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DAKOTA WINTER COUNTS AS A SOURCE OF
PLAINS HISTORY

By JAMES H. HOWARD

CONTENTS

	PAGE
Introduction.....	339
The winter counts.....	341
Names and authorship.....	341
Counts used for comparison.....	345
Description of the counts.....	347
Literature cited.....	415
Phonetic table.....	416

ILLUSTRATIONS

PLATES

	FOLLOWING PAGE
45. Blue Thunder Variant III (Yellow Lodge) winter count.....	416
46. Swift Dog's winter count (No. 674).....	416
47. Jaw's winter count.....	416

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INTRODUCTION

The existence among the Dakota Indians of calendars, in the form of charts giving a picture of a single outstanding event for each year, was first made public by Garrick Mallery in 1877 in a paper entitled "A Calendar of the Dakota Nation" (Mallery, 1877). These records, originally drawn on hides, later on pieces of cloth, are called *waníyetu wowápi* or "winter records" by the Dakota. Sometimes the variant terms *waníyetu iyáwa* and *hékta yawápi* (Mallery 1886, p. 128) are used, which mean "winter count" and "counting back" respectively.

The term *waníyetu*, "winter," is employed in two ways by the Dakota. The first, like the English word "winter," refers to the cold season of the year. In the other sense it refers to the year as a whole, the Dakota having no other word for this purpose. Thus, a person is spoken of as being so many "winters" old instead of being so many years of age. It is not surprising, then, to find that many of the events in a Dakota "winter" count actually took place during the spring, summer, and fall.

Subsequent to his first publication, mentioned above, Mallery published two further studies of Dakota winter counts (1886, pp. 89-127; 1893, pp. 266-328). These studies are monumental, and have become classics in the field. Curtis, in his "North American Indian" (1908, pp. 159-328) gives an Oglala count and compares it with the material given by Mallery. Vestal gives White Bull's count in his "Warpath" (1934 a, pp. 259-273) and a Hunkpapa count in "New Sources of Indian History 1850-91" (1934 b, pp. 348-351). Cohen (1942) in "Indians at Work" gives Big Missouri's count.¹

In this paper I wish to supplement these earlier works with nine hitherto little-known winter counts from the Dakota of the Standing Rock Reservation, N. Dak. and S. Dak. Six of these are in the

¹ Cohen, 1939, pp. 16-20. Swift Bear's count, presented by Cohen in the January (pp. 18-21), February (pp. 30-31), and March (pp. 29-30), 1942, issues of the same magazine came to my attention too late for inclusion as comparative material in this paper. However, none of the data presented called for changes in the interpretations of the events in the counts presented here.

collections of the North Dakota State Historical Museum, Bismarck, and three are owned by the Mandan-Bismarck Indian Shriners organization of Mandan and Bismarck, N. Dak.²

I undertook the present study with the object of determining the relative accuracy of the various counts by comparing them with one another and with known historic dates. As the work progressed several interesting additional uses suggested themselves. The counts might be used as a means of studying intertribal intercourse in the protohistoric and early historic periods. They might also be used to determine tribal locations and the dates of the introduction of important features of Dakota culture, such as the earth lodge, the horse, and the Sun dance. By emphasis, and reason for being noted by the maker of the count, it seems that the events selected reveal much of the ethos of Dakota culture for the period they cover.

It became apparent at once that the various counts, with the exception of the earlier parts of the Good, High Hawk, and White Bull counts, were quite reliable chronologically. The locations mentioned in the counts, which are suggested by the pictographs and were given orally to the persons who collected the counts, were also in remarkable agreement.

Concerning warfare and intertribal relations the results were less satisfying. It was found that the different counts, although presenting nearly identical pictographs for a given year, and obviously describing the same incident, ascribed entirely different identities to the participants. One account might mention that a Crow killed a Dakota, another that a Dakota killed a Crow, and still another that a Dakota was killed by an Arikara. The reason for this confusion became apparent when the interpretations of the pictographs in the Dakota language were translated for the two counts where the native texts had been preserved. These interpretations, usually only a short phrase, typically mentioned only that a certain person "was killed," leaving the tribal identification of the person and his assailant to whoever was keeping the winter count at the time.

Interesting changes were noted in the insignia used to identify persons of different tribal groups in the various counts, and in the earlier and later years of the same count. For example, the year 1797-98 on the Blue Thunder Variant III count is designated as "Killed Three Omahas on the River." The Omaha are indicated by their characteristic headdress, the deer tail and porcupine hair roach (Mallery, 1886, pp. 131-133). Yet later in the same count this roach is used merely to signify a dancer, a Dakota, for the years 1887-88 and again for the years 1928-29.

² The loan of these last three counts was arranged by Paul Ewald, a member of the Shriners and also of the North Dakota State Historical Society.

The progression of the pictographs in the counts, whether from right to left, left to right, or in a serpentine manner, was found to be of little significance. The unimportance of this feature has been ably discussed by Mallery (*ibid.*, p. 95), and my own work merely tends to confirm this.

THE WINTER COUNTS

The nine unpublished counts which were studied were found to be variants of only three major counts. The three groups into which the counts fell were: The Blue Thunder group, containing five counts; the High Dog-Swift Dog group, containing two counts; and the Jaw group, containing two counts. For this reason, plus the high cost of reproduction, only three plates (pls. 45-47) accompany the text. The three counts selected were considered to be the clearest of the respective groups.

The counts were first studied individually, then compared with one another and with each of the counts given by Mallery, Curtis, Vestal, and Cohen. For purposes of study and reference, I have named and numbered the counts in the following manner.

NAMES AND AUTHORSHIP

1. BLUE THUNDER COUNT, Shriner cat. No. 136, (probably only a copy of the original Blue Thunder count, and possibly more recent than Blue Thunder Variants I, II, and III).

This count is done on heavy white canvas. It measures 264 by 74 cm. It is done in black ink and colored wax crayons and paint. The outlines and the colors black and dark blue are done in ink. Other coloring is done with red, yellow, blue, and green paint or crayons. The count starts at the upper right and goes to the left, spiraling inward. The years included in this count are 1785-86 to 1921-22.

The maker of this count is unknown. It is owned at the present time by the Mandan Indian Shriners organization. The count was secured by A. B. Welch in 1913, probably on the Standing Rock reservation. The translation is by one Thomas Ashley, whom Welch calls "a fullblood Dakota" in his notes. The interpretations of the meanings of the various pictographs are supposedly by Welch under the direction of Ashley and other Dakota informants. Much of Welch's material seems merely conjectural, however, and the very long and seemingly purely fanciful explanations accompanying some of the years have not been included in this paper. The count apparently pertains to the Sihasapa and Hunkpapa bands of the Teton Dakota and to the Yanktonai of the Standing Rock reservation.

2. No Two HORNS, Shriner cat. No. 247 (a variant of the Blue Thunder count).

This count is done on heavy unbleached muslin. It measures 268 by 91 cm. Outlines of the pictographs and the colors blue and black are drawn in black ink. Other coloring is done with red, yellow, blue, and green wax crayons. Direction of the count is serpentine, starting at the upper right, going to the left, then back to the right below the first row, and so on. The years included in this count are 1785-86 to 1921-22.

This count was made by No Two Horns, a member of the Hunkpapa band of the Teton Dakota. The authorship of the count is verified by No Two Horns' pictographic signature. This count is owned by the Mandan Indian Shriners organization. The count was secured by A. B. Welch from No Two Horns in 1922. The translation is by "Joe Jordan" whom Welch calls "a Dakota volunteer of my organization in 1917" in his notes on the count. The count apparently pertains to the Hunkpapa and Sihasapa bands of the Teton Dakota and to the Yanktonai.

3. BLUE THUNDER VARIANT I, Museum cat. No. 798.

This count is done on heavy canvas, once white but now a dirty gray color. It measures 260 by 74 cm. Outlines of the pictographs and the colors black and dark blue are done in black ink. Other coloring is done with red, yellow, blue, and green wax crayons or paints. Direction of the count is from upper right to the left, spiraling inward. The maker of this count had a very poor sense of proportion and many of the pictographs interfere with one another. The count includes the years 1785-86 to 1912-13.

Authorship of the count is unknown. It is owned by the North Dakota State Historical Museum. The count was secured by the late Rev. A. McGaffey Beede at Fort Yates, N. Dak., and was given by him to the museum. A translation and interpretation of a winter count in Beede's handwriting seems to fit this count. Although the Reverend Mr. Beede is said to have known Dakota well, much of the interpretation of the count seems conjectural and has not been included in this paper. The count apparently pertains to the same bands and divisions of the Dakota as the preceding count.

4. BLUE THUNDER VARIANT II, Museum cat. No. 942.

This count is done on light unbleached muslin cloth. It measures 347 by 89 cm. Outlines of the pictographs and the colors dark blue and black are done in black ink. Other coloring is done in red, yellow, and blue paint and wax crayons. Direction of the count is from the upper right to the left, spiraling inward. The count includes the years 1785-86 to 1912-13.

Authorship of this count is unknown. The count is owned by the North Dakota State Historical Museum. It was secured by the Reverend Mr. Beede on the Standing Rock reservation. The translation and interpretation mentioned in connection with the preceding count fits this count equally well. The count apparently pertains, like the preceding three, to the Hunkpapa and Sihasapa bands of the Teton Dakota and to the Yanktonai.

5. BLUE THUNDER VARIANT III (YELLOW-LODGE COUNT) Museum cat. No. L495.

This count is done on heavy unbleached muslin. It measures 340 by 86.5 cm. The pictographs are done in black ink and colored with red, yellow, blue, and green paint and crayons. The direction of the count is from upper right to the left, spiraling inward. The count includes the years 1785-86 to 1930-31.

The author of this count was Yellow-lodge, a Dakota of mixed Mdewakanton-Yanktonai descent who lived at Cannonball, N. Dak. It may be identified by the pictograph of an Indian sitting in a yellow tipi. A copy of this count, complete through 1951-52, was kept by Mrs. Teresa Yellow-lodge of Fort Yates, N. Dak., who showed it to the author in 1952.

The count is owned by Eugene Burdick of Williston, N. Dak., but was placed on indefinite loan with the North Dakota State Historical Museum in 1932. A partial translation of a Dakota winter count which Burdick believed belonged with this count was sent to the museum shortly after the count had been placed there on loan. This translation, however, does not fit the count. It apparently belongs with either the High Dog or Swift Dog count. Since the High Dog count was accompanied by an interpretation, and since the Swift Dog count was not, this Burdick interpretation has been placed with the Swift Dog count. Welch's interpretations for counts 1 and 2 and Beede's for 3 or 4 fit all but the later years of this count. For the reader's convenience, therefore, this count has been included with Blue Thunder Variants I and II in the list used for comparison.

All of the counts given above, which comprise the Blue Thunder group, seem to be copies of the same count or of one another. All but the Blue Thunder Variant I count have the printed phrase "Please pay \$2.50 to see this map" preceding the first year's pictograph, indicating that financial emolument may have been an important incentive for a man to keep a winter count. The pictographs on the Blue Thunder count and those on the Blue Thunder Variant III count (Yellow-lodge count), up to the year 1912-13, were apparently drawn by the same person.

6. HIGH DOG COUNT, Museum cat. No. 791.

This count is done on white muslin cloth. It measures 132 by 88 cm. Outlines of the pictographs and the colors dark blue and black are done in black ink. Other coloring is done in red, yellow, and green paint. The direction of the count is from upper left to the right, spiraling inward. This count includes the years 1797-98 to 1911-12.

The author of this count is given by Beede as "High Dog," but the count is nearly identical with that of Swift Dog. It was procured by the Reverend Mr. Beede, who writes "High Dog copied this for me from one which he had (about new)." With the count is an interpretation of the count in Dakota, apparently written by an Indian. This text is rather garbled. It is accompanied by what purports to be a translation and interpretation of this Dakota text and the count pictographs by Beede. Much of Beede's material seems to be merely conjectural, and, where the translation of the Dakota is possible, is often shown to be highly erroneous. Ray Schulenberg, formerly a member of the staff of the North Dakota State Historical Museum, Mrs. Eva Littlechief of Bismarck, N. Dak., and Judge Frank Zahn of Fort Yates, N. Dak., all aided the author in translating and interpreting the Dakota text. The count apparently pertains to the Hunkpapa and Sihasapa bands of the Teton Dakota and to the Yanktonai.

7. SWIFT DOG COUNT, Museum cat. No. 674.

This count is on thin white cotton cloth. It measures 136 by 90 cm. Outlines of the figures are in black ink, as are the colors black and dark blue. Other coloring is done with red, green, and yellow paint. The direction of the count is from upper left to the right, spiraling inward. The count includes the years 1797-98 to 1911-12.

This count is attributed to Swift Dog in the museum accession record. The Swift Dog and High Dog counts are nearly identical, and in my opinion were both made by the same man, Swift Dog. Pictographs on both are very similar in style to those on a pictograph by Swift Dog shown by Densmore (1918, pl. 70, opp. p. 403). The count was secured by the Reverend Mr. Beede on the Standing Rock Reservation. Burdick's supposed "Blue Thunder" interpretation fits the first 27 years of both the High Dog and Swift Dog counts. Since Beede's interpretation is labeled "High Dog," I have placed the Burdick interpretation with the Swift Dog count. Swift Dog was a member of the Hunkpapa band of the Teton Dakota (Densmore, 1918, p. 403). His count apparently pertains to the Hunkpapa and Sihasapa bands of the Teton and to the Yanktonai.

8. JAW COUNT, Shriner's catalog No. 249.

This count is done on white muslin. It measures 125 by 87 cm. It is done in ink and red and blue paint. Only 1 year's pictograph utilizes this blue paint, however. The direction of the count is from upper left to right, spiraling inward.

This count is attributed to Jaw by Welch, and is signed "Mr. Charley Jaw" in the upper right-hand corner. Jaw was of two bands, one parent being of the Sansarc (Itazipco) band of the Teton Dakota, the other of the Hunkpapa band (Densmore, 1918, p. 387). The count was secured by A. B. Welch "from descendants of Jaw." Titles of the winters, written above the pictographs on the count, are by "an educated boy" according to Welch's notation. The count is accompanied by a typewritten interpretation by Welch, but since this was obviously taken directly from the titles written on the count itself it has been disregarded. Although the typewritten copy differs from the titles given on the count in some instances, it appears that it was Mr. Welch who was in error in most cases. The count includes the years 1837-38 to 1881-82. After the years 1881-82 the years are recorded by vertical marks, of which there are 35. This brings the actual closing date of the count to 1916-17.

9. JAW VARIANT, Museum cat. No. L529.

This count is done on a commercially tanned sheepskin, which is a light tan in color. Maximum length of the hide is 91 cm., maximum width 90 cm. The pictographs are drawn in black and green ink. Coloring is done with red, yellow, blue, green, black, brown, and white paint. The white paint has caused a chemical action in some places, and the figures on which it is used are often slightly raised and rough. The direction of the count is from the middle top (neck of the hide) to the right, spiraling inward. Originally the count seems to have started at the lower right hind foot of the hide and proceeded to the left.

This count is of unknown authorship. It was secured by Usher L. Burdick on the Standing Rock Reservation. It was placed on loan with the North Dakota State Historical Museum in 1932. The count seems to have been copied from Jaw's count originally, and then extended backward at a later date. No translation or interpretation accompanies the count. Since it has been copied, in part, from Jaw's count, the two counts are treated together in the following list for the years where they are concurrent. The count includes the years 1822-23 to 1881-82.

COUNTS USED FOR COMPARISON

The counts used for comparison were:

1. The Flame count. (The Flame was a member of the Two Kettle (Oóheno^apa) band of the Teton Dakota by birth, but lived with the Sansarc (Itázipco) band most of his life.) The count includes the years 1786-87 to 1876-77. The interpretation of the count is by the keeper (Mallery, 1886, p. 93).

2. The Swan count (Minneconjou band of the Teton Dakota). The count includes the years 1800-01 to 1870-71. Interpretation of the count is by "Jean Premeau," interpreter at Cheyenne Agency in 1868 (Mallery, 1886, pp. 93-94).

3. Lone Dog count. (Yanktonai, probably of the Lower Yanktonai division, now settled on the Crow Creek and Cheyenne River Reservations in South Dakota.) This count includes the years 1800-01 to 1870-71. Interpretations are by one Basil Clement (Mallery, 1886, pp. 89-93).

4. Bush count. (Dakota, band unknown). The count includes the years 1800-01 to 1869-70. The interpreter is unknown (Mallery, 1886, p. 94).

5. Mato Sapa count (Minneconjou band of the Teton Dakota). This count includes the years 1800-01 to 1868-69. The interpretations are by the keeper (Mallery, 1886, pp. 94-95).

6. Battiste Good count. (Brule (Sičangu) band of the Teton Dakota). This count supposedly begins in mythological times. It actually seems to be based on history from 1700-01 to 1879-80. The interpretation is by Good (Mallery, 1886, p. 129; 1893, p. 268).

7. American Horse count (Oglala band of the Teton Dakota). This count includes the years 1775-76 to 1878-79. The interpretation of the count is by American Horse (Mallery, 1886, p. 129).

8. White-Cow-Killer count (Oglala or Brule band of the Teton Dakota (?)). The exact years included in this count are not given by Mallery, who uses the count only for comparison (Mallery, 1886, pp. 129-130).

9. Cloud Shield count (Oglala band of the Teton Dakota). This count includes the years 1777-78 to 1878-79. The interpretation of the count is by the keeper (Mallery, 1886, p. 129).

10. High Hawk count (Oglala band of the Teton Dakota). Like Battiste Good's count, this count supposedly begins in mythological times. Events which seem to be historical begin in "1540" (?). The closing date of the count is "1900." The interpretation of the count is by High Hawk (Curtis, 1908, p. 159).

11. White Bull count (Minneconjou band of the Teton Dakota). This count includes the years from "1781" to "1932." The interpretation of the count is by White Bull (Vestal, 1934 a, p. 259).

12. Vestal's Hunkpapa count (Hunkpapa band of the Teton Dakota). This count includes the years "1831" to "1881" (Vestal, 1934 b, p. 348). The interpretation of the count is by Judge Frank Zahn of Fort Yates, N. Dak. (Frank Zahn, personal communication).

13. Big Missouri's count (Brule Sičangu) band of the Teton Dakota). This count includes the years "1796" to "1926." The interpretation of the count is by "Kills Two, a Sioux Indian, and several

other Indians." The count is owned by J. A. Anderson, of Rapid City, S. Dak. (Cohen, 1939, p. 16).

DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTS

The counts are described in the following manner: First the written interpretations of the pictographs are given, then the pictographs are described, and then comparative material is introduced. Elision dots (. . .) indicate the omission of comment by Beede or Welch. Notes in brackets which are labeled "JH" indicate that the present writer has inserted comment in a quoted passage. Unlabeled comments in parentheses are by Welch or Beede.

In the count interpretations various colloquial tribal designations frequently occur. "Ree" refers to the Arikara. "Gros Ventre" refers to the Hidatsa. "Paláni" or "Padáni" refers to either the Pawnee or the Arikara, usually to the Arikara on the counts from the Standing Rock Reservation. "Hóhe" refers to the Assiniboin, or, possibly, to mixed Plains Ojibwa-Plains Cree-Assiniboin groups. "Omaha" refers to either the Ponca or the Omaha or to both tribes. "French" refers to the métis of the Red River region and Canada, usually of mixed French and Plains Ojibwa or Plains Cree descent. "Chippewa," in these counts, probably refers to the Turtle Mountain band of Plains Ojibwa.

The divisions of the Dakota tribe, which are referred to frequently in the interpretations of the counts, are, to the author's best understanding, as follows:

Santee group:

1. Mdéwakanton
2. Wahpéton
3. Wahpékute
4. Sisseton

Wiciyela group:

5. Yankton
6. Yanktonai

The Yanktonai are divided into two main groups, the Hunkpati (Upper Yanktonai) and Hunkpatina (Lower Yanktonai). The term "Wicéyela," and variants thereof, occur frequently in the count interpretations. Riggs states that this is "the name applied by the Tetons to the Yankton and Yanktonnais Dakotas" (Riggs, 1890, p. 571). It apparently refers to the dialect used by these bands, described as "childish" (probably because it lacks the flowery elaborations of Teton). Though Riggs states it was used for both Yankton and Yanktonai, the term may be restricted to the Yanktonai only in the counts from the Standing Rock Reservation.

7. Teton

The Teton were the largest of the seven Dakota bands. Consequently, though all seven bands were again divided into seven, only the Teton subdivisions are large enough to be worth noting here. They are:

1. Hunkpapa
2. Minneconjou
3. Sihásapa (Blackfoot)
4. Oóheno^opa (Two Kettle)
5. Itázipčo (Sans Arcs or No Bows)
6. Sičángu (Brules)
7. Oglála

1785-86

BLUE THUNDER: (beginning date for this count and its interpretation) "A woman in White (Spirit woman) came among us." **NO TWO HORNS:** (beginning date for this count and its interpretation) "A long time ago we saw a Woman in White—a spirit woman." **BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III:** (beginning dates for these counts and the interpretation used with them) "Saw a white woman dressed in white. It was near the ocean or mouth of the Missouri River." All of the above counts show a woman in white (clothing not colored) dress. Battiste Good gives this year, or a similar event, as 1791-92 (Mallery, 1893, p. 311).

1786-87

BLUE THUNDER: "Had a battle with the Grosventres where the Sisseton Reservation is now." **NO TWO HORNS:** "They killed some Crows in the winter time. They shot at shadows." [Perhaps the Dakota found some of their enemies camped in tipis and shot at their outlines on the tipi wall as they passed between it and the fire, JH.] **BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III:** "Battle with the Gros Ventres (Sisseton Reserve)." Blue Thunder, No Two Horns, and Blue Thunder Variants I and III show a man in a tipi. Blue Thunder Variant II shows a man outside a tipi. All are pictured wearing the "enemy" hairdress, which is a bunch of hair standing up at the forehead and a long braid falling down the back. This is commonly used in Dakota pictographs to designate members of enemy tribes, such as the Crow, Arikara, and Assiniboin. Battiste Good gives this event, or a similar one, for 1792-93 (Mallery, 1893, p. 311).

1787-88

BLUE THUNDER: "Dakota who had a long nose was killed in a battle with the Chippewas." **NO TWO HORNS:** "'Straight Face' was killed by the enemy." **BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, AND III:** "Sioux with long nose killed by Chippewa." All counts show a man

with a prominent nose and face and a wound with blood flowing from it. The representation of a wound in Dakota pictographs is a red circle with a red triangle pendent from it. The red circle represents the hole made by the bullet or other projectile and the red triangle represents blood flowing from this wound. On some of the counts this is quite conventionalized.

1788-89

BLUE THUNDER: " 'Long Hair' killed in a fight with an Omaha Indian." NO TWO HORNS " 'Long Hair' killed an enemy in a great fight that winter." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, AND III: "Long Hair, Sioux killed by Omaha." All counts show a man with long hair and a wound. The No Two Horns interpretation is probably incorrect, as none of the counts depict the man with the "enemy" hairdress. Good (Mallery, 1893, p. 311) gives this year as 1793-94, stating that "Long Hair" was a Crow killed by the Dakota. White Bull (Vestal, 1934 a, p. 262) gives the year "1811" as "They went out and killed Four Enemies with Long Hair."

1789-90

BLUE THUNDER: "A Dakota woman going for water in the night time was killed by the Omaha people." NO TWO HORNS: "Man who owned a bell killed by the enemy." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, AND III: "Woman killed in night by Omaha—going for water . . ." In all versions a man is depicted. He is wearing only a breechclout. The No Two Horns version plainly shows a bell in the man's hand, but the others all show a metal bucket or an animal's paunch, probably for carrying water. Representations of wounds are shown on the body of the man in all of the counts. Good gives this event for the year 1795-96, stating that this man was an enemy, and was betrayed by a Dakota girl whom he met when the girl came to the edge of the village to get water. He was ambushed by the Dakota and his corpse stood up outside the village with the girl's water paunch in his hand (Mallery, 1893, p. 312). White Bull gives the event for the year "1812" (Vestal, 1934 a, p. 262).

1790-91

BLUE THUNDER: "Sioux Indian killed in battle; a Wopohi Sioux." (Wopohi should probably be wapáha, a warbonnet, JH). NO TWO HORNS "A Dakota put on a large bonnet. He went out, got killed by enemy." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, AND III: "Sioux, Wopoha [probably Wapáha, warbonnet, JH.] killed in battle." All counts show a man wearing a warbonnet with wounds in his body. Good gives the event for the year 1796-97 (Mallery, 1893, p. 312). White Bull gives it for "1813" (Vestal, 1934 a, p. 262).

1791-92

BLUE THUNDER: "A one-eyed man, a Sihakapa, killed by the French." NO TWO HORNS: "A noted Sioux named Big Head was killed that winter." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, AND III: "One-eyed man (Blackfoot) killed by French." All counts show a man with one eye blacked out and wounds on his body. The No Two Horns interpretation is probably in error, as its pictograph is similar to the others.

1792-93

BLUE THUNDER: "A Chippewa woman killed by the Dakota." NO TWO HORNS: "The woman in a red dress was killed by some enemy." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, AND III: "Chippewa woman in red dress killed by Sioux." All counts show a woman with a red dress with wounds in her body.

1793-94

BLUE THUNDER: "Dakota camping. The Gros Ventre and Ree battle in night time and shot on leg. On Cheyenne river. Indians jumping." NO TWO HORNS "Had a big fight and nearly everyone was chopped in the leg." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, AND III: "Gros Ventres, Rees, and Mandans fought in a big battle on the Cheyenne River in night. Sioux kept jumping." All counts show a man shot in the leg below the knee or with the leg missing below the knee.

1794-95

BLUE THUNDER: "Gros Ventre a mile from Dakota camp, saw a man with a flute and killed him. On Crow Creek." NO TWO HORNS: "'The Man with a Flute' made a splendid kill of an enemy." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "Gros Ventres went to a Sioux camp and a man with a flute 1 mile out was killed (on Crow Creek)." All counts show a man playing an Indian flute with wounds on his body. This year's event corresponds with that given by American Horse for 1795-96, "The-Man-Who-Owns-the-Flute" was killed by the Cheyennes (Mallery, 1886, p. 133).

1795-96

BLUE THUNDER: "Gros Ventre and Ree in battle. Nearly all got shot on arm. Used shells for knife. West of Crow Creek." NO TWO HORNS: "Another fight and everyone was clubbed in the arm." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "Gros Ventres and Arikaras fought with Sioux wounded in arms. Then then [sic, JH] they used shells for knives." All counts depict a man wounded in the arm.

1796-97

BLUE THUNDER: "Saw a ship coming across the ocean in winter time. First ship they saw." NO TWO HORNS: "Somebody passed around a flag to the people." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "Saw a ship come across the ocean, it was winter and were camped by the ocean." All counts show a crude representation of the American flag for this year. Just how this is connected with the ship coming across the ocean mentioned in the interpretations of the Blue Thunder and Blue Thunder Variants I, II, and III counts is not certain.

1797-98

BLUE THUNDER: "We killed three Omaha in canoes on river." NO TWO HORNS: "Three enemies in a boat were killed by Sioux winter." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "Three Omahas in a skiff on River killed by Tetons." The Blue Thunder count and Blue Thunder Variants I, II, and III show three men in a boat. These men wear the roach headdress used to indicate Omaha or Ponca. These men may well have been Ponca, as the same word is used for the two tribes by the Dakota. No Two Horns shows only one person, but representations of three wounds, one in the body of the man, two suspended in midair. This obviously suggests the three men pictured in the other counts. This type of "shorthand" device is frequently employed by No Two Horns throughout the count.

1798-99

BLUE THUNDER: "Dakota going to battle camped at night time Saw a big white horse with an arrow on it. Killed it." NO TWO HORNS: "We shot a horse with a big mane winter." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "Sioux on battle camping saw and killed a horse with a big mane." All counts, including that of Blue Thunder, show a horse with an unusually long mane and a wound in its body.

HIGH DOG: (beginning date for this count and its interpretation in Dakota and English) "Singing over blue feathers." The Dakota text reads "Wiyaka toto an akici lowanpi (Wiyaka tóto un akíčilòwanpi, lit. Feathers blue using (or wearing) they-sing-for-one-another)." SWIFT DOG: (beginning date for this count and the Burdick "Blue Thunder" interpretation, which is used with it) "Singing over Blue society feathers." On these two counts we see a man receiving a highly decorated wand from another man. This suggests the Hunká or Alówanpi ceremony of the Dakota. A rather wordy discussion by Beede tends to confirm this. Densmore (1918, p. 69) mentions the year of the first Alówanpi as "1801" stating that this event appears on

"Black Thunder's count." Since the year 1801-02 is also designated by a drawing of this ceremony on the High Dog and Swift Dog counts the author believes that Densmore is incorrect in this assumption. Since, however, she gives only this one year, comparison is not possible.

1799-1800

BLUE THUNDER: "Winter time, no water. Found beaver holes to get water." NO TWO HORNS: "So cold we got water from beaver holes only." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "Water from beaver holes all frozen in winter." The Blue Thunder and Blue Thunder Variant III counts show a beaver with a tipi on his back. No Two Horns shows a beaver den, a beaver, and a metal water pail. Blue Thunder Variants I and II show a beaver, a water pail, and a tipi. See the High Dog and Swift Dog counts for the following year for comparison.

HIGH DOG: "A White-man called Chaske [Čáske, first-born son of a previously unmarried woman, JH] came to this tribe and staid permanently for the purpose of trade. Previous to this time traders had come and gone after a short stay." The Dakota text reads "Claske wasicu taka mako el hi (Časke (Ieska?) wašicu toká máka el hi lit. First-born-son (one who spoke many languages?) white-man enemy country there came)." SWIFT DOG: "Clark, a white man, the first to come among the Sioux." American Horse (Mallery, 1886, p. 134) gives this year a similar interpretation, as does White-Cow-Killer (Mallery, 1886, p. 134). Cloud Shield (Mallery, 1886, p. 134) gives this event for the year 1800-01.

1800-01

BLUE THUNDER: "Small pox sickness. I think. Many die. Ota-ota [many, many, JH]." NO TWO HORNS: "Everybody sick winter. Small pox time." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "Small pox, many many died." All of the above counts show a male figure with spots covering his body. The Flame, Lone Dog, Swan, Good, White-Cow-Killer, Mato Sapa, and Bush counts all mention an epidemic for the year 1801-02 (Mallery, 1886, p. 103). White Bull gives the occurrence for the year "1818" (Vestal, 1934 a, p. 263). High Hawk gives the year as "1802" (Curtis, 1908, p. 170).

HIGH DOG: "This was an exceptionally dry year. . . . Water was sometimes found by digging in beaver holes." The Dakota text reads "Capa oti miniyawcyapi (lit. Beaver house-at they-came-and-got-water)". SWIFT DOG: "Beaver's Dam where Indians and beasts go to water." The High Dog and Swift Dog counts show a beaver above a small green rectangle. See the Blue Thunder, No Two

Horns, and Blue Thunder Variants I, II, and III for the preceding year for comparison.

1801-02

BLUE THUNDER: "Wild horses caught on prairie. First horses they owned." NO TWO HORNS "Caught many wild horses winter." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "Caught lot of wild horses on prairie." The Blue Thunder and Blue Thunder Variant counts I, II, and III show several horses' heads. No Two Horns shows one horse head and several hoofprints, which seem to indicate plurality. The Flame, Lone Dog, Swan, Mato Sapa, Bush, White-Cow-Killer, and Good counts all give the year 1802-03 for this event (Mallery, 1886, p. 104). White Bull gives the year as "1819" (Vestal, 1934 a, p. 263). High Hawk gives it as "1803" (Curtis, 1908, p. 170). Good states that the horses were taken from the Pawnee (Mallery, 1886, p. 104).

HIGH DOG: Beede's interpretation, which is rather long and is apparently not based upon the Dakota text, suggests an *Alówaⁿpi* or *Hunká* ceremony for this year. The Dakota text reads "Tahin an akicilo wapi (*Táhiⁿ uⁿ akíčilòwanpi* lit. Moose- (probably bison is actually meant) hair using (or wearing) they-sing-for-one-another)." SWIFT DOG: "Singing over people with buffalo hair ornaments, a society." The pictographs on both counts show a man receiving a decorated wand from another, as for the year 1798-99. Densmore gives the year 1801 as the "first year *Alówaⁿpi* in which the ceremony was held by the Standing Rock Sioux" (Densmore, 1918, p. 69).

1802-03

BLUE THUNDER: "Found a curly horse." NO TWO HORNS: "We got many curly horses winter." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "They found a curly horse." HIGH DOG: "The Sioux captured some crinkle haired horses from the Crows." The Dakota text reads "Sugugu lo awicakilipi (*Šunǵuǵulà áwičàglipi* lit. Horses curly-haired [thought to have had their hair singed ?, JH] little they-brought-back.)" SWIFT DOG: "A young man by the name of 'Wears one Feather' brought back a curly horse he captured from his enemy."

All of the above counts show a representation of a horse with curly hair. The No Two Horns count shows a number of hoofprints in addition, indicating plurality. The Flame, Lone Dog, Swan, White-Cow-Killer, Mato Sapa, Bush and Good counts all mention this event as well, but for the following year, 1803-04 (Mallery, 1886, p. 104). High Hawk gives the year "1804" for this event

(Curtis, 1908, p. 170.). White Bull has it occurring in "1820" (Vestal, 1934 a, p. 263).

The Flame states that the horses were taken from the Assiniboin (Mallery, 1886, p. 104). Lone Dog and White-Cow-Killer state that they were taken from the Crow (Mallery, 1886, p. 104). The Swan and Mato Sapa say they were taken from the Arikara (Mallery, 1886, p. 104), and Good states that they were taken from the Pawnee (Mallery, 1886, p. 104).

1803-04

BLUE THUNDER: "Saw a lot of horses with iron shoes on, way down southway." NO TWO HORNS: "Many council winter." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "They saw a lot of horses w. [with, JH] shoes on. It was at Goose Creek way south." HIGH DOG: "The Sioux captured some shod horses from the Crows." The Dakota text reads "Sake maza awicakilipi (*Šaké-mazà awičáglipì* lit. Hooves-metal they-brought-back)." SWIFT DOG: "A young man dressed in a blue coat brought an American horse with horse shoes on, the first ones seen by the redmen of the Sioux." Blue Thunder, No Two Horns, and Blue Thunder Variants II and III show the hoofprints of shod horses. Blue Thunder Variant I, High Dog, and Swift Dog show a horse, carefully depicting his hooves as being shod.

It may be that the year given by Mallery, Curtis, and Vestal which I have compared with the Blue Thunder, No Two Horns and Blue Thunder Variants I, II, and III for the year 1801-02 might better be placed here for comparison, though they precede the "curly horse" winter in all cases.

1804-05

BLUE THUNDER: "Winter camp at a place called 'Many Horses Tails'." NO TWO HORNS: "Many Horses Tails camping Winter. They sing with them too." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "Wintered at 'Many Horses Tails'." The above counts show a decorated feather wand, suggesting the Hunká or Alówanpi ceremony. The Flame, Long Dog, Swan, Mato Sapa, Bush, and Good counts all have the same event for this year as well (Mallery, 1886, p. 104). High Hawk's count gives it for "1805" (Curtis, 1908, p. 171). White Bull gives it for the year "1821" (Vestal, 1934 a, p. 263). High Dog and Swift Dog apparently lose a year here, as they give the event used for the following year on the counts of the Blue Thunder group.

HIGH DOG: "Eight Sioux were killed by the Crows in a running battle." The Dakota text reads "kangi wicasa 8 wicaktepi (lit. Crow men eight they-killed)." SWIFT DOG: "Seven Crow Indians were hid in a dugout. The Dakotas killed them by being brave warriors." On both counts a circle is shown, which may represent

an earthlodge or "dugout." Around the inside of this circle are several representations of heads. On the High Dog count, nine of these are shown, and on the Swift Dog count, eight. The heads have the "enemy" hairdress used by the Dakota to represent Crow, Assiniboin, Arikara, etc. The Swift Dog count has the arabic numeral "8" written inside the circle in addition.

1805-06

BLUE THUNDER: "Eight Tetons killed by Kangi wicasa [Crow men, JH]." NO TWO HORNS: "The Sioux killed many enemies too." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "8 Tetons killed by Crows." On the above counts the heads and shoulders of several men are shown, all depicted with wounds on their bodies. The Blue Thunder count shows eight men. No Two Horns shows one man, but eight wounds. Blue Thunder Variant I shows seven men, Blue Thunder Variant II shows six, and Blue Thunder Variant III shows eight. The Flame, Lone Dog, Swan, Good, White-Cow-Killer, Mato Sapa, and Bush counts all give the same event for this year (Mallery, 1886, p. 105). High Hawk gives the event for "1806" (Curtis, 1908, p. 171). White Bull gives it for "1822" (Vestal, 1934 a, p. 263).

HIGH DOG: "The Crows attacked the Sioux in camp. The battle was long and well fought, but as the Crows were mounted two on a horse while the Sioux had not this disadvantage, they won out. Many killed." The Dakota text reads simply "Nam wicako gipapi (*Num wičđkağugapi* lit. Two they-cracked-their-skulls)." SWIFT DOG: "A Sioux killed two Crow Indians who were riding double. He got the name of 'Kill Two Mounted.'" Both of the last two counts show two men with the "enemy" hairdress hanging from a horse. Their position probably indicates death.

1806-07

BLUE THUNDER: "Sahasapa Tetons went out into hills. Crow Indian attacked and killed him." NO TWO HORNS: "A scout on a hill in winter time. When we got there he was dead." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "Blackfoot [a member of the Sahasapa or Blackfoot band of the Teton Dakota, JH.] killed by Crows on a hill." The above counts all show a man, wearing the white capote commonly used by Dakota scouts, lying on top of a hill or bluff. On the body is the representation of a wound.

The pictograph used for this year and the man's position on a hill make one suspicious that the interpretation given is a late, and incorrect one, supplied in place of the forgotten original. The Swan, Lone Dog, Flame, White-Cow-Killer, Mato Sapa, Bush, and Good counts all state that the man was an eagle trapper (either Dakota or Arikara) who was killed in his pit (Mallery, 1886, p. 105). He may

well have been a Dakota, as it is now known that the Dakota formerly practiced ritualized eagle trapping of the sort customary with the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara (Howard, 1954).

It seems likely that the interpretation for this year's pictograph may have been changed on the Blue Thunder, No Two Horns, and Blue Thunder Variant counts at a time when the Dakota no longer practiced eagle trapping to any extent, and could therefore account for the man's presence on the hill only by making him a scout. The man is identified as an eagle trapper on the High Hawk count (Curtis, 1908, p. 171) as well as for the year "1807," and by White Bull (Vestal, 1934 a, p. 263) for the year "1823." Big Missouri gives "This year a Crow Indian sneaked into a Sioux camp and was killed," for the year "1807" (Cohen, 1939, p. 17). This may be related to the Blue Thunder event as well.

HIGH DOG: "In a war with the Crows a leader named Akile Luta [*Ógle-lùta*, Red-shirt, JH.] was slayn." The Dakota text reads "Akile luta un wan ktepi (*Ógle-lùta un wan ktépi* lit. Shirt-red wearing a they-killed)." SWIFT DOG: "A Sioux killed a chief by the name of 'Wears Red Coat.' He was the only one who killed an enemy." The last two counts show a man wearing a red coat. See the next year for comparison with other counts having this incident.

1807-08

BLUE THUNDER: "Crow Indian with red coat killed by the Dakota." NO TWO HORNS: "'A spectacles' or 'One Eye' was killed that time." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "Crow, red coat, killed by Sioux." The Blue Thunder count shows a man who is wearing a red coat and is wounded. Blue Thunder Variants I and II show substantially the same. No Two Horns shows a man in a very similar attitude but with an uncolored coat and one eye represented as missing. Blue Thunder Variant III shows a wounded man with an uncolored coat. This seems to indicate that the No Two Horns count was copied from the Blue Thunder Variant III count.

The Flame, Lone Dog, Swan, Mato Sapa, Bush, White-Cow-Killer, and Good counts all give similar events for this year (Mallery, 1886, pp. 105-106). The High Hawk count gives the event for the year "1808" (Curtis, 1908, p. 171). The Flame, Swan, Lone Dog, and Mato Sapa counts state that the man was a Dakota killed by the Arikara. High Hawk, Good, and White-Cow-Killer imply that he was a Dakota, but do not mention his assailant's identity.

HIGH DOG: "A Sioux leader was slayn by the Crows." The Dakota text reads "Tu we yo wan ktepi (*Tonwéya wan ktépi* lit. Scout a they-killed)." SWIFT DOG: "A Crow Indian killed a Sioux Scout. Afterwards speaking of anything that happened at that time,

they say 'When the young scout was killed by a Crow Indian.' Both counts show a man wearing a green shirt or coat with a yellow stripe over one shoulder and under the opposite arm. The High Dog count represents the man as having been scalped.

1808-09

BLUE THUNDER: " 'First who got brass rings' went out in hills and got killed at Fort Pierre place." NO TWO HORNS: "First to get brass rings for his hair ornaments." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "S. [Sioux, JH] W. [with, JH] brass rings on hair got killed (Pierre)." All of the above counts show a man wearing a small feather headdress to which a long strip of leather with brass disks (slides) is attached. This item of adornment was popular among the Dakota during the 19th century, but is rarely seen at present (1957).

HIGH DOG: "The Sioux sent an expert out to find where the buffalo were as they were nearly out of meat. The Crows killed him." The Dakota text reads "Pahata i wan ktepi (lit. On-a-hill went a they-killed)." SWIFT DOG: "A young man went to look for buffalo and was killed by Crow Indians. His name was 'Saw the Buffalo.'" The last two counts show a man with bison head name symbol above him, indicating that his name was connected with buffalo or that he was looking for buffalo.

1809-10

BLUE THUNDER: "Blue feathers found in winter time near ocean. Got from birds." NO TWO HORNS: "We found many blue feathers in winter." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "Found blue feathers by ocean in winter time." All the above counts show a staff ornamented with blue feathers. This staff is distinctly not an Alówanpi wand, but rather resembles the staff used by the Čanté T'inza (Strong-heart) warrior society.

HIGH DOG: "The Sioux crossed the Missouri River, and on the east side captured a large number of stray horses, and this gave them a better supply of horses than they had ever had before. . . ." The Dakota text reads "taka suki ku wochiyu wega (*Tóka šúnkakan woáhiyùwega* (?) lit. Enemy horses other-side-of-the-river (?)." SWIFT DOG: "The first horse seen and caught was a yellow horse. From that time on the Western Sioux had horses. 'The Man That Saw the First Horse was his name.'" The last two counts show a horse with a lariat falling over its head. The Swift Dog reference to these being the "first horses" seems rather odd considering that three previous years on this count have depicted horses.

1810-11

BLUE THUNDER: "Two Dakota Fighting each other in camp. Row in camp winter." NO TWO HORNS: "A Dakota and an enemy

shot through with arrows fighting." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "2 S. [Sioux, JH] killed each other." The pictographs show two men fighting, both with arrows in their bodies and representations of wounds. The interpretation of the Blue Thunder count, that they are both Dakota, seems false, as in all but the Blue Thunder Variant I count, one of the men is shown wearing the "enemy" hairdress.

HIGH DOG: "They had smallpox or some such disease which caused great loss of life. This was in the winter." The Dakota text reads "Wicagogo taka (*Wičáhanhan táńka* lit. Smallpox big)." SWIFT DOG: "A young maiden was pouting and wandered away from camp. She was killed by Crow Indians." The last two counts show a human figure, the body and arms of which are spotted, the face not. Since the face is not spotted on either count, one might believe that the person is merely wearing a polka-dot dress or shirt. However the Swift Dog count later uses an almost identical figure to represent smallpox, which seems to indicate that the High Dog interpretation is the correct one.

1811-12

BLUE THUNDER: "Found white horse with horse shoes on. Montana found it. Northwest of Black Hills that place." NO TWO HORNS: "A man got a white horse with iron shoes on." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "Found white horse w. [with, JH] shoes (N. W. of B. [Black, JH] Hills)." All of the above counts show a white horse, depicted as being shod. Blue Thunder Variant I shows a horse wearing a bridle as well.

HIGH DOG: "A Whiteman came to live with them. He built a small house. He was a small man and he inclined to stay in his house a good deal so they named him Little Beaver." The Dakota text reads "Capa cigala ti ile (lit. Beaver little house burns)." SWIFT DOG: "A white man by the name of Little Beaver. Came among the Sioux. He built a house and traded with the Indians." The High Dog and Swift Dog counts show a man, dressed in White man's clothing, who has the name symbol of a beaver above him. He is standing before a log house, the roof of which is in flames. The Dakota text, in connection with the pictographs, is in this instance quite revealing.

The Flame, Lone Dog, Swan, Mato Sapa, Bush, White-Cow-Killer, and Good counts for the year 1809-10 (Mallery, 1886, p. 106), the American Horse count for the year 1808-09 (*ibid.*, p. 135), the Cloud Shield count for the year 1809-10 (*ibid.*, p. 135), and the Big Missouri count for "1810" (Cohen, 1939, p. 17) all refer to a man named Little Beaver being *burned* in his house. Good states that this man was an English trader (Mallery, 1886, p. 106), but the Swan (*ibid.*,

p. 106) and Big Missouri (Cohen, 1939, p. 17) identify him as a Frenchman. The author feels that he may have been a French Canadian trader in English employ, a common situation for the period. White Bull gives the year "1826" as "They Burn a Small Beaver Lodge" (Vestal, 1934 a, p. 264). This probably refers to the event as well.

1812-13

BLUE THUNDER: " 'Little Bear,' a Tetonwanna [Teton, JH], killed by Gros Ventres." NO TWO HORNS: "Sioux named Little Bear got killed by enemy people." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "Little Bear, Teton, killed by Gros Ventres." Blue Thunder, No Two Horns, and the Blue Thunder Variants II and III show a wounded man with the name symbol of a bear above him. Blue Thunder Variant I shows the upright figure of a bear with a wound in its side, obviously to carry the same idea. White Bull gives the year "1829" as the year "Little Bear" was killed (Vestal, 1934 a, p. 264).

HIGH DOG: "The Sioux were camping easterly from and at the Black Hills. The Crows attacked them and were beaten off with 1 man left dead." The Dakota text reads "8 ahi wicaktepi (lit. Eight came they-killed)." SWIFT DOG: "Ten Crow Indians on a warpath and the Sioux killed 8 of them. That was used as 'The time 8 Crows were killed.'" Both the High Dog and Swift Dog counts show a circle with heads around the inside, as for the year 1804-05. The heads are depicted with the "enemy" hairdress. High Dog shows eight heads, Swift Dog only seven. The Swift Dog count, however, indicates the correct number by having the arabic numeral "8" drawn in the center of the circle. This may possibly correlate with the Blue Thunder group for the following year, although the number killed is different. The Flame, Lone Dog, Swan, Mato Sapa, and Bush counts give similar pictures, but the number killed in these counts is much higher, varying from 20 to 27 (Mallery, 1886, pp. 107-108). Identification of those killed also varies. The Flame calls them Mandan; Lone Dog, The Swan, Mato Sapa, and Bush call them "Gros Ventres" (ibid., pp. 107-108).

1813-14

BLUE THUNDER: "The Tetons going to war found the Crows and killed three on each side. Call it 'Killed six Winter.'" NO TWO HORNS: "Killed six winter." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "Six Crows and Tetons killed in a fight." Blue Thunder and Blue Thunder Variants I, II, and III show six wounded men. The "enemy" hairdress is not in evidence. No Two Horns, following his customary manner of abbreviation, shows only one man, but five additional wounds.

Battiste Good gives this year as "Killed Six Pawnees" (Mallery, 1893, p. 316). White Bull gives the year "1830" as "Six Rees were killed" (Vestal, 1934 a, p. 264). High Hawk gives "Six Palani Killed" for the year "1814" (Curtis, 1908, p. 172). Since the words for Pawnee and Arikara are the same in Dakota it may be that the "Pawnees" mentioned by Good were actually Arikara.

HIGH DOG: "The Sioux fought with the Crows and Little Bear, the leader was killed. . . ." The Dakota text reads "Mato cigala ahi ktepi kin (lit. Bear little they-came-and killed)." SWIFT DOG: "Little Bear was killed by Crow Indian." The last two counts show a man with the name symbol of a bear. He is represented as having been scalped in the High Dog count. This event probably corresponds with the Blue Thunder group event for the year 1812-13.

1814-15

BLUE THUNDER: "Teton and Gros Ventre go to war, Gros Ventre attached [sic, JH] and Teton got shot in the jaw." NO TWO HORNS: "A man of ours got shot in the jaw." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "Battle with Gros Ventres & many wounded in jaw, below Yates." All of the above counts show a man with a face wound.

HIGH DOG: "A Crow Indian by the name of Little Bear (called also Uta or Wayuta) came to camp on a pretense of friendship with a member of the tribe, and was slayn with a buffalo bone." The Dakota text reads, however, "Wita pahato an wan kogugapi (*Wítapahà to un wan kajúgapi* lit. Kiowa blue wearing a they-clubbed-him-on-the-skull)." SWIFT DOG: "A Sioux killed a Crow Indian on a high butte on Many Island." Both counts show a man with the "enemy" hairdress being slain from behind by a man with a club. The two English interpretations are quite obviously incorrect. The author has noticed that the names for other Indian tribes are used very loosely by present-day Dakota, if not, indeed, completely forgotten. In the case of the Swift Dog count the Dakota informants were unable to translate the name of the Kiowa tribe, so merely substituted words having a similar sound. It is very possible that the "to" which I have translated as "blue" is actually only the last syllable of the word for the tribe, as neither High Dog nor Swift Dog shows the man wearing a blue (or a green) shirt. Riggs (1890, p. 579) gives *Wítapaha* as the full name of the tribe, however, and Williamson (1908, p. 95) does the same.

The Flame, Lone Dog, Swan, Mato Sapa, and Bush counts mention this event for the year 1814-15 (Mallery, 1886, pp. 108-109). Good (Mallery, 1893, p. 316), American Horse (Mallery, 1886, p. 135), and White-Cow-Killer (*ibid.*, p. 135) mention it for this year as well. High Hawk (Curtis, 1908, p. 172) and Big Missouri (Cohen, 1939, p. 17) both

give the event for the year "1815." White Bull gives it for "1831" (Vestal, 1934 a, p. 264). The Flame identifies the man as a Brule [Sičángu band of the Teton Dakota, JH] and says that he was killed by the Ute (Mallery, 1886, p. 108). Lone Dog says that the man was an Arapaho (ibid., p. 109). The other counts cited by Mallery do not specify the man's tribe but merely spell out the native term (ibid., p. 109). Vestal connects the man with the "We-ta-piu" band of the Cheyenne (Vestal, 1934 a, p. 264). Good (Mallery, 1893, p. 316), American Horse (Mallery, 1886, p. 135), White-Cow-Killer (ibid., p. 135), and High Hawk (Curtis, 1908, p. 172) identify him as a Kiowa. Big Missouri does not identify the man's tribe.

1815-16

BLUE THUNDER: "Crow war party came to fight with the Tetons. A Dakota warrior knocked down two Crows with a club. No Two HORNS: "We got attacked and one man struck two enemies with a club." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "Crows on horses, battle Tetons. Knock two with clubs." All of the above counts show a man with a name symbol consisting of the heads of two men, both of which are wearing the "enemy" hairdress.

HIGH DOG: "A Sioux stole a horse from another Sioux, and was punished by being . . . bored with an awl in the left jaw. . . ." The Dakota text reads "Wamanu wan cehupa wawegopi (lit. Thief a jaw they-broke)." SWIFT DOG: "Brave Soldier killed a Crow Indian who came to steal horses. Brave Soldier broke his jaw and killed him." The last two counts show a man with a wound in his face. Possibly these two counts are related to the counts of the Blue Thunder group for the year 1814-15.

1816-17

BLUE THUNDER: "We killed a white buffalo winter. Out in Montana. Stampede." No Two HORNS: "We killed a white buffalo winter." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "Killed White Buffalo (Montana) winter." The above counts show a white buffalo with an arrow sticking from a wound in his back.

HIGH DOG: Beede gives a long and improbable interpretation for this year, stating that Dakota told him that in a battle with the Crow the Dakota used hoops ornamented with horsehair as signal flags. The true meaning of this year's pictograph is revealed by the Dakota text. This reads "Nampa wakte akili (*Nonpa wakte agli* lit. Two kills (scalps or honors) they-brought-home)." SWIFT DOG: "The Sioux and Crows made peace. The pipe of peace was never broken." The English interpretations for both counts are apparently quite false.

The pictographs show a man or woman carrying sticks upon which two scalps are fastened.

1817-18

BLUE THUNDER: "Near mouth of Missouri river we found strange birds. Lots. They were blue feathers and red heads." No Two HORNS: "Away off somewhere, we saw some strange redheaded birds." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "Near ocean in winter saw birds with blue feathers and red heads fly in wind (sand (?))." The counts given above show representations of large birds with blue bodies and red heads. Could these have been whooping cranes?

HIGH DOG: "A chief's son by the name of Buffalo Bull died. . . ." Beede's additional description suggests that the "spirit keeping" or Wanági típi ceremony is referred to. The Dakota text reads "heco Ti taka awakicaga." The author has been unable to secure a good translation of this phrase. "Ti taka" is apparently *ti-tánka*, a large dwelling. Mrs. Eva Little-chief suggested that the phrase might mean "No-horns, they danced for his house." Frank Zahn translated the phrase as "*Heča šun ti-tánka awákičàga* lit. Junk (grass, leaves, and branches) lodge big they-put-around." SWIFT DOG: "A council lodge where a buffalo head is painted on the wall." Both counts show a man with a calumet in his hand. The Dakota text indicates that the event may be the same as that of the Flame, Lone Dog, Swan, Mato Sapa, Bush, and Good counts for the year 1815-16, which mention that the Sans Arcs built a large earth lodge, or lodges, on Peoria bottom (Mallery, 1886, p. 109). American Horse and Cloud Shield mention what is probably the same event for this year (*ibid.*, p. 136). Curtis gives this event for the year "1816" (Curtis, 1908, p. 172). White Bull gives it for "1832" (Vestal, 1934 a, p. 264).

Robinson, in the *Wi iyohi* magazine, cites a local tradition for the Peoria bottom area to the effect that this locality was called "Tee tanka ohe (Ti tanka oe)" (Robinson, 1951, p. 3). This may be the location of the earth lodge, or lodges, mentioned in these counts.

1818-19

BLUE THUNDER: "Big small pox just for children, out where Bear Butte is." No Two HORNS: "Small pox sickness again." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "Smallpox (children) Bear Butte many die." On all of the above counts a man whose face and body are covered with spots is shown. The Flame, Lone Dog, Swan, Mato Sapa, Bush, Good, Cloud Shield, and White-Cow-Killer counts all give similar events for this year (Mallery, 1886, pp. 109-110). High Hawk mentions this for the year "1819" (Curtis, 1908, p. 172). Big Missouri mentions it for "1819" as well (Cohen, 1939, p. 17).

It seems probable that the disease was not smallpox but rather measles or some other less virulent disease. The Flame calls it "cholera" (Mallery, 1886, p. 109). Lone Dog, Mato Sapa, Bush, and The Swan call it measles (*ibid.*, p. 110). White-Cow-Killer indicates a less virulent disease by calling it "Little Smallpox Winter" (*ibid.*, p. 110). The Good and Cloud Shield counts merely mention a smallpox epidemic (*ibid.*, p. 110). Big Missouri calls it smallpox as well (Cohen, 1939, p. 17). High Hawk calls it measles (Curtis, 1908, p. 172).

HIGH DOG: "There was a great windstorm in the Wintertime which blew the winter camp to pieces." The Dakota text reads "Maka wablu wanitipi (lit. Earth blows wintercamp)." SWIFT DOG: "The lodge was out of sight owing to very much snow that winter, and many starved to death. . . ." The last two counts show a tipi with many stakes around the edge, indicating a severe windstorm.

1819-20

BLUE THUNDER: "Saw first soldiers this winter. A white man called 'Choze' (Joseph) built a house of dry logs . . . Lower Grand River." NO TWO HORNS: "'Choze' built the first house of dry logs along the Missouri." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "Saw first soldiers, They left and one stayed and built a house. Chose (Lower Grand River) Later built a store." HIGH DOG: "A Whiteman by the name of Joseph came among them and built himself a log house." The Dakota text reads "Josepih chan bulu tikaga (*Jóseph čan pun-púnla un tikága* lit. Joseph wood rotten using built-a-house)." SWIFT DOG: "A trader by the name of Joseph who built a house out of old logs so he was named 'The Trader that built a bad house.' "

All the above counts show a white man standing near a log house. The Blue Thunder Variant I count represents him as wearing a beard. The Flame, Lone Dog, Swan, Mato Sapa, Bush, Good, and White-Cow-Killer counts mention this or a very similar incident for this year (Mallery, 1886, p. 110). High Hawk gives the event for the year "1820" (Curtis, 1908, p. 172). Big Missouri mentions it for "1820" as well (Cohen, 1939, p. 17). Lone Dog, Mato Sapa, and Bush identify the man as Louis La Conte (Mallery, 1886, p. 110). Good identifies him only as "Choze" (*ibid.*, p. 110).

1820-21

BLUE THUNDER: "Going to camp that time on Cherry Creek place many Crow Birds flew around tipis and died, lean and starved. So cold they fell dead out of the skies." NO TWO HORNS: "Cold. The Crows tried to look into the lodges for a place to stay." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "Camped on Cherry Creek. Lots of

Crows died there." The above counts show a tipi with a black bird above it.

HIGH DOG: "The Sioux in this summer celebrated for the first time in their history the sun dance." The Dakota text reads "*Wi iháblo iyéwači kin* (lit. Sun dreamed-of while-dancing the)." SWIFT DOG: "An old man offering to the Great Spirit for lots of game and health. He offered to a pole planted with a red cloth tied to the top."

The pictographs on both counts are the same. They show a man beside a pole which is apparently a sun dance pole. The Flame, Lone Dog, Swan, Mato Sapa, Bush, White-Cow-Killer, and Good counts all seem to suggest some sort of ceremony or ceremonial activity for this year, but are vague as to details, and do not agree with one another (Mallery, 1886, p. 110-111).

1821-22

BLUE THUNDER: "In Montana. Three Buttes going for Winter. Big Star went along making a great noise." NO TWO HORNS "A big star gave a loud voice signal from the air." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "In Marten (The Butte) Big Star fell while it was thundering. Location uncertain." The Dakota text reads "*Wicagipi wan hatu hiyaya (Wičánehpi wan hóton hiyáye* lit. Star a sounding came-by)". All of the above counts show a representation of a star with a trail of smoke or fire. The Swan, Lone Dog, Flame, Mato Sapa, Bush, White-Cow-Killer, Good, and Cloud Shield counts mention this event as well (Mallery, 1886, pp. 111, 136). White Bull gives this event for "1833."³ High Dog gives it for the year "1822" (Curtis, 1908, p. 172).

1822-23

BLUE THUNDER: "Three Gros Ventre going in canoe on river. Tetons attack and kill all. Where Fort Yates is now." NO TWO HORNS: "Killed three enemies in a boat on the Missouri." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "Three Gros Ventres killed by Tetons (Yates)." For this year the above counts show three men, depicted as wounded, who are paddling a boat, or, in the case of No Two Horns, only one man but three wound symbols, two of them apparently suspended in midair. In the Blue Thunder, No Two Horns, and Blue Thunder Variant III counts the men are wearing the "enemy" hairdress. In Blue Thunder Variants I and II they are wearing the roach headdresses usually used to indicate Omaha or Ponca.

³ Vestal, 1934 a, p. 264. With this event the other counts "catch up" with White Bull, a fact which seems to indicate that a hiatus is present here, and that White Bull's events up to this date, while in correct order, are incorrect chronologically.

HIGH DOG: "A leader named Dog Ghost went out hunting and froze to death." The Dakota text reads "Sunkawan a gi cuwitata (*Šúnkawanàgi čuwíta t'a* lit. Dog-ghost cold he-died)." SWIFT DOG: "A chief named 'Dog Ghost' froze to death." The last two counts show a man with a dog as his name symbol. According to Frank Zahn, this man was "Grey Earth's" son.

1823-24

BLUE THUNDER: "Found a lot of dry corn toward Omaha country. Found it in a field. White people stole it from Sihasapa." NO TWO HORNS "Lived on dried corn winter. . . ." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "Whites state, Found a lot of dry corn down towards Omaha country, Tetons (Blackfoot) raised it. . . ." HIGH DOG: "The Sioux went away to war with the Crows, and some White men stole their corn while they were away. . . ." The Dakota text reads "Wahu wapa seco ir api (*Wahúwapa šéča ihápi* lit. Corn dried they-buried)." SWIFT DOG: "The year the corn crop was plenty, the Great Spirit blessed the tribe." JAW VARIANT: (Beginning picture on this count corresponds with this date. There is no interpretation accompanying this count. The count has been included with the interpretation of the Jaw count at the place where the interpretation of the Jaw count begins.)

The Blue Thunder, No Two Horns, and Blue Thunder Variant counts I, II, and III show two stalks of corn for this year. The High Dog and Swift Dog counts show one stalk of corn. The Jaw Variant count shows an Indian man taking an ear of corn from one of two cornstalks. He carries a third cornstalk on his shoulder.

Good (Mallery, 1886, p. 112), American Horse (*ibid.*, p. 137), and White-Cow-Killer (*ibid.*, p. 112) also mention corn in connection with this year. From the description accompanying the Lone Dog count for this year, it appears likely that the corn was taken from the Arikara when a joint force of United States troops and Dakota attacked the Arikara village on November 29, 1823 (Mallery, 1886, pp. 111-112). Big Missouri, however, gives "This year a certain white man raised a fine field of corn. The winter was so severe and the Indians camped near the field and the white man gave his corn to them for food," for the year "1824" (Cohen, 1939, p. 17).

1824-25

BLUE THUNDER: "Corral fence. Went out north of where Bismarck is now. Found a Chippewa fence. Attacked them. Gave them hell. Tore fence down. Corn hills there. This fence was on creek there, this side of Turtle Mountains." NO TWO HORNS: "Threw stones and arrows through a fence at the enemy." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "Wiciyela (Dakota) attacked Chippewa at South of

Turtle M. [Mountains, JH] at Can Hill, Chippewas were fortified. We beat them awfully. Two tore fence down."

The above counts all show some sort of a diagram or drawing of the "Chippewa" (probably these people were Plains-Ojibwa rather than Ojibwa) stockade. The Blue Thunder and Blue Thunder Variant III counts show the stockade as a rectangle, in a bird's-eye view. The Blue Thunder Variant counts I and II show it as a rectangle inside a circle, also as it would appear from above. No Two Horns shows the stockade as rectangular in a view from the side and slightly above, using perspective. This is the only use of perspective on a Dakota winter count known to the writer.

HIGH DOG: "They have a ceremony of anointing a buffalo horn with clay and hanging it near the camp so as to make the buffalo come. . . ." The Dakota text reads "Pte wan sayapi (*Pte (he ?) wan sányapi* lit. Buffalo (actually "cow" but used here in a generic sense) (horn ?) a they-paint-a-cream-color)." SWIFT DOG: "A chief named 'One Feather' was killed by Crow Indians." JAW VARIANT: No Interpretation.

The High Dog, Swift Dog, and Jaw Variant counts all show a representation of a buffalo horn. This is white on the High Dog and Swift Dog counts but black on the Jaw Variant count. The person who made the Swift Dog interpretation apparently mistook the bison horn for a feather.

1825-26

BLUE THUNDER: "Wintering near Gayton's place and came a great flood. Nearly all drowned. These were Wiciyela. Dead Horse Head Point. That's where it was." NO TWO HORNS: "Many people drowned when river came up fast. Missouri River at Dead Horse Point." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "Wintering by Horse Head Hill, Most all drowned (Wicejela)." HIGH DOG: "They were camping on the bottom by the Missouri River, and a sudden and unprecedented rise of water in the early spring drowned over one half of the tribe." The Dakota text reads "*Miní wičáta* (lit. Water they-died)." SWIFT DOG: "The winter without snow, but lots of wind and dust." JAW VARIANT: No interpretation.

The Blue Thunder, No Two Horns, and Blue Thunder Variant counts I, II, and III show several human heads above what is probably intended to represent a body of water. The High Dog and Swift Dog counts show three human heads inside a tipi. The Jaw Variant count shows a blue patch, probably intended to represent water, with human heads beneath the surface.

The Flame, Swan, Lone Dog, Mato Sapa, Bush, Good, American Horse, White-Cow-Killer, and Cloud Shield counts all give the same

event for this year (Mallery, 1886, p. 113). High Hawk mentions this event for "1826" (Curtis, 1908, p. 173). Big Missouri gives it for "1826" also (Cohen, 1939, p. 17).

1826-27

BLUE THUNDER: "'Corn Feather' goes to war alone. Omaha attacked and killed many. Staff is emblem of victory. Brought back scalps." NO TWO HORNS: "'Garden' a Sioux brought home the scalp of an enemy." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "Man called 'Corn Father' attacked Omahas & he killed a lot of them." HIGH DOG: "A famous chief named Corn Stalk went with a party against the Crows and returned with scalps." The Dakota text reads "Magala waktekili (*Maǵála wakteǵli* lit. Little-goose (or possibly *máǵala*, Little-garden) killed-brought-home). SWIFT DOG: "Young man, Goose Feather, killed a Crow Indian and brought the scalp home and had a war dance where women danced with the scalp." JAW VARIANT: No interpretation.

All of the above counts show a man with the name symbol of a cornstalk holding a stick to which a scalp is attached. On the Blue Thunder Variant I count the man carries a rifle in the other hand and is wearing a powder horn. On the Blue Thunder count, and on Blue Thunder Variant counts I, II, and III he has his hair tied up in a round topknot, a style which is said to have been worn by a Dakota war leader who was also a shaman. On Blue Thunder Variant counts I and II he is also painted in a special manner, having serpentine lines down the side of his face and neck and down the sides of his legs. The topknot shown in these counts is different from the hairdress used to designate enemies in other year's pictographs.

1827-28

BLUE THUNDER: "Winter time and Isantees [Santee group of the Dakota, embracing the Mdewakanton, Wahpeton, Wahpekute, and Sisseton bands of the Dakota tribe, JH] starving. They kill each other and eat each other that time. In Sisseton place, Nebraska. Two men killed, boiled in kettle and eaten up." NO TWO HORNS: "Starvation winter time. The Isantee ate two of their own people." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "In winter Santees staying in Nebraska, & killed and ate each other." The above counts show a tipi with two people sitting around a kettle, which is suspended from a pothook.

HIGH DOG: "For the first time they used snowshoes in hunting buffalo." The Dakota text reads "Wasima Pisa ohanpi (*Wášma psá-óhanpi* lit. Deep-snow snowshoes)." SWIFT DOG: "Much snow, where snowshoes were used." JAW VARIANT: No interpretation.

The last three counts show a representation of a snowshoe. The High Dog and Swift Dog counts show it as seen from above, the Jaw Variant as seen from the side. On all three counts the snowshoe is quite stylized and resembles a snowshoe only vaguely. White-Cow-Killer calls this "Snow-Shoe-Making-Winter. (Mallery, 1886, p. 138). Good calls it, "Wore snowshoes winter" (ibid., 1893, p. 318). High Hawk mentions the use of snowshoes for the year "1827" (Curtis, 1908, p. 173).

1828-29

BLUE THUNDER: "White man, more River camping, this winter. White man built dry log house. Called 'Red Breast' or 'Red Shirt.'" NO TWO HORNS: "'Red Breast' built a dry log house. Was a white man." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "White man at Moreau River came [cave? JH] They called him Red Breast." All the above counts show a man wearing a dark blue coat over a red shirt. He stands before the door of a log cabin.

The Flame, Lone Dog, Swan, Mato Sapa, and Bush counts mention this event as well (Mallery, 1886, p. 114). The Flame, Lone Dog, Mato Sapa, and Bush counts identify the man as Chardran or Shardran (ibid., 1886, p. 114). The Flame locates this house near the forks of the Cheyenne (ibid., 1886, p. 114). All of the counts given by Mallery identify the house as a "dirt lodge" rather than as a dry log house (ibid., 1886, p. 114).

HIGH DOG: "They passed the winter by Bear Butte, near the Black Hills." The Dakota text reads "Mato Paha el wanitipi (lit. Bear Butte at they-camped-for-the-winter)." SWIFT DOG: "At the Black Hills, that's the highest butte there. The Indians called it Bear's Butte." JAW VARIANT: No interpretation. The High Dog and Swift Dog counts show a very steep-sided butte, covered with trees, with a bear standing on the summit. The Jaw Variant count shows a hill with a cave in the side of it and a tipi on each side of it.

1829-30

BLUE THUNDER: "Padani (Arikara) Killed by Yanktonaise, Standing Rock place. Had a hat of willows and a red shirt." NO TWO HORNS: "We took a robe away from a White man that winter count." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "Ree killed by Sioux at F. Y [Fort Yates, JH]." The above counts show a man in White man's clothing. His shirt is red and he is wearing a black broad-brimmed hat. In the Blue Thunder count he is apparently represented as wearing a breechcloth over his trousers, indicating that he is an Indian.

HIGH DOG: "A man looking for buffalo was found on the prairie shot and frozen. He is called Froze-on-the-Prairie . . ." The

Dakota text reads "Wata sakiyapi (lit. Froze-buffalo-meat-for-the-winter)." SWIFT DOG: "Chief Paints Himself Yellow was killed by a Crow Indian." JAW VARIANT: No interpretation. The High Dog and Swift Dog counts show a man with a wound on his body. The Jaw Variant count shows a man who has been scalped.

1830-31

BLUE THUNDER: "'Wo-na-re' made one of the Ruling class." NO TWO HORNS: "Many ceremonies winter." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III "'Wo-na-se' was made one of the ruling class." All of the above counts show what is apparently a representation of one of the wands used in the Hunká or Alówanpi ceremony. "Wo-na-se" is probably the man who was honored by being ceremonially "adopted" in the ceremony. His name was probably Wanáse or "Buffalo-hunter."

HIGH DOG: "A battle with the Crows, and many were slain." The Dakota text reads "Kagi wicasa 8 wicaktepi (*Kangí wičása sahlógan wičáktepi* lit. Crow men eight they-killed)." SWIFT DOG: "Eight Rees killed by the Sioux." JAW VARIANT: No interpretation. The High Dog and Swift Dog counts show a circle with small heads around the inside. The heads are shown wearing the "enemy" hairdress. The High Dog count shows eight heads, the Swift Dog count only six. The Jaw Variant count shows one head, which is represented as being scalped and is wearing the enemy hairdress. For pictographic purposes, evidently, the hairdress is left to identify the man as an enemy. Actually, the process of scalping would undoubtedly remove this forelock. Beneath the man's head are 10 vertical marks, in two rows of 5 each, apparently to indicate the number of men killed. Near the head is what appears to be a coup stick with an eagle feather attached to one end.

1831-32

BLUE THUNDER: "Below Fort Yates place north of Grand River. Palani had village—a double one. Soldiers and Dakota attacked the village. Eight Dakota killed. Soldier, French, and Dakota." NO TWO HORNS: "Killed eight enemies winter." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "Below F. Y. [Fort Yates, JH] near G. [Grand, JH] River was a big village of G. [Gros Ventres, JH] R. [Rees, JH] and M. [Mandan, JH] French W. [with JH] arms and Sioux attacked village and 2 S. [Sioux, JH] killed (1831). The Blue Thunder count and Blue Thunder Variants I, II, and III show eight men with wounds on their bodies. They are not shown wearing the "enemy" hairdress. No Two Horns shows one man but eight wounds. He also does not picture the man as wearing the "enemy" hairdress.

HIGH DOG: "Brown, a Whiteman shot and killed an Indian, being jealous on account of his wife." The Dakota text reads "Istazi kaskapi (lit. Yellow-eyes imprisoned)." SWIFT DOG: "A white man by the name of Yellow Eyes came to trade with the Sioux." JAW VARIANT: No interpretation and no pictograph for this year. The next picture on this count corresponds with that given on the High Dog and Swift Dog counts for the following year. This is apparently an accidental hiatus. The High Dog and Swift Dog counts for this year show a white man who is apparently wearing handcuffs.⁴ The Flame, Lone Dog, Mato Sapa, Bush, and Swan counts all mention a murder committed by a white man for this year (Mallery, 1886, p. 115). Lone Dog, Mato Sapa, Bush, and the Swan identify the man as Le Beau, a trader (ibid., 1886, p. 115). Vestal gives the year "1831" as the year of "Yellow Eyes' accident," on his Hunkpapa count (Vestal, 1934 b, p. 348)

1832-33

BLUE THUNDER: "Called 'Broken Leg' found whiskey. Drank all. Died then." NO TWO HORNS: "'Broken Leg' found some whiskey Drank it. Died." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "'Broken Leg' S. [Sioux, JH] find whiskey, drink and died Below Totten." The above counts show a man with his leg missing below the knee drinking from a bottle and apparently vomiting up what he has drunk.

The Flame, Lone Dog, Swan, Mato Sapa, Bush, White-Cow-Killer, and Good counts all refer to a man with a broken or stiff leg, but do not mention whiskey (Mallery, 1886, p. 115). Good's count says that he was killed by a Pawnee (ibid., 1886, p. 115). High Hawk mentions a chief being killed for the year "1833" (Curtis, 1908, p. 174).

HIGH DOG: "A log house was built by an Indian for the first time." The Dakota text reads "Titaka oblecakagapi (*Ti-tánka obléča kágapi*) lit. Lodge-big gable-roofed they-built." SWIFT DOG: "The first dance house built by the Indians with logs. JAW VARIANT: No interpretation.

The High Dog and Swift Dog counts show a representation of a log house with a gabled roof. The Jaw Variant count shows what appears to be a round earth lodge. White-Bull gives the year "1832" as "The Sans Arc First live in Log Houses" (Vestal, 1934 a, p. 264). The author has elected to place this event with the High Dog and Swift Dog counts for the year 1817-18. However, it might better be placed here. The White Bull count has an apparent hiatus either before or after this year. Vestal's Hunkpapa count gives the log house event for the year "1832," and in this case there is no question as to its provenience (ibid., 1934 b, p. 348).

⁴ Beede believed that the man's hands had been cut off.

1833-34

BLUE THUNDER: "Camping across river for that winter. Stars flew around like bird. Many stars with great noise. Changed places winter." NO TWO HORNS "The stars all changed around in the sky." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "Camping across River and Many stars fell w. [with, JH] noise a few on earth." HIGH DOG: "This year is named 'Stars-all-moveing-Year' the falling of the stars in this year is said to have caused great consternation; They feared Great Spirit had lost his control over the creation." The Dakota text reads "Wicagipi akicamina (*Wičáŋhpi okečámna* lit. Stars shower-down)." SWIFT DOG "In the fall of the year when the trees shed their leaves, the stars floated all over the heavens. . . ." JAW VARIANT: No interpretation.

All of the above counts show a group of stars except the Jaw Variant count, which shows only one large star. The Blue Thunder count and Blue Thunder Variants II and III represent the stars as four pointed, which seems to be the aboriginal manner of picturing stars. The Blue Thunder Variant I count has both four-pointed and five-pointed stars. No Two Horns, High Dog, Swift Dog, and the Jaw Variant count show the stars as five pointed.

The Flame, Lone Dog, Swan, Mato Sapa, Bush, White-Cow-Killer, American Horse, Cloud Shield, and Good counts all mention this event (Mallery, 1886, pp. 116-138). High Hawk's count records the event for the year "1834" (Curtis, 1908, p. 174). Big Missouri gives it for "1834" as well (Cohen, 1939, p. 18). White Bull records the event for the year "1833" (Vestal, 1934 a, p. 264). Vestal's Hunkpapa count records it for "1833" also (*ibid.*, 1934 b, p. 348).

All counts apparently refer to the "star shower" which was observable throughout North America shortly before daylight, November 12, 1833 (Mallery, 1886, pp. 138-139). This event is noted on the Kiowa winter count collected by Mooney (Mooney, 1898, pp. 260-261) and on several Pima counting sticks (Russell, 1908, p. 38). Foolish Woman, a Mandan, gives the year "1835" as "Shooting Stars fell during the summer" on his winter count (Beckwith, 1938, p. 308). Peter Le Claire, a Northern Ponca Indian who is much interested in the history of his tribe, stated that this event was well known to his people and was included in the now lost Ponca winter count.⁵

1834-35

BLUE THUNDER: "Wintering camp on Heart River. Found bear there too. Stayed in our lodges. Call it 'Wintered with wild bear place winter.'" NO TWO HORNS: "We camped for winter on the Heart River. A black bear stayed with us all winter." BLUE

⁵In a letter to the author, dated March 21, 1951.

THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "Wintered on Heart River, Bear wintered with them (not friend)." All of the above counts show a bear and a tipi. In the Blue Thunder Variant I count the bear is drawn outside of and below the tipi. In all others he is shown inside the tent.

HIGH DOG: "The first war bonnet was made with horns on it. . . ." The Dakota text reads "Wapaha hetun kagapi (*Wapáha hétun kágapi* lit. Warbonnet horns-using they-made)." SWIFT DOG: "The first war bonnet was made and introduced to the tribe." JAW VARIANT: No interpretation.

The High Dog and Swift Dog counts show a warbonnet with horns. On the High Dog count this has a red trailer. On the Swift Dog count the trailer is half black and half red. The Jaw Variant count shows a man wearing a horned warbonnet. The pictographs for this year on the High Dog and Swift Dog counts are very similar to those used on the counts of the Blue Thunder group for the year 1836-37. Vestal's Hunkpapa count gives this event for the year "1834" (Vestal, 1934 b, p. 348).

1835-36

BLUE THUNDER: "Below Mandan on flat. Ree and Mandan village. Sioux, Teton and Blackfeet battle them. Many got shot on both sides. None killed." NO TWO HORNS: "Twelve Sioux were killed by Hohe winter." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "Below Mandan S. [Sioux, JH] attacked by Rees M. S. [Many Sioux, JH], Killed 9 Tetons and Blackfeet attacked Big Battle." HIGH DOG: "A fight among the Sioux and many killed. . . ." The Dakota text reads "Wiciyela wicakasotapi (lit. Wiciyela they-killed-them-off)." SWIFT DOG: "Buffalo hunt with dogs and travois to carry meat home." JAW VARIANT: No interpretation.

The Blue Thunder and Blue Thunder Variant counts I, II, and III show 12 wounded men. No Two Horns shows only one man but 12 wound symbols. On the Blue Thunder, No Two Horns, and Blue Thunder Variant III counts the men, or the wound symbols representing them, are arranged in two parallel rows of six each. On the Blue Thunder Variant II count they are arranged in three rows of four each. On the Blue Thunder Variant I count the circle device, commonly used on the High Dog and Swift Dog counts, is employed, with the heads of the slain men shown around the inside of a circle. On none of the counts are the men shown wearing the "enemy" hairdress.

The pictographs for this year on the High Dog and Swift Dog counts are quite puzzling in relation to the written interpretations.

The figure of a man is shown, and nearby a dog pulling a travois. Above the travois are a few small heads, four on the High Dog count, three on the Swift Dog count. Although the Swift Dog explanation would seem to be the more plausible in this case, the author feels that the High Dog interpretation is more nearly correct, as it has been more consistent throughout and as in this case it agrees with the counts of the Blue Thunder group. The Jaw Variant count seems to bear this out. It shows a man who is represented as having been scalped, and who has a coup stick by his head. Perhaps the travois in the High Dog and Swift Dog counts represents the litters used to bring back the dead and wounded from the battle. Vestal's Hunkpapa count gives "Yanktonais Sioux almost wiped out in winter," for the year "1835" (Vestal, 1934 b, p. 348).

1836-37

BLUE THUNDER: "Grand River winter camp place. Nothing special. Peaceful winter. Made many feather bonnets in winter time." NO TWO HORNS: "A man got a headdress with horns on it winter." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "Grand River, Wicijela had powerful winter." All of the above counts show a feather warbonnet with horns and a long black and red feathered trailer. This pictograph seems definitely related to that used on the High Dog and Swift Dog counts for the year 1834-35.

HIGH DOG: "Six Crow chiefs were killed by the Sioux." The Dakota text reads "Palani 6 wicaktepi (lit. Arikara (or Pawnee) six they-killed)." SWIFT DOG: "Sioux killed six Rees. The author's oldest brother was born. . . ." JAW VARIANT: No interpretation.

The High Dog and Swift Dog counts show a row of six men wearing the "enemy" hairdress. The Jaw Variant count shows two men fighting with bows and arrows. One is wearing the "enemy" hairdress. A heavy blue line is drawn beneath the warriors. This pictograph is repeated on the Jaw Variant count, apparently for clarity, rounding the acute angle formed by the leg of the sheep hide on which it is painted. The pictographs are nearly identical, and it seems obvious that only one year is meant. Perhaps the heavy blue line represents ice, in which case the year's event would correspond with the battle on ice given by the Good (Mallery, 1893, p. 320), American Horse (ibid., 1886, p. 139), Cloud Shield (ibid., 1886, p. 139), and White-Cow-Killer (ibid., 1886, p. 139) counts for this year. High Hawk (Curtis, 1908, p. 174) and Big Missouri (Cohen, 1939, p. 18) give the event for the year "1837." Vestal's Hunkpapa count for the year "1836" (Vestal, 1934 b, p. 348) and White Bull's count for the year "1835" (ibid., 1934 a, p. 264) may also be related.

1837-38

BLUE THUNDER: "Had a big small pox sickness. No one die much." No TWO HORNS: "Small pox winter." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "Smallpox, No one died." HIGH DOG "Smallpox carried off to 'Wanagi yakonpi' [Spirit land, JH] many of the suffering people. . . ." The Dakota text reads simply "Wica gaga (*Wičáħanħan* lit. Smallpox)." SWIFT DOG: "A woman with spots on her face. Smallpox killed many of the tribe." JAW AND JAW VARIANT: (This is the beginning year for the Jaw count and the interpretation accompanying it. Since the Jaw Variant count has no accompanying interpretation, the author has placed it with the Jaw count for the years where the two counts are concurrent. Welch calls the opening year of the Jaw count 1847-48, evidently counting back from the event labeled "Capture of Sitting Bull." This event is, however, incorrectly labeled, as has been amply demonstrated by comparing this count with the others. The opening date of the Jaw count is actually 10 years earlier, and the author has accordingly placed the opening event here.) "Big Small pox."

All of the counts show a human figure covered with spots. Vestal's Hunkapapa count correlates with these counts, giving the year "1837" as "*Wičáħanħan* Smallpox plague (ibid., 1934 b, p. 348).

1838-39

BLUE THUNDER: "Found a white buffalo. Killed by 'Poeya.'" No TWO HORNS "Grey Day' killed a white buffalo." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "P'O'jeje killed white buffalo." The above counts show a white buffalo wounded by an arrow.

HIGH DOG: "The Sioux take many spotted horses from the Crows in a battle." The Dakota text reads "Sunkile ska awicakilipi (*Šungléška awičáglipi* lit. Spotted-horses they-brought-back)." SWIFT DOG: (Burdick's supposed "Blue Thunder" interpretation, which has been used with this count, ends with this year.) "The young man brought spotted horses to his tribe." JAW AND JAW VARIANT: "Brings many horses." The High Dog and Swift Dog counts and the Jaw and Jaw Variant counts all show a spotted horse. Vestal's Hunkapapa count gives the year "1838" as the year when the spotted horses were brought home (ibid., 1934 b, p. 348). It is possible that White Bull's reference to spotted horses for the year "1840" refers to this event as well (ibid., 1934 a, p. 265).

1839-40

BLUE THUNDER: "Across Fort Yates place. Attacked he was a Chief with spectacles. Man from far away. Suspicious of him. 'He comes attacking.' Went out in night. Got killed. Don't

know who did that." NO TWO HORNS: "'Man with spectacles' went out and was killed in the hills." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "Across from Fort Yates a chief named Waanatoka came. He had spectacles on. Was killed in the night."

All of the above counts show a man wearing gogglelike spectacles. Blue Thunder, No Two Horns, and the Blue Thunder Variant II count show him with two wounds in his body. Blue Thunder Variant III shows him with only one wound, and Blue Thunder Variant I shows him without any wound.

HIGH DOG: "An Indian woman hanged herself 'because her husband was killed'. . . ." The Dakota text, however, reads "Wikite wan icikte kin (*Winkte wan icikte kin* lit. Transvestite a suicided the)," SWIFT DOG: No interpretation. JAW AND JAW VARIANT: "Woman kill herself."

"The last four counts show a figure in woman's clothing who has hanged herself (himself) from a tree or a pole. However, in the High Dog and Swift Dog counts a penis is drawn on the "woman" indicating a transvestite. This identification is confirmed by Vestal's Hunkpapa count for the year "1839" which identifies the person as a "hermaphrodite," and states that his name was "Grass" (*ibid.*, 1934 a, p. 348). Vestal's translation of "Winkte" as "hermaphrodite" seems incorrect, and the author suggests transvestite as a better translation.

Vestal's Hunkpapa count's identification of this person as "Grass" explains the item "Grass Killed Himself" which is given for the year "1838" by White Bull (*ibid.*, 1934 a, p. 265). Vestal comments that it was unusual for a man to commit suicide by hanging himself (*ibid.*, 1934 a, p. 265). If the man were a homosexual and/or a transvestite, however, this would not be unusual, as hanging was commonly resorted to by women wishing to commit suicide.

1840-41

BLUE THUNDER: "Going to battle and found Ree Indian 'His Knife Broad' at mouth of Cannon Ball. Killed him then." NO TWO HORNS: "The knife was full of blood winter." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "Wicijela going to battle, Found Rees at mouth of C. B. [Cannon Ball, JH] Call him 'His Knife broad.'" The above counts show a knife with a bloody blade.

HIGH DOG: "Elk Spider, a chief was killed by the Crows." The Dakota text reads "Ikitomi heraka ktepa (*Iktómi-heháka ktepi* lit. Spider-elk died)." SWIFT DOG: No interpretation. JAW AND JAW VARIANT: "Elk Spider die winter." The last four counts show a man with the name symbol of a spider which has large antlers, like those of an elk. Vestal's Hunkpapa count gives this event for the year "1840" (*ibid.*, 1934 b, p. 348).

1841-42

BLUE THUNDER: "At Grand River in winter camp. But lots snow. Couldn't use horses. Made snowshoes. Killed lots buffalo. Call that 'They make snowshoes winter.' " NO TWO HORNS: "Big snow winter. People used shoes for snow." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "At G. R. [Grand River, JH] deep snow so could not use horses for hunting, w. [with, JH] snow-shoes Killed lot buffalo." HIGH DOG "Snowshoes used again." The Dakota text reads "Psa ohanpi (lit. snowshoes)." SWIFT DOG: No interpretation. JAW AND JAW VARIANT: "Snow shoes."

The Blue Thunder, No Two Horns, Blue Thunder Variant counts I, II, and III, and Jaw counts show a man wearing snowshoes. The High Dog, Swift Dog, and Jaw Variant counts show merely a snowshoe. High Dog and Swift Dog show it as it would be seen from above, the Jaw Variant count shows it in a side view. Vestal's Hunkpapa count gives the snowshoe event for the year "1841" (Vestal, 1934 b, p. 348).

1842-43

BLUE THUNDER: "Man 'Holy Tracks Buffalo' die. Bury him in striped tipi. A big man but not a chief man." NO TWO HORNS: "Buried 'Holy Buffalo Track' in a tipi winter." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "Buffalo-Holy-Fish died and buried in a striped tent." All of the above counts show a tipi, which is striped horizontally in all but the No Two Horns count. From under the edge of this tipi a bison's foot protrudes. Wavy lines emanate from the hoof of this foot signifying "holy" or "sacred"; in other words "sacred buffalo track." "The 'fish' element in the interpretation used with Blue Thunder Variants I, II, and III is probably incorrect. The drawing of the bison's foot somewhat resembles a fish tail, and the author believes that the person who made this interpretation interpreted the drawing as such.

HIGH DOG: "A chief lost in a battle with the Crows, and supposed to be dead, returned later with a Crow Horse." The Dakota text, however, reads "Hohe spela wanktepi (*Hóhe spēla wan ktepi* lit. Assiniboin deformed a they-killed)." SWIFT DOG: No interpretation. JAW AND JAW VARIANT: "Crow Indian. Scalped and die." The above counts show a man who has been scalped. On the Jaw and Jaw Variant counts he is shown wearing the "enemy" hairdress. The High Dog and Swift Dog counts, although showing the characteristic forehead hair of the "enemy" hairdress to be missing, indicate, by the remainder of the hairdo, that the man is an enemy. This seems puzzling in that for the other years on the counts a man is often shown to be scalped and yet the hair remains to identify him on the count.

A possible solution is suggested by Vestal's Hunkpapa count for the year "1842"; this count gives "A small Assiniboin killed," and explains that he had previously been scalped but not killed (Vestal, 1934 b, p. 348).

1843-44

BLUE THUNDER: "Camped that winter above Fort Rice place. Almost starving. These Hunkpati [Upper Yanktonai, JH] men have a lodge with a red door. Made a prayer. Asked for the buffalo to come around—They came. Called 'Manliving in a red door winter' or 'Buffalo came with free will winter' First time they had red as a cloth." NO TWO HORNS: "We found a man dead in a tipi with a red door." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, III: "Above F. [Fort, JH] Rice Buffalo come to Wicijela when they were most stormy because a holy man prayed, so called him *Re Tiopa Sa Oti Pte-Aku* (*Le tiópaša oti pte aku* lit. This door scarlet lodge buffalo came (?) JH.)" All of the above counts show a tipi with a round red entrance.

The Flame, Lone Dog, Swan, Mato Sapa, and Bush counts all mention this or a very similar incident for this year (Mallery, 1886, pp. 118-119). White Bull gives the event for the year "1842" (Vestal 1934 a, p. 265). The Flame, Lone Dog, Swan, Mato Sapa, and Bush counts all differ from the counts of the Blue Thunder group in representing the tipi as having a bison head painted on it instead of having a red door (Mallery, 1886, pp. 118-119). The Lone Dog interpretation identifies the shaman as being a member of the Sans Arc (*Itázipčo*) band of the Teton Dakota (ibid, p. 118).

HIGH DOG: "Four Horns a chief went away and never returned." The Dakota text reads "hetopa kilisni (*He-tópa glísni* lit. Horns-four returned-not)." SWIFT DOG: No interpretation. JAW AND JAW VARIANT: "Four Horns die." The last four counts show a man wearing four horns on his head. The same incident is given for the year "1843" in Vestal's Hunkpapa count (Vestal, 1934 b, p. 348). White Bull mentions the event as occurring in "1845" but does not use it in the picture for that year in his count (Vestal, 1934 a, p. 265). He recounts that Four-horns, after having been given up for dead, returned. His relatives, however, had already staged a give-away in his memory, and had given away all of their property (ibid., p. 265):

1844-45

BLUE THUNDER: "All the people they got measles. No one die." NO TWO HORNS: "Measles time." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "Indians all over has measles. None died." HIGH DOG: "Measles. No great mortality." The Dakota text reads "Nawicasli (lit. Measles)." SWIFT DOG: No interpretation. JAW AND JAW VARIANT: "Chicken pox." All of the above counts show a human

figure covered with spots. Under this figure on the Blue Thunder Variant III count is written "*Wicaranran* [*Wičáhanhan* lit. Smallpox, JH]."

White-Cow-Killer gives the year 1845-46 as "many sick Winter" (Mallery, 1886, p. 141). Good gives a measles epidemic for 1845-46 (*ibid.*, 1893, p. 322). High Hawk gives a measles epidemic for the year "1846" (Curtis, 1908, p. 175). Vestal's Hunkpapa count gives "1844" as "*Nawíčá sli* [measles, JH] Severe skin eruption" (Vestal, 1934 b, p. 348). Foolish Woman's Mandan count gives the year "1846" as that of a chickenpox epidemic (Beckwith, 1938, p. 312).

1845-46

BLUE THUNDER: "North of Heart River, 'Red Leaf,' Padani shot him in the knee." NO TWO HORNS: "Had a battle and nearly everyone got hit on the legs." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "(Wicijela) Across H. [Heart, JH] River Rees shot Red Leaf." The above counts show a man who is wounded below the knee or has his leg missing below the knee. In the Blue Thunder Variant III count a small hook-nosed figure has been drawn in, apparently by a much later artist, on the man's back, and the words "Hunka Wayuta" have been written in above the figure. The meaning of this, if there is any, has not been determined by the author.

HIGH DOG: "They killed 7 'tigers' in the Black Hills, and as the Crows claimed this territory, they killed 7 Sioux as a reprisal." The Dakota text reads merely "Ikmu 7 wicoapi (*Igmú šákowin wičáopi* lit. Mountain-lions (cats) seven they-shot)." SWIFT DOG: No interpretation. JAW AND JAW VARIANT: "The kill seven lion." ("The" means "they" in this interpretation. This may be merely a typographical error, or it may result from the fact that the letter "e" is pronounced like the English "ay" in Dakota.)

The High Dog and Swift Dog counts show seven catlike heads in a row. The Jaw and Jaw Variant counts show a lateral view of a cougar. The Jaw count has a large arabic figure "7" drawn in above this puma and the Jaw Variant count has seven vertical marks above it. Vestal's Hunkpapa count gives this event for the year "1845" (Vestal, 1934 b, p. 348).

1846-47

BLUE THUNDER: "This winter nothing much. 'Buffalo Head' sleeping, died." NO TWO HORNS: "'Buffalo Head' got died that time." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "'Was nothing' Buffalo Head sleeping died." All of the above counts picture an anthropomorphic figure with a bison's head except No Two Horns, who merely shows a bison's head.

HIGH DOG: "One man alone defended 'the feathers,' the flag against great odds in a battle with the Crows." The Dakota text reads "Tabubu alowanpi (lit. Hump-back's *alówanpi* ceremony)." SWIFT DOG: No interpretation. JAW AND JAW VARIANT: "Pabobo." The last four counts show what is evidently an *Alówanpi* or *Hunká* ceremony. A man is shown with the decorated wand used in this rite. In the High Dog and Swift Dog counts he is presenting it to a second person but in the Jaw and Jaw Variant counts only one person is shown. American Horse gives what may be the same event, stating "Big Crow and Conquering Bear had a great feast and gave many presents" (Mallery, 1886, p. 142). Vestal's *Hunkpapa* count gives "*Pabóbo alówanpi* Pabobo's adoption ceremony" (Vestal, 1934 b, p. 349).

1847-48

BLUE THUNDER: "West of Cedar Creek, camping. White man camping too. Lived with him. 'Bad after Women.'" NO TWO HORNS: "At the forks of the Cedar and the Cannon Ball a white man had a house by the side of a Sioux tipi." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "Camping by upper C. B. [Cannon Ball, JH] River and a White lived w. [with, JH] them. Call him 'Bad after women.'" The above counts show a tipi next to a log cabin. This whole pictograph is shown as being situated in the fork of a river, which is drawn as if on a map.

HIGH DOG: "They camped by a Creek (in South Dakota) and from having obtained Whiteman's blankets they called it 'Blanket Creek.'" The Dakota text reads "Sina okipata wakipa el wanitipi (*Šína-okìpata wakpá el wanítipi* lit. Blanket quilted creek at they-camped-for-the-winter)." SWIFT DOG: No interpretation. JAW AND JAW VARIANT: "Some talk discussed."

The High Dog and Swift Dog counts both show a tipi with a striped blanket beside it. The Jaw and Jaw Variant counts show very puzzling pictographs for this year. On both, two men, evidently both Dakota, are apparently speaking with each other. Between them is a stick or line with four small round objects attached to it. On the Jaw Variant count a large square of blue is above both the men and this object. Vestal's *Hunkpapa* count gives "*Wojún ecónpi Óta* Many contests," for the year "1847" (Vestal, 1934 b, p. 349).

1848-49

BLUE THUNDER: "Two attack each other, Ree and Wiceyelo." NO TWO HORNS: "Two killed each other with knives." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "A Ree and a Wicijela killed each other." The Blue Thunder, No Two Horns, and Blue Thunder

Variant II and III counts show a lively action drawing of two men fighting with knives. Both are wounded. The "enemy" hairdress is not shown on either.

The Blue Thunder Variant I count apparently depicts a different event. This count shows a man in scout's costume, consisting of a white capote and head kerchief, firing at a group of six men who wear the "enemy" hairdress. These men are returning his fire. Both the scout and his opponents are armed with rifles. One of the "enemies" is represented as wounded.

HIGH DOG: "The Crows took a Sioux woman and held her as a 'slave.'" The Dakota text reads "Winya wayaka wicaynazpi (*Winyan wayáka wičáyuzapi* lit. Woman captive (slave) they took)." SWIFT DOG: No interpretation. The High Dog and Swift Dog counts show a man on horseback, carrying a shield and wearing the "enemy" hairdress, charging down upon a woman.

JAW AND JAW VARIANT: "No grass." The Jaw and Jaw Variant counts show a representation of a few blades of grass on a field. Vestal's Hunkpapa count has "No grass" for the year "1848" (*ibid.*, p. 349). White Bull gives this event for "1848" as well (*ibid.*, p. 266).

1849-50

BLUE THUNDER: "Wiciyelo living in log house, die without sickness. 'Has Thunder' his name." NO TWO HORNS: "We found a dead Indian in a dry log house somewhere then." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "Wicijela 'Has Thunder' living in a big house died with sickness." The above counts show a man's body laid out in a log house.

HIGH DOG: "They went to hunt buffalo and were surprised by the Crows." The Dakota text reads "Wanaseta natahi (*Wanáse-ta natáhi* lit. Hunters-moose [*Ta* means moose literally, but is probably used here in a generic sense for all large game, JH] charged-upon)." SWIFT DOG: No interpretation. JAW AND JAW VARIANT: "Battle of hunting."

The High Dog count shows a man on horseback counting coup on a man who stands in front of him with a rifle. The man has the "enemy" hairdress. The Swift Dog count shows the same except that the man on horseback is wearing a warbonnet. The Jaw count shows two men firing at one another. Between the two men is a buffalo. Flashes of rifles are shown as well as bullets. The Jaw Variant count is similar but more symbolic in nature. A large bison hoofprint is in the center. On either side of this are representations of rifle flashes. These are in turn flanked by horses hoofprints, and the hoofprints are flanked by arrows. The same incident is given for the year "1849" by White Bull (Vestal, 1934 a, p. 266) and on Vestal's Hunkpapa count (*ibid.*, 1934 b, p. 349).

1850-51

BLUE THUNDER: "Camping below Mandan winter. Saw white man come to trade. Wiciyelo shot him with arrow. Not die but killed Wicheyelo. Chief 'Two Bears' told Indians to kill murderer." NO TWO HORNS: "A Dakota killed a white man with an arrow." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, AND III: "Camping over from C. B. [Cannon Ball, JH] River & a trader came to trade a Wicejela killed the would be murderer Chief Two Bear told Indians to kill him."

Blue Thunder, No Two Horns, and Blue Thunder Variants II and III show an arrow in a man who is evidently an Indian but is partially dressed in white man's clothing. The No Two Horns and Blue Thunder Variant I counts are similar, but apparently represent a white man, as no Indian clothing is in evidence. He wears a beard in the Blue Thunder Variant I count.

HIGH DOG: "Chief Catch Turtle died." The Dakota text reads "Kewayuspata (*Kéya yùspa t'a* lit. Turtle-catcher died)." SWIFT DOG: No interpretation. JAW AND JAW VARIANT: "Mud Turtle die." The last four counts show a man with a turtle, or, in the Jaw Variant count, merely a turtle. Vestal's Hunkpapa count gives the year "1850" as "Turtle Catcher dies" (*ibid.*, p. 349).

1851-52

BLUE THUNDER: "Ree Indian 'Red Elk' across Washburn place came with Dakota, wintered. Call that time 'Wintered Red Elk.'" NO TWO HORNS: "'Red Elk' died winter." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, AND III: "'Ree' 'Red Elk' across from Washburn, lived with Wicijela."

The Blue Thunder and Blue Thunder Variant counts I, II, and III show an anthropomorphic figure with a red elk's head and upper body. No Two Horns merely shows a red elk.

HIGH DOG: "They wintered by Slave Heart Butte." The Dakota text reads "Wayaka Paha el waniti (lit. Captive Butte at they-camped)." SWIFT DOG: No interpretation. JAW AND JAW VARIANT: "The Black [Hills ? JH] camp one." The high Dog and Swift Dog counts show a tipi beside a hill. From the center of the hill a small round face peers out. The Jaw and Jaw Variant counts show a tipi beside a black hill.

1852-53

BLUE THUNDER: "East of Berthold they wintered on Corn Hill. That winter much snow. Had to wear snowshoes. Buffalo; many, many." NO TWO HORNS: "Snow shoe winter." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, AND III: "East of Ft. Berthold by 'Cave Hill' Wicijela wintered, Deep snow, Hunt on S. [Snow, JH] Shoes." All of the above counts show a man wearing snowshoes. White Bull calls the year

"1852" "Plenty Snow Winter" (Vestal, 1934 a, p. 266). Good (Mallery, 1893, p. 323) and High Hawk (Curtis, 1908, p. 176) both mention a severe winter.

HIGH DOG: "A distemper in the winter. This same winter they made a treaty with the Crows." The Dakota text reads "Psa akiya akili alakata (*Psá okíu agli* _____ (?) lit. Crows met-together came-back _____ (?))." SWIFT DOG: No interpretation. JAW AND JAW VARIANT: No interpretation for this year.

The High Dog and Swift Dog counts show a man wearing the "enemy" hairdress standing beside a tipi. The Jaw and Jaw Variant counts show two men shaking hands, one of whom wears the "enemy" hairdress. The interpretation of the High Dog count seems to relate these last four counts to the Flame, Lone Dog, Mato Sapa, Bush, and Swan counts for the year 1851-52, which represent a treaty with the Crow (Mallery, 1886, pp. 120-121). The pictographs on the Jaw and Jaw Variant counts make this even more certain. The pictographs on the High Dog and Swift Dog counts, however, which show a man with the "enemy" hairdress outside a tipi, seem more closely related to the Flame, Lone Dog, Mato Sapa, Bush, and Swan counts for the following year (*ibid.*, pp. 120-121). These counts record an enemy coming to the Dakota camp and forcing the Dakota to smoke the peace pipe, thus securing protection for himself and his followers (*ibid.*, pp. 120-121). The Flame states that this man was a Crow, while the Lone Dog and Touch-the-Clouds, son of the man to whose tent these enemies came, say that they were Nez Percé (*ibid.*, p. 121). Vestal's Hunkpapa count records a treaty with the Crow for the year "1852" (Vestal, 1934 b, p. 349).

1853-54

BLUE THUNDER: "Out in Montana, Powder Creek (River) committed suicide. Only one Crow came attacking Dakota. One got killed attacked alone." NO TWO HORNS: "'Four Horns' was killed winter." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, AND III: "Crow w. [with, JH] War-bonnet was killed in winter in Montana on Powder Creek attacked alone." HIGH DOG "Chief Four Horns was killed. A Crow killed by Sioux." The Dakota text reads "hetopa an waktepi (*He-tópa un wan ktépi* lit. Horns-four wearing a they-killed)." SWIFT DOG: No interpretation. JAW AND JAW VARIANT: "The [They, JH] kill Four Horns."

All of the counts show a man wearing an elaborate headdress with four horns. In the counts of the Blue Thunder group he wears a long capote in addition, and carries a tomahawk and a feathered society lance. Vestal's Hunkpapa count mentions this event for the year "1853" (*ibid.*, p. 349). Densmore, in her "Teton Sioux Music"

mentions this event as occurring in 1852 (Densmore, 1918, p. 403). She includes an illustration of a Dakota wearing a copy of the four-horned bonnet worn by this man (*ibid.*, opp. p. 402). Judge Frank Zahn stated that all of the Dakota who took part in the battle in which this man was killed later wore this style of bonnet at dances.

1854-55

BLUE THUNDER: "Above Berthold, White Earth Creek, battled there. Wicyelo and Hohe." NO TWO HORNS: "'Scraper' killed by his children." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "At White Earth Creek Wicijela and Hohe had a battle." HIGH DOG: "Bear Heart was killed by a Crow Indian." The Dakota text reads "Mato cante ktepi (lit. Bear heart they-killed)." SWIFT DOG: No interpretation. JAW AND JAW VARIANT: "The woman kill with knife."

The pictographs on the Blue Thunder and Blue Thunder Variant counts I, II, and III are puzzling when compared with their interpretations. Blue Thunder, No Two Horns, and the Blue Thunder Variant counts II and III show a man carrying a bow in one hand and an elk antler scraper in the other. The Blue Thunder Variant I count shows a man wearing a capote made of a Hudson's Bay blanket. He is carrying a bow in his hand and is represented as being wounded. Above this man's head, and evidently once intended as his name symbol, is the elk antler scraper of the other counts. This is now separated from him by the line which is used on this count to separate the rows of pictographs.

It appears that the person who made this count drew this man dressed in the capote and armed with the bow because he had forgotten the real meaning of the pictograph. In this case the Blue Thunder Variant I drawing is closer to the High Dog and Swift Dog counts than it is to the other counts of the Blue Thunder group. The High Dog and Swift Dog counts show a man wearing the "enemy" hairdress firing upon a man who is wearing a blanket capote and is armed with a bow and arrow. The man with the bow, however, has the name symbol of a bear above his head rather than an elk antler scraper. The Jaw count depicts a man stabbing a woman. The Jaw Variant count shows a woman who has been stabbed in the back.

The Flame, Lone Dog, Mato Sapa, Bush, and Swan counts give "Brave Bear was killed" for this year (Mallery, 1886, p. 121). Cloud Shield also gives "Brave Bear was killed . . ." (*ibid.*, p. 143). American Horse and White-Cow-Killer give the man's name as Conquering Bear (*ibid.*, 1886, p. 143). White Bull gives "Brave Bear was killed" for the year "1854" (Vestal, 1934 a, p. 266). The High Dog and Swift Dog counts for this year seem to be definitely related to these counts.

Vestal's Hunkpapa count gives "Nobody-Catches-Him stabs (His sister-in-law) for the year "1854" (ibid., 1934 b, p. 349). The No Two Horns, Jaw, and Jaw Variant counts seem to be related to this event. The Blue Thunder count, and Blue Thunder Variants I, II, and III seem to combine both events, especially the Blue Thunder Variant I count. The scraper seems to connect the Blue Thunder and Blue Thunder Variant counts I, II, and III with the incident described by No Two Horns, while the bow and the capote shown in the Blue Thunder Variant I count relate them to the "Brave Bear" event. Their interpretations definitely connect them with this occurrence.

1855-56

BLUE THUNDER: "Fort Pierre in winter time. White man called 'White Beard' called council with Indians. Made treaty with him. Kept him all winter." NO TWO HORNS: "'White Beard' a white man, held the Indians together. He went into the camps and held them." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "White bearded White man at Pierre came & called all Indians. So came & made a treaty. Kept him there all winter." HIGH DOG: "They had a Whiteman in camp with a long grey beard, and they took care of him through the winter." The Dakota text reads "Putihi ska wa akijaja (*Putinhin-ska wan akizize* lit. Beard-white a detains-them)." SWIFT DOG: No interpretation. JAW AND JAW VARIANT: "First treaty."

All of the counts show a white man with a beard. In the Jaw and Jaw Variant counts he is shaking hands with an Indian. The Flame, Lone Dog, Swan, Mato Sapa, and Bush counts all give the interpretation that this year the Dakota made a treaty with Putínska, or General Harney, at Fort Pierre (Mallery, 1886, p. 121). White Bull (Vestal, 1934 a, p. 266) and Vestal's Hunkpapa count (ibid., 1934 b, p. 349) give the interpretation that this year Harney seized some Dakota and held them prisoner at Ash Hollow.

1856-57

BLUE THUNDER: "Hohe fight Wiceyelo Hohe named 'Yellow Bucket' got killed." NO TWO HORNS: "'Yellow Pail' killed while on war trail." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "The Hohe and Wicijela had battle, 'Yellow Bucket' killed." The above counts show a man carrying a bow in one hand and a yellow pail or bucket in the other. He does not wear the "enemy" hairdress. He is represented as being wounded.

HIGH DOG: "Good Bear tore a war-bonnet from a Crow's head in a fight," The Dakota text reads "Wapaha wan yukisapi (*Wapáha wan yuksápi* lit. Warbonnet a tearing)." SWIFT DOG: No interpretation. JAW AND JAW VARIANT: "The loud Bear tore war hat." The High Dog and Swift Dog counts show two warriors on horseback.

One wears the "enemy" hairdress and a long feathered bonnet. The other has torn part of the bonnet trailer off. The Jaw count shows substantially the same things, but only the upper parts of the bodies of the two men are shown. The Jaw Variant count shows only the bonnet itself, with the trailer represented as being torn in two. Vestal's Hunkpapa count gives this event for the year "1856" (Vestal, 1934 b, p. 349).

1857-58

BLUE THUNDER: "Ree, Mandans, and Gros Ventre got attacked by Wiceyelo. Six Wiceyelo got killed at Fort Berthold." NO TWO HORNS: "They came and killed five winter." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "Wicijela had battle at Ft. B. [Fort Berthold, JH]; 6 enemy killed," HIGH DOG: "They returned from a battle with the Crows, having killed many." The Dakota text reads "Ota kte pi akili pi (*Ota ktépi aglípi* lit. Many they-killed they-returned)." SWIFT DOG: No interpretation. JAW AND JAW VARIANT: "The (they, JH) brings many kills."

The Blue Thunder count shows five wounded men. The No Two Horns count has only one man but five wound symbols. Blue Thunder Variant counts I and II show six wounded men. The Blue Thunder Variant III count shows five wounded men. The High Dog and Swift Dog counts show a man wearing the "enemy" hairdress with three feathered coup sticks touching his head. The Jaw count shows a man who is wearing the "enemy" hairdress, but is also represented as being scalped, being taken by the hand by a Dakota (brought back). The Jaw Variant count merely depicts a man with the "enemy" hairdress who is also represented as being scalped.

Cloud Shield gives "They surrounded and killed ten Crows" for this year (Mallery, 1886, p. 143). White Bull gives "Ten Crows killed at Captive Butte" for the year "1857" (Vestal, 1934 a, p. 266). Vestal's Hunkpapa count for the year "1857" gives the same Dakota text as High Dog, but translates it "Kills-Plenty (Little-Assiniboin, Sitting Bull's captive 'brother') brought home (ibid., 1934 b, p. 349).

1858-59

BLUE THUNDER: "Next winter going to camp some place. Crow Indians attack. None killed. 'Eagle Nest' die without sickness. Father of Sitting Bull named 'Jumping Bull' he die too." NO TWO HORNS: "'Eagle Nest' died winter." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "Going to camp, Crows attacked no one killed that winter. Eagle Nest die with sickness."

The Blue Thunder and Blue Thunder Variant counts I, II, and III show a man with the name symbol of an eagle sitting in a nest. No

Two Horns merely shows the name symbol without the human figure in association.

HIGH DOG: "A man named Paunch killed a white buffalo." The Dakota text reads: "Pato pi pte sa wan o (*Patopi* (?) *pte san wan o* lit. *Patopi* (?) buffalo (actually *buffalo cow* but used here in a generic sense) cream-colored a he-shot." SWIFT DOG: No interpretation. JAW AND JAW VARIANT: "The [They, JH] shooting white buffalo."

The High Dog, Swift Dog, and Jaw Variant counts show a white buffalo with an arrow sticking in its side and a mounted man armed with a bow behind it. The Jaw count shows a man with a bow standing beside a white buffalo which has been wounded with an arrow. Vestal's Hunkpapa count for the year "1858" gives this event as well, identifying the hunter as *Patopi* which is translated "Four Heads" (Vestal, 1934 b, p. 349). The place is indicated as being near Slim Buttes, S. Dak. (*ibid.*, p. 349).

1859-60

BLUE THUNDER: "'Lone Dog' get killed when eight go to war. One man got home. Fought Hohe and seven got killed in Montana." NO TWO HORNS: "'Red Robe' came back home. Killed seven." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "Long Dog, Jumping Bull died got killed, 8 went to battle, 7 killed by Hohe." HIGH DOG: "Five brothers named "Simko-hanska (Long Dog) killed by Crows." The Dakota text reads "Sunkahan skaktepi (*Šunka-hánska ktepi* lit. Dog-long they-killed)." SWIFT DOG: No interpretation. JAW AND JAW VARIANT: "Big Crow kill."

The Blue Thunder and Blue Thunder Variant counts I, II, and III show a man wearing a robe and carrying a rifle, behind which are seven wounded men. The No Two Horns count is similar but shows only seven wounds in the place of the men in the other counts. The man has a red robe on the No Two Horns and Blue Thunder Variant I and II counts, a white one on the Blue Thunder and Blue Thunder Variant II counts.

The High Dog and Swift Dog counts show a man with the name symbol of a dog or horse. The Jaw and Jaw Variant counts show a man with the name symbol of a black bird. He is represented as being wounded on the Jaw count and as being scalped on the Jaw Variant count.

The Flame, Lone Dog, Swan, Mato Sapa, and Bush counts mention Big Crow's death for this year (Mallery, 1886, p. 123). Good mentions it as well (*ibid.*, 1893, p. 325). High Hawk mentions this event for the year "1860" (Curtis, 1908, p. 178). White Bull (Vestal, 1934 a, p. 266) and Vestal's Hunkpapa count (*ibid.*, 1934 b, p. 349) give the event for "1859."

1860-61

BLUE THUNDER: "‘Feather in his Body,’ a Wiceyelo, froze to death." NO TWO HORNS: "Eagle Back get sick. Died." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "A Wicijela ‘Feather Body’ Froze to death." The Blue Thunder and No Two Horns counts show a man with eagle feathers attached to his body. The Blue Thunder Variant I count shows a man with a bird on his chest. Blue Thunder Variants II and III show a man with a large bird perched on his back.

HIGH DOG: "A man killed 10 race horse and so was named Race-Horse. . . ." The Dakota text reads "Kaginigi suteyapi (*Kahnihnih šutéyapi* lit. Selected-ones caused-to-fail (ruined))." SWIFT DOG: No interpretation. JAW AND JAW VARIANT: "The [they, JH] kills some pretty horse." The last four counts show a horse with an arrow in its back. This event is mentioned in Vestal's Hunkpapa count as well (*ibid.*, p. 349).

1861-62

BLUE THUNDER: "Camped on Heart River and Hohe stole a lot of horses." NO TWO HORNS: "The Hohe stole many Teton horses winter." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "Hohe stole a lot of horses from Wicijela (H. [Heart, JH] River)." The above counts show a man wearing the "enemy" hairdress, and the blanket cloth capote and leggings which are sometimes used to designate the Assiniboin, Plains-Ojibwa, and Plains-Cree. The man is leading a horse. Hoofprints beneath the horse indicate plurality.

HIGH DOG: "The [they, JH] tracked the Crows who had stolen some horses from the Sioux and in a fight a Sioux leader named Tracks Weasel was killed. . . ." The Dakota text reads "Itunkasa luta ktepi (*Itúnkasan-lùta ktepi* lit. Weasel-red they-killed)." SWIFT DOG: No interpretation. JAW AND JAW VARIANT: "The [they, JH] kill red weasel."

The last four counts show a man with the name symbol of a red weasel. The Jaw Variant count represents him as being scalped. The High Dog and Swift Dog counts show a prominent penis on this man for some reason.

The White-Cow-Killer count mentions a raid for horses by the Crow for this year (Mallery, 1886, p. 144). Good mentions this as well (*ibid.*, 1893, p. 325). High Hawk mentions a raid for horses by the Crow for the year "1862" (Curtis, 1908, p. 178). Vestal's Hunkpapa count for the year "1861" mentions Red Weasel's death (Vestal, 1934 b, p. 349). The author believes that all of the counts mentioned in connection with this year are referring to the same event, but that in some the death of Red Weasel is not noted.

1862-63

BLUE THUNDER: "Heart River. Hohe attack Sioux there. Twenty killed of Hohe. Call it 'Twenty Hohe got killed winter.'" **NO TWO HORNS:** "We killed many Hohe on a hill top." **BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III:** "Hohes came and were killed." **HIGH DOG:** "They exterminated a band of 'Hake' with whom they fought. These were probably Creek [Cree, JH] Indians." The Dakota text reads "hohe 20 wicaktepi (Assiniboin-Plains-Ojibwa-Plains Cree 20 they-killed)." **SWIFT DOG:** No interpretation. **JAW AND JAW VARIANT:** "The [they, JH] many kills Crows or Hohe."

The Blue Thunder and Blue Thunder Variant counts I, II, and III show a rectangle filled with wounded men who wear the "enemy" hairdress. Rifle flashes are shown as well. No Two Horns has a similar drawing, but shows only one man in the rectangle. The High Dog and Swift Dog counts show a circle with small heads, wearing the "enemy" hairdress, around the inside. There are 15 of these heads shown on the High Dog count, 12 on the Swift Dog count. The Jaw count is similar to the Blue Thunder counts except that the rifle flashes are outside the rectangle, converging upon it. The men are represented as being scalped rather than wounded in the body as in the counts of the Blue Thunder group. The Jaw Variant count has three scalped heads, wearing the "enemy" hairdress, on the summit of a hill. The fight with the Hohe is mentioned in Vestal's Hunkpapa count for the year "1862" (Vestal, 1934 b, p. 350).

1863-64

BLUE THUNDER: "'Big Head' was prisoner by soldiers. Let him die when he got home." **NO TWO HORNS:** "'Big Brain' died then." **BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III:** "Big Head a prisoner of soldiers, Let him come home & he died." The above counts show a man wearing his hair in two braids and with two eagle feathers in his hair. The Blue Thunder Variant I and No Two Horns counts show his head disproportionately large, but the others do not.

HIGH DOG: "While fighting the Crows they found a boy in a coyote trap and killed him." The Dakota text reads "Toka kuwa wan kte (*Toká(la)-kùwa wan kte (pi,?)* lit. Kit-fox hunter a they-killed)." **SWIFT DOG:** No interpretation. The High Dog and Swift Dog counts show a man on horseback counting coup on a standing figure wearing the "enemy" hairdress.

A similar event is mentioned for this year by American Horse, Cloud Shield, and White-Cow-Killer (Mallery, 1886, p. 144). They give the boy's tribe as Dakota, however, and the assailants as Crow (*ibid.*, p. 144). Good mentions the event as well, and also reverses the identities of the participants (*ibid.*, 1893, p. 325). High Hawk

gives this event for the year "1863" and also states that the boy was a Dakota and that he was killed by the Crow (Curtis, 1908, p. 178). JAW AND JAW VARIANT: "Hooping cough." The last two counts show a man with lines emanating from his mouth to signify coughing. This event is mentioned in Vestal's Hunkpapa count for the year "1863" (Vestal, 1934 b, p. 350).

1864-65

BLUE THUNDER: "Soldier camp to make treaty with Wiceyelo, but they run off. They take three prisoners. 'True Word' at the head of them. He is father of 'Two Bears' and a prisoner at Fort Rice." NO TWO HORNS: "A man was a prisoner. He told the truth then. We named him that." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "Soldiers come to Wicijela. They run off, soldiers got one man called 'True Word' two other prisoners (father of Two Bears) at F. [Fort, JH] Rice." The above counts show a man wearing leg shackles. The Blue Thunder Variant I count shows him wearing a ball and chain as well.

HIGH DOG: "They captured and held a White-woman. They would not give her up because they liked her and believed she meant good luck to them." The Dakota text reads "Wayaka wiyapeyapi (lit. Captive they-traded-back)." SWIFT DOG: No interpretation. JAW AND JAW VARIANT: "White girl capture at fort Piarre."

The last four counts show a white woman dressed in the clothing of the time. The High Dog and Swift Dog counts show her waist pinched in, probably to suggest a corset, a feature of white women which apparently impressed the Dakota. Vestal's Hunkpapa count gives the same event for the year "1864," and he identifies the woman as Mrs. Fanny Kelly (Vestal, 1934 b, p. 350).

1865-66

BLUE THUNDER: "Big Bend country. Wiceyelo camped at Turtle head, got killed by man with knife. Murdered." NO TWO HORNS: "'Turtle Head' was stabbed to death that time." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "At Big Bend 'Turtle Head' stabbed and killed w. [with, JH] knife." The above counts show a man with the name symbol of a turtle who is represented as having a knife sticking out of a wound in his back. There are several other wounds on his body as well.

HIGH DOG: "They discovered a way to make blood puddin . . ." The Dakota text, however, reads "Leje awicaya (*Léže awičaya* lit. Urinate often)." SWIFT DOG: No interpretation. The above two counts show a man with a large penis, which is represented as dripping urine in the High Dog count. This year's symbol might possibly refer to the contraction of some venereal disease from the whites.

JAW AND JAW VARIANT: "Many blood cook." The Jaw and Jaw Variant counts show a kettle or bucket which is full of a red liquid. In this case the drawing actually seems to refer to the making of blood pudding, and is not intended to disguise the count's real meaning. It is interesting to note that the interpreter of the High Dog count, when he did not wish to divulge the real meaning of the event pictured, gave instead the interpretation accompanying another count, indicating that he was familiar with at least two different winter counts.

1866-67

BLUE THUNDER: " 'Pizi' (Gall) tried to make a treaty at Fort Rice, but soldiers stabbed him. He had not done anything bad. He and Grass went together to talk with that head soldier." **NO TWO HORNS:** " 'Gall' was stabbed by a soldier bayonet at bend of river, below where Elbowoods is now. There were soldiers houses there." **BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III:** "Gall went to F. [Fort, JH] to make a treaty. Soldiers tried to kill him. He had not done anything." **HIGH DOG:** "Pizi, Gall, the man of all men on the Indian side when Gen'l Custer went down in defeat on June 25, 1876, was taken by Gen'l Miles and held prisoner. It was for a time believed he had been put to death." The Dakota text reads simply "Pizi capapi (lit. Gall they-stabbed)." **SWIFT DOG:** No interpretation.

Blue Thunder, No Two Horns, and Blue Thunder Variants I, II, and III show a man who has the bayonets of two rifles stuck into his body. The High Dog and Swift Dog counts show a soldier stabbing an Indian with a bayoneted rifle.

JAW AND JAW VARIANT: "Seven Emeni [Enemy, JH] kill." The Jaw count shows a circle in which the heads of seven Indians wearing the "enemy" hairdress are depicted. The Jaw Variant count shows a circle as well, but the four men inside it are evidently soldiers, for they are wearing black hats and blue coats. There are rifle flashes around the outside of the circle.

It appears that for this year the Jaw and Jaw Variant counts are depicting different events. White-Cow-Killer gives "Seven-Pawnee-killed-winter" for 1867-68, and this seems related to the event on the Jaw count (Mallery, 1886, p. 144). The representations of the men as white soldiers on the Jaw Variant count seems to connect its pictograph with the Fetterman Massacre of December 21, 1866. This is given as "One hundred white men killed" on the American Horse and White-Cow-Killer counts for this year (*ibid.*, p. 144). High Hawk gives it for "1867" (Curtis, 1908, p. 179). White Bull gives it for "1866" (Vestal, 1934 a, p. 269). Vestal's Hunkpapa count gives it for "1866" also (*ibid.*, 1934 b, p. 350).

1867-68

BLUE THUNDER: "Nothing winter. Hard winter too. Call 'Carry the wood winter.' Two boys froze to death then." NO TWO HORNS: "The children of 'Takes the Wood' die then." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "Hard winter 'Takes-the-Word' S 2 [Sons, two, JH] boys froze."

The above counts show two figures dressed in white capotes lying in a horizontal position. The name symbol of an arm taking a branch of wood (shown on the Blue Thunder count and on Blue Thunder Variants II and III), a man taking a branch (shown on Blue Thunder Variant I) or merely a branch (shown on the No Two Horns count), indicate that the Blue Thunder and No Two Horns interpretations of the father's name are correct.

HIGH DOG: "A Sioux woman broke her leg." or "A Sioux woman died over in Montana. . . ." The Dakota text reads "Winya wan hu wakise (*Winyan wan hu wan ksa* lit. Woman a leg a broke)." SWIFT DOG: No interpretation. The High Dog and Swift Dog counts show a woman whose leg is broken and bleeding.

JAW AND JAW VARIANT: "Many icy weather." The Jaw and Jaw Variant counts merely show a blue circle, representing ice, for this year. On the Jaw count this is the only pictograph which uses any color besides red or black, although blue is also used for the lines connecting the pictographs to show the sequence of events. A cold winter with ice or sleet is mentioned by White Bull for the year "1867" (Vestal, 1934 a, p. 267). Vestal's Hunkpapa count mentions this as well (*ibid.*, 1934 b, p. 350). White Bull mentions the leg breaking event in connection with this year as well, but does not include it in the name of the year (*ibid.*, 1934 a, pp. 267-268).

1868-69

BLUE THUNDER: "Catholic priest Father De Smet tried to make a treaty with the Tetonwanna [Teton division of the Dakota, JH] Blue Thunder drive twenty Tetons home to take. Sitting Bull had good men sent with them Gall to see what terms to make treaty, Were their envoys when they got there. Gall made prisoner. Gave word they were going to hang him too. Two Bears protested. They took off his shirt and slashed and beat him. Then let him go. Tetons very angry. No peace, no trust." NO TWO HORNS: "A priest went into Sitting Bulls camp and shook hands." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "De Smet went to Tetons to make treaty. 'Blue Thunder' went with him S [Sitting, JH] Bull's head men." The above counts all show a Catholic priest carrying an American flag.

HIGH DOG: They slew 15 Crow Indians. "The Dakota text reads "Itazipco ake zapi ta wocaktepi (*Itázipčo ake-záptan wičáktepi* lit.

Sans-arcs fifteen they-killed)." SWIFT DOG: No interpretation. JAW AND JAW VARIANT: "Kill fifteen No Crows." The High Dog and Swift Dog counts show 5 men, not wearing the "enemy" hairdress, and 15 vertical marks. The Jaw and Jaw Variant counts show a man with a bow, also not wearing the "enemy" hairdress, and 15 vertical marks. The Jaw Variant count shows a coup stick touching his head in addition. In the light of the Dakota text and the absence of the "enemy" hairdress in the pictographs it seems likely that the High Dog identification of the men as Crows is incorrect. The bow in the Jaw and Jaw Variant counts indicates that the men were Sans-arcs (lit. No-bows, the Itazipco division of the Teton Dakota). The "No Crows" of the Jaw and Jaw Variant interpretation is probably an incorrect rendering of "No Bows." The use of the bow device is noted by Mallery for the year 1815-16 on the Flame, Lone Dog, and Swan counts, and it probably occurs on the Mato Sapa and Bush counts also (Mallery, 1886, p. 109).

Good's count mentions 15 Sans Arcs being killed for this year as well (Mallery, 1893, p. 326). High Hawk gives this event for the year "1869" (Curtis, 1908, p. 179). White Bull (Vestal, 1934 a, p. 268) and Vestal's Hunkpapa count (ibid., 1934 b, p. 350) give it for "1868."

1869-70

BLUE THUNDER: "Wiceyelo went up and attacked the Rees. A man with a wife. Wiceyelo saw them and killed them both." NO TWO HORNS: "A man dressed like a woman killed. He was part man and part woman." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "Wicijela attacked Rees. Saw a man and woman getting wood & killed them (Wicijela)." The above counts show a woman with a bundle of wood on her back. She is represented as being wounded.

HIGH DOG: "They slew 30 Crow Indians." The Dakota text reads "Kanigi wicasa 30 wicaktepi (*Kanǵi-wičàša wikčémna-yàmni wičák-tepi* lit. Crow men thirty they-killed)." SWIFT DOG: "No interpretation. JAW AND JAW VARIANT: "30 Crows kill." The High Dog and Swift Dog counts show a circle with several human heads around the inside. The heads are shown wearing the "enemy" hairdress. In the High Dog count 14 heads are shown, in the Swift Dog, 15. The Jaw count shows a scalped man, wearing the "enemy" hairdress, under which there are 30 vertical marks. The Jaw Variant count shows the same with the addition of a feathered coup stick touching the man's head.

The Lone Dog, Mato Sapa, Bush, and Swan counts record a battle with the Crow for the year 1870-71, but Lone Dog states that only 29 of the 30 Crow were killed (Mallery, 1886, pp. 126-127). This event is mentioned by White Bull (Vestal, 1934 a, p. 268) and in Vestal's Hunkpapa count (ibid., 1934 b, p. 350) for "1869."

1870-71

BLUE THUNDER: "Wintered at first Grand River and many horses die, drowned. . . ." NO TWO HORNS: "Many horses froze to death winter." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "At Grand R. [River, JH] many horses die in flood." Blue Thunder and the Blue Thunder Variant counts I, II, and III show a horse and many hoofprints, indicating plurality. The No Two Horns count merely shows a horse's head and neck, together with hoofprints.

HIGH DOG: "Chief Crowfeather died (Natural death)." The Dakota text reads "Kangi wiyakata (*Kanġi-wiyaka t'a* lit. Crow feather he-died)." SWIFT DOG: No interpretation. Both counts originally showed a man with the name symbol of what appears to be the feather of a golden eagle. On the High Dog count, however, the figure of a Crow has been added in blue ink at a later date. Perhaps the event noted for this year is the same as that given by the Flame, as the drawings are very similar (Mallery, 1886, p. 126). The interpretations of the two counts, however, do not support this idea.

JAW AND JAW VARIANT: "Chippiwai came." Both the Jaw and the Jaw Variant counts show a man in a small four-wheeled wagon or cart. In the Jaw Variant count he is wearing a red coat or shirt.⁶ The pictograph probably refers to a visit of the Plains-Ojibwa—Plains-Cree mixbloods. Vestal's Hunkpapa count gives this event for the year "1870" (Vestal, 1934 b, p. 350).

1871-72

BLUE THUNDER: "White man got killed by Dakota. 'Brain' killed him." NO TWO HORNS: "'Brings Back' shot a white man winter." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "White man killed by 'Brain.'" The Blue Thunder count and Blue Thunder Variants I, II, and III show a man dressed in white man's clothing, with, however, long black hair and a wawóslata wanápin or bone hair-pipe necklace. He has an arrow protruding from a wound in his side. The No Two Horns count shows substantially the same, but pictures the man with short hair and without the Indian necklace.

HIGH DOG: "Little Crow, a chief died." The Dakota text reads "Kangi cigalata (*Kanġi ċigala t'a* lit. Crow little he-died)." SWIFT DOG: No interpretation. Both counts show a man with the name symbol of a black bird.

⁶ The present writer believes that the red coat is to carry the idea of "ša", or scarlet, in the word Šagdáša, which is the word commonly used by the Dakota to designate Canadians. The word is apparently a loan word in Dakota, probably from some Algonquian language. Present-day Dakota have a folk method of "analyzing" unfamiliar words by splitting them into their component syllables. This works fine with Dakota words, but, of course, is invalid in the case of borrowed words, in this case, for example, where the Šagdáša is depicted with a red coat merely because the last syllable of his group's name happens to be the same as the Dakota word for "scarlet." For a similar instance of this sort see the High Dog and Swift Dog counts for the year 1814-15.

JAW AND JAW VARIANT: "Chase horses around the camp." Both counts show a tipi with hoofprints circling it. Vestal's Hunkpapa count gives this event for the year "1871" (Vestal, 1934 b, p. 350). Vestal mentions that the Crow stole nearly all of the Dakota horses during this raid (*ibid.*, pp. 171-172).

1872-73

BLUE THUNDER: "'Two Bears' went to Washington. Came back. Went to war. 'Standing Bull' (Buffalo) got killed by another Wice-yelo or Hohe maybe. Clashed over policy to Whites." NO TWO HORNS: "'Standing Buffalo' killed by some one unknown. Up north on a river place. . . ." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "'Two Bears' at Wash-ton [Washington, JH] when he got back, a battle and 'Standing Bull' killed by another Wiciyela." The Blue Thunder count and Blue Thunder Variants I, II, and III show an anthropomorphic figure with a bison's head. He is represented as being wounded. No Two Horns merely shows a wounded bison standing on its rear feet.

HIGH DOG: "Turning Bear killed a Crow who came to his tent to fight." The Dakota text reads "Mato kawige ti hi wankte (*Mató-kawinge ti hi wan kte* lit. Bear-turning-to-recline lodge came a he-killed)." SWIFT DOG: No interpretation. Both counts show a mounted man counting coup on a man who is not mounted and who wears the "enemy" hairdress. The mounted man has the name symbol of a bear.

JAW AND JAW VARIANT: "Crow Kill on White Horse." Both the Jaw and Jaw Variant counts show a wounded man who is wearing the "enemy" hairdress and is mounted on a white horse. The Jaw Variant count shows the man to be scalped and with a feathered coup stick touching his head. White Bull (Vestal, 1934 a, pp. 268-269) and Vestal's Hunkpapa count (*ibid.*, 1934 b, p. 350) refer to an enemy on a horse, identified as a Crow by White Bull, being killed, for the year "1872."

1873-74

BLUE THUNDER: "Boy soldier, 'Bad Bird,'—Sioux Scout got killed by white man at Fort Rice." NO TWO HORNS: "The whites killed Bad Bird Winter." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "'Bad Bird' 'Big Soldier' Sioux Scout killed by Whitemen (Rice)." All of the above counts show a man wearing a soldier's uniform who is wounded. The name symbol of a bird is above his head. He wears a hat in the Blue Thunder, No Two Horns, and Blue Thunder Variant II, and III counts, but in the Blue Thunder Variant I count he wears a small feather "dream headdress" at the back of his head.

HIGH DOG: "A Crow stole a white horse from someone." The

Dakota text reads "Tka colo tawa wan eyayapi (*Ikán-čòla túnwan wan iyáyapi* lit. Rope-without reins a they-went-away)." SWIFT DOG: No interpretation. Both counts show a white horse with a rope about its neck.

JAW AND JAW VARIANT: "Five Canadian kill." Both counts show a circle with small heads inside. There are rifle flashes and on the Jaw Variant count horses hoofprints. Five heads are shown on the Jaw count, and they are represented as Indians. Four heads are shown on the Jaw Variant count, and they are represented as whites or mixbloods, as they wear hats. Vestal's Hunkpapa count gives the year "1873" as the year in which the Dakota fought with the Red River mixbloods (Vestal, 1934 b, p. 350). This event is mentioned by White Bull as well, also for "1873," but is not used in the name of the year (*ibid.*, 1934 a, p. 269).

1874-75

BLUE THUNDER: "'Rain-in-the-Face' and Big Bear or Tom Hannan in prison at Fort Abraham Lincoln. Rain in the Face not known much before this time." No Two HORNS: "'Rain in the Face' (Itomagaju) [Ité-o-magàzu, JH] was prisoner at Fort Abraham Lincoln." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "Rain-In-The-Face & Two Horns (Wopepe) prisoners." All of the above counts show an Indian man with a small rain cloud above his head which is raining down on his upturned face. He wears leg irons.

HIGH DOG: "A fat Crow Indian was killed by the Sioux. . . ." The Dakota text reads "Toka cepa wan kte pi (*Tóka čépa wan ktépi* lit. Enemy fat a they-killed)." SWIFT DOG: No interpretation. JAW: "Fat crow Indian kill." The High Dog and Swift Dog counts show a man wearing the "enemy" hairdress. There was apparently no indication of the man's obesity on either count originally, but at some late date someone has drawn a few extra lines, apparently to show his fatness, on the High Dog count. The Jaw count shows a fat man who has been scalped. The Jaw Variant count omits this year, probably due to an oversight in the copying, as the pictographs for this year and the following year are quite similar on the Jaw count. Vestal's Hunkpapa count mentions the fat Crow's death for the year "1874" (Vestal, 1934 b, p. 350).

1875-76

BLUE THUNDER: "Found keg of whiskey at Fort Yates place, near the shore. Made a council and drank it all up. Many drunk." No Two HORNS: "Found a barrel of whiskey. Had a good time." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "They found a barrel of whiskey near store at Yates, Had a council and drank it all up. Knew whiskey well, Lots of it before, I drink and was drunk."

Blue Thunder and No Two Horns show a keg of whiskey set on end with whiskey flowing from a bunghole into a cup. Blue Thunder Variants I, II, and III merely show a keg, a jug, and a cup in association. White Bull mentions whiskey for the year "1875" but does not include it in the name for the year (*ibid.*, 1934 a, p. 269). He states that it was given to the treaty party which signed the Black Hills treaty, and that they were drunk in order to get them to sign.

HIGH DOG: "In early summer we were visited by Apache [sic, JH] Indians who rode white horses. . . ." The Dakota text reads simply "Sunka ska hi kin (lit. Dog white came the)." SWIFT DOG: No interpretation. JAW AND JAW VARIANT: "White dog came." The High Dog and Swift Dog counts show a man wearing the "enemy" hairdress who has the name symbol of a white dog above his head. The Jaw count shows a man who is wearing the "enemy" hairdress and is represented as having been scalped. The Jaw Variant count shows the same, but has the name symbol of a brown horse above his head in addition.

Vestal's Hunkpapa count for the year "1875" gives a Dakota text almost identical with that given by High Dog, but interprets it "White Dog (Hohe chief) visits (and makes peace with the Sioux)" (Vestal, 1934 b, p. 350). The author believes this to be the correct interpretation of this year's pictographs.

1876-77

BLUE THUNDER: "Took all ponies away from Sioux by soldiers at Fort Yates." NO TWO HORNS: "'Long Hair' (Pehanska) killed by the Sioux." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "Took all ponies away." Blue Thunder, No Two Horns, and the Blue Thunder Variant II count show a white soldier who is mounted and carries a rifle or carbine. Below the horse are many hoofprints, indicating plurality. Blue Thunder Variants II and III show substantially the same but the man is dismounted and is leading the horse.

The taking of horses from the Dakota is given for this year by the Flame and White-Cow-Killer (Mallery, 1886, p. 127). Custer's death is mentioned by White Bull (Vestal, 1934 a, pp. 269-270) and in Vestal's Hunkpapa count (*ibid.*, 1934 b, p. 350) for the year "1876." White Bull also mentions the taking of the horses but does not include it in the name of the year (*ibid.*, 1934 a, pp. 269-270).

HIGH DOG: "Sitting Bull made a treaty with the French (half-bloods) in Canada." The Dakota text reads "tataka iyota ke taku akilesa ob (*Tatánka-iyótake táku ogléša ob* lit. Buffalo bull-sitting down something red-coats with)." SWIFT DOG: No interpretation. JAW AND JAW VARIANT: "Red Coats treaty."

The High Dog and Swift Dog counts show an Indian with the name symbol of a bison head shaking hands with a white man wearing a red

coat. The Jaw and Jaw Variant counts merely show a white man wearing a red coat.

Vestal's Hunkpapa count gives the treaty with the redcoats for the year "1877," which, according to the arrangement of the previous years, refers to the winter of 1877-78 (*ibid.*, 1934 b, p. 350). This would seem to be an error of duplication, as this count also gives the "Long Hair Killed" event, using it for the previous year (*ibid.*, 1934 b, p. 350).

1877-78

BLUE THUNDER: "'Lean Bear' died in log house." NO TWO HORNS: "'Poor Bear' died then winter." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "Lean Bear died in log cabin." Blue Thunder and Blue Thunder Variants I, II, and III show an anthropomorphic bear. The "poor" or "lean" idea is suggested by drawing in the leg and rib bones, as if they were showing through the skin. No Two Horns merely shows a very thin bear.

HIGH DOG: "One Star was killed by the Crows." The Dakota text reads "Wicagipi wanjila ktepi (*Wičánkpi wanžila ktépi* lit. Star only-one they-killed)." SWIFT DOG: No interpretation. The High Dog and Swift Dog counts show a man with the name symbol of a star. The Jaw and Jaw Variant counts give this event for the following year, as does Vestal's Hunkpapa count (for the year "1879") (Vestal, 1934 b, p. 351).

JAW AND JAW VARIANT: "hole in the Nose came." Both the Jaw and Jaw Variant counts show a man wearing the "enemy" hairdress who has a neat round hole in the side of his nose. This pictograph probably refers to the visit of the refugee Nez Percé to Sitting Bull's camp after Chief Joseph's defeat. Vestal's Hunkpapa count gives this event for the year "1878" (*ibid.*, pp. 350-351).

1878-79

BLUE THUNDER: "Old 'Two Bears' die." NO TWO HORNS: "'Two Bears' a Chief dies winter." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "Old 'Two Bear' died." All of the above counts show a man with the name symbol of two bears heads.

HIGH DOG: "Little Bear was killed by the Crows." The Dakota text reads "Mato cigalato ahiktepi (lit. Bear little-blue (?) they-came-and-killed)." SWIFT DOG: No interpretation. Both counts show a man with the name symbol of a bear. He is represented as being scalped on the High Dog count, but not on the Swift Dog count.

JAW AND JAW VARIANT: "Lone Star Kill." Both counts show a wounded man. On the Jaw Variant count he is shown with the name symbol of a star above his head. He is also represented as being scalped on this count. The Jaw count shows an "x" on his chest

which may be either a star or a mark of bravery. Vestal's Hunkpapa count gives Lone Star's death for the year "1879" (Vestal, 1934 b, p. 351).

1879-80

BLUE THUNDER: " 'Crazy Walker' sick. Carried in blanket and sick to another place and get well again." NO TWO HORNS: " 'Crazy Bear' was carried on a blanket then. . . ." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "They carried 'Crazy Walker' on a blanket, He was sick." The above counts show a man on a blanket with the name symbol of a bear above his head. The bear has wavy lines emanating from his nose. Such lines usually signify either "crazy" or "holy" in Dakota pictographs.

HIGH DOG: "He-has-a-red-spear died." The Dakota text reads "tawahu kezalutata (*Tawahúkeza-lùta t'a* lit. His-spear-red died)." SWIFT DOG: No interpretation. The High Dog and Swift Dog counts show a man with the name symbol of what appears to be a black arrow.

JAW AND JAW VARIANT: "Horses disease." The Jaw and Jaw Variant counts show a horse with spots on its body, indicating mange or some such disease. Vestal's Hunkpapa count gives this event for the year "1880" (Vestal, 1934 b, p. 351).

1880-81

BLUE THUNDER: " 'Broken Head' made a big feast in winter time." NO TWO HORNS: " 'Cracks his Head' gave a big feast known as winter." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "Broken Head made a big feast." The above counts show three figures seated in a tipi. On the Blue Thunder Variant III count a small figure has been drawn in beside the tipi, apparently at a later date. It appears to be a dog or a wolf, and seems to have no relationship to either this or the preceding year's pictograph.

HIGH DOG: Beede does not know what this year's pictograph represents. He believes that it may refer to Gall stopping a sun dance. The Dakota text reads "Pizi ti. (lit. Gall's lodge)." Judge Frank Zahn says that during this year Gall's camp on the Tongue River was fired upon by soldiers. SWIFT DOG: No interpretation. JAW AND JAW VARIANT: "Capture of Sitting Bull." The High Dog and Swift Dog counts show a white soldier firing on an Indian tipi. Several rifle flashes are shown. The Jaw and Jaw Variant counts show a group of tipis with rifle flashes and streaks as if bullets were intended to be shown.

The author believes that Beede's suggested interpretation is incorrect. Gall, himself an Indian, would hardly fire upon his own people to stop one of their religious ceremonies. Indeed, he is never

recorded as having done so. Furthermore, at this time he was not in the employ of the Government.

The Jaw interpretation seems quite false as well. Sitting Bull's capture and death occurred in 1890, 10 years after the previous year's pictograph. A hiatus of 10 years on this count would be quite difficult to explain. One also wonders why no indication of Sitting Bull's identity is made if the pictograph refers to his capture and death.

The present writer feels that the pictographs on the High Dog, Swift Dog, Jaw, and Jaw Variant counts refer to Maj. Guido Ilges' attack on the Dakota, which is given in Vestal's Hunkpapa count for the year "1881" as "Sioux fired over" (Vestal, 1934 b, p. 351). The error in the title of the winter on the Jaw count can probably be attributed to the "educated boy" who, Welch writes, made the titles of the winters.

1881-82

BLUE THUNDER: "'Red Bow' mother die." NO TWO HORNS: "Mother of 'Red Bow' die that time." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "'Red Bear's mother died.'" The Blue Thunder and Blue Thunder Variant counts I, II, and III show a woman carrying a red bow. The No Two Horns count shows a woman in a red dress with a red bow above her as a name symbol.

HIGH DOG: "Whiteman called White-Beard [Major McLaughlin, JH] led the hostiles to feel friendly toward the government." The Dakota text reads "Pehi ska kin Napeyuzapi (*Pehínska kin napéyuzapi* White-beard the they-shook-his-hand)." SWIFT DOG: No interpretation. The above two counts show a white man and an Indian shaking hands.

JAW AND JAW VARIANT (closing date of both counts and of the Jaw interpretation): "Thirty five years since Sioux came to Standing Rock." Both the Jaw and Jaw Variant counts show a representation of the well-known "Standing Rock" monument which stands opposite the Superintendent's residence in Fort Yates at the present time. On the Jaw Variant count the date "1881" is inscribed on the base on which the stone is set. Beneath the Jaw pictograph for this year are 35 vertical marks which seem to explain the title given to this year's event by the "educated boy."

This year's interpretation seems to correlate with White Bull's count for the year "1881" which states "They Stop at Standing Rock to Camp for the Winter" (Vestal, 1934 a, p. 270). Both the Jaw and Jaw Variant counts end with this year, unless we wish to state that the vertical marks, one of which seems to have been added for each year after the last pictograph was drawn, are worthy of consideration as year pictographs. Since the Jaw count spirals inward and

there is little space left in the center, this device may have been resorted to merely for lack of space. Another possible explanation is that the maker may have thought that since the tribe was on the reservation and the old life gone forever, there was really nothing left worth noting except the passage of time. If each vertical mark is considered as a year the closing date of the Jaw count is 1916-17.

1882-83

BLUE THUNDER: " 'Little Bird' die suddenly." NO TWO HORNS: " 'Little Bird' die fast. Quick." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "Little Bird died suddenly." The above counts show an Indian man carrying a tomahawk. Above his head is the name symbol of a bird.

HIGH DOG: "White Beard went on a buffalo hunt with the Indians." The Dakota text reads "Pehi ska kici wanasapi (*Pehin-ska kici wanasapi* lit. Beard-white together-with they-hunted-buffalo)." SWIFT DOG: No interpretation. The last two counts show a white man on horseback shooting at a buffalo with a rifle.

1883-84

BLUE THUNDER: " 'Red Bull' die suddenly." NO TWO HORNS: " 'Red Bull' was died winter." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "Red Bull died suddenly." The Blue Thunder and Blue Thunder Variant I, II, and III counts show an anthropomorphic figure with the head and upper body of a red bison. No Two Horns merely shows a red bison.

HIGH DOG: "Three Crow Indians came to visit them as friends." The Dakota text reads "Kangi wicasa 3 hipi (lit. Crow men three they-came)." Both counts show three men wearing the "enemy" hairdress. On the High Dog count, apparently by mistake, the men are represented as being scalped.

1884-85

BLUE THUNDER: "Old man 'Red Hail' daughter die." NO TWO HORNS: "Daughter of Red Hail die then. No Two Horns own sister."⁷ BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "Red Hawk's daughter died." All of the above counts show a woman carrying a handbag with the name symbol of a red hailstone above her head.

HIGH DOG: "Little Crow died." The Dakota text reads "kangi cigalata (*Kangi-čik'ala t'a* lit. Crow-little died)." SWIFT DOG: No interpretation. Both counts show a man with the name symbol of a black bird. Perhaps this was another name for Crow King, whose death is recorded by White Bull for the year "1884" (Vestal, 1934 a,

⁷ By using the term "own sister" No Two Horns indicates that this woman was actually his sister and not a parallel cousin, also called "sister" in Dakota.

p. 270). High Hawk gives "Black Crow died," for the year "1884" (Curtis, 1908, p. 181).

1885-86

BLUE THUNDER: "'No Two Horn' made big feast in winter." NO TWO HORNS: "No Two Horns gave big feast in honor of his sister who died last winter time. All the people came. He has much beef and game. . . ." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "No Two Horns made a big feast (winter)."

All of the above counts show a tipi with three people inside. The No Two Horns count shows a buffalo inside the tipi. It is indicated as being hornless by two lines drawn from the place where the horns would be and connected in front of the animal's head. Blue Thunder Variants I and II show the buffalo outside the tipi. On these counts the hornlessness is also shown in the above manner, but since the buffalo is outside the tipi the pictograph also functions as a name symbol. The Blue Thunder and Blue Thunder Variant III counts merely show a buffalo outside the tipi, making no note of its being without horns.

HIGH DOG: "An old warrior named ——— died." The Dakota text reads "CCeta [sic, JH] wahacakata (*Četán-wàhačànká t'a* lit. Hawk-shield died)." SWIFT DOG: No interpretation. The pictographs on these two counts are almost identical with those used for the preceding year, the difference being only in the color of the man's shirt. Again a man is shown with a black bird as his name symbol. Perhaps this man was Flying-by, whose death is recorded for the year "1885" by White Bull (Vestal, 1934 a, p. 270).

1886-87

BLUE THUNDER: "'Three Thigh' die. Brother of 'Two Bears.'" NO TWO HORNS: "'Three Legs' died then." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "2 Bears brother Three thighs died." All of the above counts show a man with three legs.

HIGH DOG: "Good Elk died." The Dakota text reads "heraka howaste ta (*Heháka-howàšte t'a* lit. Male-elk-good-voice he-died)." SWIFT DOG: No interpretation. The last two counts show a man with the name symbol of an elk.

1887-88

BLUE THUNDER: "'Fool Bear' living in dance hall. . . ." NO TWO HORNS: "'Fool Bear' lived in a dance hall then. He did not die." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "Fool Bear lived in an old dance hall." The above counts show a man in a log cabin who wears a Grass dance costume, including the porcupine and deer-tail roach headdress. In the earlier years of these counts, this headdress was used to indicate an Omaha or a Ponca, but here it is used

merely to indicate that the man was a dancer, or living in a dance hall. In the No Two Horns count there is a dance drum in the cabin as well. Living in dance halls was supposed to be dangerous, according to a note by Welch accompanying this count.

HIGH DOG: "Four Horns died." The Dakota text reads "Hetopata (lit. Horns-four died)." SWIFT DOG: No interpretation. Both counts show a man with four horns on his head. The death of this man, who was Sitting Bull's uncle, is noted by White Bull for the year "1884" but is not given as the name of this year (Vestal, 1934 a, p. 270).

1888-89

BLUE THUNDER: "'Frosted Red Fish' prisoner at Fort Yates by soldiers." NO TWO HORNS: "'Eagle Claw' was a prisoner at Mandan." (Note by Welch "This was another name for Frosted Red Fish.") BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "Frosted Red-Fish prisoner at Yates (Soldiers)." The above counts show an Indian with a leg shackle and a ball and chain. He has the name symbol of an eagle claw above his head.

HIGH DOG: "There was an eclipse of the sun 'The sun turned black and died.'" The Dakota text reads "Wisapata (*Wi-sápa t'a* lit. Moon (or sun) black died)." SWIFT DOG: No interpretation. Both counts show a man with the name symbol of a black crescent. It appears that Beede's interpretation for this year's event was merely a very poor guess. Black Moon was a man's name, and in this year he died. Black Moon's death is noted by White Bull for the year "1888" although it is not used as the name of the year (Vestal, 1934 a, p. 271). This man was Sitting Bull's uncle.

1889-90

BLUE THUNDER: "'Cotton Wood', Yanktonaise Chief, died." NO TWO HORNS: "'Cottonwood' died winter." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "Cotton Wood Chief died." The above counts show a man with the name symbol of a tree. In the Blue Thunder and No Two Horns counts he is standing erect. In Blue Thunder Variants I, II, and III he is reclining.

HIGH DOG: "A woman was killed by a tree falling on her." The Dakota text reads "kowakata el winyawicaka (*Koákatàn el winyan wicáktepi* lit. Over-there at woman they-killed)." SWIFT DOG: No interpretation. The last two counts show a drawing of a woman. On the Swift Dog count she seems to have a representation of a wound on her body, but this is not clearly drawn.

1890-91

BLUE THUNDER: "Sitting Bull got killed . . ." NO TWO HORNS: "'Sitting Bull' got killed that time." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS

I, II, and III: "S [Sitting, JH] Bull killed (Dec. 15, 1890)." HIGH DOG: "Sitting Bull was slain." The Dakota text reads "tata ka iyotake kte pi (*Tatánka-iyòtake ktepi* lit. Buffalo-bull-sitting-down they-killed)." SWIFT DOG: No interpretation.

The Blue Thunder, No Two Horns, and Blue Thunder Variant counts II and III show a wounded buffalo who is represented as sitting down. Blue Thunder Variant I shows an anthropomorphic buffalo, wounded and in a sitting position. The High Dog and Swift Dog counts show an Indian with the name symbol of a bison head who is being fired upon by a man dressed in a uniform. The death of Sitting Bull is given by White Bull for the year "1890" (Vestal, 1934 a, p. 271). Famous though Sitting Bull was, none of the other counts which were examined, and which include this year, mention his death.

1891-92

BLUE THUNDER: "Draw money first time. \$3.00 each person." NO TWO HORNS: "First money paid to us by the Government \$3000 each one." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "Had a money payment of \$3.00 each." The above counts show a small house with an Indian beside it. Inside or near the house are three round objects, probably representing silver dollars. The amusing discrepancy in the No Two Horns interpretation can be explained by the fact that on this count a dollar sign, resembling a figure "3" is drawn in front of the three objects, making it appear that they are aughts, and that the whole is the number "3000".

HIGH DOG: "He-has-a-spotted-horse died." The Dakota text reads "Tasunke heratotata (*Tašúnke-hin-hòta* (?) *t'a* lit. His-horse-hair-grey (?) died)." SWIFT DOG: No interpretation. Beede seems to have erred once more with the interpretation of this year's pictograph. Both counts show a man with the name symbol of a white (gray) horse.

1892-93

BLUE THUNDER: "Draw money second time. \$40.00 each one for ponies taken away." NO TWO HORNS: "Second time we get money. Paid us \$9.00 for our horses . . ." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "\$40.00 each for ponies taken before." The above counts show pictographs similar to those of the previous year, but with more round objects in the "disbursing house." In the Blue Thunder and Blue Thunder Variant II counts 10 silver dollars are shown. No Two Horns shows 9. Blue Thunder Variant I shows 16 and Blue Thunder Variant III shows 13. White Bull gives this event for the year "1893" (Vestal, 1934 a, p. 271).

HIGH DOG: "Horse Shoe died." The Dakota text reads "Shunka mazata (*Šúnka-màza t'a* lit. Dog-iron died)." SWIFT DOG: No in-

terpretation. Both counts show a man with the name symbol of a horse or a dog. The drawing seems to resemble a dog more closely than a horse. Judge Frank Zahn confirmed the above translation of the Dakota text, stating that "Iron Dog" died at this time.

1893-94

BLUE THUNDER: "Boy, 12 winters old dragged to death. Got killed. Name 'Money.'" NO TWO HORNS: "'Money Boy' dragged to death at Mandan Fair." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "Boy dragged and killed." All of the above counts show a boy being dragged behind a running horse. His name symbol, a few round objects representing silver dollars, is shown by his head in all but the Blue Thunder Variant I count.

HIGH DOG: "He-has-a-red-spear died." The Dakota text reads "Tawahu kezaluta ta (*Tawahúkeza-lùta t'a* lit. His-spear-red he-died)." SWIFT DOG: No interpretation. Both counts show a man with the name symbol of a red spear. Judge Zahn suggests that this man was probably the son of the person of this same name whose death is recorded for the year 1879-80.

1894-95

BLUE THUNDER: "'Carry His Lodge on Back' die." NO TWO HORNS: "'His arm cut off' died." This man was H. S. Parkins of Cannon Ball." [This year seems to be inverted with the following year in the interpretation of the No Two Horns count, JH.] BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "Man named 'Carry Tent' died." The Blue Thunder and No Two Horns counts show a man with an erected tipi on his back. Blue Thunder Variants I, II, and III show a man carrying what appears to be a folded tipi cover on his back and carrying the tipi poles in his arms.

HIGH DOG: "Chief Gall died." The Dakota text reads "Pizita (*Pizi t'a* lit. Gall died)." SWIFT DOG: No interpretation. The above counts show a man with two large horns on his head. This is the correct year for Gall's death (1894).

1895-96

BLUE THUNDER: "White Man, H. S. Parkin, die at Cannon Ball." NO TWO HORNS: "Carry the Lodge died then." [The interpretation for this year seems to be inverted with that for the preceding year, JH.] BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "H. S. Parkin died ('95)." All of the above counts show a representation of a white man who carries a cane and has one arm missing.

HIGH DOG: "A woman was burned to death in her home." The Dakota text reads "Winya wan ili kin (*Winyan wan ile kin* lit. Woman a burned the)." SWIFT DOG: No interpretation. Both counts merely show a woman beside a tipi.

1896-97

BLUE THUNDER: "Son of Chief Big Head die." NO TWO HORNS: "'Stabbed' has a hemorrhage and died that time." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "'Paz ipa' [Pazípa-stabbed, JH] son of 'Big Head' died." All of the above counts show a man bleeding from the mouth. Blue Thunder Variants I and II seem to show his head slightly larger in proportion to his body than are the heads of the other figures in the count. The No Two Horns count shows an arm behind the man's back, stabbing him with a knife. This is apparently his name symbol.

HIGH DOG: "A sickness caused pimples on people's heads." The Dakota text reads "Pa wica yuksapi (*Pa wičáyuksâpi* lit. Head they-caused-to-be-broken-off (a hanging))." SWIFT DOG: No interpretation. Both counts show three figures. One is attached to a pole or tree by a rope around his neck. This year's pictograph probably refers to the locally famous Spicer murder. Three Indians killed a white man who would not give them whiskey. They were later apprehended, tried, found guilty, and hanged.

1897-98

BLUE THUNDER: "'Holy Soul' die." NO TWO HORNS: "'Tooth Pick' died winter." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "'Holy Soul' died." The above counts show an Indian with a pipe and a pipe bag in one hand and holding a long thin object, perhaps an eagle bone whistle or a piece of wood to his mouth with the other.

HIGH DOG: "A woman once taken captive from the Crows and always living with them died." The Dakota text reads however "Kangi wiyakata (*Kanġi-wiyaka t'a* lit. Crow-feather he-died)." The pictographs on both counts show a man with a red and black feather as a name symbol. Beede evidently interpreted the word wiyaka, feather, as wayáka, a slave or a captive.

1898-99

BLUE THUNDER: "'Louse Bear' hung himself." NO TWO HORNS: "'Louse Bear' died then winter." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "'Louse Bear' hanged himself." The above counts show a man in uniform, perhaps an Indian police uniform, with the name symbol of a bear covered with conventionalized lice.

HIGH DOG: "Spotted Bear died." The Dakota text reads, however, "mato cuwiyukisa ta (*Mató-čuwiyùksa t'a* lit. Bear-broken-in-two-at-the-pleura died)." Perhaps this is "Half-body-bear." SWIFT DOG: No interpretation. Both counts show a man with the name symbol of half a bear. The Blue Thunder group of counts gives the death of Half-body-bear for the year 1915-16, but perhaps there were two persons of this name.

1899-1900

BLUE THUNDER: "'Grey Bear' playing hockey, drops dead at Mandan Fair." NO TWO HORNS: "'Grey Bear' died while playing shinny at the Mandan Fair." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "Gray Bear dropped dead playing shinny at Mandan." All of the above counts show a man with the name symbol of a gray bear carrying a shinny stick and with a shinny ball in front of him.

HIGH DOG: "Hawk Shield died." The Dakota text reads "Ieta wahacanka ta (*Čétan-wàhačànkà t'a* lit. Hawk-Shield he-died)." SWIFT DOG: No interpretation. The last two counts show a man with the name symbol of a feathered shield with a picture of a bird upon it. The reader will note that for the year 1885-86 a man named Hawk-shield is recorded as dying. In case one of these two interpretations is misplaced, the pictograph accompanying this year's text would indicate that this is the true year of this man's death. It is entirely possible, of course, that there were two men of this same name, perhaps father and son.

1900-01

BLUE THUNDER: "'Worth Hat' got burned in bed." NO TWO HORNS: "'Wear Bonnet' got something he thought was kerosene. It was gasoline and it killed two families that time." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "Wears Hat burned in his bed." The above counts show a man who wears a feather warbonnet.

HIGH DOG: "Good Elk died." The Dakota text reads "Heraka wawaste ta (*Heháka-wowàšte* (howaste, ?, JH) *t'a* lit. Male elk-goodness (or good-voiced?) he-died)." SWIFT DOG: No interpretation. Both counts show an elk with a forked line emanating from his mouth. This seems to indicate that this is the true year of Good-voiced-elk's death and that the Dakota interpretation for the year 1886-87 has been misplaced. Again, however, there could have been two men of this name.

1901-02

BLUE THUNDER: "'Hat', a policeman, dies suddenly." NO TWO HORNS: "'Bonnet' Red Tomahawk's brother died winter." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "Hat, a policeman died." The above counts show a man wearing an Indian policeman's uniform and badge, plus and eagle feather warbonnet.

HIGH DOG: "Bull Head died." The Dakota text reads "Tataka pa ta (*Tatánka-pa t'a* lit. Buffalo-bull-head he-died)." SWIFT DOG: No interpretation. Both counts show a man with the name symbol of a bison's head.

1902-03

BLUE THUNDER: " 'Grey Bear' got hurt. Broke leg. Cut it off, died." NO TWO HORNS: " 'Grey Bear' Police his leg cut off then." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "Gray Bear police, broke leg, cut off, he died." The above counts show a man wearing an Indian police uniform who has one leg missing. The name symbol of a bear is shown over the man's head.

HIGH DOG: "Buffalo Ghost died." The Dakota text reads "Tataka wamayī ta (*Tatánka-wanàgi t'a* lit. Buffalo-bull-ghost he-died)." SWIFT DOG: No interpretation. Both counts show a man with the name symbol of a bison above his head.

1903-04

BLUE THUNDER: " 'Little Dog' die." NO TWO HORNS: " 'Little Dog' died winter." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "Little Dog died." The above counts show a dog with long ears.

HIGH DOG: "A star died (disappeared)." The Dakota text reads "Wicaripi wanjila ta (*Wičáŋkpi-wanžila t'a* lit. Star-only one he-died)." SWIFT DOG: No interpretation. The last two counts show a representation of a star. The author believes that this was a man's name and that he died during this year. Beede obviously thought that this year's event referred to some astronomical phenomenon.

1904-05

BLUE THUNDER: " 'White Eagle' died at Berthold, visiting." NO TWO HORNS: " 'White Eagle' and old man died. (Father of Richard White Eagle.)" BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "White Eagle died at Berthold." The above counts show a man with the name symbol of a large bird.

HIGH DOG: "Beaver Shield died." The Dakota text reads "waha-cakasapa ta (*Wáhacàŋka-sàpa t'a* lit. Shield-black he-died)." SWIFT DOG: No interpretation. The above counts show a man with the name symbol of a feathered black shield. Beede evidently mistook the word *sàpa*, black, for *càpa*, a beaver. The man's name was Black-shield according to Judge Zahn, who remembers the event.

1905-06

BLUE THUNDER: " 'Black Bear' policeman, killed by Asst. Farmer, Bristow." NO TWO HORNS: " 'Bear Blacking Himself' shot that winter." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: " 'Black Bear' killed by Bristow (?)." Blue Thunder and the Blue Thunder Variant counts I, II, and III show a man wearing a policeman's uniform with the name symbol of a black bear above him. No Two Horns shows a white bear standing on his hind feet and smearing himself with black paint. The bear wears a police badge.

HIGH DOG: "Rain-in-the-face died." The Dakota text reads "Ite amorojie ta (*Ité-o-magàžu t'a* lit. Face-upon-it-rains he-died)." **SWIFT DOG:** No interpretation. The pictograph on these two counts is puzzling. Both show a man with the name symbol of a man's head. The head in the name symbol wears the "enemy" hairdress. Whether this refers to Rain-in-the-face or to some other individual is uncertain.

1906-07

BLUE THUNDER: "Joe Tomahawk shot himself, suicide." (Note—Son of Marcellus Red Tomahawk, famous Sihasapa, W)." **NO TWO HORNS:** "Son of Marcellus Red Tomahawk kills himself." **BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III:** "Young Hawk's boy Joe suicided." All of the above counts show a man with the name symbol of a red tomahawk. In the No Two Horns counts he is bent over a rifle which he is apparently discharging into his own face.

HIGH DOG: "Feather Hawk died." The Dakota text reads "Ieta wakiyata (*Čétan-wakìnyan t'a* lit. Hawk-thunder he-died)." **SWIFT DOG:** No interpretation. Both counts show a man with the name symbol of a bird from which a forked line emanates. This line usually means "crazy" or "holy" in Dakota pictographs, but in this case probably symbolizes thunder and lightning. Beede probably mistook the word wakìnyan, thunder or lightning, for wíyaka, a feather.

1907-08

BLUE THUNDER: "'Earth,' mother of Frosted Red Fish, die." **NO TWO HORNS:** "'Eagle Claw' woman of Red Fish, dies now." **BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III:** "'Frosted Redfishes' mother died (Maka [Earth, JH])." All of the above counts show a woman with the name symbol of an eagle claw. Frosted-red-fish's alternate name was Eagle-claw, according to Welch (note accompanying interpretation of No Two Horns count, 1888-89), and the eagle claw is his name symbol, not that of his mother.

HIGH DOG: "His-horse-reers died." The Dakota text reads "tasuke iyake ta (*Tašúnke-inyàuka t'a* His-horse-runs he-died)." **SWIFT DOG:** No interpretation. Both counts show a man with the name symbol of a running horse.

1908-09

BLUE THUNDER: "'Two Bears' mother die." **NO TWO HORNS:** "Mother of Two Bears died winter." **BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III:** "2 Bears mother died." The above counts show a woman with the name symbol of two bears' heads.

HIGH DOG: "There was an issue of horses." The Dakota text reads "Syacukaske suwakipamin (*Ínyan-čunkàške šúnka-wakpàmni* lit. Rock-fence horse-issue)." **SWIFT DOG:** No interpretation. Both counts depict a horse. The pictograph for this year refers to a Gov-

ernment issue of horses which took place at "Rock fence place" south of Fort Yates, according to Judge Zahn.

1909-10

BLUE THUNDER: "'Fly Cloud' prisoner at Fort Yates." NO TWO HORNS: "'Flying Cloud' was a prisoner at Mandan winter." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "Flying Cloud a prisoner." The above counts show a man wearing leg shackles and a ball and chain with the name symbol of a cloud above him. This cloud seems to be sprouting wings in the Blue Thunder and Blue Thunder Variant III counts. It has definitely sprouted them in the No Two Horns count.

HIGH DOG: "There was a comet." The Dakota text reads "Wicagipi wan ile yahan (*Wičáŋhpi wan ile yahan* lit. Star a burning went-along)." SWIFT DOG: No interpretation. Both counts show a star or comet with a fiery tail. This was Halley's comet, visible during the years 1908-11, and appearing brightest from April 19, 1910, to June 19 of the same year.

1910-11

BLUE THUNDER: "'High Bear' Chief, die." NO TWO HORNS: "'Tall Bear' die. A chief one time. (Capt. I. P. Paker given his name.)" BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "Chief 'High Bear' died." Blue Thunder and Blue Thunder Variants I, II, and III show a man with the name symbol of a bear. No Two Horns merely shows a bear with very long legs (i. e. "Tall Bear").

HIGH DOG: "Buffalo Fool died." The Dakota text reads "Tataka witko ta (*Tatánka-wítko t'a* lit. Buffalo-bull-crazy he-died)." SWIFT DOG: No interpretation. The last two counts show a man with the name symbol of a buffalo.

1911-12

BLUE THUNDER: "'Half Body Bear' died." NO TWO HORNS Interpretation missing for this year. BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III: "Half-body Bear died." The Blue Thunder and Blue Thunder Variant counts I, II, and III show an anthropomorphic creature the upper half of which is a bear. No Two Horns shows a bear with a red line dividing it in half. The High Dog and Swift Dog counts mention the death of "Bear-cut-in-half" for the year 1898-99.

HIGH DOG (this is the last year for this count and its interpretation): "Children had measles and the same year a star burned out." The Dakota texts (there are two of them) read "Wakaheja nasilipi *Wakánhea naslípi* lit. Children epidemic)," and "Wicarpí wan ileyo u kin (*Wičáŋhpi wan iléya u kin* lit. Star a burning came the)." SWIFT DOG (this is the last year for this count): No interpretation. Both

counts show a star or meteor with a flaming tail. The High Dog count shows a person with spots on his body as well.

1912-13

BLUE THUNDER: "Red Dog's wife died." [This interpretation does not fit the picture on the count, JH.] NO TWO HORNS: "Siaka [Šiyaka (?) Teal-duck, JH] 'Scares the Eagle' died winter." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III (the Blue Thunder Variant counts I and II end here): "Red Dog's wife died." The Blue Thunder count shows a man with the name symbol of a large bird in flight. No Two Horns shows a similar picture, but the man is running. Blue Thunder Variants I and III show a man with an eagle name symbol, similar to the Blue Thunder count. Blue Thunder Variant II shows an anthropomorphic figure, the top half of which is a red dog.

Blue Thunder Variants I and II end with this year. The parts of the Blue Thunder and Blue Thunder Variant III counts which were drawn in ink by the original artist or artists end here as well. The Blue Thunder and Blue Thunder Variant III counts continue, but after this year the work is apparently the work of several different people. On the whole this later work is either very inferior or else the work of someone who was quite acculturated and sketched in the European manner. On the Blue Thunder count the figures after this year are drawn with a soft pencil and colored with wax crayons, and have become badly smudged.

1913-14

BLUE THUNDER: "This year call him 'When the soldier was adopted' winter." A note by Welch reads "Note—This was the adoption ceremonies of A. B. Welch." [This is obviously incorrect. There are five pictographs on this count before the one in which Welch appears, JH.] (The interpretation of the Blue Thunder count ends here, although the pictographs continue.) NO TWO HORNS: "Wife of Grey Bear had a bleeding. She died." BLUE THUNDER VARIANTS I, II, and III (Blue Thunder Variants I and II, which this interpretation supposedly accompanies, ended with the previous year. The interpretation, however, continues for 1 year longer.): "Mrs. Parkins died."

The Blue Thunder, No Two Horns, and Blue Thunder Variant III counts all picture a woman. The Blue Thunder and No Two Horns counts have the name symbol of a bear above her head. The Blue Thunder Variant III count does not show this but has a printed inscription underneath the pictograph reading "Mrs. Mato hota [Grey-bear, JH]." Perhaps this woman's Christian name was "Mrs. Parkins."

1913-14

BLUE THUNDER: No interpretation. NO TWO HORNS: "White Eagle's Woman was run over by a train at Mandan." BLUE THUNDER VARIANT III: No interpretation. The Blue Thunder count shows a woman with the name symbol of a white eagle. NO TWO HORNS shows a graphic scene in which a woman is lying beside a railroad track. The locomotive which is on the track has literally cut her in two. The Blue Thunder Variant III count shows a woman with the name symbol of a white eagle. On this bird's body is printed "White Eagle."

1914-15

BLUE THUNDER: No interpretation. NO TWO HORNS: "'Good Crow's' woman died then." BLUE THUNDER VARIANT III: No interpretation. The Blue Thunder and NO TWO HORNS counts show a woman with the name symbol of a black bird. The Blue Thunder Variant III count shows this as well, but in addition a man who apparently has a shriveled leg. He stands behind the woman.

1915-16

BLUE THUNDER: No interpretation. NO TWO HORNS: "'Holy Bear' die then." BLUE THUNDER VARIANT III: No interpretation. The Blue Thunder count shows a man with the name symbol of a bear. Wavy lines emanate from the bear's nose, probably carrying the idea of "holy." NO TWO HORNS shows a man wearing a warbonnet and carrying a sword who has a name symbol similar to that in the preceding count. Blue Thunder Variant III shows an anthropomorphic figure, the top half of which is a bear. Wavy lines emanate from this creature's nose.

1916-17

BLUE THUNDER: No interpretation. NO TWO HORNS: "'Bent Horn' winter die." BLUE THUNDER VARIANT III: No interpretation. The Blue Thunder count shows a man with a name symbol of a bison's head. This bison has extremely long curved horns. NO TWO HORNS shows a man with the name symbol of a pair of long curved bison horns. Blue Thunder Variant III shows a man in white man's clothing who has the name symbol of a bird above him. This count is probably recording a different event.

1917-18

BLUE THUNDER: No interpretation. NO TWO HORNS: "'Mato Watakpe' (Charging Bear) returns from over the Ocean War winter. Many ceremonies then." BLUE THUNDER VARIANT III: No interpretation. The Blue Thunder count shows a man in an elaborate Indian chief's costume who has the name symbol of a bear above his head. Wavy lines emanate from the nose of the bear. NO TWO HORNS shows

a similar picture, but there are no wavy lines coming from the bear's muzzle. These two counts, and perhaps the Blue Thunder Variant III count as well, refer to the adoption ceremonies in which Major A. B. Welch, of Mandan, N. Dak., was made a member of the Dakota tribe. Welch was given the name "Charging Bear" by the Dakota. Among other honors Welch was formally instated in the Čanté T'inza or Strong-heart warrior society. The Blue Thunder Variant III count shows a man in soldier's uniform holding a rifle at port arms. He is represented as being wounded in the arm and the right leg. The words "Tatanka nasin [Tatánka-nàzin lit. Buffalo-bull-standing, JH]" are written under the pictograph.

1918-19

BLUE THUNDER: No interpretation. NO TWO HORNS: " 'Strikes Many' die that time winter." BLUE THUNDER VARIANT III: No interpretation and apparently no pictograph. The Blue Thunder count shows a man who has been wounded several times on the body. Around him are what are apparently representations of Indian quirts (signifying the name "Many-strikes"?). No Two Horns shows a similar scene. Blue Thunder Variant III seems to omit a year here, as the "Silk" incident is the next one given. This "Silk" pictograph is labeled "1920" which seems to place it with the counts for the next year

1919-20

BLUE THUNDER: No interpretation, and apparently no pictograph. NO TWO HORNS: " 'Silk' accidentally shot his woman in the head. She die." BLUE THUNDER VARIANT III: No interpretation. The Blue Thunder count apparently omits a year here, as the next pictograph on this count after the "Strikes-many" event shows a man with the name symbol of an eagle claw, which seems to correlate with the other two counts for the following year. No Two Horns shows a woman with a wound in her head. Blue Thunder Variant III shows a rather popeyed man in the act of discharging a gun at a woman who has a wound in her head. Apparently the man's popeyedness is intended to show his horror at what is taking place and to convey the idea that the death was accidental. Between the figures of the man and the woman is what appears to be a cattle brand or a monogram. Beneath the pictograph is the inscription "1920, Mrs. Harry Silk."

1920-21

BLUE THUNDER: No interpretation. NO TWO HORNS: " 'Tree Top' (Jack) die. Indian name Bear Claw." BLUE THUNDER VARIANT III: No interpretation. The Blue Thunder and No Two Horns counts show a man with the name symbol of a bear's clawed foot. Blue Thunder Variant III shows a large dark rectangle, inside

of which is a woman's profile and the words "Winyan waste [lit. Woman-good, JH.]" This last pictograph obviously refers to some different incident than the other two counts.

1921-22

BLUE THUNDER: (The Blue Thunder count concludes with this year.) No interpretation. No Two HORNS: (The No Two Horns count and its interpretation end with this year.) "'Frosted Red Fish' die in Mandan hospital. Indian name Eagle Claw." BLUE THUNDER VARIANT III: No interpretation.

The Blue Thunder and No Two Horns counts show a man with the name symbol of an eagle claw. Blue Thunder Variant III shows a small sketchy drawing of a human figure with the name symbol of what appears to be a saddle. The inscription "1922 Octxnti [?, JH]" is printed under the pictograph. The author has been unable to relate this term to any word in the Dakota language.

1922-23

BLUE THUNDER VARIANT III: No interpretation. The Blue Thunder Variant III count shows a man with the name symbol of a bird which has wavy lines emanating from its beak in a rough V shape. This is the common method of designating the thunderbird in Dakota pictographs. The inscription "1923" is printed beneath this drawing.

1923-24

BLUE THUNDER VARIANT III: No interpretation. The Blue Thunder Variant III count shows a man sitting in a yellow tipi. Whether this is a year pictograph or merely the pictograph of a former owner of the count is not certain. Evidence against its being an ownership pictograph is that the style of drawing differs from that used on the majority of the pictographs on the count and that it is upside down in relation to the beginning years of the count. Evidence for its being an ownership pictograph are that a winter count was once kept by a man named Yellow-lodge, and that there is no date written underneath this drawing, although dates are written beneath the pictographs both preceding and following it.

The author's personal opinion is that it is a year pictograph. The pictograph following this one is dated with "John P. Pleets, Died Nov. 20, 1924." This would indicate that the preceding pictograph, this one, would be for the year preceding, 1923-24, and that Pleet's death was the event selected for 1924-25.

1924-25

BLUE THUNDER VARIANT III: No interpretation. The Blue Thunder Variant III count shows a figure with a human body and a

bison's head. The figure wears white man's clothing. Beneath the pictograph is the inscription "John P. Pleets, Died Nov. 20, 1924."

1925-26

BLUE THUNDER VARIANT III: No interpretation. The Blue Thunder Variant III count shows a man wearing white man's apparel. Above his head is the name symbol of what appears to be a smoking cloud. Underneath the pictograph is the inscription "Mah-piya Peta [lit. Cloud-fire, JH] 1925."

1926-27

BLUE THUNDER VARIANT III: No interpretation. The Blue Thunder Variant III count shows a small anthropomorphic figure with the head and upper body of a bison.

1927-28

BLUE THUNDER VARIANT III: No interpretation. The Blue Thunder Variant III count shows a reclining man with the name symbol of a red bird.

1928-29

BLUE THUNDER VARIANT III: No interpretation. The count shows a man wearing the modern "northern style" Grass dance costume. In his hand he carries a dance mirror in a wooden frame. Above his head is the name symbol of what appears to be a bald eagle. Below the pictograph is the inscription "Eugene Gray Eagle, Died Feb 5th 1929."

1929-30

BLUE THUNDER VARIANT III: No interpretation. The count shows a man wearing a long winter overcoat, a fur cap and mittens, and carrying a cane. He has the name symbol (?) of a sun and some clouds above him. Below the pictograph is the inscription "Frank Gates, Died Dec 1929."

1930-31

BLUE THUNDER VARIANT III (the concluding year for this count): No interpretation. This count shows a small old woman wrapped in a shawl and bent over a cane. Beneath the pictograph is the inscription "Mrs. Shave One Side, Died Jan 1, 1931."

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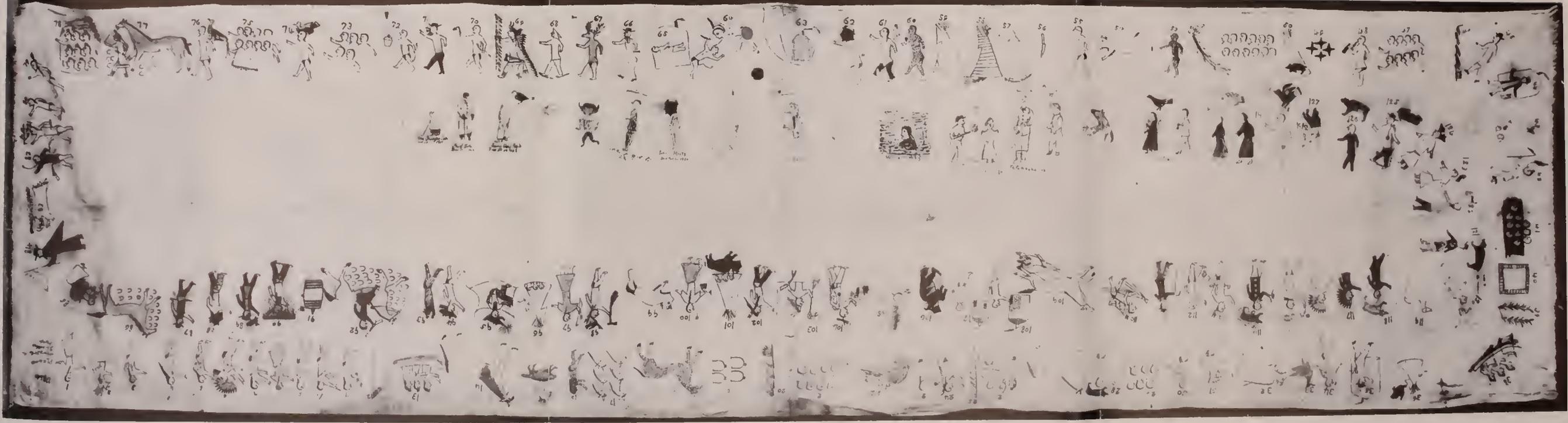
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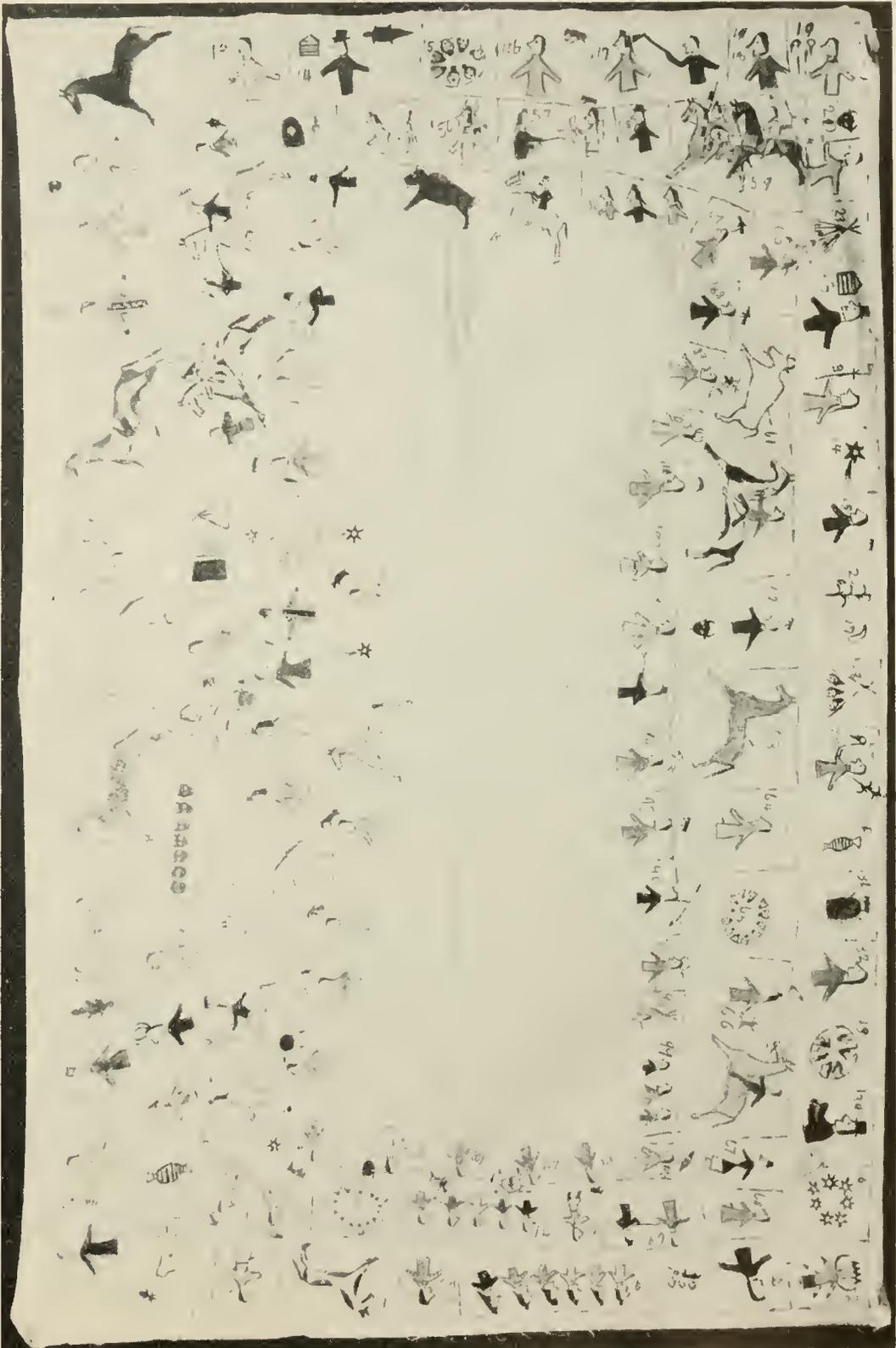
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Blue Thunder Variant III (Yellow Lodge) winter count.



Blue Thunder Variant III (Yellow Lodge) winter count.



Swift Dog's winter count (No. 674).

