A Rosebud Reservation Winter Count, circa 1751-1752 to 1886-1887

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Abstract. This is a discussion of a newly found winter count of a Lakota *tiyospaye* (extended kinship group) that eventually ended up on the Rosebud Reservation created for the Sicangu (Brule). The count is on muslin, measuring 89 centimeters by 176 centimeters. It consists of 136 pictographs, most drawn in black ink with colored ink washes, that cover a span approximately from 1751-2 to 1886-7. The count was obtained by either John A. Anderson or Myrtle Miller Anderson and passed on to their family. It resurfaced in 1998, in an old trunk, and was donated to the Smithsonian Institution in the fall of 2000. The count is closely related to the one on a tipi cover that was photographed by John Anderson in 1895 and is possibly the basis for the cover.

One name for Lakota pictographic calendars is *waniyetu wowapi*, literally, “winters they draw,” meaning “winter depictions.” Another name is *waniyetu yawapi*, literally, “winters they count,” meaning “counted winters” or “winter count.” Following this second designation, they are known in English as “winter counts.” Winter counts are drawn and cared for by Keepers and depict the most significant yearly experience of a *tiyospaye* (extended kinship group). There are more than 150 known Lakota winter counts; they have been the object of scholarly study for more than a century. A previously unknown winter count spanning approximately 136 years resurfaced in 1998. It was found in the passed-on possessions of the widow of photographer John A. Anderson. The winter count and one depicted on a tipi cover that Anderson photographed in 1895 are clearly related; the winter count may have even been the basis of the tipi cover.
Anderson at Rosebud

John Anderson was a well-known photographer and merchant who for most of his adult life was associated with the Rosebud Reservation. His family had immigrated from Sweden in 1870, when Anderson was only a year old. After immigrating, the Andersons lived in both New York and Pennsylvania. They moved again in 1883, to Cherry County, Nebraska, near Fort Niobrara (Hamilton and Hamilton 1971: 3; see also Roosa 1977: 388–9). From then until 1936, when he moved to Rapid City, South Dakota, Anderson lived near or on the Rosebud Reservation, with some periods of time spent in Pennsylvania and California (Hamilton and Hamilton 1971: 11).

During his early adulthood, Anderson worked not only as a photographer, but also as a woodworker and a clerk to Charles P. Jordan, who had a trading post at the Rosebud Agency. In 1893, Anderson bought an interest in the Jordan Trading Post; it subsequently became the Jordan Mercantile Company (ibid.: 4–9). According to his great-nephew, Timothy Tackett, Anderson obtained numerous Lakota objects in payment for food and other goods purchased in the store, or as gifts for his generosity and willingness to assist the Lakota, two traits for which he was widely recognized (Tackett 2001a and 2001b; see also Hamilton and Hamilton 1971: 11 and Roosa 1977: 390–1).

After moving to Rapid City, Anderson managed the Sioux Indian Museum, a private museum that housed his collection of Sioux materials (Hamilton and Hamilton 1971: 11). In 1938, part of his collection was sold to the Bureau of Indian Affairs; it continued to be housed in the Sioux Indian Museum, which is now incorporated within Rapid City’s Journey Museum. The Big Missouri Winter Count—copied on hide by Sam Kills Two (a.k.a. Beads)—was included in these materials. Anderson photographed many Rosebud Lakota. In 1928, however, his home on the Rosebud Reservation burned; many of his photographic plates were destroyed in the fire (ibid.).

In 1939, Anderson moved again, this time to Atascadero, California, where he died of stomach cancer in 1948 (ibid.: 11–12). Following his death, his widow “sold the photographic plates that had been saved from the 1928 fire and most of his equipment for one hundred dollars” (ibid.: 12). However, some glass negatives of Anderson’s photographs were donated to the National Anthropological Archives (NAA) at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C. In 1970, the Nebraska State Historical Society received an inquiry “offering some 350 original Anderson photograph negatives for sale” (“John Alvin Anderson” 1970: 470). The collection was quickly pur-
chased by the Nebraska State Historical Society Foundation; it now resides with the society.

Finding the Winter Count

Anderson's widow, Myrtle Anderson, came to live with her niece, Jean Miller Tackett, in Ontario, California, during the 1950s. Mrs. Tackett had lived across the street from the Andersons in Rosebud and had stayed with them for a year while she was in high school (Tackett 2001b). Myrtle Anderson brought with her various Lakota items. When she died in 1961, items were passed to her niece and the Tackett family.

In 1998, Mrs. Tackett was preparing to move. Her son, Timothy Tackett, a professor in the Department of History at the University of California at Irvine, was helping her pack. They opened an old trunk and found a winter count. Tackett recognized it as such immediately; however, neither he nor his mother, then in her eighties, remembered ever having seen it before. Among other items in the trunk was a deteriorated woman's dress of cloth and leather, which Mrs. Tackett distinctly remembered having previously seen (Tackett 2001a). The dress, undoubtedly Lakota, was among the effects of Myrtle Anderson, the widow of photographer John Anderson, that had been passed to the family of her niece and great-nephew, Timothy Tackett, after she died. The effects also included an additional "few pieces of clothing, beadwork, an arrowhead collection" (Tackett, 2001a), and an enlargement of the much reproduced photograph of Kills Two copying the Big Missouri Winter Count.3 Seemingly, the resurfaced winter count was obtained by Anderson while on the Rosebud Reservation, although it could have been obtained directly by his wife.4

The Winter Count

The count is on muslin; it measures 89 centimeters by 176 centimeters (see Figure 1). It contains 136 individual pictographs, mostly drawn in black ink with ink washes of red, yellow, blue, and black (see Figure 2). All of the first 122 pictographs are in ink with washes. Some of the later ones, starting with No. 123, are done mainly in pencil. More ink was used, however, in Nos. 125, 126, 127, 128, 132, and 133. The pictographs are arranged in a "flattened spiral" back and forth across the rectangular surface, starting off-center and ending in one corner. The pictographs have been numbered, with some corrections, most notably No. 1, which is directly across from No. 2 and was (apparently) mistakenly numbered 23, with corrections made to subsequent numbers. A line has been drawn "connecting" the
pictographs, starting with No. 2, continuing through No. 1 — positioned between Nos. 22 and 23 — and throughout the winter count. The line is slightly "disjointed" at each point along the middle of the winter count (see Figure 1). This indicates the line may have been drawn while the count was folded, then turned over and the other half drawn, or while it lay unfolded on a surface with a joint or depression in the middle, or while it hung over a rack.

The winter count is remarkably well preserved. The primary blemish is a water spot over one pictograph (No. 49), part of a second (No. 48), and into three others (Nos. 94, 95, and 96). It detracts little, however, and none of the colors has bled, indicating they are ink, not watercolor. A few other minor stains and blemishes are present. Also, parts of edges are worn, and the muslin on one of the shorter edges of the winter count is very slightly folded over.

According to one reckoning, the 136 pictographs cover the history of this tiyospaye from 1751-2 to 1886-7. The Lakota year—waniyetu—is reckoned from "first snow to first snow"; it therefore covers parts of two calendar years. A standard method to correlate Sioux winter counts is to ascertain the pictograph that represents the Leonid meteor shower, often referred to as the "storm of stars." It occurred on 12 November 1833 and is a typical notation on Sioux winter counts (see Mallery 1877:17 and 1893:320). The winter count year indicated for the shower is usually 1833 or 1833-4 (see, for example, Chamberlain 1984: S4-S10, Table 1); however, on the High Hawk Winter Count, a Sicangu (Brule) record also from the Rosebud Reservation, the year indicated is 1834 (see Curtis 1908:174).

Given this, one then simply counts backward and forward from the "storm of stars" pictograph — most correctly using the date 1833-4 for it — to establish the beginning and ending dates of the calendar. On the count considered here, the meteor shower is depicted in pictograph No. 83. Counting backward from this pictograph and using the date 1833-4 for it yields a beginning date of 1751-2 for the first pictograph, whereas counting forward from it and its date yields an ending date of 1886-7 for the final pictograph (No. 136). (This assumes the numbering is correct. It may not be: For example, pictographs No. 33 and No. 34 could be seen as depicting a single event, as could No. 67 and No. 68.)

Each pictograph on a winter count represents a sequential winter. On rare occasions, however, a chronology could be skipped or compressed by accident, for example, forgetting a designation or reading a designation as more than one, or by events such as the death of one Keeper and the passing of the count on to another, the Plains Wars, or the movement to a reservation and the disruption it created. Sequential years may not be indi-
Figure 1. (foldout) The Rosebud Reservation winter count. Courtesy of the National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.

Figure 2a. (above) Individual pictographs from the Rosebud Reservation winter count. Courtesy of the National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.
Figure 2b. Individual pictographs from the Rosebud Reservation winter count. Courtesy of the National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.
Figure 2c. Individual pictographs from the Rosebud Reservation winter count. Courtesy of the National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.
Figure 2d. Individual pictographs from the Rosebud Reservation winter count. Courtesy of the National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.
Figure 3. The Brule Tipi Cover Winter Count. Courtesy of the Nebraska State Historical Society.
cated for the last few pictographs of this particular winter count: Michael Cowdrey (1999) observed that pictograph No. 134 for year 1884-5, by my strict chronological reckoning, is similar to the pictograph High Hawk used to indicate a death of a child in 1887.

Since pictographs 1 through 122 are so uniform in medium, "colors, quality of line, and general style" (ibid.), it would seem they were redrawn by a single person at the same time, which is the case with most winter counts. This may have occurred around 1872-3 (the date for No. 122 arrived at here). This was around the time some Lakotas, now known as the Upper Brule, were required to relocate to Spotted Tail Agency, following the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868, which established the Great Sioux Reservation. On reservations, the Lakota would then have "had access to a host of new materials such as drawing inks, and muslin cloth" (ibid.) and may have transferred this winter count from hide to muslin, perhaps making more than one copy. If it was copied at this time, however, it is amazing that the winter count could have remained so well preserved as it moved around with a tiyospaye during the turbulence of the 1870s (DeMallie 2001).

The Keeper now may have done the recordings yearly for the following six years—pictographs 123 through 128—as the media changes somewhat from year to year, although the style remains the same. At this point—pictograph 129—the style changes as "a different, more-sophisticated hand assumes the helm" (Cowdrey 1999). Probably the same artist drew the remaining pictographs through No. 136, the point at which space on the muslin ran out, although the media varies from pencil to ink. The date could have been as early as 1886-7, but it also could have been a few years later.

The Brule Tipi Cover Winter Count

In addition to the well-known photograph of the Big Missouri Winter Count being copied, Anderson’s work includes a photograph of another winter count. This is of one drawn on a tipi cover that Anderson photographed in 1895, in the town of Rosebud, South Dakota. It is called the Brule Tipi Cover Winter Count and is known only from this photograph (see Figure 3).

The tipi cover was supposedly used by Anderson’s partner Charles P. Jordan “in his show business”; some have stated that it was owned by High Hawk (see Dyck 1971: 356; McCoy 1983: 88; Cowdrey 1999), although it does not seem to have been drawn by him (see Howard 1976: 20 and 67; McCoy 1983: 88). Charles Jordan, typically referred to using the honorary title of “colonel,” operated the Jordan Trading Post—which became
the Jordan Mercantile Company—on the Rosebud Reservation. His wife, Julia, was an Oglala woman, likely a member of Red Cloud’s band (Hamilton and Hamilton 1971: 115, 127). Jordan was a friend of Buffalo Bill Cody, and by at least 1890, he, with the help of Anderson, was recruiting Indians—Sicangus (Brûles) from the Rosebud Reservation and Oglalas from adjacent Pine Ridge Reservation—for Cody’s “Wild West Show” (see, for example, ibid.: 133, 135–6).

According to Henry Hamilton and Jean Tyree Hamilton (ibid.: 138), another tipi like the one photographed by Anderson “stood just behind the Jordan Trading Post in 1892.” Jordan’s son, William Red Cloud Jordan (1970: 367), states that the tipi was used to store “many large and small trunks which contained old Indian materials, fancy bead and porcupine quill work articles . . . to be exhibited at the Chicago World’s Fair in 1893.” Some items were made by Jordan’s wife, Julia, expressly for the fair. However, the tipi and its contents were destroyed when the Jordan Trading Post and its warehouse caught fire in the summer of 1892 (see ibid.: 367–8; Hamilton and Hamilton 1971: 138).

By 1894, Jordan had his own Indian show, as he took dancers from Rosebud to San Francisco’s Midwinter International Exposition of that year. In 1895—the year the tipi cover was photographed—Jordan took dancers to the Cotton States and International Exposition in Atlanta, Georgia. He also had a “concession to exhibit a typical Sioux Indian Village” (Jordan 1970: 369; see also Hamilton and Hamilton 1971: 133). The exhibited village included “a buffalo skin lodge which required many buffalo skins to cover it” (Jordan 1970: 369). The tipi with its winter count was perhaps also part of the village: The official history of the exposition states that the village contained “a historic lodge, giving in pictures the history of the Sioux for 240 years” (Cooper 1896: 91). The tipi may also have been included in the show Jordan produced at the 1896 Zoological Garden Exposition in Cincinnati, Ohio, apparently his last show (see Jordan 1970: 369–70; Hamilton and Hamilton 1971: 133).

The Pictographs on the Tipi Cover

The photograph of the tipi cover records only part of the count, as it was painted in tiers around the tipi, and Anderson photographed the tipi from only one angle (as far as we know). Despite this limitation, it is included in analyses of Lakota winter counts. Von Del Chamberlain (1984: 88 and 34), for example, reproduces a picture of it and includes its pictograph for the Leonid meteor shower in his examination of the astronomical content of winter counts. And James H. Howard (1976: 67) concludes that there are forty-seven visible pictographs, covering from about 1788–9 to 1865–6,
whereas the entire count “probably begins ca. 1761-62 and ends ca. 1870-71.” Howard even provides a comparison of the visible pictographs with those offered by Garrick Mallery (1877, 1886, 1893): He was able to identify twenty-one of them (Howard 1976: 67-68).14

Comparison of the New Winter Count and the Tipi Cover

A comparison of the pictographs on the tipi cover with those of the new winter count indicates they are very closely related. There are some variations in how the pictographs are drawn. For example, many of the human figures on the winter count lack legs, whereas “there are full figures on the tipi cover” (Burke 2001). Also, the count on the tipi goes from right to left in the photograph whereas the one reported here goes from left to right. (This could be simply a function of the negative being reversed when the photograph was developed.) However, the images are very similar to one another and of the same style (see Figures 1 and 3). Thus the events they represent appear to be the same.15

The earliest visible pictograph on the tipi corresponds to No. 12 (1762-3) in the winter count; the latest corresponds to No. 126 (1876-7). Howard’s identifications of the twenty-one tipi cover pictographs correspond well with the dates offered here for the new winter count: As shown in Table 1, nine have identical dates, including that for the Leonid Meteor Shower, whereas the other twelve differ by only one year, with Howard’s being earlier in eleven instances and later in a single instance.

The Basis of the Brule Tipi Cover Winter Count

It is very possible that the tipi cover’s pictographs were copied from the count reported here or from another like it. The present count seemingly spans a slightly longer period than the events on the tipi, which indicates it was not copied from the cover. Also, it may have been created on the present muslin as early as 1872-3. If so, this seems too early a date for the tipi cover to have been created, at least the one photographed by Anderson and perhaps also the one reportedly burned in 1892. And, most important, no other winter count on a tipi is known to have existed. If this is the case, then someone—probably Jordan or Anderson—had access to the winter count (or one similar to it) and had it painted on a tipi, possibly as late as shortly before the 1893 World’s Columbian Exposition in Chicago. This was a time when people were “constructing” Lakota artifacts and culture to present to the general public. Such “construction” could even explain the full figures on the tipi, as the images were modified for pub-
Table 1. Comparison of Thornton's and Howard's chronologies for new winter count

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Thornton's chronology</th>
<th>Howard's chronology</th>
<th>Pictograph number</th>
<th>Pictograph description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1788-89</td>
<td>1788-89</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>So cold black crows were frozen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1790-91</td>
<td>1790-91</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>All the Indians see the flag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1791-92</td>
<td>1791-92</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>Dakota and Omaha made peace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1794-95</td>
<td>1795-96</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>Dakota camped on Missouri near Arikara and fought them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1809-10</td>
<td>1808-9</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>Little Beaver's house burned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1810-11</td>
<td>1809-10</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>Black Rock killed by Crows</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1811-12</td>
<td>1810-11</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>Dakota fought Gros Ventre and killed many</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1812-13</td>
<td>1811-12</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>Catching wild horses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1813-14</td>
<td>1812-13</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>Whooping cough epidemic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1814-15</td>
<td>1813-14</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>Kiowa hit on head with an axe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1815-16</td>
<td>1814-15</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>Large house built</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1816-17</td>
<td>1815-16</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>Large house lived in again</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1833-34</td>
<td>1833-34</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>Year the stars moved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1835-36</td>
<td>1835-36</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>Killed a very fat buffalo bull</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1836-37</td>
<td>1836-37</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>Dakota and Pawnee fought on ice on the North Platte River</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1848-49</td>
<td>1848-49</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>Humpback killed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850-51</td>
<td>1850-51</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>Cow found with old woman in its belly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1852-53</td>
<td>1852-53</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>A Crow (Nez Perce) chief comes to Lone Horn's Lodge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864-65</td>
<td>1863-64</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>Eight Dakota killed by Crows</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865-66</td>
<td>1864-65</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>Bird, a white trader, burned to death by Cheyenne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866-67</td>
<td>1865-66</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>General Maynadier makes peace with Oglala and Brule</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Information for the Howard's chronology and Pictograph description columns are from Howard 1976: 67-68.

Public consumption. Raymond J. DeMallie (2001) notes that "during the early reservation period, as whites paid attention to winter counts, they developed stylistically from simple mnemonic devices to artistic presentations; on a tipi cover, aesthetic considerations called for more highly developed style." (And, too, there was more space on the tipi cover.) Thus, the tipi cover could have been only a "showbiz prop" (Thorne 2001). Whether the tipi Anderson photographed was already in existence, was created at the same time, or was created again from the winter count after the fire, per-
haps in anticipation of Jordan’s own entertainment venture, one cannot now say.

Conclusion

The Lakota winter count presented here is a remarkable aesthetic, cultural, and historical object. It is very well preserved. Some of its colors are almost vibrant. Many of its figures are intriguing: For example, pictograph 17 depicts an anthropomorphic half human and half buffalo, probably a buffalo dancer (but possibly a person’s name); pictograph 24 depicts a horse with a travois, showing a transition from their use with dogs to their use with horses by at least 1774–5. It is, moreover, an important chronicle of a people’s history, dating back further into the eighteenth century than most other Lakota winter counts in existence today. It also helps explain the origin of the Brule Tipi Cover Winter Count photographed by Anderson. A brief examination of the pictographs indicates similarities with other Sioux winter counts, be they Sicangu (Brule) (e.g., High Hawk’s Winter Count), Oglala (e.g., No Ears’s Winter Count), Yanktonai (e.g., Lone Dog’s Winter Count), or otherwise. Thus, this tiyospaye surely had experiences similar to other tiyospaye who recorded their history. However, a brief examination also indicates differences, indicating that this tiyospaye probably had some years that were unique. Nevertheless, the end of the count reflects experiences on the Rosebud Reservation.

It is curious that this winter count was not known to us earlier. By 1895, Anderson was aware of it as recorded on the tipi. He (or his wife) may or may not have actually possessed the winter count by this time, or even have been aware of it. Whenever it was acquired, Anderson did not subsequently photograph it, as far as we presently know. This is particularly strange since he photographed the Big Missouri Winter Count and even provided “a detailed interpretation of each pictograph” (Cohen 1939: 16).

Now that this Lakota winter count has been published, scholars will be able to study its history as well as the history of its tiyospaye. Scholars will also be able to examine how it relates to other winter counts and how its tiyospaye relates to other Lakota groups. They may also be able to ascertain the last Keeper(s) of the winter count. If so, then they can provide a proper name for it.

Afterword: Donation to the National Anthropological Archives

After Tackett and his mother found the winter count in 1998, he took possession of it. He subsequently showed it to colleague Tanis Thorne, a
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Native American studies professor at the University of California at Irvine. Thorne identified it as Lakota, probably Sicangu (Brule). She then contacted Michael Cowdrey of San Luis Obispo, California, an expert on Plains material culture, who did the initial analysis of the winter count (see Cowdrey 1999). Meanwhile, Tackett and Thorne discussed donation of the winter count to a museum, where it could be best preserved for posterity and made accessible for research. Thorne eventually contacted me at the University of California at Los Angeles. I suggested the Smithsonian, since I was familiar with its National Anthropological Archives (NAA), which has been designated “a national treasure” by Save America’s Treasures, and because I was chair of the Smithsonian Institution’s Native American Repatriation Review Committee. I also contacted Candace Greene, a North American ethnology specialist with the Department of Anthropology in the Smithsonian Institution’s National Museum of Natural History (NMNH), where the NAA is housed. Greene then contacted Tackett directly. After some discussion, Tackett decided to donate it to the Smithsonian. The winter count was personally delivered to Greene by Tackett in the fall of 2000. He was spending the 2000-1 academic year at the National Humanities Center in North Carolina and journeyed to Washington, D.C., for the donation. Thorne, who was spending a fall term there, also was present when the winter count was delivered. Along with most of the NAA collections—including winter counts (see Burke 2000) and other American Indian art (see Greene 2000)—this Lakota winter count is housed at the NMNH’s Museum Support Center in Suitland, Maryland, which is specifically designed for storage and conservation.

Notes

The author gratefully acknowledges many who contributed to this essay. Candace Greene provided expertise and facilitated the reproduction of the winter count and its individual pictographs, as shown in Figures 1 and 2. Thomas Biolsi, Christina Burke, Raymond J. DeMallie, Claes-Håkan Jacobson, Melissa Meyer, Joaquin Rivaya Martinez, Timothy Tackett, Tanis Thorne, and Phuong Tong read drafts of the manuscript and provided many insightful comments about both content and organization. Gillian Flynn, Ron Little Owl, Ronald T. McCoy, and Gayle Yiotis assisted in various ways. Funds for the color reproduction of the winter count and its individual pictographs were provided by the office of Acting Director Jake Homiak, Collections and Archives Program, the Smithsonian Institution, and the offices of Vice Chancellor and Dean Claudia Mitchell-Kernan and Dean Scott Waugh, both at the University of California at Los Angeles.

1 Wilhelm Wildhage (1991: 39) states, for example, “John A. Anderson had been in the possession of a winter count painted on skin; and this had . . . been acquired together with other objects by the Indian Office” for the Sioux Indian
The photograph is reproduced, among numerous other places, in the frontispiece of Hamilton and Hamilton 1971. A photograph of some of Anderson’s other materials also can be seen in Hamilton and Hamilton 1971: 305.

2. For a collection of photographs taken by Anderson, see Hamilton and Hamilton 1971; see also Dyck 1971.

3. This winter count is typically called the Big Missouri Winter Count; see, for example, Cheney 1979 and Cohen 1939, although Wildhage (1991) calls it the Big Missouri-Kills Two Winter Count. The negative is in the Nebraska State Historical Society in Lincoln (negative no. A57-1A); it is referred to as “Kills Two copying the Big Missouri Winter Count” by John A. Anderson.

4. This appears doubtful, however, as Tackett (2001b) notes that Mrs. Anderson was opposed to taking objects for payment.

5. For a history of the Sicangu (Brule), see Hyde 1961; see Utley 1963 for a more general history of the Sioux during this period.

6. The site of the agency for the Sicangu (Brule), led by Chief Spotted Tail, was changed several times. In 1878, it was relocated to its present location on Rosebud Creek and its named changed to Rosebud Agency (Biolsi 1992: 6; see also Hyde 1961: 261-2; and Hamilton and Hamilton 1971: 16).

7. DeMallie (2001) hypothesizes that “it is a copy of a winter count that ended in 1872-73, but that was later added to until room ran out.”

8. Actually, Anderson photographed the tipi at least twice: In another photograph a large hide depicting a man’s war record was spread over the tipi, thereby covering the winter count pictographs except for those at the very top and bottom (see Dyck 1971: 331).

9. Paul Dyck (1971: 332) attributed this winter count to High Hawk. However, it differs significantly from another winter count attributed to High Hawk (see Curtis 1908: 159-82 and illustrations facing pages 158, 160, 162, and 164). Similarly, Cowdrey (1999) attributes the tipi winter count to High Hawk and does not make the connection between it and the one he examined and I present here.

10. Nevertheless, Jordan (1970: 368) and his family attended the exposition and visited Buffalo Bill Cody’s Wild West Show.

11. The official history of the exposition contains a picture of a group of Sioux Indians who performed (see Official History 1894: 159). The official guide to the exposition discusses “Dr. White Cloud’s American Indian Village” (see Official Guide 1894: 122-4). The picture of Dr. White Cloud bears a striking resemblance to Jordan.

12. It is also stated that “with the tribe was a medicine man with two medicine lodges covered with pictures representing the strange, unnatural objects which the medicine man had seen in his dreams” (Cooper 1896: 91).

13. The negative for this photograph is in the Nebraska State Historical Society in Lincoln (negative no. RG2969:2-96).


15. It should be noted, however, that similar pictographs can and do depict different events on different counts.

16. The Blue Thunder Variant III (Yellow Lodge) Winter Count has a similar figure for the year 1926-7 (see Howard 1960: 414 and plate 45). No interpretation for it is given.
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