

## Dakota Resources

### The Sitting Bull Surrender Census, Standing Rock Agency, 1881

During 1880 and 1881, Sitting Bull, his family, and members of the bands associated with him returned to the United States after a long exile in Canada, where they had taken refuge following the Great Sioux War of 1876–1877. Surrendering at Forts Buford and Keogh, they were transported down the Missouri River to the Standing Rock Agency near their former homelands. There, a census taker visited the lodge of the famous Hunkpapa leader. Speaking fluent Lakota, the enumerator recorded the name of each woman and child in Sitting Bull’s family, as well as their age, sex, and relationship to the household head. The census taker even noted how many dogs the family owned (they had two) and the approximate number of buffalo and deer they had successfully hunted in the past year (he reported 150 deer and 300 buffalo). For Sitting Bull and other Lakota leaders, the census enumeration was a new experience, one of many strange and often intrusive bureaucratic processes the Hunkpapas endured as they settled into reservation life. For officials in the Office of Indian Affairs, the census was an important administrative document, one that over time became a powerful tool in their ongoing effort to transform American Indian identities and communities.

Today, early reservation records such as censuses, annuity rolls, and issue lists provide historians a rare glimpse of American Indian communities as they existed on the threshold of tremendous change. At Standing Rock, such documents form an unbroken record of families and bands over a fifteen-year period from the fall of 1876 to the summer of 1890, providing a level of detail unmatched by those from any other Lakota reservation. The data obtained by linking together thirty-three different lists of families, with support from oral histories, reveal insights into the composition of each community, or *tiyospaye*, on the res-

ervation as the Lakotas shifted from their traditional buffalo-hunting life to the “full-ration” reservation economy.

Of these numerous records from Standing Rock, perhaps the most historically significant is the newly recognized Sitting Bull Surrender Census. Not only does this document preserve the earliest detailed enumeration of every Lakota man, woman, and child at the agency, it was also conducted at a critical juncture in their history, just as the last of the bands under Sitting Bull returned from Canada and rejoined their relatives. Viewed within the context of the rich documentary sources of Standing Rock, the Sitting Bull Surrender Census presents a remarkable snapshot of Lakota families and communities.

Efforts to record information about the Lakotas began with the establishment of the first reservation in the Northern Plains region. In the aftermath of Red Cloud’s War over white intrusion into the Powder River country, commissioners representing the United States government met with Lakota leaders at Fort Laramie, and later at Fort Rice, to negotiate the Treaty of 1868. Intended to end the armed conflict, the agreement was long and complicated, laying out the basic framework for a new reservation system for the Lakotas. It established the Great Sioux Reservation, what is today the western half of South Dakota, and detailed how the federal government would provide rations and annuities to the Indians until they could learn to become self-sufficient farmers.<sup>1</sup>

The signing of the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 proved to be a particularly divisive event in the history of Lakota politics. Many bands eventually chose to settle at the newly established agencies where they struggled to preserve their communities within the new reservation economy. Others refused to come in, preferring to pursue buffalo for as long as possible. Some groups, including the followers of Sitting Bull, actively resisted the growing white intrusion into Lakota territory. This political polarization deeply divided Lakota communities as they faced a new and uncertain future.<sup>2</sup>

1. Francis Paul Prucha, *American Indian Treaties: The History of a Political Anomaly* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), pp. 279–85; Vine Deloria Jr. and Raymond DeMallie, eds., *Proceedings of the Great Peace Commission of 1867–1868* (Washington, D.C.: Institute for the Development of Indian Law, 1975).

2. For the best treatments of Sitting Bull and the issues he faced as a leader, see Gary



This group of participants in the Fort Laramie treaty negotiations included, from left to right, an unidentified man, Packs His Drum, John Finn, Amos Bettelyoun (standing), W. G. Bullock, (sitting), Old Man Afraid of His Horses, Benjamin Mills, Red Bear, and James Bordeau.

Various bands of the Hunkpapas, one of the seven tribes of the Lakotas (or western Sioux), began to gather at the newly established Grand River Agency in 1869, together with bands of Blackfeet Lakotas and Yanktonais. Known in Lakota as *wakpamni*, or “place of distribution,” agencies like Grand River were set up for managing the ration system detailed in the treaty. Dry goods such as flour, beans, coffee, sugar, and tobacco were shipped upriver by steamboat and stored in agency warehouses. Agency personnel issued food rations every two weeks to band leaders, who then distributed them to their followers. Cattle were issued on the hoof, to be shot, butchered, and divided among band members following traditional practices of the pre-reservation years. In 1873, the Grand River Agency was moved up the Missouri

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Clayton Anderson, *Sitting Bull and the Paradox of Lakota Nationhood* (New York: Longman, 1996), and Robert M. Utley, *The Lance and the Shield: The Life and Times of Sitting Bull* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1993). For a new Lakota perspective, see Ernie LaPointe, *Sitting Bull: His Life and Legacy* (Layton, Utah: Gibbs Smith, 2009).

River to a location above the present boundary between South Dakota and North Dakota and renamed the Standing Rock Agency.<sup>3</sup>

Article 10 of the Treaty of 1868 specified that each Indian agent would submit “a full and exact census of the Indians”<sup>4</sup> every year to provide a basis for contracting the supplies needed to fulfill the treaty obligations. For the first decade after ratification, while the Lakota agencies were being established, officials largely overlooked this requirement. Each agent generally requisitioned supplies based on rough estimates of the total number of Indians at his agency, realizing that the population ebbed and flowed depending upon the season. In October 1871, the agent at Grand River reported the total population under his purview at 7,966 people. It is presumed that he based this figure on what was called a “lodge count,” in which the agent or his staff rode through a village and counted tipis. The final estimate was reached by multiplying this number by seven, the assumed average size of each Lakota family.<sup>5</sup>

Lakota leaders often expressed dissatisfaction with the census process. Indian agents sometimes responded by threatening to stop the issue of food or other supplies in an effort to coerce compliance. In 1875, for example, Agent John Burke considered withholding the distribution of annuity goods at Standing Rock if community leaders continued to thwart his efforts to gain an accurate population count. As a result, most of the early counts conducted at the Lakota agencies on

3. Edward A. Milligan, *Dakota Twilight: The Standing Rock Sioux, 1874–1890* (Hicksville, N.Y.: Exposition Press, 1976), pp. 6, 17, 20; Uteley, *Sitting Bull*, p. 45. A good, balanced history of the Standing Rock Indian Reservation remains to be written.

4. Treaty with the Sioux—Brulé, Oglala, Miniconjou, Yanktonai, Hunkpapa, Blackfeet, Cuthead, Two Kettle, Sans Arcs, and Santee—and Arapaho, 29 Apr. 1868, in Charles J. Kappler, comp. and ed., *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904), 2:1001.

5. For the Hunkpapas specifically, agent J. C. O'Connor that year listed eleven bands, ranging in size from eleven lodges to thirty-seven lodges each, for a total population of 287 lodges or 2,009 people. The agent noted that he expected the number would soon increase “by arrivals of several Bands of Unkapapas” (O'Connor to Commissioner of Indian Affairs [CIA], 14 Nov. 1871, Letters Received, CIA, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Record Group [RG] 75, National Archives Microfilm Publication M234, roll 305). Two months earlier, O'Connor estimated that he was feeding about 340 lodges of Hunkpapas. O'Connor to CIA, 9 Sept. 1871, in U.S., Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs (OIA), *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1871* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1872), p. 525.

the Great Sioux Reservation were inaccurate, generally inflated by as much as two or three times the actual number of people present. Some observers, suspecting that agents were selling excess rations and pocketing the proceeds, cited these inaccurate counts as evidence of graft. Operating with small staffs and limited ability to force compliance, however, many agents viewed the cost of excess rations as an acceptable price for maintaining peace.<sup>6</sup>

During the Great Sioux War, fought in 1876–1877 over the Black Hills and other contested Lakota territory, the army grew particularly concerned about the inflated numbers as well as the relative freedom with which bands could come and go from the agencies. Most army officers believed that the federal government was feeding and clothing the very individuals whom they would face on the battlefield. At the agency stores, they claimed, the Lakotas traded the cattle hides obtained through the beef issue for weapons and ammunition to continue the armed conflict. While this activity may have occurred on a limited basis, the army failed to distinguish between the agency bands who largely avoided participating in the Sioux War and the nontreaty bands who were being pursued by the troops in the field. The conflicting agendas of the Office of Indian Affairs and the army created considerable tension at the Standing Rock Agency, where the Indian agent and the officer commanding the troops stationed nearby clashed over various issues.<sup>7</sup>

In late August 1876, the new post commander at Standing Rock, Lieutenant Colonel William P. Carlin, counted 305 lodges in the vicinity of the agency, including 15 lodges of visiting Santees. Using an estimate of five people per lodge, lower than the figure the Indian agent employed, he calculated the agency population at just fifteen hundred, one-third the number to whom Agent Burke reported issuing rations.<sup>8</sup>

6. Burke to CIA, 21 Oct. 1875, Letters Received, OIA, Standing Rock Agency file, RG 75, M234, roll 846.

7. Harold Umber, "Interdepartmental Conflict between Fort Yates and Standing Rock: Problems of Indian Administration, 1870–1881," *North Dakota History* 39 (Summer 1972): 4–13, 34.

8. Carlin to George D. Ruggles, 26 Aug. 1876, Special Files of Headquarters, Division of the Missouri, Records of United States Army Continental Commands, 1821–1920, RG 393, National Archives Microfilm Publication M1495, roll 4.

“This Agency is in a fearfully bad condition,” wrote Lieutenant Colonel Fred Grant during his inspection at Standing Rock that same month. Basing his conclusions on Carlin’s estimate, Grant noted that enough beef was being issued to give thirty-five pounds of meat to every man, woman, and child at the agency. He speculated that much of this excess was being dried and transported out to the “hostile” camps, including that of the Blackfeet Lakota headman Kill Eagle, who was reportedly located a two days’ ride away.<sup>9</sup>

The continued friction between the army and the agent finally boiled over at the end of August as Kill Eagle arrived at the Standing Rock Agency to surrender. Having gone out the previous spring to hunt buffalo, the friendly headman and his followers had been swept up in the Great Sioux War. Soon after the Battle of the Little Bighorn in late June 1876, Kill Eagle left the main village with some of his band and began the journey home to Standing Rock. On the night of 28 Au-

9. Grant to R. C. Drum, 5 Sept. 1876, *ibid.*



Lieutenant Colonel William P. Carlin initiated a military takeover of the administration of the Standing Rock Agency. The systematic censuses he ordered would lay the groundwork for the Sitting Bull Surrender Census of 1881.

gust, he came in to the agency seeking an interview with the Indian agent, who told him that it was too late for a council and that he should return in the morning. Colonel Carlin, however, became furious when he learned that Burke had not immediately arrested the Blackfeet Lakota leader. The commanding officer then placed Agent Burke under house arrest, charging him with aiding the hostiles, and telegraphed headquarters for further instructions. Within a few days, the commissioner of Indian affairs notified Burke that his services were no longer required and that Colonel Carlin and the army would assume “absolute control” of the agency. On 1 September, Carlin assigned Captain Robert E. Johnston, First Infantry, as the new acting Indian agent at Standing Rock.<sup>10</sup>

One of the army’s first tasks after taking over agency operations was to conduct a thorough census. On 6 September 1876, Carlin issued Special Order No. 81 instructing Captain Edward Collins, Seventeenth Infantry, to carry out an “enrollment” in which he was to record the name of every household head at the agency as well as the number of women and children in each family. Collins began the census on 10 September with assistance from a lieutenant, two enlisted men, and several interpreters. He visited each lodge and noted that “the number reported living there [was] examined and verified with all the care possible.” Only one band leader, Bull Ghost, refused to take part in the census; his rations were withheld until he cooperated. Collins completed the census on 14 September, reporting 4,558 people present, a number he believed to be “tolerably correct.”<sup>11</sup>

Colonel Carlin expressed frustration with the results. The previous month, his estimate had put the population at just fifteen hundred. The colonel accounted for the additional three thousand individuals by concluding, “It is safe to say that half the number have been with the hostiles till recently, yet they slip in at night and put up their lodges alongside those that have remained here all summer, say they have been

10. Carlin to Ruggles, 30 Aug. 1876, and Ruggles to Assistant Adjutant General (AAG), 31 Aug. 1876, *ibid.*

11. Collins to Post Adjutant, 15 Sept. 1876, and “List of Indian families at the Indian Agency of Standing Rock, D.T.,” Sept. 1876, Letters Received, Fort Yates, RG 393, National Archives (NA), Washington, D.C.



The military post of Fort Yates (background, right) and the associated agency (foreground, left) grew to oversee the Standing Rock Indian Reservation, carved out of the Great Sioux Reservation in 1889.

to Cheyenne [River] Agency gathering berries or some other innocent place. No body reports them and of course they expect rations.”<sup>12</sup>

Captain Johnston voiced outright doubt over the accuracy of Collins’s census. “The camps of Indians at that time were some distance from the Agency,” he later wrote, “and for military reasons [Collins] was compelled to make the count in great haste and to accept the word of the chiefs as to the number of their people.”<sup>13</sup> Johnston decided to recount the Lakotas, this time in a more controlled manner. With troops to back him up and a threat to withhold rations and annuity goods from nonparticipants, Johnston conducted a second military count two weeks later. “After giving each band two days notice,” he reported, “I proceeded to make the count in the following manner:—I required each chief to form his people into circles, the men in one and the women and children in another, and after the band was counted I informed the chief that if he allowed any of his people to join another

12. Carlin to Ruggles, 12 Sept. 1876, Special Files of Headquarters, Division of the Missouri, RG 393, M1495, roll 4.

13. Johnston to Carlin, 20 Dec. 1876, Letters Received, Fort Yates, RG 393, NA.



band and be counted a second time, I would cut off just that number of blankets from his band upon the issue of annuity goods.” The captain then had each headman re-count the band “in his own way, and I never left him until he was satisfied all his people were counted. In many cases I found it necessary to count a band three and four times to satisfy the chief of my correctness.” Johnston completed his count on 3 October 1876, putting the population at Standing Rock at 2,344 people.<sup>14</sup>

Captain Johnston continued his effort to maintain accurate records of each family at Standing Rock. The following month, he issued the annual allotment of annuity goods. Instead of taking the usual approach of dividing the goods into piles based on the band’s size and turning them over to the band leaders to distribute, Johnston bypassed

14. Ibid.



By the late 1880s, beef issues on Standing Rock had become a routine biweekly process. Cattle were corralled and shot by policemen, and individual families received meat rations.

the headmen and issued goods directly to individual families. He recorded each family's name as they received the clothing, blankets, and other items.<sup>15</sup>

The military oversight of Standing Rock lasted just three months. On 1 December 1876, agency operations were turned over to William T. Hughes, the new civilian agent. With support from the adjacent garrison, Hughes continued the detailed enumeration process the army had begun. Four days after officially taking over as agent, Hughes conducted his first census, with an officer from the post serving as a witness. During 1877, he appears to have conducted a census at the beginning of each quarter.<sup>16</sup>

In 1878, Agent Hughes began recording information on a set of printed forms called issue vouchers. These forms included the name of each head of household and the total number of people in the family, arranged by bands and by tribe. On issue day, every two weeks, an "X" was to be placed next to the name of each household head whose family had received the quantity of rations listed. In some cases, a particular set of issue vouchers was identical to that of the previous issue, indicating that the clerk had simply copied the information from one set to the next. Many of these biweekly forms contained edits, however, evidence that the clerk had attempted to keep up with demographic changes among the various bands. If a family decided to move to a different band, their name on the issue voucher was crossed off and written between the lines under the name of their new leader. The total number of people in each family also changed occasionally, reflecting additions or losses through births, marriages, and deaths. These biweekly issue vouchers continued, with a few gaps, from 1878 through 1885.<sup>17</sup>

While the army had initially implemented the regular census at Standing Rock, the Indian agents who came and went over the next several years refined and standardized the process. By the time Sitting

15. Johnston to Carlin, 20 Dec. 1876.

16. Whitney to Post Adjutant, 21 Dec. 1876, Letters Received, Fort Yates, RG 393, NA; Hughes to CIA, 21 Dec. 1876, Letters Received, OIA, Standing Rock Agency file, RG 75, M234, roll 847. Hughes's census ledger is preserved in the Standing Rock Reservation field records at the National Archives, Central Plains Region (NA-CPR), Kansas City, Mo.

17. The issue vouchers are also part of the Standing Rock Reservation field records.

Bull and the other Hunkpapas returned from Canada and were transferred to Standing Rock in 1881, the administration of the agency had generated a number of standardized forms on which the names of each family head were regularly recorded. What had not yet been attempted was a full reservation census that included the names and ages of every man, woman, and child under the agency's control.

The United States Constitution specifies that the federal government will conduct a complete census of the country every ten years in order to establish each state's level of representation in Congress and to assist in budget planning and taxation. American Indians were explicitly excluded from the original federal enumerations. In 1860, for example, census workers were instructed to omit "Indians *not taxed*" (emphasis in original); that is, individuals who lived on reservations or in unorganized portions of the country. Those to be enumerated were "the families of Indians who have renounced tribal rule, and who under State or Territorial laws exercise the rights of citizens."<sup>18</sup>

Nontaxed Indians finally received consideration in the tenth United States census, scheduled for the summer of 1880. For two years leading up to the 1880 census, a special congressional committee discussed what types of information should be collected about the country's populace, such as employment data and whether an individual could read or write. Through the influence of Francis A. Walker, head of the Census Office and commissioner of Indian affairs from 1871 to 1873, the committee recommended that nontaxed Indians be counted for the first time. While these figures would not be used to determine representation in Congress, the committee concluded that "it was important to have more definite and reliable information than any we now have as to the actual numbers and present condition of the different Indian tribes within our borders."<sup>19</sup> Legislation authorizing the census passed in the spring of 1879 with a clause specifically instructing the superintendent of the census to employ "special agents or other means" to record Indians "not taxed." For the first time, the Census Office would

18. U.S., Department of the Interior, Office of the Census, *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860*, "Instructions to U.S. Marshals" (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1860), p. 14.

19. U.S., Congress, Senate, *Congressional Record*, 45th Cong., 3d sess., 1879, 8, pt. 2: 1049.

attempt to count all American Indians residing within the boundaries of the United States, including those living on reservations.<sup>20</sup>

To accomplish this ambitious task, the Census Office established an Indian Division charged with overseeing the special census enumeration on the reservations. The division was placed under the direction of the famous western explorer John Wesley Powell, who also oversaw the fledgling United States Geological Survey and the newly established National Anthropological Archives at the Smithsonian Institution. Powell recognized this special Indian census as a unique opportunity to gather important demographic and kinship data about native tribes, part of the focus of his work at the Smithsonian. Powell soon laid out a plan under which the Indian agent and staff on each reservation would conduct the actual enumeration while several budding ethnographers from his Smithsonian staff would be paid with census funds to oversee the work. Colonel Garrick Mallery was given charge of the entire project, with assistance from four regional supervisors. Clay McCauley was responsible for the reservations east of the Mississippi River; H. W. Hendshaw had the Northwest; R. L. Packard oversaw the Southwest, and Rev. Samuel D. Hinman was assigned the north-central United States, including Dakota and Montana territories, Minnesota, and Nebraska. In addition to collecting the name of every Indian living on every reservation, Powell's team of ethnographers even considered recording each Indian's ancestors back five generations.<sup>21</sup>

The regular federal census was completed during the summer of 1880, but work on the special Indian census lagged behind. In late September, the commissioner of Indian affairs sent a circular to all Indian agents, instructing them to cooperate with Powell and his staff in their efforts to record "the name of every Indian if possible, and to obtain such facts as may be necessary to exhibit the condition of the several tribes and their progress in civilization." The commissioner noted that Powell was authorized to communicate directly with Indian agents and would be sending them instructions and census forms.<sup>22</sup>

20. U.S., *Statutes at Large*, vol. 20, Act of 3 Mar. 1879, p. 475.

21. *Chicago Daily Inter-Ocean*, 8 May, 16 Sept. 1880.

22. CIA to Indian Agents, Circular No. 56, 27 Sept. 1880, Letters Sent, CIA, RG 75, National Archives Microfilm Publication M21, roll 154.

The Reverend Samuel D. Hinman oversaw the special Indian census of 1880 in Dakota Territory and among the Sioux in adjoining states. He would later be involved in attempts to reduce the Great Sioux Reservation.



Challenges, both political and financial, soon emerged. At the Pine Ridge Agency, efforts to conduct the census became yet another point of contention in an ongoing power struggle between the Oglala leader Red Cloud and Agent Valentine T. McGillicuddy. Elsewhere, the enumerator for the Umatilla Agency in Oregon forwarded a bill for his lost horse to the Census Office, just one of many unexpected expenses the project generated. Agents also complained that Powell and his staff rarely replied to their communications.<sup>23</sup>

The greatest challenge the Indian census effort faced, however, was staffing. Father Joseph Stephan, the agent at Standing Rock, echoed

23. McGillicuddy to CIA, 1 Mar. 1881, and CIA to Powell, 15 Mar. 1881, Letters Sent to the OIA by agents or superintendents at the Pine Ridge Agency, RG 75, National Archives Microfilm Publication M1282, roll 3.

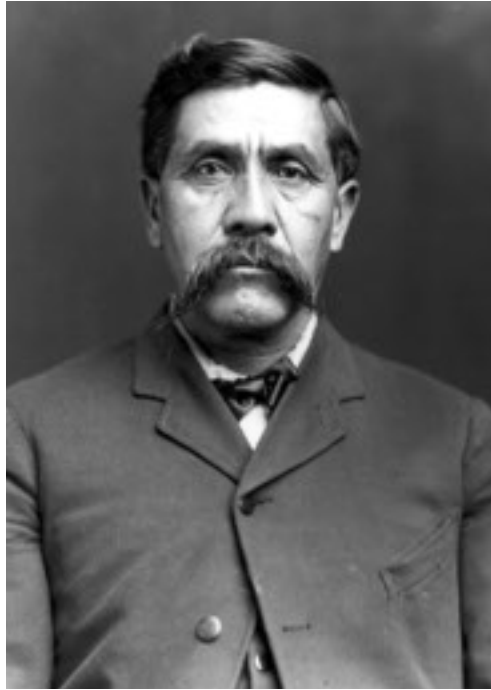
the concerns of many Indian agents when he wrote the commissioner of Indian affairs that his staff was too small and too busy with other duties to undertake so large a task. Stephan requested permission to hire a special enumerator to visit every Standing Rock family, many of whom were scattered over an area that extended from twenty-five miles north to thirty-five miles south of the agency headquarters. The enumerator would also need to speak fluent Lakota and furnish his own horse, as the agency did not have animals to spare. Lacking funds for the additional position, the commissioner of Indian affairs forwarded Father Stephan's request to Powell for consideration, noting that without a census enumerator the work could not be accomplished.<sup>24</sup>

Late in the summer of 1881, the Census Office hired twenty-five-year-old William T. Selwyn from the Yankton Agency to serve as the special enumerator for Standing Rock. Known originally as Tunkan Ojan, Selwyn was the son of the prominent Yankton headman Pte Wakan Najin, or Medicine Cow, a strong advocate for early missionary work at his agency. Medicine Cow's oldest son became one of the first Presbyterian converts, ordained in 1879 and described as a "devoted and eloquent preacher" among the Yanktons.<sup>25</sup> Medicine Cow's second son, William, initially started along a similar path, although he joined the Episcopal mission. At age sixteen, he was selected as one of several young Yankton men to be sent away for further schooling, first to Nebraska College, then to Brooklyn, New York, and finally to Andalusia Hall, a small Episcopal college preparatory school near Philadelphia. After returning home to the Yankton Agency, Selwyn became a catechist and teacher at the Episcopal mission in addition to serving as an editor of the mission's new Dakota-language newspaper, *Anpao*.<sup>26</sup> "Rarely have four young men turned out in a way more calculated to comfort their

24. Stephan to CIA, 17 Nov. 1880, Letters Received, OIA, Standing Rock Agency file, RG 75, M234, roll 852.

25. U.S., Department of the Interior, *Twenty-first Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners*, 1889, p. 46.

26. James C. Pilling, *Bibliography of Siouan Languages*, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin no. 5 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1887), p. 69; Virginia Driving Hawk Sneve, *That They May Have Life: The Episcopal Church in South Dakota, 1859-1976* (Sioux Falls, S.Dak.: Episcopal Church in South Dakota, 1977), p. 36.



In 1881 William T. Selwyn, the bilingual son of a Yankton headman, undertook the daunting task of enumerating the entire population under the purview of the Standing Rock Agency.

Missionary father and to satisfy those who provided for their schooling than these four,” Bishop William Hobart Hare wrote shortly after their return.<sup>27</sup>

About 1879, however, William Selwyn decided to leave the mission, much to the disappointment of church officials. He soon married and took a position with the Office of Indian Affairs as a day-school teacher on the Yankton reservation. Then, in 1881, his bilingual skills helped him land a temporary position with the United States Census Office collecting data for the Indian census.<sup>28</sup>

Arriving at the Standing Rock Agency by late August 1881, Selwyn apparently began his census assignment by meeting with Sitting Bull, who had come back under federal custody just three weeks earlier.

27. *Fifth Annual Report of the Missionary Bishop of Niobrara*, 1877, pp. 8–9.

28. V. Edward Bates, *In Search of Spirit: A Sioux Family Memoir* (Spokane, Wash.: Marquette Books, 2009), pp. 121–23.

Invoking their kinship connection (Selwyn's mother was a sister of Sitting Bull's father), the young census worker offered advice to the Hunkpapa headman and recorded the chief's words in Lakota, then translated them into English. "Although you are Dakota, you are employed by the Great Father," Sitting Bull told Selwyn, "therefore I want you to let him hear my words." Sitting Bull spoke of past injustices and asked that his people be treated well. At the end of their conversation, the Hunkpapa leader gave Selwyn permission to continue his census activities. "I have no objection to your numbering the people," he said.<sup>29</sup>

Throughout the autumn, Selwyn traversed the Standing Rock, visiting each lodge. On a separate form for each family, he recorded the name of every man, woman, and child, both in their native tongue and in English. He noted their sex, age, and relationship to the head of household. Selwyn also asked about the number of horses, cattle, and dogs each family claimed, as well as the output of any farming operations undertaken during the previous year. He even recorded how many buffalo and deer the northern Lakotas had hunted. Families were grouped together into "bands," with the headman specified. The first family Selwyn listed in his census was that of Sitting Bull; thus, this historic document has since become known as the Sitting Bull Surrender Census, though in reality it includes not only the northern bands who had recently surrendered but also the agency bands who had been living at Standing Rock for several years (*see* Appendices A and B).

29. *Philadelphia Evening Telegraph*, 6 Sept. 1881. Evidence that Selwyn forwarded Sitting Bull's comments through official channels has not been found. However, a copy was provided to Charles L. Hall, missionary at Fort Berthold, who sent an edited version to the *Evening Telegraph*. The speech subsequently appeared in a number of newspapers nationwide, including the *Fort Wayne Daily Gazette* for 7 October 1881. This version was reprinted in W. Fletcher Johnson, *Life of Sitting Bull and History of the Indian War of 1890-91* (Philadelphia, Pa.: Edgewood Publishing, 1891), pp. 162-67. A partial, handwritten copy of Sitting Bull's words is in the possession of Selwyn descendants. Bates, *In Search of Spirit*, p. 178. Soon after Sitting Bull and his group were counted, they were transferred to Fort Randall. Their period of incarceration lasted into the spring of 1883 and is explored in Dennis Pope, *Sitting Bull, Prisoner of War*, forthcoming from the South Dakota State Historical Society Press.





**Sitting Bull's nephew One Bull provides a rare opportunity to link a name with a face. He heads the third family enumerated in the Sitting Bull Surrender Census.**

Instructions for those conducting the 1880 Indian census required that three copies be produced. The enumerator was to keep one, another was to be filed in the agent's office on the reservation, and the third was to be sent to the United States Census Office in Washington, D.C. Selwyn's original copy of the Standing Rock census has been lost, but portions of both the agency copy and the Census Office copy have

survived. Neither one is complete, but by combining information from the two surviving copies, a nearly full listing for the 1880 census can be reconstructed. Still missing are the sheets for six small bands of Yanktonais, although the names of household heads can be identified from the issue vouchers for that period. In all, the Sitting Bull Surrender Census records information for 1,081 families of Hunkpapas, Blackfeet Lakotas, and Lower and Upper Yanktonais, totaling 4,293 people living among more than thirty bands. This census is the first to list the names of every Lakota family member, including husbands, wives, children, and other relatives.

Throughout the rest of the 1880s, Indian agents found themselves under increasing pressure to conduct an annual census for their reservations. Congress, in passing the appropriation bill for the Office of Indian Affairs in 1884, included a clause requiring the submittal of a complete census with each agent's annual report.<sup>30</sup> The commissioner of Indian affairs complained that a mandated yearly count was unnecessary and prone to inaccuracy, adding that lawmakers did not understand "the magnitude of the extra labor thereby imposed."<sup>31</sup>

Despite the difficulties involved, agents began to submit their annual census information. The Standing Rock Agency successfully completed its first complete reservation census for the Office of Indian Affairs in 1885. The following year, the commissioner instructed all of the agencies within the Great Sioux Reservation to conduct their censuses on the same day to eliminate the possibility of families moving between agencies and being counted twice. The first full census for the Great Sioux Reservation was completed in 1886 and continued every year until the reservation was divided into smaller units in 1889. An annual census was conducted on each of these reservations up to

30. U. S., Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the Year 1887* (Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1887), p. xxxvii.

31. *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (1886), p. xxxvi. The Office of Indian Affairs annual census rolls, including the census for Standing Rock from 1885 to 1939, are available on Indian Census Rolls, 1885–1940, RG 75, National Archives Microfilm Publication M595, rolls 1–692.



After a brief hiatus, the enumerations at Standing Rock continued. This picture, taken by David F. Barry around 1888, features Hunkpapa chief Gall standing between the two tables, while Agent James McLaughlin sits nearest the camera at the table on the left.

the time of World War II. In addition, the United States Census Office completed its first full census of Indian reservations in 1890, but, unfortunately, the original documents were lost in a fire.<sup>32</sup> By the turn of the century, the census process had become a routine part of the reservation bureaucracy that soon expanded to control and record every aspect of Lakota personal life.

32. *Statutes at Large*, vol. 23, Act of 4 July 1884, p. 98.

## APPENDIX A

### Bands Recorded in the Sitting Bull Surrender Census, 1881

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#### *Nontreaty Bands:*

##### **Hunkpapa**

Sitting Bull and Four Horns (41 families/195 people)

Crow King (64 families/290 people)

Gall (52 families/229 people)

Rain in the Face (39 families/179 people)

##### **Blackfeet Lakota**

Crawler (23 families/113 people)

##### **Minneconjou/Sans Arc**

Fool Heart (26 families/112 people)

Circle Bear (85 families/351 people)

Hump (142 families/714 people)

##### **Oglala**

Big Road and Low Dog (95 families/433 people)

##### **Brulé**

Bull Dog (41 families/206 people)

#### *Agency Bands:*

##### **Hunkpapa and Blackfeet**

Thunder Hawk (55 families/219 people)

Bear's Rib (29 families/140 people)

John Grass (38 families/169 people)

Long Soldier (11 families/54 people)

Red Horse (9 families/42 people)

Furious Bear (8 families/40 people)

Sitting Crow (16 families/62 people)

Eagle Killer (25 families/123 people)

Shot in the Head (9 families/35 people)

Belly Fat (7 families/33 people)

Fire Heart Jr. (21 families/92 people)

Iron Horn (4 families/11 people)

**Lower Yanktonai**

One Who Drags Wood (12 families/40 people)

Running Walking (7 families/24 people)

Rushing Eagle (15 families/56 people)

Big Elk (20 families/79 people)

Mad Bear (37 families/51 people)

Two Bears (50 families/237 people)

**Upper Yanktonai**

Black Eyes (13 families/63 people)

White Deer (17 families/80 people)

Big Head (29 families/85 people)

Bull Head (8 families/37 people)

*Mix-blood families (43 families/192 people)*

*Bands on Missing Pages:*

**Lower Yanktonai**

Cottonwood

Red Fish

**Upper Yanktonai**

Wolf Necklace

Red Bull

High Bear

Lone Dog

## APPENDIX B

Sitting Bull and Four Horns's Band, Sitting Bull Surrender Census, 1881

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The band of Sitting Bull and his uncle Four Horns was probably a combination of two earlier Hunkpapa *tiyospaye*, the Icira and the Tinazipe Sica (Bad Bows). Following an exile in Canada that began in 1877, Sitting Bull and his followers returned to the United States and surrendered at Fort Buford on 19 July 1881. From there, they were taken by steamboat to Fort Yates and kept apart from the hundreds of other Lakotas who had surrendered while government officials decided what to do with the noted “hostile” leader. Under the supervision of Captain Henry S. Howe, Seventeenth Infantry, Sitting Bull’s band was fed and counted every five days. On 10 September, the group was placed aboard a steamboat and transferred to Fort Randall as prisoners of war. William T. Selwyn made the following enumeration, the first records in what is known today as the “Sitting Bull Surrender Census,” just days before the families under Sitting Bull and Four Horns embarked for Fort Randall. Selwyn’s document has been transcribed here from U.S., Department of the Interior, Office of the Census, *Tenth Census of the United States*, Indian Division, Schedule 1, Population, Standing Rock Agency, 1881, Census Records, Standing Rock Reservation Field Records, RG 75, National Archives, Central Plains Region, Kansas City, Mo. Family members are listed beneath the name of the household head, with each individual’s Lakota name, English name, relationship to household head, marital status, sex, and age given.

For Captain Howe’s list of the Indians who were transferred from Fort Yates to Fort Randall, see Jerome A. Greene, *Fort Randall on the Missouri, 1856–1892* (Pierre: South Dakota State Historical Society Press, 2005), pp. 185–91. An accounting of the headmen who were returned to the Standing Rock in the spring of 1883 appears *ibid.*, p. 192. The additional details presented on some of the families and individuals listed below were gathered from these sources and from later Standing Rock Agency records at the National Archives.

The entire Sitting Bull Surrender Census, with additional information compiled by Ephriam D. Dickson III, is forthcoming from the South Dakota State Historical Society Press.

## FAMILY 1

---

<i>Ta-tan-ka-iyotan-ke</i>	Sitting Bull (Chief)		M	M	43
<i>Ta-si-na-to-pa-win</i>	Her Four Blankets	wife	M	F	26
<i>O-ya-te-wan-ya-ke-pi-win</i>	Nation That Sees Her	sister in law	D	F	30
<i>Ta-sun-ke-o-ta-win</i>	Her Plenty Horses	daughter	S	F	17
<i>Wan-yag-ma-ni-pi-win</i>	Saw Her as They Go By	daughter	S	F	14
<i>Wa-na-ki-ksin</i>	One Who Takes Part With Others	son	S	M	13
<i>He-to</i>	Blue Mountain	son	S	M	11
<i>Kan-gi-si-ha</i>	Crow Feet	son	S	M	7
<i>Ti-tan-in-yan-he-win</i>	The Appearance of Her Teepee	daughter	S	F	5
<i>Wa-kan-yan-na-jin-win</i>	The Woman That Appears Mysteriously	daughter	S	F	4
<i>A-wan-yu-stan-pi</i>	The One They Shoot at With Arrows	son	S	M	3
<i>Un-yan-na-pa-pi</i>	Rejection	son	S	M	3

---

Sitting Bull and his son Crow Foot died at the hands of the Standing Rock Indian police during the Ghost Dance troubles of 1890. The surviving family members subsequently left Standing Rock and spent the rest of their lives on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation. Seen-by-the-Nation, listed here as Sitting Bull's sister-in-law, was actually one of his wives.

## FAMILY 2

---

<i>He-to-pa</i>	Four Horns Sr. (Chief)		M	M	58
<i>Wa-kin-yan-to-win</i>	Blue Thunder Woman	wife	M	F	60
<i>He-to-pa</i>	Four Horns Jr.	son	W	M	26
<i>Pte-san-du-ta-win</i>	Red White Buffalo Cow	daughter	S	F	20

---

Blue Thunder Woman, the wife of Four Horns, died at Fort Randall on 12 December 1881. Shortly after his release, Four Horns returned to Standing Rock and led his own small band until his death in 1887.

## FAMILY 3

---

<i>Ta-tan-ka-wan-ji-na</i>	One Bull		M	M	27
<i>Ho-he-kte-win</i>	One Who Kills Assinaboins	wife	M	F	20
<i>Sun-gle-ska-wi-ca-ki</i>	Plunderer of Spotted Horses	daughter	S	F	3

---

One Bull is most noted for his interviews with Walter M. Camp, Stanley Vestal, and others about the Battle of the Little Bighorn. He remained a member of Sitting Bull's band until the headman was killed in 1890.

## FAMILY 4

---

<i>Na-jin-han-wica-kte</i>	Killed While Standing		S	M	17
<i>Wi-ya-ka-wa-ste-win</i>	Pretty Feather Woman	mother	W	M	52
<i>Win-yan-to-pa-win</i>	Four Woman	sister	S	M	14

---

Pretty Feather was originally married to the Minneconjou headman Makes Room, but they later separated and she remarried. Her second husband had died by the time of this enumeration. Pretty Feather was the mother of One Bull (Family 3) and White Bull (listed among the Minneconjous). Her daughter, Four Woman (better known later as Mary Welsh), remained behind when the family was transferred to Fort Randall. Walter Camp later interviewed Four Woman about her experiences at the Little Bighorn.

## FAMILY 5

---

<i>Sun-gna-ikin-yan</i>	Mad Dog		M	M	45
<i>Ti-egna-ku-win</i>	Comes Among the Camps	wife	M	F	45

---

Crazy Dog, sometimes mistranslated as Crazy Horse, was absent from the camp when his wife was transferred with Sitting Bull's band to Fort Randall. The following month, Crazy Dog arrived at Fort Randall to join his wife. After their return to Standing Rock, the couple lived with several different Hunkpapa bands.

## FAMILY 6

---

<i>Ta-tan-ka-wan-kan-tu-ya</i>	High Bull		M	M	31
<i>Ca-tka-win</i>	Left Hand Woman	wife	M	F	29
<i>Ka-hnih-a-gli</i>	Bring Choice	son	S	M	2

---



Only High Bull was transferred to Fort Randall, his wife and son remaining behind. He returned to the Standing Rock Agency in 1883, but no further information on him has been found in agency census records.

**FAMILY 7**

<i>He-san-ni-ma-za</i>	Iron Horn		W	M	65
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This individual may be the Hunkpapa named Iron Heart who returned to Standing Rock in 1883. No further information is known.

**FAMILY 8**

<i>Ti-yo-wi-ca-kte</i>	Kills in Lodge		S	M	17
<i>Hna-ku-la</i>	Comes Back with Growling	brother	S	M	13
<i>Ma-hpi-ya-ki-ca-mna-win</i>	Drifting Clouds	mother	W	F	80

This family remained with Sitting Bull's band through 1890.

**FAMILY 9**

<i>Nu-ni-win</i>	Lost Woman		W	F	70
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Sitting Bull's mother, also known as Her-Holy-Door, is listed here separately, although most sources suggest that she lived in the same lodge as her famous son.

**FAMILY 10**

<i>Ma-hpi-ya-pe-ta</i>	Fire Cloud		M	M	58
<i>Win-yan-wa-ste</i>	Pretty Woman	wife	M	F	56
<i>Hi-na-pe-win</i>	Approaching Woman	daughter	D	F	41
<i>Wa-ki-te-win</i>	Looking Woman	daughter	W	F	40
<i>Ta-can-hpi-ko-ki-pa-pi</i>	One Whose Club They Afraid of	son	S	M	39

Only Fire Cloud and his wife accompanied Sitting Bull to Fort Randall; the children were left behind at Standing Rock. After their return in 1883, Sitting Bull asked Fire Cloud to take part in dedicating the Standing Rock monument with Agent James McLaughlin. Fire Cloud resided with several different Hunkpapa bands during the 1880s.

## FAMILY 11

---

<i>He-ha-ka-he</i>	Elk Horn		M	M	80
<i>Wi-ko-ske</i>	Lady	wife	M	F	58
<i>Ma-za-can-te-ya</i>	Iron Heart	son	W	M	40
<i>Wa-un-si-la-win</i>	Grace	daughter	S	F	17
<i>A-ki-cin-yin-kte</i>	Gain Victory in Battle	grandson	S	M	10

---

Little is known about Elk Horn. The fact that his name does not appear on the list of men who returned to Standing Rock suggests that he may have been among the twenty individuals who died at Fort Randall.

## FAMILY 12

---

<i>Hu-hu-can-hpi</i>	Bone Club		M	M	38
<i>Si-ha-win</i>	Foot	wife	M	F	32
<i>Ma-ka-o-ya-te-win</i>	Earthy Nation	sister-in-law	S	F	20
<i>Wa-cin-yan-pi-win</i>	Faithful	daughter	S	F	11
<i>O-wan-ji-yan-ke-win</i>	Remaining Woman	daughter	S	F	8
<i>Sa-kte</i>	(no meaning)	son	S	M	2

---

A prominent man in Sitting Bull's band, Bone Club (also translated as Bone Tomahawk) was made headman of his own small band after his return in 1883. The name of his youngest son should be translated as Kills Red. He appears on the Fort Randall transfer list as Killed Crow.

## FAMILY 13

---

<i>Hin-sa-win</i>	Red Hair Woman		S	F	14
<i>Sa-hun-win-la</i>	Cheyenne Woman	mother	W	F	50

---

Cheyenne Woman was the second wife of Bone Club (Family 12).

## FAMILY 14

---

<i>Wan-na-we-ga</i>	One Who Breaks Arrow		M	M	56
<i>Psa-win</i>	Reed Woman	wife	M	F	48
<i>Nam-san-ni-la</i>	One Hand	brother	W	M	60

---

This family was returned to Standing Rock in 1883 but has not been found in later census records.

## FAMILY 15

---

<i>Wan-bli-gle-ska</i>	Spotted Eagle		M	M	58
<i>Ta-can-ku-wa-ste-win</i>	Her Pretty Road	wife	M	F	48
<i>Hun-ka-ska-win</i>	White Princess	daughter	S	F	25
<i>A-wa-ste-win</i>	Better Woman	daughter	S	F	20
<i>I-na-hpa</i>	Clumsy Legs	son	S	M	8
<i>To-ka-he-ya-ma-ni-win</i>	First Walker	daughter	S	F	4
<i>Pte-ska-win</i>	White Buffalo Cow Woman	daughter	S	F	4

---

This Spotted Eagle should not be confused with the famous Sans Arc headman of the same name. He and his family have not been identified in later records.

## FAMILY 16

---

<i>Wa-kin-yan-o-hi-ti-ka</i>	Brave Thunder		M	M	36
<i>Win-yan-han-ska</i>	Tall Woman	wife	M	F	32
<i>Ti-pi-lu-ta-win</i>	Red Tent Woman	daughter	S	F	12
<i>Ta-sun-ke-wa-ki-ta-win</i>	Her Looking Horse	daughter	S	F	7
<i>Zi-win</i>	Yellow	sister in law	D	F	36
<i>Wa-si-cu-ska-win</i>	White Woman	daughter	S	F	8
<i>E-na-pe-la</i>	Brings Out	daughter	S	F	5
<i>E-ha-ke-ku-la</i>	Comes in Last	son	S	M	3

---

Only Brave Thunder and his wife were transferred to Fort Randall with Sitting Bull, the rest of the family remaining behind.

## FAMILY 17

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<i>Zi-tka-la-sa-pa</i>	Black Bird		M	M	37
<i>Ca-tka-win-la</i>	Left Handed Woman	wife	M	F	34
<i>Wa-lu-ta-wa-ste-win</i>	Pretty Crimson Woman	daughter	S	F	12
<i>Win-cin-ca-la</i>	Girl	daughter	S	F	8
<i>To-pa-la</i>	Four	daughter	S	F	4

---

This family later belonged to the Shot to Pieces band.

## FAMILY 18

---

<i>Ma-to-wa-ta-kpe</i>	Attacking Bear		M	M	39
<i>I-tan-can-win</i>	Princess	wife	M	F	35

---

This family does not appear in any other record from the Standing Rock Agency.

## FAMILY 19

---

<i>O-gli-hin-sma-un</i>	Wears Fur Coat		M	M	41
<i>O-mni-ca</i>	Beans	wife	M	F	35
<i>I-te-han-han</i>	Sore Face	son	S	M	13
<i>Ta-tan-ka</i>	Bull	son	S	M	3
<i>O-un-pa-pi</i>	Packed Up	daughter	S	F	2
<i>Wa-su-ma-za-win</i>	Iron Hail	daughter	S	F	6

---

The two daughters in this family remained behind when the others were shipped to Fort Randall as prisoners of war. After returning to Standing Rock, Wears the Fur Coat and his family remained members of Sitting Bull's band through at least 1885.

## FAMILY 20

---

<i>Sun-ka-ska</i>	White Dog		M	M	49
<i>Win-yan-wa-ste</i>	Pretty Woman	wife	M	F	38
<i>Wan-bli-sun</i>	Eagle Feather	daughter	S	F	18
<i>Ti-o-ko-ton-win</i>	One Side of the Tent	daughter	S	F	22
<i>Zi-tka-la-wa-ste</i>	Pretty Bird	son	S	M	15
<i>Wa-ni-ye-tu</i>	Winter	son	S	M	13
<i>E-ha-ke-in-yan-ke</i>	Last Woman	son	S	M	7
<i>Kan-gi-wi-ca-sa-kte</i>	Kills Crow Indian	son	S	M	2
<i>Si-yo-sa-pa</i>	Black Quail	brother	W	M	30

---

White Dog and his family slipped away from army control at Fort Randall in June 1882. No further information is known.

## FAMILY 21

---

<i>Ma-to-ku-te-pi</i>	Shooting Bear		M	M	36
<i>Win-yan-wa-ste</i>	Pretty Woman	wife	M	F	36

<i>A-pe-sa-win</i>	Red Fire Woman	daughter	S	F	13
<i>Ni-ya-ke-kte</i>	Kills Alive	son	S	M	11
<i>Ni-ya-wa-kan-win</i>	Her Sacred Spirit	sister in law	S	F	19

Upon arriving at Fort Randall, Shooting Bear and his family were able to convince officials that they did not belong to Sitting Bull's band. The family returned to Standing Rock Agency by steamboat several days later.

#### FAMILY 22

<i>Wa-kin-yan-kte-pi</i>	Killed By Thunder		M	M	38
<i>Han-te-win</i>	Cedar Woman	wife	M	F	37
<i>Ta-sun-ke</i>	Her Pony	daughter	S	F	17
<i>Sun-ka-kan-wi-ca-ki-win</i>	One Who Steals Pony	daughter	S	F	4
<i>Wa-na-pe-ye-la</i>	One Who Drives Enemies Back	son	S	M	2

Killed by Thunder is better known by his later name, Red Thunder; he was the son of an elder Hunkpapa by that name. After returning to Standing Rock, this family became members of Against the Cloud's band.

#### FAMILY 23

<i>Zu-me</i>	—		M	M	31
<i>Ma-to-wi-nu-hca</i>	Old Bear Woman	wife	M	F	29
<i>Wa-su-ka-to</i>	Knocked Down by Hail	son	S	M	7
<i>Wi-lu-te-win</i>	Red Dye Collar	daughter	S	F	5
<i>Ma-to-hpi-la</i>	Shaggy Bear	son	S	M	2

No further information on this family is known. The man's name, at least in this form, does not appear on the list of Hunkpapa men returned to Standing Rock in 1883.

#### FAMILY 24

<i>Ma-za-kan-wi-ca-ki</i>	One Who Disarms		W	M	37
<i>Win-yan</i>	Woman	mother	W	F	52
<i>Ti-a-li</i>	Climbing Tent	son	S	M	14

<i>Hin-zi-win-la</i>	Yellow Hair Woman	daughter	S	F	9
<i>Hin-han-wi-ca-sa</i>	Owl Man	son	S	M	6

One Who Disarms, better known as Takes the Gun, became leader of his own small band upon returning to Standing Rock.

#### FAMILY 25

<i>Ma-hpi-ya-to</i>	Blue Cloud		M	M	31
<i>Can-o-win</i>	Shooting Wood	wife	M	F	29
<i>Ta-ji-lu-ta-win</i>	Red Calf Woman	daughter	S	F	12
<i>Wan-ki-cun-la</i>	One Who Uses His Arrows	son	S	M	5
<i>Hin-tog-to-kca-win</i>	Mixed Colored Hair	daughter	S	F	4
<i>Hi-ya-i-ci-ye-la</i>	Comes To Attack	son	S	M	2

Blue Cloud and his family joined the band of Takes the Gun after they returned to Standing Rock.

#### FAMILY 26

<i>Sun-ka-gi</i>	Yellow Dog		D	M	35
<i>I-te-hin-san</i>	White Face	brother	W	M	29
<i>Ta-ho-mni</i>	Web	niece	S	F	22
<i>O-ko-o-na-ki-tan</i>	Makes a Pass Between Them	nephew	S	M	2
<i>Ta-hca</i>	Deer	mother	W	F	60

This family returned to Standing Rock in 1883, but no further record of them has been found.

#### FAMILY 27

<i>Ma-to-wi-ca-ki-za</i>	Fighting Bear		S	M	18
<i>Ta-sun-ke-o-ta-win</i>	Her Plenty Horses	sister	S	F	16
<i>Wi-ya-ka-ska-win</i>	White Feathered Woman	sister	S	F	12
<i>Pte-san-win</i>	White Buffalo	sister	S	F	15
<i>Sun-ka-win</i>	Dog Woman	mother	W	F	90

This family also accompanied Sitting Bull back to Standing Rock, but no further record has been found.

## FAMILY 28

---

<i>Ma-to-o-hi-ti-ka</i>	Brave Bear		M	M	28
<i>A-pe-na</i>	Fire?	wife	M	F	19
<i>Gu-ya</i>	Burning or Branding	daughter	S	F	2

---

Brave Bear's wife and daughter were sent to Fort Randall, but he was not. No further information is known.

## FAMILY 29

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<i>I-sna-wa-ku-wa</i>	Chasing Alone		M	M	40
<i>Wa-mni-yo-mni</i>	Whirlwind	wife	M	F	30
<i>Ta-can-nu-pa-wa-kan-win</i>	Her Mysterious Pipe	daughter	S	F	14
<i>Ta-si-na-wan-bli</i>	His Eagle Blanket	son	S	M	11
<i>Pan-ke-ska-win</i>	Shell Woman	daughter	S	F	8
<i>O-we-ce-ya-pi-win</i>	One They Crying After	daughter	S	F	5
<i>Wa-ste-la-ka</i>	Becomes Better	son	S	M	3
<i>Ti-pi-lu-ta-win</i>	Red Teepee Woman	daughter	S	F	2

---

Also known as Hunting Alone, this Hunkpapa man and his family were listed as members of Takes the Gun's band after returning to Standing Rock.

## FAMILY 30

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<i>Tan-in-yan-na-jin</i>	Standing in Sight		S	M	10
<i>Ki-pan-pi-win</i>	One They Call Out For	sister	S	F	8
<i>Nuh-can-win</i>	Deaf Woman	mother	W	F	30

---

The family of Deaf Woman, a widow, could not be identified with certainty on the list of Hunkpapas returned to Standing Rock in 1883.

## FAMILY 31

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<i>Hu-tan-ka</i>	Big Leg		M	M	50
<i>Kan-su-la</i>	Ticket	wife	M	F	37
<i>Wanyake La</i>	One That Sees	daughter	S	F	12
<i>O-gle-ska</i>	White Shirt	daughter	S	F	10
<i>O-ye-wa-ste-win</i>	Pretty Track Woman	daughter	S	F	6

<i>Psi-to-zi-zi</i>	Yellow Beads	son	S	M	3
<i>A-gu-ya-pi-la</i>	Bread	niece	S	F	13

Aside from the fact that this family returned to Standing Rock in 1883, no further information is known.

#### FAMILY 32

<i>Ta-wi-ca-hca-o-ta</i>	His Plenty Old Man		M	M	70
<i>Pa-la-ni-win</i>	Pawnee Woman	wife	M	F	60

Only Pawnee Woman went to Fort Randall with Sitting Bull's band; her husband may have been one of two sick individuals mentioned in army records as being transferred to Gall's band for treatment and not expected to live. She returned to Standing Rock and is listed in the band of Bear Looking Back.

#### FAMILY 33

<i>Ma-to-ha-ki-kta</i>	Looking Back Bear		M	M	59
<i>Pte-ska-win</i>	White Buffalo Cow	wife	M	F	58
<i>An-pe-tu</i>	Day	sister	D	F	32
<i>Pte-hin-ca-la-ska-win</i>	White Calf	daughter	W	F	25
<i>Pan-ke-ska-win</i>	White Shell	daughter	S	F	23
<i>Pa-in-ce-la-sni</i>	Too Young	son	S	M	21
<i>Wan-bli-u-pi-win</i>	Eagle Feather Woman	daughter	S	F	19
<i>I-a-hi-na-pe-win</i>	Comes Out With Words	daughter	S	F	17
<i>Hin-zi-a-gli-win</i>	Brings Home Yellow Horse	daughter	S	F	13
<i>Wa-ki-pi-win</i>	One They Plundered of	daughter	S	F	8

Only Bear Looking Back, his wife, and his divorced sister (possibly a second wife) went with Sitting Bull to Fort Randall; the other family members were probably placed with relatives at Standing Rock. After returning in 1883, Bear Looking Back was appointed leader of a small band.

#### FAMILY 34

<i>Wi-ca-ju-kpa</i>	One Who Takes Down		S	M	8
<i>Ta-sun-ke-hin-to</i>	His Gray Horse	brother	S	M	7
<i>O-pe-ton-win</i>	One Who Buys	mother	D	F	32

No further information has been found.



## FAMILY 35

<i>So-te-win</i>	Smoky Woman		W	F	67
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No further information has been found.

## FAMILY 36

<i>Wa-kin-yan-lu-ta</i>	Red Thunder		M	M	40
<i>Wa-su-ton</i>	Ripe	wife	M	F	42
<i>Wi-wa-ste-ka</i>	Better Woman	son in law	D	M	41
<i>Can-gle-ska-gi-win</i>	Yellow Hoop	daughter	S	F	34
<i>Ta-sun-ke-kin-yan-hu</i>	Flying Horse	daughter	S	F	15
<i>Wan-ya-ka-pi-la</i>	One They Look At	daughter	S	F	12
<i>Ta-sun-ke</i>	Her Horse	daughter	S	F	10
<i>Pte-san-hin-wa-ste-win</i>	Fine White Haired Buffalo	daughter	S	F	2
<i>Wi-ca-hpi-ma-za</i>	Iron Star	son	S	M	2

Red Thunder's wife and three of his children accompanied him to Fort Randall, the rest remaining behind. He became leader of his own band shortly after his return.

## FAMILY 37

<i>Pte-san-hun-ke-sni</i>	Slow White Buffalo		M	M	30
<i>Wa-ki-cun-za-win</i>	One Who Judges	wife	M	F	30
<i>Ki-kte-win</i>	Kills Her Own	daughter	S	F	9
<i>A-kan-ya-ka-kte-la</i>	Killed on Horseback	son	S	M	2

Slow White Buffalo, also translated as Feeble White Buffalo, was transferred to Fort Randall alone. Shortly after his return in 1883, this family became members of the band of Takes the Gun.

## FAMILY 38

<i>Ca-pon-ka</i>	Mosquito		M	M	29
<i>Wa-kpa</i>	River	sister	W	F	35
<i>Wi-ta-hu</i>	Her Neck	niece	S	F	14
<i>O-jan-jan-win-la</i>	Light Woman	niece	S	F	5

No further information has been found.

## FAMILY 39

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<i>Ma-hpi-ya-e-ya-pa-to</i>	Reaching Cloud		M	M	49
<i>Win-yan-lu-ta-win</i>	Red Woman	wife	M	F	46
<i>Wan-bli-u-pi-la</i>	Eagle Feather	daughter	S	F	24
<i>Ho-ksi-la</i>	Boy	son	S	M	19
<i>Wa-ka-hi-hpe-ya</i>	He That Knocks Down	son	S	M	6
<i>O-cin-si-ce-la</i>	Fierce	son	S	M	3

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Reaching Cloud, also known as High in the Clouds or Against the Cloud, became leader of his own small band upon the family's return to Standing Rock.

## FAMILY 40

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<i>Wa-kin-yan-wa-ta-kpe</i>	Attacking Thunder		M	M	44
<i>Pan-ke-ska</i>	White Glass	wife	M	F	43
<i>To-pa-win</i>	Four	daughter	S	F	19
<i>Tan-in-win</i>	Appearance	daughter	S	F	16
<i>Wa-ku-wa-la</i>	Chasing	son	S	M	14
<i>A-hna</i>	To Growl At	son	S	M	10
<i>I-ya-sa</i>	To Whoop? At	son	S	M	7
<i>Pte-hin-pa-hpe</i>	Old Buffalo Hair	brother	W	M	30

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Attacking Thunder, also translated as Chase the Thunder or Charging Thunder, arrived at Standing Rock on 4 September 1881. Originally listed with Sitting Bull's band, he was transferred to the agency four days later and appears as headman of his own band at Standing Rock by the end of the year.

## FAMILY 41

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<i>Pte-san-hi-na-pe-win</i>	Approaching White Buffalo		W	F	60
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This widow arrived with Attacking Thunder (Family 40) and was also transferred out of Sitting Bull's band on 8 September 1881. No further record has been found.