

Introduction to the MIA Long Soldier Winter Count

Winter counts are pneumonic devices composed of images drawn on hides, and later muslin or paper. They allowed winter count keepers to recall stories about events featured by the pictographs. The name winter counts comes from the Lakota people who refer to a year as both as *waniyetu* (winter) and as *omaka* (year). A winter or a year, stretched from the first snowfall of one year to the first snowfall of the next.¹ Winter counts themselves are called *waniyetu iyawapi*, meaning, “counting back winters.” They were also called *waniyetu wowapi* “winters they draw.”² Both names refer to how Lakota people employed winter counts in their communities.

Winter counts served two important functions in Lakota and Nakota societies. They were used to place events into time; by doing so individuals could calculate their age, which was done by counting back to the year an individual was born. For instance, if a person were born in the “year of the corn feast,” 1823, one would count forward from this year to the present to figure out his or her age. Stories represented by pictographic images were also used in instruction. Individual keepers and others might tell winter count stories differently each time, add other stories and fit specific meanings and purposes into these stories. Using them this way allowed of Teton, Yankton, and Yanktonai people to continue making their history relevant to everyday life.³

¹ James Howard, “Yanktonai Ethnohistory and the John K. Bear Winter Count,” *Plains Anthropologist* 21 no. 73 pt. 2, (1976), 2.

² James R. Walker, edited by Raymond J. DeMallie, *Lakota Society* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1946), 112; Russell Thornton, “A Rosebud Reservation Winter Count, Circa 1751-1752 to 1886-1887,” *Ethnohistory* 49 no. 4 (2002) 723.

³ James R. Walker, *Lakota Society*, 112-113. Teton is a designation for Lakota speakers, who were composed of several bands: Hunkpapa, Oglala, Sisasapa (Blackfoot), Itzalpico (Sans Arc), Brule,

Each *tiospaye* (extended kin group), or band had a winter count keeper who recorded yearly events. Among the Lakota and Nakota, tribal historians usually were older, prominent men who were also great storytellers. Black Elk, a well-known Oglala, also explained many winter count keepers were also holy men.⁴ Because many bands among the Lakota and Nakota kept winter counts, and made multiple copies particularly in the late 19th century, over 150 winter counts exist today.⁵

Tribal historians, after consulting with others, mostly made pictographs for events everyone would remember. As James Howard, a winter count scholar noted, “a bizarre or unusual event, one which was easily remembered by all, was often selected to mark a year rather than a seemingly more important occurrence.”⁶ He believed this method spoke to the equal weight given to winter count’s two functions.⁷ In addition, Garrick Mallery, the first western scholar of winter counts, noted most Lakota people could look at winter counts, recognize, and know most of the events depicted on the count.⁸ As hides deteriorated, artists began using more readily available muslin and ledger books in the 19th century.⁹ During the 1880’s and 1890’s, some keepers moved away from pictographic images and after learning how to both read and write in their own language

Minneconjou, and Oohenonpa (Two Kettles). See Raymond J. DeMallie, “Teton” Handbook of North American Indians 13 pt. 2 (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001), 794-838. Yankton and Yanktonai bands are Nakota speakers. Generally, they lived north and south east of Teton bands respectively. See Raymond J. DeMallie, “Yankton and Yanktonai,” Handbook of North American Indians 13 pt. 2 (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001), 777-793.

⁴ Ron McCoy, “Dakota Resources: “A People without History Is Like Wind on the Buffalo Grass””: Lakota Winter Counts, South Dakota History 32 no. 1 (Spring, 2002), 65-66; John G., Neidhardt, The Sixth Grandfather: Black Elk’s Teachings Given to John Neidhardt, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 334.

⁵ Ella Deloria, Speaking of Indians (New York: Friendship Press, 1944), 40; Russell Thornton, 723.

⁶ James Howard, “Yanktonai Ethnohistory,” 2.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Garrick Mallery, Picture Writing of the North American Indians, Tenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1882-1883. Washington, 1886, 269.

⁹ Joseph White Bull, edited by James Howard, Lakota Warrior, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1968), ix.

wrote brief descriptions of yearly events in Lakota.¹⁰ For example, in Lakota Warrior, Joseph White Bull (*Pte San Hunka*) wrote his own autobiography, which included a winter count written in Lakota and ledger art demonstrating his personal battle exploits.

The Long Soldier count comes from a Hunkpapa *tiospaye*. The Hunkpapa were the western most division of the Lakota, well known for producing warriors like Sitting Bull and Gall. Later this band was forced to move to Standing Rock Reservation in North Dakota. Long Soldier (*Akicita Hanska*), the original keeper, was a well-known individual. He signed the Ft. Laramie Treaty of 1868, and along with many others participated in the last buffalo hunt at Standing Rock in 1882. He may also have fought in the Battle of Little Big Horn.¹¹ Long Soldier drew at least four of the five counts attached to his name. Lakota winter counts are named for the original keeper of the count no matter how many copies are made. In the 19th century, demand for these counts increased and a small market for them developed. The South Dakota State Historical Society holds two copies of Long Soldier's count. In addition, the National Museum of the American Indian has collected two Long Soldier winter counts as well.¹²

Winter counts are a window into how Lakota people thought about their own history. These counts provide a unique understanding of what was considered important

¹⁰ Christina Burke, "Collecting Lakota Histories: Winter Count Pictographs and Texts in the National Anthropological Archives," American Indian Art Magazine (Winter, 2000), 84; Ella Deloria, a noted scholar from Standing Rock also explained this was a period of widespread Lakota language literacy see Ella Deloria, Speaking of Indians (New York: Friendship Press, 1944), 110-113.

¹¹ Ron McCoy, 76

¹² Ron McCoy discusses these counts in "Dakota Resources." South Dakota Historical Society Long Soldier # 1 (museum catalogue, 69.162) records the years from 1798-1904 or 1905, and South Dakota Historical Society Long Soldier #2 (museum catalogue, 2001.39.2) fully record years from 1798-1906. Long Soldier # 1 is used for comparison with our winter count. The same artist, presumably Long Soldier, did both. The National Museum of the American Indian has also collected two Long Soldier winter counts. One, was collected with translated text from Fort Yates in 1923 (11/6720), and the other (12/21/166) was also acquired in the same year from a separate source see Candace Green et. al., "The Year the Stars Fell: Lakota Winter Counts at the Smithsonian, a Preliminary report" (June, 2002). I relied upon Long Soldier's explanations along with other sources in giving year descriptions.

enough during a year to remember from a Lakota perspective. The artist represents many battle images, some images related to trade, events surrounding horses, and a number of deaths that would have affected many people. In addition, some events such as the Ft. Laramie Treaty of 1851, represented here by a tipi, are understood differently. In this story, the treaty concerning western boundary making and the development of military posts for the safety of white travelers on the Oregon Trail fades, and the event becomes important because Lakota people brokered peace with the Apsaalooka (Crow). It however, was not a lasting peace agreement.¹³ This single event is an example of how the importance of events could be understood differently.

The Long Soldier winter count combines artistic expression with a unique way of understanding both Lakota history and Plains Indian art. Historically, winter counts demonstrate Lakota understanding of the past through their own eyes. They show significant events such as disease epidemics, ceremonial events, and the conflicts over U.S. expansion into Lakota territory. Artistically, these calendars exhibit finely drawn images depicting important themes in 19th century Plains Indian art such as horse imagery and battle exploits. Winter counts also demonstrate continuities between earlier pictographic representation and the late 19th century boom of ledger art.

¹³ Frederick Hoxie, Parading Through History: The making of the Crow Nation in America, 1805-1935, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 86-87; Raymond J. DeMallie "Teton", 794.

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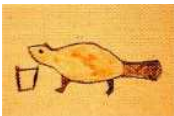
MIA Long Soldier Winter Count



1. 1798-1799- The Lakota (Sioux) preformed the *hunka* or *alowanpi* (making relatives ceremony). They also lived near the mouth of the Missouri River (Burke, 1; Densmore, 68). The staff pictured, represents one used during the *alowanpi* ceremony. By going through this ceremony two people became the equivalent of blood relatives. Many children became *hunka* and could become relatives of adults or peers in their *tiospaye* (extended kin group) (DeMallie, 1980, 207 and 215; Densmore, 68-70). After the ceremony, two people had obligations and responsibilities toward each other as relatives. For example, two warriors who were *hunka* helped each other in war expeditions and if one died the other would be responsible for his family (DeMallie, 1980, 205).



2. 1799-1800- A White trader came among the Lakota (Burke, 1). Many times this is discussed as the first time white traders traded among the Lakota. Long Soldier explained, he was the first white man they encountered and the first person they saw use iron (Burke, 1).



3. 1800-1801- Water was so scarce this year Lakota people gathered it from beaver dwellings (Burke, 1). The images of a beaver and a small rectangle indicate

where they received water and the rectangle may be the opening to a dwelling or a vessel used to carry water.



4. 1801-1802- Lakota acquired curly haired horses. According to Long soldier, the horse shows the first horse the Lakota obtained (Burke, 1). The horse depicted appears to have textured fur or curly hair. Some Hunkpapa counts also note Lakota men captured curly haired horses from the Apsaalooke (Crow) (Howard, 1960, 353). These horses may have been captured during the winter months when their fur is longer and curls when they sweat giving them the appearance of curly hair, which is not an inborn trait in these animals.



5. 1802-1803- This was the first time they saw traders put horseshoes on horses. According to Long Soldier, this was the first time Lakota people saw horse shoe tracks as well (Burke, 1). Other counts give slightly different interpretations, noting the shoes represent the capture of shod horses from traders (Howard, 1960, 354;Cranbrook, 9).



6. 1803-1804- A second man, Black Moon is made a chief (Burke, 1). Our count also shows that the *hunka* ceremony. Many counts describe the year as one that the *alowanpi* ceremony was preformed this year (Cranbrook, 9; Howard, 1960, 353).

Chieftainship was dynamic among Lakota people. Men became chiefs through the strong

force of their personalities, which ideally projected wisdom, generosity, and bravery. However, if a chief lost favor among his followers, and they left, his time as a chief was over. Though the Lakota did not have formal hereditary chiefs, one chief could choose his successor, which was usually one of his sons though he could choose whoever he wanted. If the village did not accept this new chief, they could leave to join other bands or pick a new one, who would have legitimate authority (DeMallie, 1982, 23-24).



7. 1804-1805- Eight Lakota killed by an Apsaalooke war expedition (Burke, 1; Cranbrook, 9). The image exhibits eight men, probably Lakota because they lack the distinctive Apsaalooke adornment and hairstyle. They also are scalped, another indication of death (Howard, 1960, 355; Cranbrook, 9). Several Minneconjou counts for the year 1805 identify these men as Minneconjou warriors (Mallery, 1886, 105).



8. 1805-1806- The event pictured here represents how “Kills Two Mounted” received his name (Burke, 1; Howard, 1960, 355). In the image, a pair of lines radiates to the images of two Apsaalooke warriors, who rode on the same horse in a battle. The name was given to this Lakota because he killed both of these men, which exhibited his bravery (Howard, 1960, 355). Other counts also noted similar events (Cranbrook, 9).



9. 1806-1807- A Lakota named Red Coat received the first red coat, which he received from the British (Burk, 1). Many other Teton counts mention that Red Coat was the name of a Hunkpapa who was killed in a military expedition (Mallery, 1886, 106). Several other Yanktonai and Hunkpapa counts explain Red Coat was an Apsaalooke chief killed by Lakota warriors (Howard 1960, 356).



10. 1807-1808- The image of these two men represents an event where an enemy killed a Lakota. Two men were represented to show the loss of the Lakota man, but also the loss from the other tribe. An Apsaalooke warrior probably killed this man, and their party suffered a loss as well (Burke, 1; Howard 1960, 356-357; Cranbrook, 10).



11. 1808-1809- This scene depicts a Lakota scout who was killed on top of a hill. While this count does not indicate his name, he was killed during a famine, while hunting buffalo (Burke, 1; Howard, 1960, 357).



12. 1809-1810- Lakota crossed the Missouri River and acquired horses. These could have been captured or traded horses. Some winter counts mention that after this acquisition the Lakota always had a large number of these animals (Burke, 1; Howard, 1960, 357). Similar events appear in nine additional counts, emphasizing the

importance of this event. (Cranbrook, 10). It also indicates the growing importance of the horse to Lakota people.



13. 1810-1811- The image of a man covered in spots indicates a small pox epidemic, a severe outbreak, killing many people (Burke, 1; Howard, 1960; 358). This epidemic was one of several to break out on the northern plains “before significant or sustained contact with non-natives took place” (Sunderstrom, 324).



14. 1811-1812- Little Beaver’s tipi burns down. The beaver in the picture represents the name of a French trader employed by an English trading company (Burke, 1; Howard, 1960, 359; (Higginbotham, 9). Little Beaver, also known as Loisel, kept his base of operations 30 miles south of Fort Pierre in present day South Dakota (White Bull, 1968, 14). Loisel may have operated the first trading post along the Missouri river. In the fire, a year’s accumulation of furs probably worth about \$15,000 burned (Higginbotham, 9).



15. 1812-1813- Many Apsaalooke warriors were killed near the Black Hills. The count presents one of earliest Lakota events happening close to the Black Hills a sacred area for the Lakota and a number of other tribes (Burke, 1; Cranbrook, 11; Howard, 1960, 359).



16. 1813-1814- Little Bear was killed in this year. The image of the man under the bear image indicates his name, and was probably killed by an Apsaalooke (Howard, 1960, 360). Other winter counts identify this event in 1812, and point Little Bear being killed by A'ani (Gros Ventre) (Howard, 1960, 359).



17. 1814-1815- A Gaigwa (Kiowa) was killed using an axe. White Bull's count states a he was killed in unsuccessful peace negotiations between bands of Lakota and Gaigwa people (White Bull, 1968, 15). According to the Wind-Roan Bear count, the incident "caused hostilities to begin anew" between Lakota and Gaigwa people (Higginbotham, 12; Howard, 1960, 360).



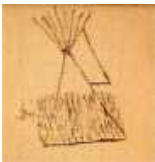
18. 1815-1816- A Lakota man broke his jaw while trying to steal Apsaalooke horses (Burke, 2). Another Hunkpapa count explains this person was shot because he took horses from another Lakota in his own village (Cranbrook, 11). Blue Thunder counts from Standing Rock and the Swift Dog's Hunkpapa count note this as happening in intertribal warfare with Apsaalooke and A'ani respectively (Howard, 1960, 360).



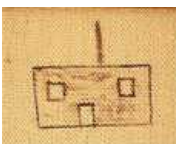
19. 1816-1817- Two Apsaalooke scalps were brought home. The two warriors pictured here each brought back an Apsaalooke scalp (Burke, 2; Howard, 1960, 361).



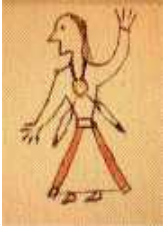
20. 1817-1818- Buzzard, a Lakota, had a large give away (Burke, 2). Other counts explain that Hawk, had a large feast (Cranbrook, 11). He also had an impressive give away. Several Hunkpapa counts also mention the Itzulpico (Sans Arc), Lakota built or lived in dirt lodges over the winter (Howard, 1960, 361; Beckwith, 357).



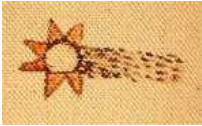
21. 1818-1819- Several windstorms damaged the winter encampment. This was known as the “sand blowing year” (Burke, 2). The image shows a tipi with brush around it to serve as a windbreak. One count also noted this winter was harsh and Swift Dog, another Hunkpapa, explained several people died of starvation (Howard, 1960, 363).



22. 1819-1820- Joseph, a trader, built a wooden house (Burke, 2, Cranbrook, 13; Howard, 1960, 363). Swan, a Minneconjou Lakota, explained it was “built on the Missouri River above Farm Island, (near Fort Pierre)” (Mallery, 1886, 110). This event is also widely recorded by many Teton winter counts.



23. 1820-1821- Long Soldier described it as “dreams of the moon year.” He explained a Sun Dance took place, which may have happened after this visionary experience (Burke, 2). The man pictured here could also refer to Sun Dreamer who was one of the most well known Hunkpapa spiritual leaders and lived during the 19th century (Cranbrook, 13; Howard, 1960, 364).



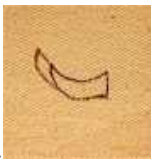
24. 1821-1822- A Comet fell to the ground, and made a loud noise (Cranbrook, 13; Howard, 1960, 364; Chamberlain, 4). Many other Hunkpapa and other Lakota winter counts record this natural phenomenon (Chamberlain, 23). One count notes that Red Cloud was born in this year as well (DeMallie, 1982, 88). In addition, a number of Plains Indian men received a name related to this event.



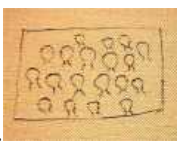
25. 1822-1823- Ghost Dog froze to death. Long Soldier explained that Ghost Dog and his wife got into an argument. He left and was found frozen to death some time later. (Burke, 1; Howard, 1960, 365).



26. 1823-1824- Lakota captured a large quantity of Sahnish (Arikara) corn. Long Soldier recorded this year as the “Year of the Corn Feast” (Burke, 1). Colonel Henry Leavenworth’s military forces with Lakota participation raided a Sahnish village, during the battle; Lakota warriors gathered all the corn possible. Lakota people widely recorded this event in their winter counts. After this event many Sahnish moved to the Knife River area (Higginbotham, 1981, 14; Cranbrook, 13; Howard 1960, 365; Mallery 1886, 111).



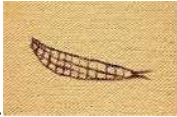
27. 1824-1825- According to Long Soldier, Yellow Ree, a spiritual leader, “painted a buffalo horn white to make it snow” (Burke, 2). This allowed them to hunt buffalo (Burke, 2). Other Hunkpapa winter counts give similar stories about the event (Cranbrook, 13; High Dog and Swift Dog, Howard, 1960, 366).



28. 1825-1826- This picture illustrates many Lakota died in a flood. Flooding happened on the Missouri river when fast rising water drowned many people in this village, possibly thirty families. Most Teton and Yankton winter counts record a story about this flood showing its impact. According to one of James Howard’s consultants, it happened near present day Wheeler, South Dakota (Howard, 1976, 46; Burke, 2; Cranbrook, 13; Mallery, 1886, 113).



29. 1826-1827-Corn Stalk came home with Apsaalooke scalps (High Dog, Howard, 1960, 366). The image depicts Cornstalk, whose name is clearly indicated by the stalk of corn above his head and he is shown arriving with a scalp. He was also referred to Corn Father, noting that he brought these back from a war expedition against the Omaha (Howard, 1960, 367). Long Soldier refers to the individual as “Goose” explaining he had Sahnish scalps (Burke, 2).



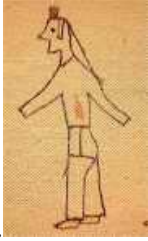
30. 1827-1828-This was a winter of deep snow and snowshoes were used on the plains to hunt buffalo (Burke, 2; Cranbrook, 13).



31. 1828-1829-This was the first winter camp at Bear Butte. Situated within the Black Hills, this winter camp at Bear Butte (Devil’s Tower) is the first reference in this Hunkpapa count to Lakota people living in the region. (Burke, 2; Cranbrook, 13; High Dog and Swift Dog Howard, 1960, 368).



32. 1829-1830-Long Soldier explained that Man, a warrior, went to a Sihasapa, (Blackfoot) Lakota village after he killed an Apsaalooke, a friend to the Sihasapa, “so then they killed him [Man]” (Burke, 2).



33. 1830-1831- Lakota warriors killed many Apsaalooke (Burke, 2; Cranbrook, 13; High Dog Howard 1960, 369).



34. 1831-1832- Yellow Eyes, a trader, went to jail. He was also known as Fredrick Le Beau and traded on the Cherry River (Cranbrook, 14). He killed another man, Francois Quenelle and went to St. Louis for his trial. Quenelle was eventually let out because there was not enough witness testimony and returned to trade with the Oglala, another large band of Teton Lakota. This was a well-known event and mentioned in several Lakota winter counts (Howard, 1960, 370; Burke, 2; Cranbrook, 14).



35. 1832-1833- This image shows one of the first log houses built by the Lakota (Burke, 2; Cranbrook, 14). While it is not certain exactly what this image signifies, some speculate Lakota people built it for the winter or for ceremonial purposes. Others have speculated Lakota people made this house for a trader (Cranbrook, 14; Howard, 1960, 370).



36. 1833-1834- This is the year of falling stars represented here by a single red star. Long Soldier explained they looked like stones when they fell. All other Lakota winter counts have stories about this event and describe the sound and appearance of the meteor shower (Burke, 2; Howard, 1960, 371). People all over North America witnessed the Leonid meteor shower. It appears in all of the Lakota winter counts as well as those of other tribes



37. 1834-1835- The image shows the winter they made horned war bonnets. These war bonnets were the first of their kind made by Hunkpapa, Lakota people (Burke, 2; Cranbrook 14; Howard, 1960, 372). This also represents an event where Lakota warriors captured this headdress, probably Crow war medicine.



38. 1835-1836- Many died or were wounded in a battle with the Sahnish. Lakota people living near the Cannon Ball River went to trade corn from a Sahnish village. These warriors killed six Lakota because according to Long Soldier, “they did not want them around” (Burke, 3).



39. 1836-1837- A battle took place on both sides of the river. Lakota warriors went on an expedition against the Sahnish, and when they fought, Lakota warriors fought on one side of the river while Sahnish warriors fought on the other. According to Long

Soldier, six Sahnish warriors were killed (Burke, 3). Another Long Soldier count, shows an Apsaalooke or a man wearing an enemy hair do and a Lakota fighting one each side of the river (NMAI Count, 11/6720). Different winter count stories name different tribes, such as the Sahnish, Numakiki (Mandan), Apsaalooke, or Chaticks Si Chaticks (Pawnee) (Cranbrook, 15; Howard, 1960, 373).



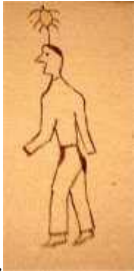
40. 1837-1838- This image represents another small pox epidemic. Scholars estimate 10,000 died within the first several weeks from the epidemic spread from whites carrying the disease as they traveled on steamboats paddling up the Missouri River (Cranbrook, 15; Sunderstrom, 315). The 1837 epidemic also killed 70% of the total Numakiki, Sahnish, and Minitari (Hidatsa) population. Lakota people probably caught small pox from these populations (Sunderstrom, 323).



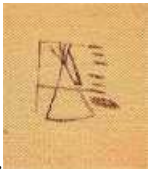
41. 1838-1839- Pinto horses were captured from the Apsaalooke and brought back to the village. The image of the horse signifies the year that a number of pinto horses were captured and brought back to the village (Burke, 3; Cranbrook, 15; Howard, 1960, 374). Stories from the High Dog count say they were stolen from the Apsaalooke (High Dog, Howard, 1960, 374).



42. 1839-1840- Dirty Skin, a Lakota, was killed by other Lakota people (Burke, 3).



43. 1840-1841- Chief Spider Elk was killed in this year (Burke, 3; Cranbrook, 15; Howard, 1960, 374-375).



44. 1841-1842- Winter brought heavy snowfalls. According to Long Soldier, Lakota people didn't have any wood available in the immediate area and used sleds and dogs to bring wood into the village (Burke, 3). The snowshoe by the tipi door and the blowing snow pictured across the tipi show the severity of winter. Another Hunkpapa count mentions winter was harsh enough that Lakota men hunted buffalo on foot using snowshoes (Cranbrook, 16).



45. 1842-1843- Long Soldier explained this year as the one the “Poplar Indian was scalped and afterward was killed” (Burke, 3). Long Soldier refers to this person as a “Poplar Indian”, referring to where the person was from. The scalped Indian was probably Nakoda, who lived this area. Other winter counts list this event as well and mentioned it was a Nakoda, who lived through scalping, and then was killed by the Lakota warriors (Howard, 1960, 376).



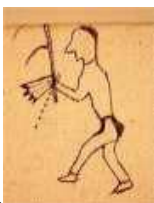
46. 1843-1844- Four Horns returned home. He was thought to be dead but returned home after a year (Burke, 3). White Bull, another Hunkpapa winter count keeper, told the same story explaining that he came home after his relatives had mourned his death (Howard, 1960, 377).



47. 1844-1845- This figure shows another year of small pox epidemics (Burke, 3). Many children died in this wave having no immunity to this disease (Cranbrook 16; Sunderstrom, 315). A severe winter the year before causing widespread starvation may have weakened Lakota people who were then more susceptible to disease (Sunderstrom, 317). This was a widespread epidemic and many winter counts show this by using similar figures covered in spots, which a few counts also indicate as measles (Howard, 1960, 377-378; Cranbrook, 16).

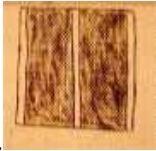


48. 1845-1846- In this year, Lakota killed seven mountain lions. Long Soldier described them as “man-eaters” perhaps an indication of why they were killed (Burke, 3; Howard, 1960, 378; Cranbrook, 16).



49. 1846-1847- Harvey Bull became a chief (Burke, 3). The Cranbrook count explains, the ceremony honored His Horse Runs (Cranbrook, 16). The staff indicates the

alowanpi ceremony took place. Many Teton counts note this ceremony for the year (Howard, 1960, 379).



50. 1847-1848- Long Soldier explained this year they were only given blankets (Burke, 3). Other counts note they camped at a creek and traded for blankets with traders. The creek later became known as “Blanket Creek” (Howard, 1960, 379; Cranbrook, 17).



51. 1848-1849- Little grass grew this year. This image represented a couple of blades of grass. It probably indicates a drought happening in this year (Burke, 3; Howard, 1960, 380; White Bull, 1968, 18).



52. 1849-1850- Apsaalooke warriors surprised Lakota hunters and a battle ensued. The image of buffalo and hoof prints probably represents the skirmish with the Apsaalooke that occurred while Lakota people hunted (Burke, 3; Cranbrook, 17; Howard 1960, 380).



53. 1850-1851- Catches Turtle died. Catches Turtle was well known, and his death was recorded in Hunkpapa counts and in the Blue Thunder counts from Standing Rock (Burke, 3; Cranbrook, 17; Howard 1960, 381).



54. 1851-1852- Long Soldier noted this year, Sitting Bull, after successfully making peace with the Apsaalooke became a chief (Burke, 3). A peaceful Lakota delegation camped in the Black Hills signified here by the tipi with hills in the background. Long Soldier depicted the event more clearly showing Apsaalooke and Lakota warriors shaking hands. (NMAI Count (11/6720); Cranbrook 19; High Dog, Howard 1960, 381; Mallery, 1886, 120). This image probably represents the first Ft. Laramie Treaty, which intended to serve two purposes. The first, to foster peaceful relations among northern plains tribes specifically the Lakota, Apsaalooke, Tsethassetas (Cheyenne), Inunaina (Arapaho), Nakoda, Sahnish, and Shoshone. Second, it was intended to make the Oregon Trail safer for settlers traveling west (Hoxie, 1995, 86-87).



55. 1852-1853- The image shows a tipi, in winter. This year a woman was killed by her husband (Burke, 3). Other winter counts explain this as the year that very deep snow fell and Lakota people used snowshoes and hunted on foot. (Cranbrook, 18; Howard, 1960, 382; Mallery, 1886, 142).



56. 1853-1854- Four Horns, an Apsaalooke warrior was killed. Lakota warriors who fought in this battle distinguished themselves by copying and wearing his four-horned war bonnet, later worn by other Lakota warriors. Long Soldier explained this was the year an Apsaalooke wore a Lakota hat and was killed. He called this, “Year four-

horned Apsaalooke was killed” (Burke, 4). This probably represents the Lakota capturing important Apsaalooke war medicine (Horse Capture, personal communication; Cranbrook, 18; Howard 1960, 382-383; Mallery 1886, 122; Densmore, 403).



57. 1854-1855- Bear Heart was killed. Long Soldier identifies him as a chief (Burke, 4). Apsaalooke warriors probably killed him (Cranbrook 18; Howard 1960, 383).



58. 1855-1856- Long Soldier called this “year white whiskers captured Indians and would not let them go” (Burke, 3). White Whiskers, Colonel William S. Harney captured prisoners at the Battle of Ash Hollow, or Blue Water. This battle took place between the Sicangu (Brule), who lived southeast of the Hunkpapa bands and an U.S. army expedition lead by Colonel William S. Harney. At the Battle of Ash Hollow, Colonel William S. Harney, killed eighty-six people and took 70 women and children captive from Little Thunder’s camp in response to the Grattan Incident. (Bordeaux and Bettelyoun, 53-60; Cranbrook 18; Howard 1960, 383; Joseph White Bull, 19).



59. 1856-1857- An Apsaalooke war bonnet was “cut” in two pieces during battle (Burke, 4). According to the Cranbrook, a Hunkpapa count, it occurred when Lakota warriors, while stealing horses, were caught by the Apsaalooke, a battle ensued, and a Lakota warrior ripped the bonnet in two while in battle (Cranbrook 18; Howard, 1960, 384). Because war bonnets were a symbol of war honors and prestige, this act would be considered contemptuous by the Apsaalooke and brave by the Lakota. Long Soldier also noted, a man from Poplar Creek, Yellow Bucket was killed by Lakotas (Burke, 4).



60. 1857-1858- Little Bear’s legs were broken. Sitting Bull adopted him as a brother (Cranbrook, 19; Howard, 1960, 385). Long Soldier explains Little Bear, was a captive taken from the people living at Poplar Creek (Burke, 4). The captives were probably Nakoda.



61. 1858-1859- A white buffalo was killed. For the Lakota, finding a white buffalo was an event of spiritual importance. A number of other Lakota counts explain One Horn, a Minneconjou, used the white buffalo for spiritual purposes (Cranbrook, 19; Howard, 1960, 385-386; Mallery, 1886, 122-123).



62. 1859-1860- Big Crow and two other men were killed (White Bull, 1968, 19). The image here is probably Big Crow, represented by the large bird over his head. Two Minneconjou counts mention Big Crow was a chief in their band (Mallery, 1886, 123). Long Soldier explained that Tied Braid, a chief, had been killed (Burke 4).



63. 1860-1861- Ten horses were killed. One night Crow King, a prominent leader, found that one of his best horses had been shot and by morning someone had killed nine of the village's other most prized horses (Cranbrook, 19; Howard, 1960, 387). Long Soldier explained this took place among the Sihasapa (Blackfoot) Lakota, another band and that they killed each other's horses (Burke, 4).



64. 1861-1862- Red Weasel was killed. Red Weasel, a noted warrior, died while the Lakota and Apsaalooke fought in a battle. Other counts explain Lakotas were tracking Apsaalooke warriors who had stolen some horses when Red Weasel was killed (Cranbrook, 19; High Dog, Howard, 1960, 387). Long Soldier noted Eagle Crow was killed while trying to recapture buffalo robes from the Nakoda (Burke, 4).



65. 1862-1863- This image shows a number of Nakoda were killed. Long Soldier notes they were "Poplar Creek Indians" (Nakoda) (Burke, 4). The High

Dog count, another Hunkpapa count, identifies these people as a group of Nakoda (Howard, 1960, 388).



66. 1863-1864- Long Soldier discussed this year as the one in which a “Poplar Creek Indian” (Nakoda) was killed by Blackfoot [Sihhasapa] [Lakota] Sioux while trapping coyotes” (Burke, 4). Others note this year as the year they chased foxes.

Another winter count suggests the animal represents an incident when a Lakota boy became stuck in coyote trap and was later killed by an Apsaalooke. Other counts give different translations as well (Cranbrook, 20; Howard, 1960, 388).



67. 1864-1865- According to Long Soldier, this was the first battle with white men (Burke, 4). The Lakota pictured is Sitting Bull (Burke, 4). Another Hunkpapa count, lists this as a year that a captive white woman was returned. According to the Cranbrook count, this woman Fanny Kelly was captured while traveling to California. Later, an army major retrieved her from the Lakota at gunpoint. This conflict could be the origin of our image (Cranbrook, 20;Howard, 1960, 389).



68. 1865-1866- The image shows a man urinating blood, one that appears on several winter counts. This probably reflects another epidemic, possibly a sexually transmitted disease that could cause frequent urination or cause blood to mix with urine (Sunderstrom, 324and 325; Cranbrook, 19; Howard, 1960, 389).



69. 1866-1867- Gall was stabbed in the stomach by a soldier. Gall, a chief, was stabbed at Fort Rice (Howard, 1960, 389; Cranbrook, 19). One scholar explained he suffered multiple stab wounds when he went to trade near Ft. Berthold. In an act of retribution for running off his horses, Long Mandan an Oohenonpa, (Two Kettles) chief brought soldiers from Ft. Stevenson to arrest Gall. As Gall came out of his tipi, soldiers stabbed him with their bayonets (Vestal, 1934, 222).



70. 1867-1868- Long Soldier noted this year, “ten feather hats were made and put on ten chiefs” (Burke, 4).



71. 1868-1869- Red Walker, a lone Frenchman, came with gunpowder to trade (Burke, 4). Red Walker was the name used for Father Desmet, a French Jesuit, who convinced Sitting Bull to send a delegation of Hunkpapa Lakota to Fort Rice to sign the 1868 Ft. Laramie Treaty, which was strictly a peace treaty. Sitting Bull sent Gall who also carried the name “Red Walker” as well as the name “The Man-Who-Goes-In-The-Middle”, with which he signed the treaty (Vestal, 1934, 220). Other Teton counts also mark this as the year that Father Desmet tried to make a treaty with the Lakota (Howard, 1960, 391).



72. 1869-1870- Thirty Apsaalooke were killed. According to many counts, this was one of the most memorable battles the Hunkpapa Lakota fought with the Apsaalooke (Burke, 4). During this battle, along the Powder River, the entire Apsaalooke expedition was killed. In addition, fourteen Lakota warriors died and eight were wounded (Cranbrook, 21)



73. 1870-1871- While the event is not clear, the image refers to someone whose name probably involves the bear and bird feathers pictured. Other Long Soldier counts, show an image of a white man, identified by Long Soldier as representing the ten Frenchmen who came to trade (Burke, 5).



74. 1871-1872- Apsaalooke warriors came into camp, took horses around the tipis, and no one noticed (Burke, 3). The Jaw counts from Standing Rock note horses were chased all around the camp (Howard, 1960, 394).



75. 1872-1873- Turns Bull killed an enemy who entered his tent. (Burke, 3; Cranbrook, 22; Howard, 1960, 394).



76. 1873-1874- An Apsaalooke shot chief His Knife in the head (Burke, 5).



77. 1874-1875- According to Long Soldier, “Indian Frank was surrounded by Apsaalooke and got shot while going in his tent” (Burke, 5). More Hunkpapa counts explain this year a huge Apsaalooke warrior who entered camp was killed by a Lakota (Cranbrook, 22; Howard, 1960, 394).



78. 1875-1876- White Dog, a Nakoda chief, came to negotiate for peace with the Lakota (Cranbrook, 22 Howard, 1960, 369; Burke, 5).



79. 1877-1878- The image could show the death of One Star who was killed by Apsaalooke warriors (Cranbrook, 23; Howard, 1960, 397). Long Soldier explained that Sitting Bull, “made peace with the Englishman (the red coat), man called Long spear up above Fargo” (Burke, 1). The High Dog and Swift Dog, Hunkpapa counts, explain a similar event as Long Soldier (Howard, 1960, 397).



80. 1878-1879- Apsaalooke warriors killed White Swallow, a chief (Burke, 5, given as #81).



81. 1879-1880- An Apsaalooke killed Spotted Antelope (Burke, 5).



82. 1880-1881- Brings the Arrow was killed. Long Soldier described him as a chief. Others explain Brings the Arrow, was a Lakota boy who, in a skirmish was shot by an arrow. He was carried home with the arrow still in his body. Soon after coming home and receiving the name Brings the Arrow, he died from his wounds. Old Bull, a participant in this battle, later painted the scene showing the battle scene and wounded boy. This muslin, painted by Old Bull is currently displayed in the Americas gallery and clearly demonstrates this battle (MIA 94.47.2; Burke, 5; Cranbrook, 23-24; Howard, 1960, 399; Densmore, 412-414; Maurer, 205).



83. 1881-1882- Long Soldier explains soldiers came into a Lakota village and the military weapons were shown (Burke, 5). The year pictured may depict an attack made on the Lakota village by Major Guido Ilges (Howard, 1960, 399; Cranbrook 23). One scholar, Stanley Vestal, reported that Ilges was prepared to attack this encampment,

after hearing second hand that Gall, in a moment of frustration, with Ilges threatened to kill some soldiers. But, instead of attacking the village of 300 as planned, he burned all but 31 tipis (Vestal, 1934, 251-253).



84. 1882-1883- Chief Red Feathers Hat died during the night (Burke, 5).



85. 1883-1884- White Beard, Major McLaughlin, according to Long soldier went out hunting buffalo” (Burke, 5). He was the military officer in charge of the Standing Rock Reservation. He organized and hunted in Standing Rock’s last buffalo hunt. 5000 animals were killed in this final hunt. In addition, nearly all counts from Standing Rock show this event (Burke, 5; Cranbrook, 24).



86. 1884-1885- A Lakota man shot himself.



87. 1885-1886- Kills Eagle, a chief, died (Burke, 5). Other counts record the death of a couple other men as well. The High Dog count states, “Little Crow Died” and High Hawk explained “Black Crow Died”. James Howard thought it might be a reference to the death of Chief Crow King (Howard, 1960, 400).



88. 1886-1887- Long Soldier explained that “Chief Bull Head or Fire Heart” died (Burke, 5).



89. 1887-1888- Four Horns Died. According to one scholar, Four Horns became one of four Hunkpapa chiefs in 1850 and later adopted Noisy Walking Elk in the *alowanpi* ceremony. He was very respected man throughout his life (Vestal, 1934, 318; Mallery, 1893, 284). He fought in the Battle of Little Big Horn in July of 1876. Before his death, Four Horns went to Canada, where Sitting Bull, his nephew, also took refuge (Burke, 5; Cranbrook, 25; Howard, 1960, 401-402).



90. 1887-1888- No-Neck died (Burke, 5). No Neck, a noted warrior was a contemporary of Sitting Bull may have participated in the latter’s war expeditions (Cranbrook, 25).



91. 1888-1889- Black Moon died as well in this year. Black Moon was also prominent Hunkpapa warrior and participated in the Battle of Little BigHorn. He was Sitting Bull's uncle (Burke, 6; Cranbrook, 24; Howard, 402).



92. 1889-1890- A woman was killed. Long Soldier explained she had crossed the river, and her husband who was close behind, and shot her. He then shot himself because according to Long Soldier, "she would not live with him" (Burke, 6). One count noted she was murdered at Fort Yates (Cranbrook, 25)



93. 1890-1891- Sitting Bull was killed. A group of the Indian Police from Fort Yates killed him (White Bull, 24). After returning from Canada following the Battle of Little Big horn, Sitting Bull joined the other Hunkpapa Lakota on the Standing Rock Reservation in North Dakota. Sitting Bull, also a holy man declared he was going to Pine Ridge to attend the Ghost Dance, whether or not Major McLaughlin gave him permission to leave. McLaughlin then moved to arrest him in December of 1890 using detachment of Indian Police. Sitting Bull was killed during the between the Indian Police and Ghost Dancers (Maurer, 180).



94. 1891-1892- Sore killed himself. Long Soldier described this as happening because he found out his wife was living with another man, Good voiced Iron. Sore shot her and Goodvoiced Iron. Then, he killed himself (Burke, 6).



95. 1892-1893- Iron Dog Died. He supported Sitting Bull and also sought refuge with him in Canada (Burke, 6; Cranbrook, 226).



96. 1893-1894- White Blackbird's son split Iron Thunder's head open. Long Soldier described White Blackbird's son as "dumb", perhaps a reference to a mental issue (Burke, 6).



97. 1894-1895- Gall Died. He was born in about 1840, and fought at the Battle of Little Bighorn (Cranbrook, 26; Howard, 1960, 404). He also supported Sitting Bull for most of his life. With Sitting Bull and several others they formed a warrior's society known as the Strong Heart society (Maurer, 211).



98. 1895-1896- Two Crows, a chief, died (Burke, 6).



99. 1896-1897- Long Soldier explains this year the Spicer family was murdered (Burke, 6).



100. 1897-1898- Philip Ireland, Paul Holy Track, and Alex Caddotte hung (Burke, 6). This image records the Spicer murder, which occurred when the above men killed several people outside Fort Yates, and they were arrested and later lynched (Cranbrook, 26).



101. 1898-1899- Half Bear Died. Long Soldier had just told his name, “Cuts the Bear’s Back” (Burke, 6; Howard, 1960, 405).



102. 1899-1900- One man named Grey Bear died while playing shinny or hockey at a fair in Mandan (Howard, 1960, 406). Long Soldier noted something quite different explaining “Sledge Hammer Indians” gave Agent Bingenhiemer a feather (Burke, 6).



103. 1900-1901- Black Cloud and his family burned in a fire. Long Soldier stated it started because Black Cloud tried to burn gasoline in a lamp (6). Other count keepers living at Standing Rock explain similar events. The Blue Thunder count, notes “Worth Hat got burned in bed,” and No Two Horns, a Hunkpapa keeper, also explained, “Wear Bonnet got something he thought was kerosene. It was gasoline and it killed two families” (Howard, 1960, 406).



104. 1901-1902- Long Soldier explained that Crouse, who was an issue clerk, shot Bob Marshall while deer hunting (Burke, 6).



105. 1902-1903- Another man named Grey Bear died. This Grey Bear, a member of the Indian Police, became injured, and a doctor amputated his leg. Shortly after, he died (Burke, 6; Howard, 1960, 407).



106. 1903-1904- Star died. Howard, noted that he believed this entry referred to a man’s name and not an astronomical occurrence (Howard, 1960, 407).

