, and if she were willing, the couple was considered married. One Bull offered no gifts for his first wife, because they both agreed to forego the formality of gift-giving and be married. The marriage, however, was short-lived. One Bull took his new bride to

Sitting Bull's home, and he recalled Sitting Bull was pleased about the marriage. But, according to One Bull, "That woman did not treat me right, so I quit her. I went away, and then she went back to her people." Among the Lakota maintaining harmony in the group was an important concern, so if a marriage did not work, it was thought best to end it before family members got involved and bitter feelings developed. By his early twenties One Bull was married to a good wife.

By the early 1870s, conflicts between the Lakota under Sitting Bull and American military forces began to heat up. Increasingly, pressure was put on the Lakota to confine themselves to the smaller land base set forth in the 1868 **Treaty of Fort Laramie**, and matters reached a fever pitch after a United States geological survey confirmed gold in the Black Hills in 1874. Miners poured into the area. Although this was trespass and illegal under the 1868 treaty, the United States sought to force the tribal people within the bounds of the **Great Sioux Reservation** rather than clear miners from the Hills, without regard to their commitment that any such cession of land would require approval by three-fourths of the adult Sioux males affected by the treaty. Some Lakota complied and moved onto the reservation, but those people allied under Sitting Bull had signed no treaties and vowed to defend their homeland. Conflicts with the United States military became increasingly common, while intertribal warfare also continued. One Bull recalled the young men would often use this battle cry to warn enemy tribes of their fierceness, "*Tatankeiyo-tanke tabokcila,*" or, "We are Sitting Bull's boys."¹⁵

By early winter 1875 the federal government decreed all Lakota must move within the area defined as the Great Sioux Reservation no later than January 31, 1876, or be considered hostile by the United States. The weather was bad that winter, and many of the Lakota never received the notice to report to the reservation, while others ignored it. Those people under Sitting Bull were determined to continue the traditional life, and they, quite correctly, asserted their right to be in the area known by the government as "unceded territory."

During the winter months the Lakota lived in very small bands or family groupings of about fifty to one hundred people, since larger groups would severely deplete available natural resources in the harsh plains winters. In the summer months, however, the people would come together in large summer encampments to socialize, hunt buffalo, and conduct various rituals. By June 1876 Sitting Bull's people were joined in the area of the Rosebud River by many agency Indians who wintered on the reservation but left to join their relatives in the summer camp. The buffalo were running and hunting was good, but the Lakota knew soldiers were also in their country and they were watchful. Routinely, Sitting Bull sent out scouts to reconnoiter (inspect) and look for soldiers. Still, attention focused on activities in the big camp along the Rosebud River and on preparations for the sun dance, a sacred event that brought the people together in intense prayer.

Along with others, One Bull assisted in the preliminary tasks connected with the sun dance—choosing a site, preparing the sacred ground, setting the tree.¹⁶ When the ceremony began, both One Bull and Sitting Bull took part.¹⁷ During this sun dance Sitting Bull had a dream that was to guide and direct his people. As his nephew White Bull described it, "many soldiers and horses, all with their heads down and some Indians with their heads down" would fall into camp. What Sitting Bull foresaw was a big Indian victory over soldiers. To One Bull, the important aspect of this vision was Sitting Bull's admonition to the people that when this victory occurred the people were not to take guns, horses, clothing, or any material goods from the soldiers, warning, "If you take the spoils you will starve at the white man's door." To White Bull, the defeat of the soldiers was the key part of the vision.¹⁸

Two days after the sun dance ended, scouts carried back reports of many soldiers in the valley of the Rosebud, and a large war party formed. Sitting Bull urged the men to "brace up!" but, as an older man and overall leader of the people, he rarely participated in fighting any longer. His role was

to encourage the young men to be brave and to make sure the women, children, and elderly were protected. On this day there were plenty of other warriors to meet the soldiers.

Custom suggested that those who participated in the sun dance should rest and continue to be prayerful for four days after the ceremony ended. Nevertheless, One Bull and many young men who had engaged in the sun dance also participated in the battle with the soldiers. For a young man, a primary obligation was to meet the enemy and defend his people and thus to practice in the fullest way the Lakota virtues of fortitude and bravery. The fight with the soldiers under **General George Crook** was long and sometimes intense, with casualties on both sides. No decisive victory occurred on either side, but Crook withdrew his troops from the fight and the Indians claimed the day. They knew, however, this **Battle of the Rosebud** on June 17, 1876, was not the battle Sitting Bull foretold. On this day One Bull indicated fighting was from a distance, and he did not get close enough to the enemy to count coup.¹⁹

Soon after the Battle of the Rosebud, the people moved further west and set up a large camp strung along the Little Big Horn River, and arranged themselves by bands, each one in their prescribed place. The Hunkpapa, which means “campers at the end of the horn,” were considered the endmost camp. Once the camp was established, Sitting Bull and One Bull went to a hill some distance away to offer petitions for the health and well-being of their people; Sitting Bull prayed that the men might be strong and brave in defense of the people. The Lakota knew many soldiers were in their country.²⁰

Early the next morning, June 26, 1876, One Bull followed his normal routine. He tended his horses, and then returned to camp to visit Sitting Bull in the council tipi. Soon after, a man named Fat Bear rode into camp and announced soldiers were nearby. Earlier in the morning, a young boy named Deeds and his father, from the Hunkpapa camp, had gone out to search for a stray horse,



Figure 5. One Bull posed at the Palmquist and Jurgens Studio, St. Paul, Minnesota, during his trip with Sitting Bull and James McLaughlin to Minneapolis-St. Paul in 1884. (Frank Fiske Collection, SHSND 1952-7459)

and they came upon soldiers who chased them and killed the boy. A general alarm sounded through the Hunkpapa camp. One Bull grabbed his rifle, ran to his tipi, and got horses for his wife and mother so they could go to a place of safety. Likewise, Sitting Bull took care of his mother and a daughter while his wives bundled up the children and they too left camp. Things began to happen quickly—One Bull saw a “tower of dust” indicating the approaching soldiers, and Sitting Bull encouraged him to “go right on,” to fight bravely in defense of the people. One Bull handed his rifle to Sitting Bull, grabbed his bow and arrows and a tomahawk, and at that point, Sitting Bull put his shield over One Bull’s head and across his breast. By this gesture Sitting Bull signified his esteem for One Bull’s skill as a warrior and bestowed authority on him to be a war leader and take a role in organizing the warriors that day. But even more, the shield symbolized Sitting Bull’s prayers for his nephew’s protection and safety in battle that day, the **Battle of the Little Bighorn**.

The fighting was fierce, sometimes hand-to-hand combat, and One Bull was in the midst of the battles. The noise and activity was intense in Sitting Bull's camp, with warriors leaving to meet each new batch of soldiers and others caring for wounded comrades. When One Bull started to join in again with those going after the soldiers who were coming down a ridge from the north, Sitting Bull came alongside him and sternly said, "Enough there now, no need to go." And so, One Bull, Sitting Bull, and others did not join in the next fight.²¹ From their vantage point, they could see many soldiers and Indians from the other camps and, as one observer recalled, it "looked like a cloud rolling down hill and later [we] could see Indians here or there, likewise a horse, then the Indians returned to camp and said, 'They're all killed'—it was just that quick."²²

Though One Bull did not go to what is now referred to as **Reno Hill** where the soldiers were pinned in, and he avoided the battlefield where Custer's troops were killed, he knew this was the battle Sitting Bull foretold in his vision; he recalled Sitting Bull's admonition at the sun dance to leave behind the spoils of this battle, but few people listened. One Bull, Sitting Bull, and many in their camp did not remove any items from the dead soldiers, although many Lakota did take items from the battlefield.²³ Warriors milled near the soldiers dug in on the hill, but they did not launch an all-out attack on them. When camp broke a day after the fight, the warriors departed and abandoned the men on the hill.²⁴ Soon after this fight, many Lakota drifted back to their agencies, and those who did not were termed hostiles and hunted down by soldiers.

Throughout the fall of 1876 and into 1877, army troops swept through the Northern Plains, pursuing the Indians who were not yet living on reservations. Sitting Bull and many under him refused to report to the agency because they said the government would "take all the rations that belongs to the Indians and their horses and guns and knives," and, rather than do this, they opted to live their lives in the traditional manner. Times were very hard.²⁵

Sitting Bull selected One Bull as part of the council to meet with General Nelson Miles in October 1876. Miles sought this parley (conference between enemies) to convince the people under Sitting Bull to go into the agencies. Tensions were high on both sides, and One Bull clearly remembered an incident during the hearings when Sitting Bull raised his arms to the sky and said to Miles,

God has created me—given me this land that I shall not shed any blood or cause any grievance for my children. For my part I don't want any trouble. Take your place but you are bothering me and my people and I [vow] not to raise any more arms [fight] if you will do the same.²⁶

During the next day's meeting the soldiers prepared to attack while Miles talked peace. As Sitting Bull, One Bull, and the other Indian councilors left the meeting, the soldiers shot into the Indians. As a result of this attack, some Lakota, including One Bull's older brother, White Bull, gave up and went to the agencies while Sitting Bull and many of his followers went further north and wintered at the headwaters of the Missouri River. Finally, constant threats from soldiers caused Sitting Bull to move his people into Canada where One Bull remarked, "they rested for a while and fed their children."²⁷

Increasingly, Sitting Bull groomed One Bull to assume a leadership position. In Canada One Bull headed a policing unit in camp with one hundred men under him. The police enforced tribal law, kept order, helped people, and punished wrongdoers. The policing unit, with One Bull in the lead, paraded around the camp, not only reminding the people they were safe, but also underscoring their obligations to one another and to their traditional values.

While in Canada the people faced many difficulties, chief of which were a lack of food and constant pressure to return to the United States. It was during this time Sitting Bull gained an exaggerated prominence in the American press. Touted as the mastermind of Custer's demise at the Little Bighorn, he gained much fame as the last holdout

of the Indian wars. Until he was back on American soil, in custody, there would be criticism of the military. The Canadian government acceded in large part to pressure from the Americans and would not provide food or a reservation to the refugees. After a short period of time, buffalo became scarce in Canada, so Sitting Bull's people, including One Bull, often crossed into Montana to hunt and even to participate in horse raids, returning to Canada to exchange the horses for food at Canadian trading posts. These activities caused problems for the Canadian government, because it had promised to contain Sitting Bull and his people.

Canadian and American officials held numerous councils about these matters and often requested Sitting Bull to attend. Over and over at these hearings, the Lakota objected to returning to the United States and complained of being hunted down in their own land by the Americans. Further, they feared reprisals for defending themselves in battle, and they were especially fearful after the events at the Little Bighorn. But deprivation and hunger gradually caused many of the people under Sitting Bull to forego ideology and return to the United States so they could join friends and relatives on the reservation and avoid starvation. In the late fall of 1880, **Gall** and **Crow King**, prominent warriors, led their families south to go in at **Fort Buford**. From there, they understood, they would be taken south to their relatives at **Standing Rock Agency**. Before they reported to Fort Buford, however, they were attacked by United States soldiers. Eight Lakota died in this attack. Sitting Bull was furious that even those who were agreeing to government demands were unsafe. He assigned One Bull to accompany a group of Canadian Mounted Police who were going to investigate this matter. One Bull's role was to make sure the survivors of this melee were safe and being cared for. When he arrived at Fort Buford, One Bull was forthright with the American soldiers and relayed Sitting Bull's reason for not returning to the United States: "They killed us when we are over there and we don't want to stay." He reported back to Sitting Bull the people were well fed and would soon go to Standing Rock.²⁸

Problems created by starvation and United States pressures intensified, and by July 18, 1881, Sitting Bull and about two hundred people reported to Fort Buford with assurances they would be allowed to rejoin relatives now assigned to the Standing Rock Agency in Dakota Territory. One Bull recounted this journey to Fort Buford:

From here [Canada] we traveled down and reached the forks of the Missouri [Fort Buford]. When we all reached this place, the disarmament was taking place. But I was not disarmed as I gave up my gun myself. The horses were all taken then the rations were given.²⁹

One Bull was at Sitting Bull's side when weapons were turned over to the soldiers, and he insisted his uncle said nothing at all. Very certainly, according to One Bull, his uncle did not hand over his rifle to his son Crowfoot and claim to be "the last man of my people to lay down my gun"—a story that has become deeply embedded in American popular culture and is gradually making its way into the history of the American West.³⁰ Instead of being reunited with their relations at Standing Rock Agency, they were loaded on a steamer and taken to Fort Yates; however, Sitting Bull and those closest to him, including One Bull, were kept under military guard. The people spent only about ten days at **Fort Yates**, and then, despite government assurances, Sitting Bull and one hundred of his closest followers were loaded on another steamer and taken to **Fort Randall**, Dakota Territory, where they were held as prisoners of war.

One newspaper account reported One Bull refused to board the steamer in Fort Yates, and he railed against the government for holding them as prisoners. One Bull balked when soldiers tried to push him down the gang plank, so finally a soldier knocked him out and carried him onto the boat. It is difficult to judge the accuracy of this account—One Bull does not speak of it and many untruthful reports were printed in the papers.³¹

One Bull had little to say about his time at Fort Randall. Years later he provided a terse account reporting that, from Standing Rock Agency:

. . . we were again loaded onto another steamboat and this time landed at Fort Randall—just opposite Yankton Agency. We camped inside an enclosure within the military reservation. We were kept there about two years. My uncle, Sitting Bull, made friends with one of the officers [Major William Ahern] there and through that we were treated very kindly.³²

By all accounts the Indian people kept to themselves at Fort Randall and led a very quiet, almost despondent existence, although Sitting Bull was a celebrity and received many visitors. Sitting Bull and his people longed to be with their relations at Standing Rock Agency. Finally, in 1883, word came that the people were to be repatriated at Standing Rock. One Bull described the longed-awaited release from Fort Randall very matter-of-factly, “Two years passed and we were again loaded into a steamboat and brought back to Standing Rock.”³³

In part, the federal government exiled Sitting Bull and his most ardent followers from the Lakota people as a way to destroy his leadership and separate him from the Lakota people. Under the new reservation system, the people’s loyalty was supposed to shift from their traditional leaders to the Indian agent, the federal appointee assigned to manage each agency and enforce federal policies aimed at **assimilation**, the absorption of Indians into the white world. By the time One Bull, Sitting Bull, and the others were returned to Standing Rock Agency, **Major James McLaughlin** was Indian agent. McLaughlin was strong-willed and a fervent proponent of federal Indian policy. He began instituting the “**civilizing policies**” of the federal government and promoted former followers of Sitting Bull to positions of some authority on the reservation. Gall, for example, became a judge of the Indian Court. One Bull observed, “McLaughlin treated Sitting Bull as a common Indian. Sitting Bull believed he was chief and should look out for his people.”³⁴

From their first meeting McLaughlin and Sitting Bull were locked in a power struggle. McLaughlin became convinced Sitting Bull and One Bull

Figure 6. Pictured in the foreground are (left to right) Sitting Bull, James A. McLaughlin, and interpreter Joe Primeau. They are standing next to the Standing Rock, a sacred object to the Lakota, which was moved to Fort Yates, ca. 1880s. (Photograph by David F. Barry, SHSND 0022-H-0047)

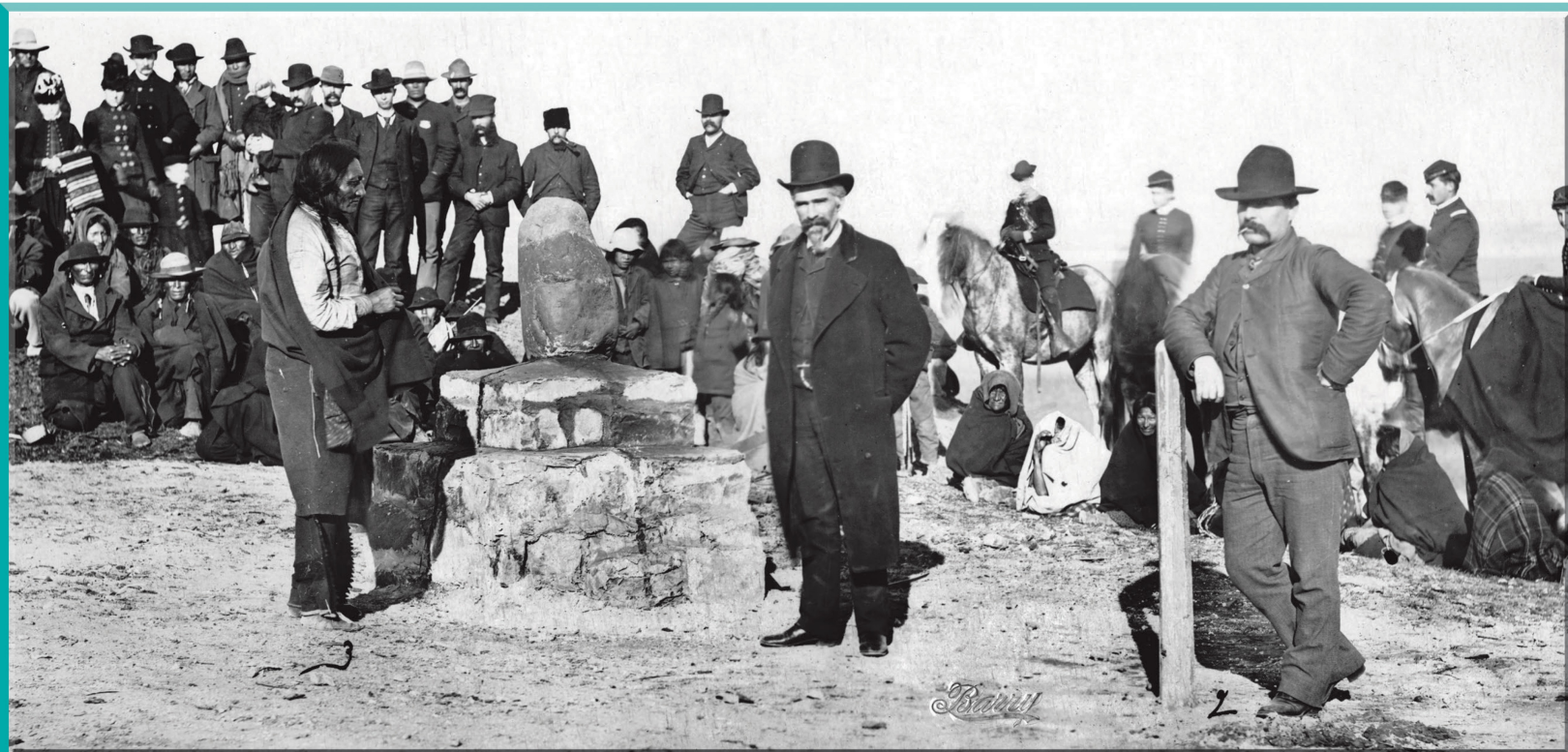




Figure 7. One Bull, wearing the uniform of a tribal policeman, his wife, Scarlet Whirlwind Woman (Yamniomni Luta Win), and two of their daughters at the Standing Rock Agency. He was nominated to the force by Sitting Bull in 1890 and later fired by Agent James McLaughlin. (Photo dated September 2, 1882, SHSND 0517-1)

would be more readily converted to his civilizing policies if he took them on a trip to Minneapolis-St. Paul and exposed them to the wondrous technology of the white man's world. McLaughlin wrangled free passes from the Northern Pacific Railroad, and they set out on March 11, 1884. Large crowds turned out wherever they went in the Twin Cities. They attended stage plays, toured buildings, met notables, attended Catholic church services, and went into bank vaults to view stacks of money. Both men were grateful for the opportunity and thanked McLaughlin, but this trip did little to change either man's essential philosophy or outlook.³⁵

Not long after, Sitting Bull spent time traveling briefly with two Wild West shows. Once again, McLaughlin felt this would assist in the civilizing process, but his experiences did not change Sitting Bull. If anything, his travels gave him amusing stories to tell about how the white man paid to learn more about Indian ways.

Although McLaughlin wanted Sitting Bull and One Bull to live near Fort Yates so that he might

oversee their activities, they took claims for homes on the Grand River, about forty miles from the agency. The two former warriors attempted to cooperate and comply with federal policy that directed Indian men to take up farming. And, indeed, both were rather prosperous. Under the direction of an agency employee known as a "boss farmer," Sitting Bull and One Bull built log homes, stock and implement sheds, chicken coops, and dug root cellars. Each took up farming and ranching on a small scale. They raised oats, potatoes, and corn. Sitting Bull had twenty head of horses, forty-five head of cattle, and twenty-five chickens. One Bull had thirty head of cattle, some horses, and fifty barred Plymouth Rock chickens, and he also put up hay and raised small grain. Agent McLaughlin often visited both men in their homes, and it was One Bull's impression that a day school was built nearby because Sitting Bull requested it. Whatever the reason for the school, Sitting Bull and One Bull were glad to have the school in their camp, and both sent their children to it. They shared the conviction that education was vital for the survival of Indian people.³⁶

McLaughlin's frequent trips to their homes were more a method of surveillance than a demonstration of friendship. He engendered jealousy among the Indians at Standing Rock by favoring certain ones over others, appointing chiefs and ignoring the real leaders as a way to undermine their authority. His tactic of treating Sitting Bull as a "common man" caused problems among his followers and left them outside the agent's favor and protection. When Sitting Bull visited the agent to inquire about the treatment of certain people, he was dismissed or treated rudely. At times he was roughed up by agency policemen who were Indian men from various districts on the reservation. Several times he was hauled into court for arguing in favor of someone's rights. Power on the reservation tilted in favor of the agent.³⁷

When Sitting Bull took up his claim along the Grand River, he was far enough from the agency to establish some old alliances. He reorganized a society known as the **Silent Eaters**, an offshoot of

the Strongheart warrior society. The sole function of the Silent Eaters was to guide the people.³⁸ Its membership was exclusive and included only those men noted and respected by the people for their wisdom.³⁹ Silent Eaters advised the people on certain matters but never forced their will on anyone.⁴⁰ Apparently, the name of the society came from the fact they did not publicly announce meetings, had no society songs, and would eat when they came together. One Bull became a member of the Silent Eaters during the reservation period.⁴¹

In 1888 and 1889 federal commissions went to each agency on the Great Sioux Reservation and, in accordance with treaty provisions, sought the approval of three-fourths of the adult Sioux males to reduce the reservation land base by nine million acres. Sitting Bull bitterly opposed this bill, and it is likely this provided impetus for reorganizing the Silent Eaters. One Bull would have attended meetings and was aware of the land issues. Although some historians state rather glibly the men's societies disappeared early in the reservation period, there is evidence the societies existed in some fashion and accommodated to the new reservation culture. Throughout his days on the reservation, One Bull was identified as a member of various societies that sought to preserve the welfare of the people, protect and maintain their value system, and guide correct decisions.

In 1889 the act to reduce the Great Sioux Reservation was approved, a turn of events that embittered Sitting Bull and caused him and his followers to denounce the so-called "**agency Indians**"—those who did the bidding of the government. By this time, Lakota religious rituals, such as the sweat-lodge and sun dance ceremonies, were banned in an attempt to win over more Indians to Christianity and put them more securely on the path to civilization. The stress on many of the people was palpable—the government was attempting to erase those ways that defined them as Lakota.

Against this backdrop, word of a religion just for Indian people began to spread throughout the

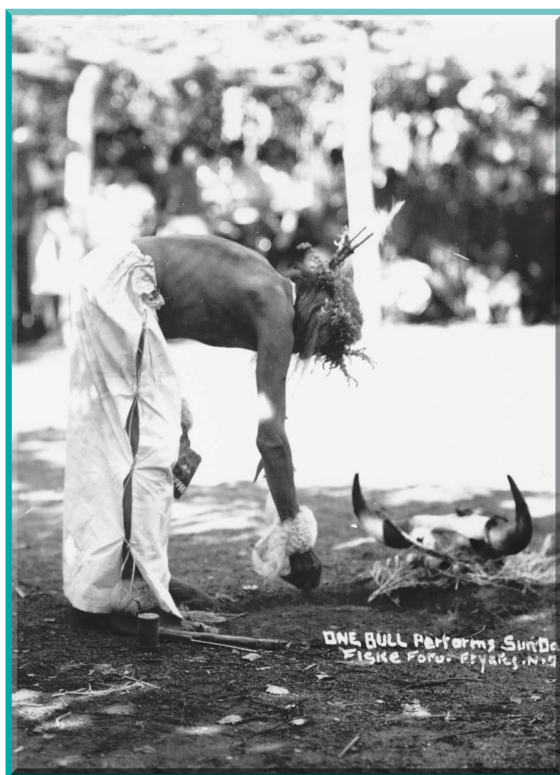


Figure 8. One Bull, performing a sun dance rite at Fort Yates. (Frank Fiske Collection, SHSND 1952-6170)

Great Plains in 1889. More and more, Lakota people were talking about the **Ghost Dance**, a millennial movement that promised all Indians a return to the old Indian ways and restoration of the buffalo. Its teachings were primarily Christian, its ritual was Indian.

In the fall of 1890 McLaughlin asked Sitting Bull to name a man to the agency police force. It was no surprise to anyone that he nominated One Bull. As One Bull phrased it, "He gave me away for the job."⁴² Robert Higheagle, who had relatives on the police force, says, "I don't think One Bull was friendly with McLaughlin," and he suggests McLaughlin allowed this appointment because One Bull had influence in his community and he was noted as a good horseman and marksman. But most of all, Higheagle speculates One Bull could be "a go-between, something both McLaughlin and Sitting Bull needed at this point in their relationship."⁴³

Soon after One Bull joined the police force, Kicking Bear brought the Ghost Dance to Standing Rock. And by the fall of 1890, Ghost Dancing began in Sitting Bull's camp among his followers. Sitting Bull, according to many of those close to him, did not practice this new religion, but as a leader of the people he was obligated to tolerate it in his camp. He believed it was harmless; all the people were doing was asking God to help them.⁴⁴ McLaughlin attempted to halt the Ghost Dance, and in the fall of that year, he sent two policemen, One Bull and Crazy Walking, to stop the dance and order Kicking Bear off the reservation. When the two arrived at Sitting Bull's camp, they stated their business, were assured by Sitting Bull the dance would not go on forever, and then the policemen apparently had a long cordial visit with Kicking Bear. Upon his return to the agency, One Bull gave a detailed account of the precepts of the Ghost Dance to McLaughlin. Furious, McLaughlin fired One Bull from the police force. Rumors about the firing spread on the reservation until word got around that One Bull had shed his clothes and joined the Ghost Dancers. Though the rumor was not true, one of the Indian police repeated it to McLaugh-

lin, a good example of the divisions created by the reservation system.⁴⁵

In all likelihood, the Ghost Dance was a convenient excuse to remove One Bull from the police force, since McLaughlin would need to get him out of the way before he could arrest Sitting Bull. Though Kicking Bear was banished from Standing Rock, the Ghost Dance continued at Sitting Bull's camp.

By December 1890 McLaughlin hired One Bull to haul freight. Some time during this same period, McLaughlin spoke privately to One Bull and told him, "No matter where the Ghost Dancers go, you and your uncle better remain where you are." By this he meant they were to stay on the Standing Rock Reservation.⁴⁶ One Bull took this as a sign he and his uncle were being watched closely by the agent, but it is just as likely One Bull sought employment at the agency in order to keep tabs on McLaughlin.

On December 13, 1890, One Bull hauled freight from Mandan, North Dakota, to Fort Yates, a drive of about sixty-five miles. He left the agency very early the next morning, but one of his horses "played out," and it took him until almost daybreak the next day to get home. He went to bed and fell asleep at once. Suddenly, he was jolted awake by the report of guns coming from his uncle's cabin. He immediately set out for Sitting Bull's home and was met by relatives from Sitting Bull's camp fleeing in all directions. People were crying, and they told him Sitting Bull was killed. As he neared Sitting Bull's cabin, the Indian police, a number of whom were relatives, pointed their guns at him and ordered him to stop. Eagleman, a policeman, addressed him politely and ordered Cross Bear to speak to One Bull. He confirmed a number of deaths, both among the followers of Sitting Bull and the agency police. One Bull feared his pregnant wife, Scarlet Woman, was dead, but the police told him no women were killed in the fracas. The policemen directed One Bull to find his wife, take her home, and stay there. Scarlet Woman was an eyewitness to Sitting Bull's death, and she

related Sitting Bull was shot by police as he was led naked from his house.

Two days later the Indian police came after those closest to Sitting Bull—One Bull and his family, Sitting Bull’s widows and surviving children, and Jumping Bull’s widow and children. They were placed under arrest and escorted to the agency where they were kept under guard day and night. All were in mourning, deeply affected by Sitting Bull’s death and the death of other close relatives. In their absence their homes were ransacked and everything was taken, even the dogs.⁴⁷

For One Bull and for many of the Lakota on the reservation, Sitting Bull’s death was tragic, but it did not signal an end to the culture or the way of life. In many ways, life on the reservation droned on. The *Lakol wicohan*, the Lakota ways, defined the people and continued to be their lens on the world. Certainly, the reservation brought new ideas and new ways, many of them painful, but the people did not forget the old ways. Rather,

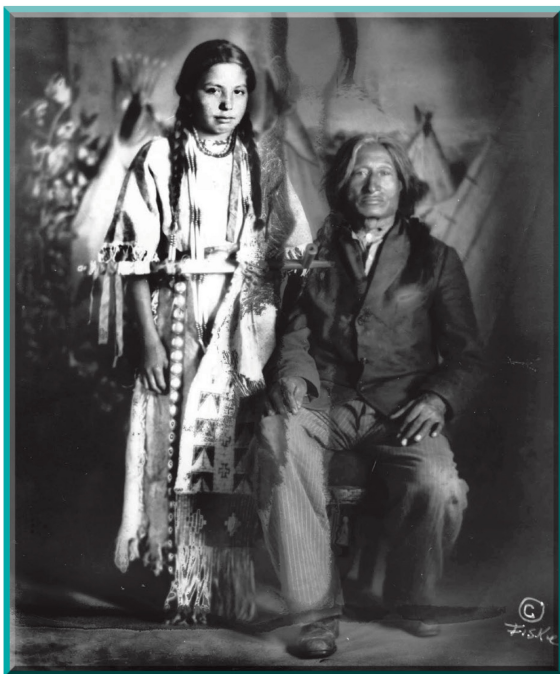


Figure 9. One Bull became known as Henry Oscar One Bull. He is pictured here with his daughter, who is arrayed in traditional Lakota dress. (Frank Fiske Collection, SHSND 1952-6171)

they interpreted reservation life in the context of the Lakota ways. During the early days of the reservation, many people, One Bull included, became active in various Christian denominations. His family became Congregationalists because people from that denomination were those who took pity on the dead from Sitting Bull’s camp and buried them with respect. In accepting Christianity, One Bull did not abandon his traditional spirituality—he was able to see both Christian and the old rituals and teachings as valid in his life. He attended Congregational church services regularly and believed that Christianity and traditional Lakota religion directed people to worship the same God—ritual and terminology might differ but “all people pray to the same God . . . the One we all worship . . .”⁴⁸

Fortitude was a paramount virtue in One Bull’s world view, and it served him well after Sitting Bull’s death. He rebuilt his home and small farming ranching operation south of Little Eagle, South Dakota. In time McLaughlin gave One Bull and his family the day school near Sitting Bull’s camp, and they lived in it many years until a tornado knocked it down.⁴⁹ One Bull continued to mark time in the old way—he kept a **winter count** by drawing a picture of the single most important event for each year—beginning with the year of his birth.⁵⁰ He continued to measure days in the old Lakota way, very precisely, based on the position of the sun. He preserved much old wisdom and knowledge of the natural and plant worlds, and used it to predict certain weather patterns and cure people of illnesses.⁵¹

During the early reservation days, Indian agents named individuals according to European customs. Reservation children received a Christian first name through baptism or were assigned one at boarding school, and their father’s name became the family surname. One Bull himself became known as Henry Oscar One Bull. Those men and women raised in the older times began a custom of giving “Indian names” to their children and grandchildren. In traditional Lakota culture, naming was an important gift given to a child, usually by a grand-

parent. The name might signify a deed or event from their life which was then handed on to the child to set them on a good path for life. One Bull named his oldest grandson Four Horns after a very brave and wise Hunkpapa leader who did much to train and encourage Sitting Bull to a position of leadership among his people. One granddaughter was named Kills In Water, commemorating One Bull's exploits at the Little Bighorn—he killed soldiers in the stream.⁵²

Although the federal government banned traditional religious ceremonies, One Bull lived far enough away from the agency to maintain the practice of some traditional rituals without running afoul of the agent. He often ran purification, or **sweat lodge**, ceremonies.⁵³ The purpose of this ritual is to pray and to cleanse the mind, body, and spirit, and, symbolically, to be born again. He also continued the practice of isolating himself from the people for periods of time to fast and to pray intensely and seek direction.

Through his vision questing, he was directed to make a sacred bundle, which contained an item he used on a number of occasions to help his people, called a *wotawe*. It was a white muslin cloth about four feet square, in the center of which was drawn a male elk, facing east, surrounded by dragonflies and a butterfly. Eagle feathers were tied to the four corners to represent the four winds, and pieces of bitterroot were also tied on. Because of a vision, One Bull, like Sitting Bull, who had a similar cloth, could influence weather. One Bull had sacred songs, prayers, and ritual connected to the cloth, and he used the cloth to make rain during a terrible drought in the Dakotas in 1936 and to cause rain to put out a forest fire in the Black Hills in October 1938. Four times One Bull carried this *wotawe* into battle and said it protected him against injury.⁵⁴

Against the backdrop of the reservation, traditional Lakota teachings and values remained strong in One Bull's daily life and in his spiritual practices. He lived and socialized among many of those who followed Sitting Bull, and they looked to One Bull



Figure 10. One Bull (r) with his wife (l) and daughter in 1904. The daughter has been to school and is wearing a cape that is both traditional with its quilled designs on leather and modern in its fashionable design. The tents and tipi as well as other family garments also reveal the process of cultural transition. (Cowan Collection, SHSND 0069-03)

particularly to keep alive stories and the memory of his uncle. During any celebration or gathering of the people, One Bull and other old men would give exhibition rides to demonstrate their spectacular horsemanship.⁵⁵ One Bull was one of the last of the old-timers to retain the custom of recounting war deeds in public and portraying his experiences in dance.⁵⁶

In conjunction with keeping war stories and heroic deeds before the people, the old men also maintained the warrior societies to some degree. They preserved the stories, songs, special clothing, and teachings connected with each. One Bull headed the Fox society on the reservation, and sometimes at dances he wore clothing to symbolize this organization.⁵⁷ He also belonged to a society called the White Horsemen, and it was reputed to be a “strong organization among Sioux members all over Sioux country.”⁵⁸ They purchased a headstone for Sitting Bull's grave, and this same group may also have worked to place a monument in Little Eagle, South Dakota, to honor the Indian warriors

who took part in the Indian wars. One Bull played a key role in this effort, and his granddaughters took part in the dedication ceremony.⁵⁹

Maintenance of these societies into reservation days may have had a role in uniting the men on the issue of the Black Hills, which were illegally excised from the Great Sioux Reservation in 1877, violating a provision in the 1868 Treaty. One Bull became very active in Black Hills Councils, organizations of reservation men, which sought to restore the land as provided in the treaty. The constant agitation of these men through meetings and lobbying gave impetus to establishment of the **Indian Claims Commission** by the United States government. But more importantly, the work of these old-timers on the Black Hills kept alive the definition of self as Lakota and reminded the people of their rights as the Great Sioux Nation. In many ways, the Black Hills issue united the Lakota and impeded the work of the federal government to acculturate the Sioux into the white man's world.

From the point of view of his own family and many Lakota, One Bull's greatest legacy was the revival of the sun dance at Standing Rock. Although he faced great opposition from the federal government and Christian denominations, One Bull, impelled by visions that came to him in prayer, persisted in his quest to lift federal prohibitions so he could sponsor a sun dance at Little Eagle.



Figure 11. One Bull's buckskin shirt is now on display at the North Dakota Heritage Center. It was made for him by his daughter, Margaret One Bull Tremmel. (SHSND 1989.66.1)

He pledged a sun dance in thanksgiving after his daughter recovered from an illness. Additionally, he sought to pray for rain to end a drought so severe that horses were eating each other's manes. With help from non-Indian friends in Bismarck, One Bull finally obtained federal clearance to conduct the first sun dance on Standing Rock since 1882. One Bull, along with a number of old cohorts who knew the songs and how to conduct the ceremony, prepared months in advance for the elaborate ritual, and on July 1, 1936, his sun dance began.

The ceremony, the most sacred rite of the traditional Lakota, included young people he prepared to assist him and to whom he passed on the ritual. "The sun dance," in One Bull's words, "is offered to *Ate*—to the Creator, to the Almighty One . . . We do not consider the earth, the sun, the moon, and the stars as gods . . . The old Sioux believed in the same God as we do—in a Father beyond . . ."⁶⁰ One Bull prayed for strength for his people, for understanding of the Lakota ways. One Sioux prayer explains this succinctly, "That my people might live."

During One Bull's sun dance it rained and the drought was relieved, a peace pipe smoked of its own accord, and a buffalo head, tied to the center pole, turned on its own from east to west. These were signs the people's prayers were answered, and One Bull said these events caused the Indians to weep.

In 1941, in the midst of World War II, at age eighty-eight, One Bull conducted another sun dance, again at Little Eagle. This time he prayed to bring peace. He had lost a son in World War I so he prayed for the safety of the young soldiers fighting in this new battle. During the ritual he flapped his medicine cloth in the air, this time to offer protection to the fighting men against aircraft fire.⁶¹

Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, One Bull hosted researchers seeking to interview the old men who rode and warred alongside Sitting Bull.

Walter Stanley Campbell (aka. Stanley Vestal), Reginald and Gladys Laubin, Eugene Burdick, and Lewis Crawford, among others, came to One Bull for information on Sitting Bull. The researchers would come and pitch a tent near One Bull's house; he would call together the old warriors who also camped and then recounted their deeds. During these sessions, One Bull's wife and female relatives cooked. Some of the researchers donated food, but One Bull, always generous, supplied traditional foods such as dried meat, prairie turnips, and dried plums and chokecherries.⁶²

Although the researchers engaged interpreters, One Bull arranged to have his grandniece, Cecilia One Bull Brown, interpret his words and stories, mostly about Sitting Bull, not about himself. Due to his own methodology of transmitting these memories, One Bull's stories remained in the Indian community and also passed down into the history of the American West. Through these stories, the Indian community maintains a fuller portrait of Sitting Bull as a man, while academic historians highlight Sitting Bull as a warrior.

One Bull reckoned that “old age is when a man or woman is no longer able to do the work that he or she had always done and was expected to do.”⁶³ In the mid-1940s, his health became poor; he developed jaw cancer and died in 1947 at the age of ninety-four. One Bull praised a man once by saying, “**He was a man of good understanding who always tried to do what was right.**”⁶⁴ In so many ways, that describes One Bull very well—he was imbued with and lived the *Lakol wicohan*, the Lakota ways, until his last breath. And he, like his uncle, was kind, patient, and a good teacher, and so, through the wisdom of men like him, the ways live on.



Figure 12. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, One Bull hosted researchers seeking to interview the old warriors who rode alongside Sitting Bull. He is pictured here with Henry Pougue. (Frank Fiske Collection, SHSND 1952-7663)

About the Author

Carole Barrett is associate professor of American Indian Studies at the University of Mary in Bismarck. Her research and publication interests center on the Lakota during the early period of reservation. She is the co-author of the article, “‘You didn’t dare try to be Indian’: Oral Histories of Former Boarding School Students,” in the Spring 1997 issue of *North Dakota History*, co-editor and contributor to the book *American Indian Biographies*, and editor of the book *American Indian History*.

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2. Edward Milligan, *Dakota Twilight: The Standing Rock Sioux, 1874-1890* (Hicksville, N.Y.: Exposition Press, 1976).
3. H. Inez Hilger, O.S.B., “The Narrative of Henry Oscar One Bull,” *Mid-America: An Historical Review* 28, new series, vol. 17, no. 3 (July 1946): 150
4. Campbell Papers, Box 104, Folder 17, One Bull, informant, Western History Collection, University of Oklahoma. Robert Higheagle collected this information and wrote the song in Lakota and translated it into English. What appears in the text follows Higheagle’s Lakota spelling and capitalization.
5. Campbell Papers, Box 104, Folder 11, One Bull, probable informant.

6. Hilger, 170. One Bull recited a morning song he sang with his own grandson. The Lakota spelling and translation are as provided in this text: "*Taku waste wamayag upe. Ina maka ta uyepelo.*" This means, 'My father sent me to this earth, and he sent me the buffalo on which to live. My mother, too, was sent down to earth. She comes to this world to carry out a mission: to beget children and to bring forth a nation.'
7. Campbell Papers, Box 104, Folder 10, "Sitting Bull Finds a Lost Horse for His Nephew," One Bull, informant; Box 105, Notebook 4, White Bull says of Sitting Bull, "his heart was big."
8. Hilger, 167.
9. Reginald and Gladys Laubin, *Indian Dances of North America; Their Importance to Indian Life* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1976), 337–338, 341, 343; Campbell Papers, Box 105, Notebook 19, One Bull, informant; Hilger, 160ff.
10. Hilger, 153–154.
11. Campbell Papers, Box 104, Folder 11, Robert Higheagle, informant.
12. Hilger, 154; Campbell Papers, Box 104, Robert Higheagle, informant.
13. Hilger, 154; Campbell Papers, Box 104, Notebook 19; One Bull was the informant and stated advisors at this ceremony were Black Bone, Crazy Horse, Turns Holy, and Running Horse. In keeping with Lakota custom, One Bull did not describe his vision—only that he was directed to live guided by the Lakota virtues.
14. Hilger, 163–164.
15. Campbell Papers, Box 104, One Bull, informant. Lakota spelling conforms to the document from which it was taken.
16. Campbell Papers, White Bull, informant, June 1930.
17. Campbell Papers, Notebook number unclear, White Bull, informant; Box 105, Notebook 19, One Bull, informant. Sitting Bull and One Bull pledged to sun dance in fulfillment of a vow made the previous fall in a horse stealing raid.
18. Campbell Papers, White Bull, informant, June 1930; Box 104, Notebook 19, One Bull, informant; Box 104, Folder 6, One Bull, informant.
19. Campbell Papers, White Bull, informant: Box 104, numerous men who participated in these events.
20. Campbell Papers, Box 104, Folder 17, One Bull and Putinhin, informants.
21. Events of Reno fight drawn from Campbell Papers, Box 104, One Bull, informant; Box 105, Notebook 19, One Bull, informant.
22. Campbell Papers, Box 106, Notebook 54, Otter Robe, informant.
23. Campbell Papers, Box 105, Notebook 19, One Bull, informant.
24. Campbell Papers, Box 104, Notebook 24, White Bull, informant.
25. Campbell Papers, Box 106, Notebook 53, informant unclear, probably White Bull.
26. Campbell Papers, Box 106, Notebook 54, One Bull, informant.
27. Hilger, 149.
28. Sources for the exile in Canada are in the Campbell Papers, Box 105, Notebook 19, One Bull, informant; Box 106, Notebook 54, Grey Eagle, informant. Joseph Manzione, *I Am Looking to the North for My Life: Sitting Bull, 1876–1881* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah, 1991).
29. Campbell Papers, Box 104, "Statement by Henry Oscar One Bull in Sioux and English." The Lakota text follows as it appears in the papers: "*Wana betan un ky pi na okijate el un gli pelo Ho hel ipe hlal la ean glopi na maza wakan wica ki peo tak miye makilapi sui ca wica waqunani ake sunka wakan iyuba iwica cu pelo.*"
30. Vestal, *Sitting Bull*, 233.
31. Undated treatise written in McLaughlin's hand. McLaughlin Papers, State Archives and Historical Research Library, State Historical Society of North Dakota, Bismarck, North Dakota.
32. Campbell Papers, Box 104, "One Bull's Memoirs."
33. Campbell Papers, Box 104, "One Bull's Memoirs."
34. Campbell Papers, Box 105, Notebook 19, One Bull, informant.
35. Louis Pfaller, *The Man with an Indian Heart* (New York: Vantage Press, 1978) 99–101.
36. Campbell Papers, Box 104, "One Bull's Memories"; Box 105, Notebook 19, One Bull, informant.
37. Campbell Papers, Mrs. J. F. Waggoner, informant.
38. Campbell Papers, Box 104, White Bull, informant.
39. Campbell Papers, Box 104, Robert Higheagle document. Higheagle was a Hunkpapa Lakota, educated at Hampton Institute, who served as a researcher and interpreter for Walter Stanley Campbell. The "Robert Higheagle document" is an untitled, handwritten document, apparently recorded to provide Higheagle's interpretation of Sitting Bull's meaning to the Hunkpapa Lakota.
40. Campbell Papers, Box 105, Notebook 19, One Bull, informant.
41. Campbell Papers, Box 104, Robert Higheagle document.
42. Campbell Papers, Box 104, One Bull, informant.
43. Campbell Papers, Box 104, Robert Higheagle document.
44. Campbell Papers, Box 106, Notebook 5, Grover Eagle Boy and Otter Robe, informants.
45. Campbell Papers, Bob Tail Bull, informant; Box 104, "One Bull's Memoirs."
46. Campbell Papers, Box 104, "One Bull's Memoirs."
47. The information on the Ghost Dance troubles comes from One Bull family members and Campbell Papers, Box 105, "One Bull Memoirs"; Box 104, One Bull, informant. Jumping Bull, also known as Little Assiniboine or Hohe, was Sitting Bull's adopted brother. He took his name after Sitting Bull's father, Jumping Bull.
48. Hilger, 164.
49. Campbell Papers, Box 104, "One Bull Memoirs."
50. Hilger, 171. This winter count was consumed in a fire when One Bull's house burned down, about 1937.
51. Hilger, 169–171.
52. One Bull family members explained this many times: Hilger, 153.
53. Hilger, 168.
54. Campbell Papers, Box 105, Notebook 19, One Bull, informant; Hilger, 155–156; Laubin, 95–96. One Bull says Sitting Bull's *wotowe* was stolen when his cabin was ransacked after his death.
55. Campbell Papers, Box 104, Robert Higheagle document; Laubin, 497.
56. Laubin, 358, 497.
57. Campbell Papers, Box 104, Robert Higheagle document; Hilger, 169; Fiske Papers, Letter to Mrs. Henry Poague, June 27, 1938; Laubin, 339.
58. Campbell Papers, Box 104, Robert Higheagle document.
59. Fiske Papers.
60. Hilger, 164.
61. Hilger, 161–164.
62. Hilger, 168; Vestal, *Sitting Bull*, introduction: One Bull family members.
63. Hilger, 168–169.
64. Campbell Papers, Box 104. One Bull says this about Gall.

