Lakota Winter Counts
The Teachers’ Guide
This teachers’ guide was developed, written and designed by Anh-Thu Cunnion while completing her M.A.T. in Museum Education at The George Washington University. Under the supervision of Candace Greene, Ms. Cunnion worked with a dedicated group of ethnologists and educators in order to create a comprehensive guide for teachers that can enhance their curriculum and inspire their students for years to come.

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WHAT ARE WINTER COUNTS?

Why use the winter counts in your curriculum?

Lakota winter counts — pictographic calendars of a community’s history—provide a unique look into the history of the Lakota Sioux people during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Unlike historical accounts recorded by European settlers and explorers, winter counts represent a rich Lakota tradition of oral history and storytelling. Community historians, known as winter count keepers, maintained and used these pictographic records as mnemonic devices to remember the sequence of events that marked each year. By referring to the winter count, members of a Lakota community could mark events in their own lives.

Primary sources expose students to multiple perspectives on events and issues of the past and present. Incorporating winter counts into the classroom can allow students to develop visual literacy skills, greater analytical abilities, and a deeper understanding about the Lakota people and their culture. By dealing directly with archival records, students engage in asking questions, thinking critically, and developing reasoned explanations and interpretations of events, issues, and peoples of the past and the present.

The Smithsonian Institution’s collection of winter counts documents over two hundred years and represents the history of several Lakota communities. Educators and historians on several Lakota reservations in North and South Dakota expressed a great interest in being able to study and learn from these primary sources. This online resource is dedicated to giving both Lakota and non-Lakota audiences access to the Smithsonian’s extensive collection of winter counts. Many teachers in the U.S. and Canada are already using winter counts as focal points for lesson plans in math, history and social studies. By creating this on-line database of winter count entries collected from ten winter counts and including supporting educational material, we hope that more educators will use these primary sources in the classroom.
Key to using the Teachers’ Guide

This teachers’ guide was created to facilitate the incorporation of Lakota winter counts into your curriculum. Relevant background information, visual material, topic suggestions, sample lesson plans and resource lists are also included in this document—along with general instructions on how to better navigate the Lakota winter count online exhibit. Before using any of the material provided, please review the guidelines for teaching culturally sensitive material, developed by the Department of Anthropology at the National Museum of Natural History. A glossary located on the educators’ page of the online resource provides definitions for anthropological terms and Lakota words.

Pictograph of individual year

Battiste Good 1711-12

Four lodges drowned winter.

Another flood in which many people drowned is noted by all the calendars for the year 1825-26.

Winter count name and year represented by pictograph

Name of year

Additional information

Right: Page from the Battiste Good winter count.
A record of history

For generations, Plains Indians drew **pictographs** to document their experiences with the natural, human and supernatural worlds. The Lakota term for winter counts is **waniyetu wowapi**. The word *wowapi* translates into English as “anything which is marked and can be read or counted,” meaning any book, letter or two-dimensional drawing. **Waniyetu** is the Lakota word for year, which is measured from first snow to first snow.

Drawn onto a variety of material—buffalo skin, deer hide, muslin or paper—winter counts are composed of pictographs organized in spirals or in horizontal rows. Each pictograph represents a year in the history of a Lakota community and depicts an unusual or memorable event that affected the group of people who camped together. The pictographs were organized in chronological order so that the winter count as a whole served as a mnemonic device, used to spur people’s memories and provide an outline for the group’s oral historian. Winter counts were also used by individual community members who referred to specific years as dates marking events in their own lives.

Some of the winter counts in the Smithsonian’s collection are very similar to each other while others are not. Communities made up of members of an extended family, or **tiospayes** (as they are called in Lakota) had different experiences. There often were multiple copies of a winter count in a **tiospaye** and the winter counts of allied groups were similar. Counts were not considered “art for art’s sake” and were copied over regularly when they became worn or could no longer fit in the available space. Pictographs or the stories behind them might have changed as they were copied.

Winter counts were dynamic documents of recorded history. Variations between similar counts might have occurred if a community historian chose to emphasize a different aspect of an event—or select another event all together. Differences among winter count narratives might also be the result of inaccurate or incomplete translation from Lakota to English. The counts, like all histories, are a selective representation of a people’s past. The choices reflect both the community’s history and culture.
The keeper

Each tiospaye had a designated winter count keeper. As the community historian, this member of the group—always a man—was responsible for maintaining the winter count and remembering its stories. Before recording the past year on the count, the keeper consulted with a council of elders to choose an appropriate event by which to remember the year. The event chosen was not considered the most important event of the past year, but only the most memorable. For instance, sacred ceremonies that occurred regularly were not often chosen because the event was not unique to a particular year.

The keeper was also responsible for retelling the tiospaye's history at various times throughout the year. During ceremonies or other social gatherings, he would bring out the count and use it as a visual reference to name the years. In this way, the members of the band knew their history and could use particular years to index events in their own lives, such as the year of someone's birth. It was important that the keeper, in consultation with the band's elders, chose events that were easily remembered by his entire band.

When the keeper could no longer fulfill his role as historian, the duty was passed on to another male member of the tiospaye—usually a son or nephew—whose first obligation was to copy his predecessor's winter count. With the advent of literacy, keepers began to add written captions to the images. By the end of the 19th century, some winter counts were only written texts. Pictographs were replaced by written year-names as the mnemonic device of choice.
The National Museum of Natural History’s Lakota Winter Count online exhibit is divided into three main sections featuring descriptions of Lakota life during the nineteenth century and the history of the winter counts, interviews by contemporary Lakota community members, and a searchable database of images from the winter counts along with their anthropological data. By exploring each section, teachers and students will be better able to study the winter counts and understand their unique value as primary sources of American history from the 18th to 20th centuries.

**Historical overview**

The first two sections, “Who are the Lakota?” and “What are winter counts?” provide background information for educators to familiarize themselves with the content of the online exhibit. Photographs from the National Anthropological Archives are included as primary sources throughout.

**Contemporary perspectives**

During the winter of 2003, members of the project team recorded interviews with several Lakota community members on Lakota reservations in the northern Great Plains region. Selections from these interviews are available in the section, “What are Winter Counts?” The full interviews can be viewed in the section, “Who are the Lakota?” These are valuable resources for not only gaining a contemporary understanding of the Lakota people, but also for appreciating the importance of the oral history tradition in American Indian culture.
The searchable database

“View Winter Counts” is a searchable database that allows users to sort through every annual entry included in the ten winter counts featured on the online exhibit. Users can search by winter count, year, or keyword. In order to facilitate searching capabilities, some common topics have been identified and can be selected for searching. These topics are: plants and animals, ceremonies, health, trade goods, places, people, U.S. Government, and the Sky.

When a pictograph is selected, a larger image appears along with its Lakota year, English year, name of keeper, Collector’s notes, and explanatory comments. By selecting “collect this winter count” you can save the entry in a temporary holding screen called “My Winter Count.” You can e-mail your collection of entries to yourself for later use in projects or reports.

Information about the collection history of each count, including a biographical sketche of its collector and/or keeper, can be accessed by clicking the “Artifact” tab. Using the navigation tools located below the image, you to enlarge, shrink, and rotate the winter count to best suit your needs.
At the beginning of the 21st century, museums and schools are continually faced with issues surrounding the sensitivities and concerns of cultural diversity. Lessons that were once common to all American schoolchildren, such as recreating Thanksgiving at Plymouth Rock, are now recognized as culturally inaccurate and historically misleading. Educators have since developed several sets of guidelines for teaching about American Indian cultures as well as for evaluating books on American Indian history. Considerations most pertinent to teaching with the Lakota winter counts are listed below.

1. **Avoid qualitative assessments of either Lakota or European beliefs, traditions or lifestyles.** Do not compare the “White” version of history against the version of history represented in the winter counts. History is, by nature, subjective and represents the needs, beliefs and viewpoints of the culture to which it belongs. Transposing one people’s history into the needs, beliefs and viewpoints of another people’s culture leads to cultural bias and misunderstanding.

2. **Strive to portray the Lakota as real human beings.** Are they attributed with both strengths and weaknesses, joys and sadnesses? Do they appear to have coherent motivations of their own comparable to those attributed to non-Indians?

3. **Avoid portraying the Lakota as purely reactionary.** Discuss how the Lakota’s actions are based on their own values and judgments, rather than simply a reaction to outside forces such as government pressure or cattle ranchers.

4. **Emphasize diversity found within the Lakota as much as diversity found between the Lakota and different ethnic groups.** American Indians portrayed in your curriculum material should not look like typical homogenous Hollywood movie “Indians,” whether Tonto from the Lone Ranger days or more contemporary Disney characters like Pocahontas. Just as all Europeans or African-Americans do not look alike, neither do all American Indians.

5. **Challenge stereotypes and clichés surrounding American Indians.** Television, especially old movies, often include “Indian” characters with a limited vocabulary. Yet anthropologists have carefully documented the complexity of languages developed and used by American Indians. At least 350 different languages were spoken in North America alone when the Puritans first stepped foot on the shores of what is now Massachusetts. Many are still spoken, including Lakota.

6. **Be critical of culturally biased descriptions of American Indians.** Language such as “obstacles to progress,” “noble savages” who are “blood-thirsty,” “child-like,” “spiritual,” or “stoic” should be kept out of classroom discussions or curriculum material. American Indians were not “savage warriors,” nor were they “noble savages.” They were no more nor less noble than the rest of humanity.

7. **Set the standard for cultural sensitivity within the classroom.** Stereotypes can be actively diffused if teachers check their own expressions and eliminate those such as, “You act like a bunch of wild Indians!” or “Don’t be an Indian giver.”

8. **Recognize regional, cultural and tribal differences.** Instead of generalizing the Great Plains Indians, the Sioux or the Lakota, distinguish between the Brulé, the Pawnee, the Assiniboin, etc. Discuss both the differences between and the similarities among the various groups.
9. **Avoid portraying the Lakota as people solely of the past with fixed traditions and beliefs.** Lakota communities are dynamic, evolving entities that can adapt to new conditions, migrate to new areas and keep control of their own destinies. Over time, their lifestyles have adapted to the changing world, as have those of their non-Lakota and non-American Indian counterparts.

10. **Avoid activities that trivialize Lakota culture.** Craft activities that “reconstruct” Lakota (or other American Indian) dress, dance, rituals and beliefs (i.e. outfits and headdresses made from paper bags and construction paper) belittle the traditions and skills held by true Lakota artisans. Instead, research authentic methods and have proper materials. Resist highlighting the “exotic,” especially if it was not the norm. Also avoid referring to Indian clothes as “costumes,” a word that often brings to mind Halloween or “dress-up” and is considered culturally insensitive.

11. **Appreciate the unique circumstances of American Indian tribes in the U.S.** Do not equate American Indians groups with other ethnic minorities. The reality is that American Indian tribes—by treaty rights—own their own lands and have other rights that are unique to them as descendants of the native people of North America. Most are “dual citizens” of both their tribal Nation as well as the United States. No other minority within the U.S. shares a similar legal and/or historical position.

12. **Remember that culture and ideas are learned and not inherent according to ethnic background.** Do not single out Lakota students in your class as “experts” on their ancestry and/or the ancestry of all American Indians. All American students, Lakota or otherwise, need to be taught about American Indian heritage.

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**References**

These guidelines were extracted from various sources and adapted to specifically address the material found on this online resource. The original texts on which these guidelines are based are listed below.


IN THE CURRICULUM

The Lakota Winter Count online resource allows educators to effectively integrate primary resources and multicultural experiences into any curriculum. By including multiple perspectives and culturally diverse interpretations into the study of history, natural sciences and language arts, educators encourage their students to think globally and to respect the beliefs and customs of all people. This section suggests several subject areas in which winter counts can be incorporated. Specific topics and rationales have been included to further describe how winter counts can enhance your students’ classroom experience.

U.S. History

In recent years, textbooks have become more inclusive of the multicultural nature of U.S. history. However, texts often still emphasize the political and economic story of the dominant groups in American society, primarily those of Euro-American descent. Much of the history of the Native people of North America that we learn in school is based on written records—observations passed on by literate travelers, traders, missionaries and governmental representatives who came into contact for either brief or lengthy periods of time.

In contrast, Native peoples have a long held tradition of passing on their own histories primarily through a rich oral tradition. Studying the winter counts in conjunction with textbooks and other historical records demonstrates to students that historical research involves digesting several different versions of history using a broad range of sources. They will learn to evaluate historical records within a culturally specific framework and to value the many different methods by which people have documented the human experience through time.

Suggested topics:

Social relationships between the populations of the Great Plains.

What types of interactions do the winter counts record between the Lakota and other Native tribes? How did the Lakota interactions with Native tribes and with Euro-Americans differ?

Economic relations between the Lakota and neighboring groups.

What goods did the Lakota trade for with neighboring Native tribes? with the Euro-Americans? How important were these trade relationships to the Lakota?

U.S. Government policy’s impact on American Indians.

Trace the appearances of the U.S. military in the winter counts? How did the U.S. government impact the Lakota? Do you recognize any of the events mentioned in the winter counts?

The impact of the Louisiana Purchase (1803), Monroe Doctrine (1822) and Manifest Destiny (1840s).

Trace the expansion of the U.S. frontier using noted geographical and political landmarks. Did the Lakota remain in the same general area?

Lakota culture in the 18th and 19th centuries.

What types of ceremonies are recorded in the winter counts? How did the ceremonies relate to other aspects of Lakota life? What gender roles existed within Lakota society? How are they represented in the winter counts?

Cloud Shield 1807-08

Many people camped together and had many flags flying.

This may have been a meeting with the Lewis and Clark Expedition.
Natural Sciences
The Lakota culture is strongly tied to the natural world. In many cases, the winter counts refer to unusual or extreme environmental occurrences, geographical landmarks, local plants and animals or other aspects of the natural environment. Locating and analyzing the instances in which these references occur provide a unique opportunity for students to see first-hand how important a role natural sciences play in the survival of humans and their historical record.

Suggested topics:
Astronomy
What astronomical phenomena are mentioned in the winter counts? What astronomical events are mentioned in only some of the counts? What events are excluded from the records completely?
The geographical landscape of the Great Plains during the 18th and 19th centuries.
Locate the places mentioned in the winter counts on a map. Have their names changed over time?
Human interaction with their environment.
What is the basic environment like? What unusual environmental conditions are mentioned in the winter counts? How did they affect people’s lives?
Natural plant and animal resources used by the Lakota.
What plants and animals did the Lakota use? Did these change over time?
Disease and famine on the Great Plains.
What factors affecting people’s health are mentioned in the winter counts? What were the causes that led to them?

Language Arts
The winter counts were key instruments of communication among the Lakota and can be invaluable to a language arts curriculum. They not only provide glimpses into how the Lakota lived in the past, but also represent a rich tradition of oral history. The counts also present a valuable opportunity to discuss the process of translation, both among keepers and between Lakota and Euro-American collectors.

Suggested topics:
The role of interpretation in the historical record.
All of the information about the years in the winter counts was provided in the Lakota language and translated into English. What effect might the process of translation have on the information we have today? What qualities are lost every time any information is translated from one source to the next?
Evidence of power and voice in historical records.
What are the differences between primary sources and secondary sources? How were they recorded? Why were they recorded? Whose point of view do they represent? What is negative evidence?
Oral history.
Why do different counts have different names for similar events? Would you be able to interpret the history represented in the winter counts without the help of a keeper? How important was the role of the oral historian to the Lakota community in which he lived?
Elementary Levels

Recording Your Community’s History
In this lesson, students will act as keepers for their class’s community history. As a class, students will discuss the events of each day and decide which event was the most unique and memorable. They will then each draw a pictograph that represents that event. At the end of the teaching unit, students will have created a pictographic calendar recording a shared community history. (Note: If class time is limited, students could also be asked to record their family’s history. As a homework assignment, they should meet with their family (or some form of small community) on a regular basis and together they should decide an appropriate event to record for the day. After a week, students can share their “community’s” pictographic calendar with the class.)

Curriculum Goals:
Because each state has its own social studies curriculum standards, the National Council for the Social Studies’s 1994 publication, Expectation of Excellence: Curriculum Standards for Social Studies was used as a guideline for this lesson plan. In accordance with this set of standards, the lesson focuses on themes of Time, Continuity and Change. Within these themes, learners at the elementary level “gain experience with sequencing to establish a sense of order and time and begin to recognize that individuals may hold different views about the past.” These objectives, or variations of them, are also found in several states’ curriculum standards for younger students.

Performance Objectives:
After completing this lesson, students will be better able to:
1. Differentiate between personal history and community history.
2. Cooperate with others to achieve a consensus.
3. Appreciate visual representation as valid historical documentation.

Materials:
1. Image of a winter count, either for overhead projection or general distribution. (Digital images of the winter counts can be downloaded off the Lakota Winter Count online resource. They are located in the “Learning Resources” section, under the Teachers’ Guide in “Downloadable Images.”)
2. Paper (large format or standard)
3. Pencil and/or crayons
4. Optional. Map of the Great Sioux Reservation (also can be downloaded from online resource).

Procedure:
1. Discuss the concept of calendars. What are calendars for? How do we use them? What different kinds of calendars are there? (i.e. Lunar, Jewish, astrological, daily, weekly)
2. Instruct the students to write down the most memorable event that occurred the day before.
3. Provide background information on the Lakota. Locate the region of the United States that the Lakota people lived from prior to the 18th century to the present (South Dakota, North Dakota).
4. Introduce the winter counts. Show images of the winter counts, preferably a variety of them so that students can compare and contrast each keeper’s style and medium (students should not think that winter counts were only produced on buffalo skin or hide).
5. Explain how the winter counts were used by the Lakota to remember their community’s history.
   a. Each pictograph represents a memorable event that occurred during each year of the community’s history.
   b. The pictographs are arranged in chronological order.
   c. One person, the keeper, was responsible for meeting with important members of the community to discuss which event would represent the preceding year.
6. Ask the students to share the event they selected and have them choose, as a class, one event to represent the class’s shared history. Guidelines for selection are:
   a. It must be an event that was common to the entire class.
   b. It must be an event that is unique to that day and has little chance of reoccurring tomorrow or later that week.
7. Once the event has been decided on, have each student draw an image that depicts that event. At the end of the lesson, collect and display the images so that students can see how their pictographs were similar or different to those made by their classmates.

Optional homework assignment:
Assign the students homework requiring them to create a pictographic calendar documenting their family’s history over a set period of time. You may want to send a letter home with your students explaining the unit and this assignment. If there are students in your class who are unable to meet with their families on a regular basis, special allowances should be made to accommodate their home life. The main idea behind this assignment is to record a community history as opposed to a personal one. “Community” can refer to many groupings, not just a traditional family.
1. Ask the students to go home and explain the Lakota Winter Counts to their families. If students have internet access at home, have them write down the URL to the Lakota Winter Count online exhibit to show to their families.
2. Students should then meet with their families at regular intervals over a set period of time (e.g. every night for a week, every other night for two weeks, etc.). At each gathering, the “community” should select an unique event to represent that period of time.
3. Once the event has been selected (using the guidelines from the classroom exercise), the student must draw a pictograph that represents that event. At the end of the week, each student should have a pictographic calendar documenting his or her family’s history.
4. On the day the assignment is due, have students volunteer to share their families’ pictographic calendar with the class. Display them in the classroom. Encourage discussion on any similarities or differences found among the collective calendars.

Teacher Notes:
Refer to historical and cultural content on Lakota Winter Count online exhibit.

Evaluation Tool:
Students will be assessed on:
1. Class participation and group discussion.
2. Ability to act cooperatively with class “community.”
3. The finished product’s value as a recognizable representation of the class’s chosen event.
Middle School Levels

Oral Histories:
Over the course of this lesson, students will study the oral history tradition as an important scholarly resource as well as a rich cultural tradition. By studying Lakota oral histories and interviews given by members of the Lakota community, students will gain a better understanding of how scholars draw from various resources to ensure an accurate understanding of the past. They will also begin to appreciate oral history as a cultural tradition that connects a community’s past with its contemporary population.

Curriculum Standards:
Because each state has its own social studies curriculum standards, the National Council for the Social Studies’s 1994 publication, *Expectation of Excellence: Curriculum Standards for Social Studies* was used as a guideline for this lesson plan. In accordance with this set of standards, the lesson focuses on themes of Time, Continuity and Change. At the middle school level, students engage in a more formal study of history by understanding and appreciating differences in historical perspectives and by recognizing that “interpretations are influenced by individual experiences, societal values, and cultural traditions.” These skill objectives, or variations of them, are also found in several states’ curriculum standards for middle school students.

Performance Objectives:
After completing the lesson, students will be better able to:
1. Assess the historical and cultural significance of narrative accounts.
2. Seek multiple sources of historical information.
3. Examine the relationship between historical events and personal memory.

Materials:
2. Image of a winter count, either for overhead projection or general distribution. (Digital images of the winter counts can be downloaded off the Lakota Winter Count online resource. They are located in the “Learning Resources” section, under the Teachers’ Guide in “Downloadable Images.”)
3. Writing material
4. Optional. Computer equipped to run digital video files over the internet. A single computer set for overhead projection is adequate if a computer lab is unavailable.

Procedure:
1. Provide background information on the Lakota. Locate the region of the United States where the Lakota people lived, prior to the 18th century up to the present day (South Dakota, North Dakota).
2. Introduce the winter counts. Show images of the winter counts, preferably a variety of them so that students can compare and contrast each keeper’s style and medium (students should not think that winter counts were only produced on buffalo skin or hide).
3. Explain how the Lakota used winter counts as mnemonic devices to recall their community’s history.
a. Each pictograph represents a memorable event that occurred during each year of the community’s history.

b. One person, the keeper, was responsible for not only maintaining the winter count, but also for remembering the entire history recorded within it.

c. Oral history is an important cultural tradition among the Lakota.

4. Discuss the concept of oral histories. What is an oral history? What examples of oral history might someone encounter in his or her daily life? (Stories from elder relatives, first-hand accounts, etc.)

5. Run all or some of the digital video files found on the “Contemporary Perspectives” section of the Lakota Winter Count online exhibit. The video clips, excerpts of interviews recorded by members of various Lakota communities, discuss the winter counts’ value to Lakota culture and their personal lives.

6. Read aloud selections from the oral histories recorded by Celane Not Help Him and Cecelia Hernandez Montgomery in Honor the Grandmothers. Discuss the differences between the history documented in the book and the history documented in textbooks.

   a. Is this (the oral history) a true history?
   
   b. Is it different from what the textbooks say? How so?
   
   c. Whose version of history is documented in the oral histories? Whose version of history is documented in textbooks? How many versions of history exist?

7. Have the students write an essay discussing the importance of oral histories to understanding past events. Instruct them to answer the following questions:

   a. Why are oral histories important to understanding what happened in the past?
   
   b. What kind of information or insight can you gain from an oral history that you cannot get from a textbook?
   
   c. Why is it important to study more than one account of history in order to get a better understanding of the past?

Optional homework assignment:
Have students interview an older relative or neighbor about an important past event (i.e. Viet Nam War, Gulf War, Civil Rights Movement, etc.) using a tape recorder, if possible. Instruct them to research books and periodicals for articles that corroborate the events discussed during the interview. The students should submit a list of the questions used for the interview, a transcript of the interview, and a bibliography of their research.

Teacher Notes:
Refer to historical and cultural content on Lakota Winter Count online exhibit.

Evaluation Tool:
Students will be assessed on:
1. Class participation and group discussion.
2. Written essay contains evidence of students’ ability to identify and use oral histories as a source of historical information.
3. Optional. Research material gathered from oral history project (interview and bibliography).
High School Levels

Using Primary Sources:
For this lesson, students will become “investigative historians” whose task is to use the winter counts to learn as much as they can about the Lakota people’s history during the nineteenth century. Once divided into eight groups, the students will be assigned one of the eight pictographic winter counts to use as their primary resource (do not use the text only counts for this exercise). Using the searchable database of winter count entries, the students will look for general information about the community whose history is documented in the winter count. They will report back to the class as a whole with their findings, citing individual entries as evidence and correlating the events mentioned in the winter count with events studied in their textbooks.

Curriculum Standards:
Because each state has its own social studies curriculum standards, the National Council for the Social Studies’s 1994 publication, *Expectation of Excellence: Curriculum Standards for Social Studies* was used as a guideline for this lesson plan. In accordance with this set of standards, the lesson focuses on themes of Time, Continuity and Change. At the high school level, students engage in “more sophisticated analysis and reconstruction of the past, examining its relationship to the present and extrapolating into the future.” Through the study of both primary and secondary resources, students integrate individual stories about people, events, and situations to form a more holistic conception, in which continuity and change are linked in time and across cultures. These skill objectives, or variations of them, are also found in several states’ curriculum standards for high school students. The ability to use technology for research is also a skill required of many states’ high school students.

Performance Objectives:
After completing the lesson, students will be better able to:
1. Identify, seek out and evaluate multiple perspectives of past events.
2. Obtain historical data from alternative sources of historical documentation.
3. Question issues of voice when evaluating historical sources.

Materials:
1. Computer Lab with at least eight computers equipped with high-speed internet.
2. Image of a winter count, either for overhead projection or general distribution. (Digital images of the winter counts can be downloaded off the Lakota Winter Count online resource. They are located in the “Learning Resources” section, under the Teachers’ Guide in“Downloadable Images.”)
3. Printouts of attached worksheets.
4. Writing material.

Procedure:
1. Divide the students in eight equal groups and assign each group a different pictographic winter count (Lone Dog, Long Soldier, American Horse, Battiste Good, Cloud Shield, Flame, Rosebud, Swan). If the majority of groups have more than three students, create more groups and overlap assigned winter counts. Each group should have its own computer to use for research.
2. Discuss the difference between primary sources and secondary sources. Ask the students to identify examples of primary sources and secondary sources that they have encountered during their studies. The definitions used by the Smithsonian Archives are as follows:
a. **Primary sources** are documents or objects created as part of daily life—birth certificates, photographs, diaries, letters, etc.—or reports from people directly involved in the subject.  

b. **Secondary sources** are documents that interpret, analyze, or synthesize information, usually produced by someone not directly involved in the subject.

3. Provide background information on the Lakota. Locate the region of the United States that the Lakota people lived from prior to the 18th century to the present (South Dakota, North Dakota).

4. Introduce the winter counts. Show images of the winter counts, preferably a variety of them so that students can compare and contrast each keeper’s style and medium (students should not think that winter counts were only produced on buffalo skin or hide).

5. Explain how the Lakota used winter counts as mnemonic devices to recall their community’s history.
   a. Each pictograph represents a memorable event that occurred during each year of the community’s history.
   b. One person, the keeper, was responsible for not only maintaining the winter count, but also for remembering the entire history recorded within it.
   c. The oral history tradition survived the U.S. government’s campaign to outlaw the practice of both American Indian culture and language.
   d. Winter counts are among the few primary sources that remain documenting U.S. history during the 19th century from a non-White perspective.

6. **Next class (in the Computer Lab).** Describe to the students how the winter counts are accessible through the searchable database on the Lakota Winter Count online exhibit. Have them zoom in, zoom out and rotate the pictures of the whole winter count; view individual entries; scroll across the database; access collector’s notes for individual counts; and “collect” entries as practice.

7. Hand out copies of the worksheets to each student. Students should work together, but they should complete their own worksheet.

8. Inform the students that they will be doing historical investigation using their assigned winter count to get an idea about how the community represented in their count lived and what happened to them during the 19th century.

9. Have students complete the worksheet using only their assigned winter count as a reference and citing individual entries as evidence. Students may not be able to find evidence to complete some parts of the worksheet, but they should do their best to extrapolate as much information as they can. In this case, it is best for them to “make an educated guess” rather than to leave a section blank. However, students should be instructed that if they are unsure of an answer, they should make note of it (as any good scholar should).

10. **Next class (in the classroom).** Review winter counts with the class by asking them to explain why they are considered primary sources. Then, have groups present their findings to the class. Once all the groups have presented, work with the class as a whole to identify similarities and difference among the counts. Students should be taking notes on their classmates’ findings as well as the class discussion. Issues that should be addressed are:
    a. What would account for the differences among the counts? The similarities?
    b. What events documented in the popular version of U.S. history are also documented in the winter counts?
c. Why don’t the winter counts seem as comprehensive as the textbook version of history? (Winter counts are not the definitive history of the Lakota community, but rather mnemonic devices used to support an oral history, which was more elaborate and detailed, containing not only the most memorable event, but other important events that are associated with the year. Unfortunately, the oral history tradition suffered greatly from the U.S. government’s campaign to suppress American Indian culture during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.)

11. Discuss winter counts as primary sources.
   a. Whose perspective is represented in the winter counts? Who is the author?
   b. What traditional sources could they consult for additional information about the Lakota? Who is the author?
   c. What other types of primary sources could they reference for information on 19th century U.S. history? Whose perspective do they represent?
   d. Whose version of events is true? Can history be recounted through only one perspective?

*Optional homework assignment:*
Have students write an essay outlining (1) the history of the Lakota based on what they learned from the winter counts; (2) the history of the Lakota based on what they learned from their textbooks; and (3) an evaluation of how the two histories relate and where the student would go to research the topic further.

**Teacher Notes:**
Refer to historical and cultural content on Lakota Winter Count Web site.

**Evaluation Tool:**
Students will be assessed on:
1. Data collection methods (worksheet).
2. Class participation and group discussion.
3. Optional. Assigned essay’s ability to reflect the student’s understanding of historical research.
# Data Retrieval Sheet

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>About the Lakota</th>
<th>Reference (winter count entry).</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Where did the Lakota live? Describe geographical landmarks (rivers, streams, hills, etc) as well as environs (wildlife, plants and animals).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How did the Lakota live? What did they eat? How did they get food?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What health issues did the Lakota face?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What other groups of people did the Lakota interact with? How did they interact? Were they friends or enemies? Did that change over time?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When did the Lakota first meet the White explorers and settlers? What types of interactions occurred between the two cultures?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What astronomical or meteorological phenomena are mentioned in the winter counts (star activity, extraordinary weather patterns)?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**WHO ARE THE LAKOTA?**

### Geography
The Great Plains encompasses an area of over two million square kilometers (approx. 772,204 square miles) between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains. This vast expanse of rolling grassland lies largely west of 96 degrees west longitude and between 32 and 52 degrees north latitude. Extending north from the Rio Grande, the Great Plains region stretches 2,300 km (1,429 mi) to the Saskatchewan River in southern Canada.

#### Major Geographical Landmarks
**Noted in the Winter Counts**
*(Try to locate each on the map shown.)*
- Bad River
- Black Hills
- Cheyenne River
- Grand River
- Little Missouri River
- Missouri River
- Moreau River
- Platte River
- White River

### Climate
The climate on the Great Plains is typically extreme, with hot temperatures in the summer months and bitter cold weather in the winter. Precipitation is usually scant but can be severe and unpredictable. Before being confined to reservations, the Lakota spent summers on the open plains hunting buffalo. When the weather grew colder, the Lakota would seek protection from the frigid winds of the plains, moving their camps to more protected, wooded areas.

### Plants and Animals
Vegetation on the Great Plains was limited to a variety of perennial grasses with trees growing only along stream valleys and other water-rich environments. During much of the time period recorded in the winter counts, the Lakota were nomadic, following the buffalo herds for food. They did not grow crops, but gathered various edible roots, berries and other vegetation to supplement their diets. The Lakota also traded with neighboring farming tribes for food to eat.

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**Cloud Shield 1825-26**

*Many of the Dakotas were drowned in a flood caused by a rise in the Missouri River, in a bend of which they camped.*

The curved line is the bend in the river; the waved line is the water, above which the tops of the *tipis* are shown.

**American Horse 1823-24**

*They had an abundance of corn, which they got at a Ree village.*

The Ree, one of the farming tribes of the Great Plains region, are often associated with images of corn.

**Rosebud 1788-89**

*Winter the Crows Froze*

Winter count keepers sometimes chose to remember the year using events relating to unusual weather occurrences.
In addition to buffalo the Lakota also hunted deer, elk and antelope. Fish appear in the winter counts only in the earliest years before horses allowed the Lakota to hunt buffalo more successfully than before. Other animals native to the Great Plains and documented in the winter counts are beavers, wildcats, bears, wolves and coyotes.

Society
At the time of the Sioux migration to the Great Plains, the people were grouped into seven major divisions. Together, they formed the “Seven Council Fires,” called oceti sakowin. Each year, the seven divisions would come together to celebrate sacred ceremonial events. The Lakota belonged to the largest of these groups—the Titunwan, or Teton Sioux. Located in the western-most Sioux territory, they spoke a common dialect and had somewhat different customs than their Dakota relatives.

The Titunwan are grouped into seven oyate (tribes): Mniconjou, Oglala, Sicangu (Brulé), Hunkpapa, Síhasapa (Blackfeet), O’Ohenumpa (Two Kettle) and Itazipco (Sans Arc or No Bows). Each oyate was further divided into extended family groups, called tiospayes. A typical tiospaye was comprised of a man, his brothers and/or male cousins and their families who travelled together year-round. Together, each tiospaye numbered 150-300 people total.

Camp Circle of the Seven Council Fires
When the Sioux set up a formal camp, each division was arranged around a circle, with the entrance to the camp always facing east, toward the rising sun.

Middle Sioux (Dakota)
Yankton
Yanktonai

Western Sioux (Lakota)
The Titunwan

Eastern Sioux (Dakota)
Mdewakanton
Wahpeton
Wahpekute
Sisseton

Sisseton
Yankton
Wahpekute
Yankton
Mdewakanton
Wahpeton
Yanktonai
Titunwan
During the summer months, several tiospayes would come together and participate in communal activities such as buffalo hunts. Raw materials for tipis, clothing, tools and ritual objects were collected from the hunts, along with the meat for food. Communal bonds were strengthened as friendships were renewed, marriages arranged and ceremonies took place.

When winter arrived, the larger community of tiospayes would disband and each group would relocate to a campsite that offered better protection from the wind and cold. The ensuing cold winter months would be spent preparing the hides collecting over the summer, sewing tipi covers and clothing, storytelling and reflecting on the past.

The Role of the Horse

Horses were first brought to North America by the Spanish in the fifteenth century. By the eighteenth century, horses played a significant role in the Lakota way of life. With horses, the Lakota were more efficient hunters—able to quickly travel across a larger expanse of land in search of buffalo and to transport surplus meat and hides for trade. Sometimes bands came into conflict with neighboring tribes. These conflicts were often recorded in winter counts, with certain icons used to denote a specific group. These icons often mirrored a physical trait unique to that group. Horses also allowed for a greater interaction between the Lakota and the Euro-American traders, who were often distinguished in the counts by a broad brimmed hat.
During the 18th and 19th centuries, the Lakota people were nomadic and inhabited a vast region of the Great Plains, primarily in what is now South Dakota and North Dakota. They moved west to this region to take advantage of better buffalo hunting and to avoid conflicts as other tribes were dislocated by the westward expansion of the American frontier.

Map adapted from the Handbook of North American Indians, Plains vol. 13, Smithsonian Institution.
# Peoples of the Great Plains
(as depicted in Lakota winter counts)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe (alternate names)</th>
<th>Defining Characteristics</th>
<th>Pictograph(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hidatsa (called Gros Ventres)</td>
<td>stripped or spotted hair</td>
<td><img src="image1.png" alt="Pictograph" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absaroka (called Crow)</td>
<td>upright forelock with netted extension</td>
<td><img src="image2.png" alt="Pictograph" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pawnee (called Ree)</td>
<td>scalplock hairstyle; flared moccasin tops</td>
<td><img src="image3.png" alt="Pictograph" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arikara (called Ree)</td>
<td>ear of corn; lodge</td>
<td><img src="image4.png" alt="Pictograph" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sicangu (called Brulé)</td>
<td>black mark on thigh</td>
<td><img src="image5.png" alt="Pictograph" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omaha</td>
<td>cropped hair; painted cheeks</td>
<td><img src="image6.png" alt="Pictograph" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assiniboin (called Hohe)</td>
<td>outline of vocal organs (upper lip, roof of mouth, tongue, lower lip, chin and neck)</td>
<td><img src="image7.png" alt="Pictograph" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandan (called Miwatani)</td>
<td>hair on crown of head spiked upwards</td>
<td><img src="image8.png" alt="Pictograph" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ponca (called Ponka)</td>
<td>headdress of elk hair and a feather</td>
<td><img src="image9.png" alt="Pictograph" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheyenne</td>
<td>short vertical stripes, usually on the sleeve; cross</td>
<td><img src="image10.png" alt="Pictograph" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Euro-American</td>
<td>broad brimmed hat</td>
<td><img src="image11.png" alt="Pictograph" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ute</td>
<td>body painted black</td>
<td><img src="image12.png" alt="Pictograph" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nez Perce</td>
<td>pompadour; upright forelock with netted extension</td>
<td><img src="image13.png" alt="Pictograph" /></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Lakota winter count online exhibit highlights ten Lakota winter counts in the collections of the National Anthropological Archives, a part of the National Museum of Natural History, and the National Museum of the American Indian. These counts are named after their keepers, the person who collected them, or a place. They cover periods of time spanning from 1700 to 1919, and are known as:

- American Horse (keeper)
- Battiste Good (keeper)
- Cloud Shield (keeper)
- The Flame (keeper)
- Lone Dog (keeper)
- Long Soldier (keeper)
- Major Bush (collector)
- No Ears (keeper)
- Rosebud (location)
- The Swan (keeper)

**Traditions**

Over 170 Lakota winter counts are known, but many of them are exact replicas of each other. Many others are closely related versions representing the same tradition; they cover similar spans of time and share common event references. Lone Dog, The Flame, The Swan, Long Soldier and the Major Bush winter counts were all collected from tiospayes of northern Lakotas who lived close to each other and interacted on a regular basis. American Horse, Battiste Good, Cloud Shield, No Ears and Rosebud are all from the southern Lakota bands.
Collectors

Two individuals were responsible for acquiring many of the Smithsonian’s winter counts. Col. Garrick Mallery collected materials on nine of the thirteen winter counts housed at the National Anthropological Archives. Using research gathered by other Army officers, Mallery published much of his material on the winter counts in the Fourth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology (1886). The National Museum of the American Indian’s collection is a result of the collecting efforts of the museum’s founder, George Gustav Heye.

Collecting

The value of the winter counts is not based only on their authenticity as artifacts created and used by the Lakota people. Rather, it lies in their value as a tangible representation of a rich oral history handed down from generation to generation and inherent in the cultural identity of a closely-knit community.

It is important to note that most of the winter counts housed in the Smithsonian’s collections are not the originals used in the community, but copies made for the collectors. In truth, all winter counts are copies of a previous version as no one lived long enough to have recorded a whole count. As described earlier, when the role of the keeper was handed down to an apprentice, the apprentice’s first task was to copy his predecessor’s count. Winter counts were also copied when non-Indian collectors commissioned keepers to duplicate their winter counts and provide explanations of its entries. In instances such as this, interpreters were critical links between the Lakota-speaking keepers and the collectors who sought to record the winter count’s history in English.

Winter counts were copied into drawing books (American Horse, Cloud Shield, Battiste Good), and traced onto linen (The Swan) or muslin (The Flame). NMAI actually holds three versions of the Lone Dog winter count, copied onto buffalo hide, deer hide and cow hide. Thoughout the world there are at least ten more copies of the Lone Dog count, indicating that creating copies of winter counts for sale was a cottage industry through which the Lakota presented themselves and their history to others.
Anthropology: the study of humankind from a biological and cultural perspective.

Artifacts: material items that humans have manufactured or modified.

Band: basic unit of social organization usually comprised of approximately 100 people who share a common identity; it often splits up seasonally.

Cottage industry: an industry whose labor force consists of family units or individuals working at home with their own equipment.

Culture: a learned pattern of behavior (i.e., traditions and customs) characteristic of a society.

Cultural relativism: the position that the values and standards of cultures differ but deserve equal respect.

Indigenous peoples: the original inhabitants of particular territories; often descendants of tribespeople who live on as culturally distinct peoples, many of whom aspire to autonomy.

Keeper: a male member of a Lakota community whose role was to preserve and record the oral history of his people by maintaining a winter count.

Lakota: a group of Native North American people who share a common language, customs and beliefs. They once occupied the western parts of the Great Plains but now live mainly in North and South Dakota. Also called Teton or Teton Sioux.

Mnemonic device: an object, drawing or symbol used to aid the recollection of a certain memory or thought.

Nation: once a synonym for “ethnic group,” designating a single culture sharing a language, religion, history, territory, ancestry and kinship; now usually a synonym for state or nation-state.

Nomadic: term used to describe a group of people who constantly move throughout the year from one area to another in pursuit of food, shelter and other resources.

Oral history: a tradition of relaying past events through spoken word; storytelling.

Pictograph: a functional two-dimensional drawing created to represent an idea, person or event.

Primary source: a document, speech, or other sort of evidence written, created or otherwise produced during the time under study. Primary sources offer an inside view of a particular event. Examples include: original documents, creative works or artifacts.

Secondary source: a document that interprets, analyzes, or synthesizes information, usually produced by someone not directly involved in the subject.

Sioux: a large group of Native North American people who originally occupied a vast area of the Great Plains but now live mainly in North and South Dakota. The Sioux are divided into Eastern, Middle, and Western groups, each with their own dialects and customs.

Tradition: an long-established but continually evolving custom or belief that has been handed down from one generation to another and represents the unbroken development of a single culture.

Tribe: a descent and kinship-based group in which subgroups are clearly linked to one another, with the potential of uniting a large number of local groups for common defense or warfare. Individual communities tend to be integrated into the larger society through kinship ties.

Winter Count: a pictographic record, year by year, of a community’s history. Maintained by the keeper, a winter count serves as a reference to remember the group’s oral history.
ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

Texts for Teachers

Plains Indian culture and history


Holder, P. (1974). The Hoe & the Horse on the Plains. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press. This study concerns two native modes of life on the Great Plains--hoe farming and hunting from horseback--as they fared in the face of Europe’s intrusion into the New World.


Stereotypes vs. Realities
Hauptman, Laurence M. (1995). Tribes & Tribulations: Misconceptions About American Indians and Their Histories. Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press. Nine essays select topics from the seventeenth century to the present as examples of some commonly held but erroneous views on Indian-white relations, including campaigns to pacify and christianize Indians, policies of removal, and stereotypes of Indians as mascots for sports teams or Hollywood film sidekicks.

Mihesuah, Devon A. (1996). American Indians: Stereotypes & Realities. Atlanta, GA: Clarity Press. This useful resource dispels many misconceptions and negative stereotypes; also includes a list of do’s and don’ts for teaching about Indian history and culture.


Winter Counts


**Texts for Students**

**Plains Indian culture and history**


Brooks, Barbara (1989). *The Sioux.* Vero Beach, FL: Rourke Publications, Inc. (Elementary) This short history of the Sioux Indians features one chapter on the Sioux today. Includes colorful drawings, archival and contemporary photographs, and a list of important dates in Sioux history.


Deloria, Ella Cara (1998). *Speaking of Indians.* Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press. (Secondary). Written in 1944, Deloria follows general considerations about American Indians with a description of the traditional life of the author’s own Sioux community. She concludes that European culture forced such rapid economic, social, environmental, and religious changes that American Indian society could not cope.

Gilmore, Melvin; Schellback, Louis, illus. (1987). *Prairie Smoke.* St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society Press. (Secondary) Originally intended to be an introduction to the ecology and culture of the Plains, this book (first published in 1927) features traditional tales about plants, animals, and people interwoven with discussions of such topics as how Indians made paints and the meaning of personal names in Plains Indian society.


Native Views


Fools Crow (1979). *Fools Crow: Wisdom and Power.* [Recorded by] Thomas E. Mails. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press. (Secondary) Based on interviews conducted in the 1970s. The holy man tells about his life from early reservation days when the Sioux were learning to farm, to later times when alcoholism, the cash economy, and World War II were fast eroding the old customs.

Standing Bear, Luther (1975). *My people, the Sioux.* Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press. (Secondary) Autobiographical retelling of a Lakota born in the 1860s who devoted his later years to the Indian rights movement of the 1920s and ’30s. Standing Bear recounts his experiences as the first in his class at Carlisle Indian School, a witness to the Ghost Dance uprising from the Pine Ridge Reservation, and a member of Buffalo Bill’s Wild West European Tour.


Winter Counts
Hook, Jason (1989). *Crazy Horse: Sacred Warrior of the Sioux.* Dorset, England: Firebird Books. (Middle school/Secondary) This biography of Oglala chief Crazy Horse contains information about the Sioux, such as their dependence on the buffalo, their historic calendar known as the “winter counts,” and the role of warfare.


Lakota Biographies

Bruchac, Joseph; Baviera, Rocco, illus. (1998). *A Boy Called Slow: the True Story of Sitting Bull.* New York, NY: Putnam. (Early elementary). This picture-book biography recounts the childhood of a boy named Slow, who grew up in the 1830s and was later known as Sitting Bull, the great Lakota chief.

**Traditional Stories**

Big Crow, Moses Nelson (1987). *A Legend from Crazy Horse Clan*. Chamberlain, SD: Tipi Press. (Elementary) Big Crow tells the story of how Tashia Gnupa (Meadowlark), a human child, joins the Buffalo Nation and later returns home to become the mother of warriors.


Monroe, Jean Guard; Williamson, R. A.; Sturat, Edgar, illus. (1987). *They Dance in the Sky: Native American Star Myths*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin. (Middle School/Secondary) This book is a well-documented presentation of American Indian star stories. It also explains that the stories are meant to be read aloud, since a certain quality is lost when an oral text is set down in print.


Red Shirt, Delphine (2002). *Turtle Lung Woman’s Granddaughter*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press. (Secondary) The author delicately weaves the life stories of her mother and great-grandmother into a continuous narrative of the moving, epic saga of Lakota women from traditional times to the present.

Standing Bear, Luther (1988), *Stories of the Sioux*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press. (Elementary) Twenty stories told by Standing Bear as he learned them from his elders. “These stories were not told,” Standing Bear says, “with the idea of forcing the children to learn, but for pleasure, and they were enjoyed by young and old alike.”

Yellow Robe; Pinkney, Jerry, illus., (1979). *Tonweya and the Eagles and Other Lakota Tales*. New York, NY: Dial Books for Young Readers. (Middle School) A collection of traditional Lakota legends, as told by the author’s father. Includes illustrations, foreword, glossary, and Lakota pronunciation guide.

**Web sites**

http://www.malakota.com/sakowin.html (social organization)

http://daphne.palomar.edu/ais100/lakota.htm (social organization)

http://puffin.creighton.edu/lakota/index.html (information about the Lakota in a searchable database)

http://www.sicc.sk.ca/heritage/sils/ourlanguages/lakota/lakota.html (Lakota language)

http://www.standingrock.org (Standing Rock Sioux Tribe)

http://www.sioux.org (Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe)

http://www.lakotamall.com/ogglalasiouxtribe (Pine Ridge Oglala Sioux Tribe)

http://www.rosebudsiouxtowntribe-nsn.gov (Rosebud Sioux Tribe)