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Article Summary: In 1890 scores of people died as a result of an attempt by the US government to suppress the ghost dance. This article examines primary sources in an attempt to determine the number and the identity of the people who were with Big Foot at Wounded Knee Creek during the December 29, 1890, confrontation between the US Army and Big Foot's Miniconjou, known today as the Wounded Knee Massacre.

### Cataloging Information:

Note on Names: An annotated, alphabetical index to Big Foot's followers at Wounded Knee follows the text of the article. Names listed below are only those listed within the article itself.

Names: Big Foot [Standing Elk], Edwin V Sumner, Nelson A Miles, Samuel M Whitside, James W Forsyth, Sits Straight, Good Thunder, Black Fox [Black Coyote], Sitting Bull, Thomas H Ruger, Wesley Merritt, John C Gresham, Peter McFarland, Joseph Horn Cloud, Thomas J Morgan, George Sword, Joseph C Byron, Perain P Palmer, F A Whitney, Frank B Baldwin, William Peano, Ed Janis, Guy H Preston, William Birdsall, Dewey Beard, James McLaughlin, Cato Sells, Pipe on Head, Blue Whirlwind, Spotted Thunder

Place Names: Wounded Knee Creek, South Dakota; Cheyenne River Reservation, South Dakota; Pine Ridge Reservation; Camp Cheyenne; Standing Rock Reservation; Fort Bennett

Keywords: Miniconjou, Hunkpapa, Bureau of Indian Affairs

Photographs / Images: Big Foot on the battlefield, 1891 [Courtesy of National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution]; Blue Whirlwind with her children; Unidentified Miniconjou in recuperation at the Pine Ridge agency; Mass grave at Wounded Knee in 1989

# BIG FOOT'S FOLLOWERS AT WOUNDED KNEE

*By Richard E. Jensen*

In 1890 scores of people died as a result of an attempt by the U.S. government to suppress the ghost dance. Nearly all of the fatalities occurred on Wounded Knee Creek during a confrontation between the U.S. Army and Big Foot's Miniconjou. Within a few days the first assessments of the magnitude of the slaughter were made, but others followed at intervals for fifty years. Estimates were also offered concerning the total population of the group.

Although estimates have appeared in newspapers, books, and articles, some reputable and some sensational, all the figures were based upon those provided by a relatively few individuals who witnessed the event or had a legitimate reason to obtain the most accurate numbers possible. The purpose of this brief article is to examine these primary sources in an attempt to determine the number and the identity of the people who were with Big Foot. A list of all of the names found in the primary sources, and some secondary sources as well, is given in the appendix.

When word of the ghost dance spread through the Sioux camps and villages in the summer and fall of 1890, many Indians put their trust in the promises offered by this new religious movement. They believed the ritual would hasten the second coming of Christ for the benefit of the Indians. The white people would disappear, the

buffalo would return, and the Indians could once again be their own masters. Among the converts were Big Foot and his band of Miniconjou, who lived in the southeastern corner of the Cheyenne River Reservation in South Dakota.<sup>1</sup>

The ghost dance, like most native religious observances, was outlawed soon after it came to the attention of white officials, but many Indians continued to dance. Despite the pacifistic nature of this revival movement, there was a growing fear on the part of the whites that it was a prelude to war. The new Pine Ridge Reservation agent, Daniel Royer, convinced his superiors that military assistance was necessary to forestall a revolt against government authority. Beginning on November 20, 1890, a substantial portion of the U.S. Army under Major General Nelson A. Miles began occupying the Lakota reservations.

The general was quick to label Big Foot "one of the most defiant and threatening"<sup>2</sup> leaders of the ghost dance and in December issued the order for his arrest.<sup>3</sup> It was Miles's plan to relocate the entire band "out of the country," presumably at a place where they could be more closely guarded by the military until the ghost dance subsided.<sup>4</sup>

Colonel Edwin V. Sumner captured Big Foot and his followers in mid-December, but before Miles's plan could be put in motion they slipped away on December 23. Big Foot's decision to flee was based in part upon exaggerated rumors about the treatment his people would receive at the hands of the army. Believing they

would be safe at the Pine Ridge Agency, the band began a slow march to the southwest only to fall into the hands of soldiers under Major Samuel M. Whitside, who was quickly reinforced by Colonel James W. Forsyth. The next morning, December 29, on the bank of Wounded Knee Creek, Forsyth began to disarm the frightened and suspicious Indians. An Indian named Sits Straight, also known as Good Thunder, began ghost dancing, which alarmed Forsyth and amplified an already tense situation. At about this same time Black Fox or Black Coyote refused to surrender his rifle. A scuffle with a soldier resulted, and when the gun accidentally discharged, the holocaust began. The Indians who still had concealed weapons fought back while others retrieved their confiscated arms. This close quarter battle raged between the white soldiers and the Indian men for perhaps ten minutes until the Indians retreated toward their camp only rods away. Women and children were now swept up in a disorganized flight from the army forces. What had begun as a battle now became a massacre as unarmed women and children were killed. It was mid-afternoon before the fighting stopped completely. The army gathered its dead and wounded and some of the Indian survivors and returned to Pine Ridge.<sup>5</sup>

In the months preceding Wounded Knee, the U.S. Army had the opportunity as well as a reason for assessing the strength of Big Foot's band. In April of 1890 Camp Cheyenne was established a few miles west of the

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*Richard E. Jensen is a research anthropologist on the staff of the Nebraska State Historical Society Research Division.*

## Big Foot's Followers



*Big Foot was killed near the army tent where he spent the night prior to the massacre. He had contracted pneumonia and was being cared for by an army doctor. Courtesy of National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.*

Indian village.<sup>6</sup> One of the responsibilities of this army outpost was to keep a watchful eye on this conservative band. After the army occupation, Big Foot was classified as a "hostile," a potential battlefield opponent. Under these circumstances intelligence concerning the strength of the band would have been imperative. Colonel Sumner, the commander of Camp Cheyenne, reported on December 21 that there were 333 people in the village.<sup>7</sup> This included forty Hunkpapa refugees who fled the Standing Rock Reservation after Sitting Bull was killed.<sup>8</sup> Sumner's count also included thirty members of Hump's band, who joined Big Foot after the former renounced the ghost dance.<sup>9</sup>

Sumner's count was undoubtedly used by other military officers. His commander, Brigadier General Thomas H. Ruger, wrote that the band "numbered about 340 all told."<sup>10</sup> The commander of the occupation forces, General Miles, notified the commanding officer at Fort Bennett on December 24 that "there are now with Big Foot about 330 Indians." This included thirty from Hump's village and forty from Sitting Bull's.<sup>11</sup> In his report of January 5, 1891, to the adjutant general, Miles put the total at 368.<sup>12</sup> In a letter to his wife Miles said there were 438 people, but this is so inconsistent with the other army estimates that it must be a typographical error.<sup>13</sup> Other reports by Miles list the number

of men at 106 and 160.<sup>14</sup>

Big Foot's band escaped from Sumner on December 23 only to be recaptured five days later by Major Samuel M. Whitside. The major immediately reported that he had 370 in custody.<sup>15</sup> Brigadier General Wesley Merritt's report published a year later put the count at 379.<sup>16</sup>

Many years later Lieutenant John C. Gresham recalled his experiences at Wounded Knee, noting that 380 Indians were there.<sup>17</sup> Peter McFarland, a civilian packer for the army, recalled there were 319 Indians at Wounded Knee.<sup>18</sup> In 1906 Joseph Horn Cloud, a member of Big Foot's band, compiled a list of names of 288 participants, but in a 1913 interview he estimated there was





a total of about 400 people.<sup>19</sup>

The Bureau of Indian Affairs was also concerned about the number in Big Foot's band. Commissioner Thomas J. Morgan concluded there were 370 at Wounded Knee.<sup>20</sup> It is not known whether Morgan arrived at these figures independently from bureau sources or used figures provided by the military.

After the band escaped from Colonel Sumner, they fled toward Pine Ridge. One of the duties of the reservation police was to apprehend trespassers. Chief of Police George Sword estimated there were 303 people in Big Foot's band plus "a few" Standing Rock refugees and a "number" of Oglala school boys and older men returning from a visit to the Cheyenne River Reservation.<sup>21</sup> There were eight or ten schoolboys,<sup>22</sup> which (added to the thirty defectors from Hump's village and the forty from Standing Rock) would bring Captain Sword's total to about 380.

When the fight ended at Wounded Knee the army returned to Pine Ridge, bringing with them some of the Indian survivors.<sup>23</sup> Other Big Foot followers had escaped and found refuge with hundreds of other ghost dancers who had congregated weeks before in the Badlands north of the Pine Ridge Agency. In mid-January this latter group surrendered at Pine Ridge and Lieutenant Joseph C. Byron compiled a census of all of the Cheyenne River Reservation Indians at the agency. Byron's census totaled only seventy-two, but he admitted the Indians were very reluctant to be counted. When rations were issued, Byron tallied 104 from Cheyenne River.<sup>24</sup> By the end of January, forty-eight survivors were returned to their homes.<sup>25</sup> Others were permitted to take up residency at Pine Ridge. This latter group was enumerated by Agent Perain P. Palmer

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*Blue Whirlwind received fourteen wounds. Her husband, Spotted Thunder, was killed and two of her sons were wounded. (NSHS-1392-186)*



in June of 1891.<sup>26</sup> He listed the name, age, and sex of 139 survivors and eighty-eight fatalities.

The most reliable figure pertaining to the population of Big Foot's followers is the number of dead who were buried in the mass grave on a little hill overlooking the Wounded Knee massacre site. Captain F. A. Whitney was in charge of the civilian burial party that interred these bodies on January 3-4. He was undoubtedly the source for Captain Frank B. Baldwin's report, which stated that eighty-two men and sixty-four women and children were placed in the mass grave.<sup>27</sup> This figure is corroborated by two members of the burial party, William Peano and Ed Janis.<sup>28</sup> Baldwin also mentioned seven dead found by the army several miles from Wounded Knee. They were buried where they were found.<sup>29</sup> Another seven died at the church hospital at Pine Ridge, which brings the count of the known dead to 160.

Captain Whitney examined the scene of the battle and concluded that some bodies had been removed by friends and relatives of Big Foot's people before the arrival of his party. Whitney had "no doubt" that a total of "at least" forty bodies had been removed.<sup>30</sup> His evidence may have been tracks in the snow, which fell a day after the massacre.

Other eyewitnesses arrived at slightly different totals. Lieutenant Guy H. Preston said years later that he "kept count of the proven dead" until it was over 200.<sup>31</sup> William Birdsall said he counted 182 bodies. Although his account is difficult to interpret, it seems that he was a member of a rescue party that went to Wounded Knee after the battle but before the burial party. His count may include some of the bodies that Captain Whitney believed had been removed.<sup>32</sup> Dewey Beard, a member of the band and a survivor, thought nearly 300 were killed.<sup>33</sup> Joseph Horn Cloud listed the names of 185.<sup>34</sup> Commissioner of Indian Affairs Morgan issued his report, and although it is somewhat unclear, he seems to sug-

gest there were about 175 fatalities.<sup>35</sup>

After Wounded Knee attempts were made to identify individuals who were in the massacre. In addition to Agent Palmer's June census mentioned above, he made notes concerning the whereabouts of other participants in his 1891 census.<sup>36</sup> In 1906 Joseph Horn Cloud compiled his list of 288 names.<sup>37</sup> Another attempt was made in 1920 by a former Standing Rock agent, James McLaughlin, on orders from Commissioner of Indian Affairs Cato Sells. McLaughlin interviewed seventy-five people including "nearly all of the Indian survivors" plus "a few who represented deceased relatives." He concluded there were about 420 Indians at Wounded Knee including thirty-five from Standing Rock.<sup>38</sup>

The various estimates of survivors, fatalities, and the total population of Big Foot's followers cannot be easily reconciled. The total at Wounded Knee ranges from about 380 by the army to a high of 420 from the McLaughlin interviews. Joseph Horn Cloud's estimate of 400 falls squarely on the median and provides a convenient figure for the total population.

Fatalities range from the army's official estimate of 200 to a high of nearly 300 by Beard, Pipe On Head, and General Miles. Two hundred and sixty fatalities were counted in the McLaughlin interviews. Given the range, the McLaughlin figure does seem reasonable.

The number of survivors is even more illusive. As late as August of 1891, Agent Palmer complained that it was impossible "to get anything like a correct statement of the survivors . . . who still remain on the Pine Ridge." In spite of the problems, contemporary army and agency records indicate about 180 survivors. McLaughlin's interviews total about 160. If the median of 170 is accepted, a bit of simple addition will make it obvious that there are errors. One hundred and seventy survivors plus 260 fatalities brings the total population to 430, well above the figure originally postulated. Any attempt to

reconcile the figures would be completely random, for there is at present no evidence which will allow one set of original estimates to be given added weight over another. Until more information becomes available, these inexact figures will have to suffice.

Listing the names of individuals is an even more perplexing problem. When all of the sources are combined, the list exceeds 600 named individuals. Minor children are mentioned but rarely named and when they are added, the total exceeds 800. Obviously more than a few inaccuracies have crept into the record. Part of the problem resulted from some people being known by more than one name. For example, Big Foot was also called Standing Elk. Another error was the imprecise translations of Indian names. Black Fox and Black Coyote proved to be one individual.

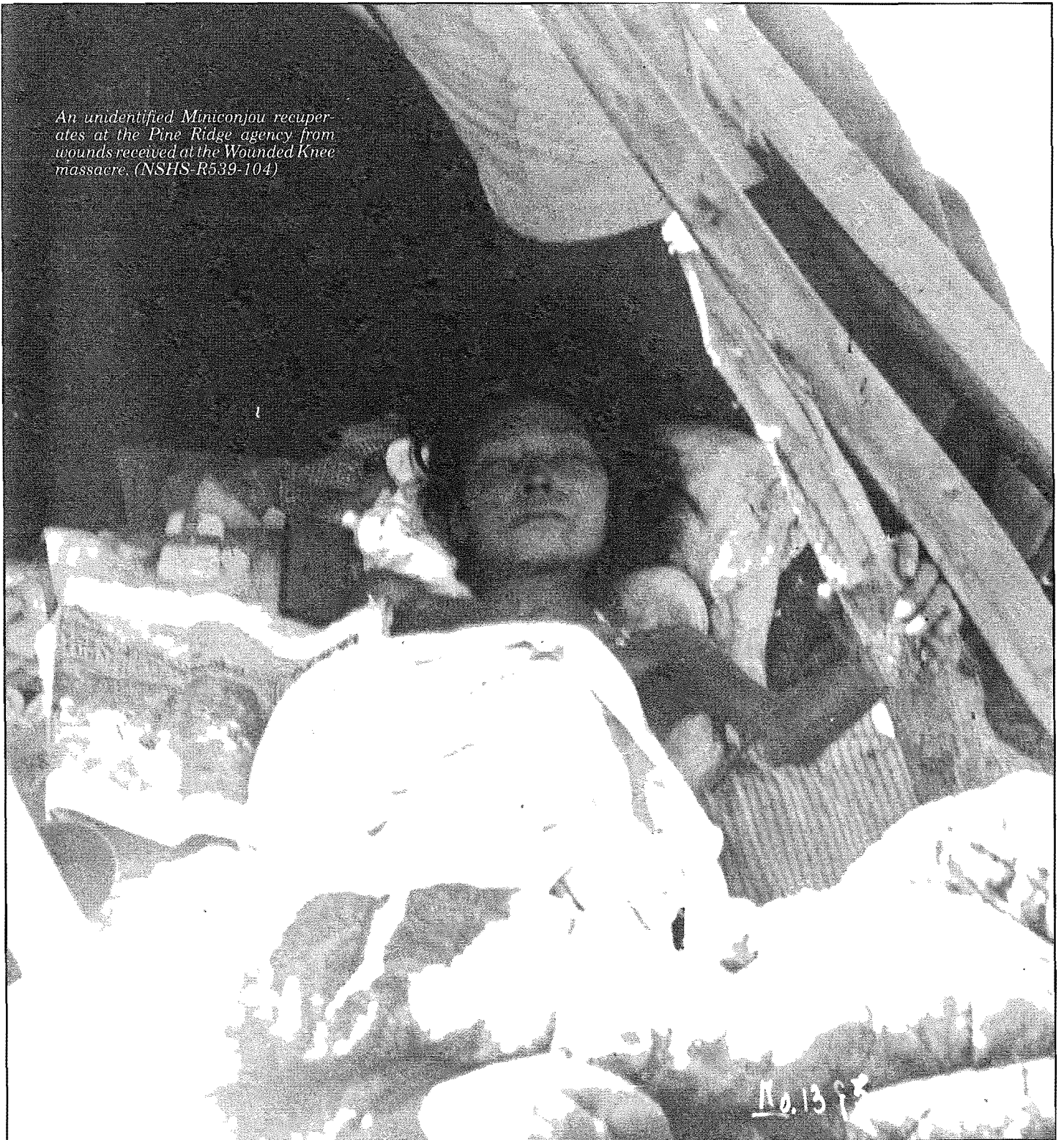
The relative accuracy of the sources must also be considered, for it is apparent that some of them are more credible than others. It can be assumed that the best informants would be adult members of Big Foot's band who were interviewed within a reasonable time after Wounded Knee. These informants would have the best knowledge of other participants because they were acquaintances, friends, and relatives. These firsthand accounts include appendix sources a, b, h, p, q, t, u, v, z, and bb.

Another source which should be nearly as accurate are lists and censuses prepared within a few weeks of Wounded Knee by the Cheyenne River Reservation agents. It was their responsibility to account for Big Foot's people and others on the reservation. These include appendix sources g, i, ee, ff, gg, and hh.

Since memories are fallible, names appearing on lists compiled more than twenty years after Wounded Knee should be viewed more cautiously. Furthermore, some of these rely upon statements of descendants or others who had to rely upon information provided by some unknown intermediary.

## Big Foot's Followers

*An unidentified Miniconjou recuperates at the Pine Ridge agency from wounds received at the Wounded Knee massacre. (NSHS-R539-104)*



Because of the thoroughness of the interviews the most dependable of this group are sources c, d, e, j, and x. The rest of the group includes l, m, r, s, w, aa, and dd.

One final group includes sources which are very questionable. For example, over one half of Garnett's list (f) of 156 names appear in no other source. Similarly, Helper's list (kk) repeats the names on the Wounded Knee Monument (P) and then added six that appear nowhere else. Others in this questionable group are k, n, o, y, ii, and jj.

In addition to the names, the sources provide information on sex, age, and mortality, which is included in the appendix. When inconsistencies occur, the data from the most reliable source is presented.

This attempt to identify civilian participants at Wounded Knee does reflect the shortcomings and also the excesses of the historical record on the tragedy. It is offered in the hope that it may form the basis for more precise interpretations in the future.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Many histories of the Ghost Dance era have been written but among the most reliable are those by Robert M. Utley, *The Last Days of the Sioux Nation* (Yale University Press, 1963) and Richard E. Jensen, R. Eli Paul, and John Carter, *Eyewitness at Wounded Knee* (University of Nebraska Press, 1991).

<sup>2</sup>*Army and Navy Journal*, December 27, 1890, 298.

<sup>3</sup>Captain Marion P. Maus to Colonel Edwin V. Sumner, December 23, 1890, vol. 1 of *Report of the Secretary of War; The Messages and Documents Communicated to the Two Houses of Congress at the Beginning of the First Session of the Fifty-second Congress* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1892), 231, hereafter referred to as *Report of the Secretary of War*.

<sup>4</sup>Major General Nelson A. Miles to Adjutant General John C. Kelton, December 30, 1890, *Reports and Correspondence Relating to the Army Investigations of the Battle at Wounded Knee and to the Sioux Campaign of 1890-91* (Washington, National Archives Microfilm Publications, Mic-

rocopy 983, Roll 1, 1974), 636, hereafter referred to as *Army Investigation of Wounded Knee*.

<sup>5</sup>This general outline of the events of Wounded Knee was extracted from *Eyewitness at Wounded Knee*.

<sup>6</sup>*Army and Navy Journal*, November 22, 1890, 207.

<sup>7</sup>E. V. Sumner to Assistant Adjutant General Merritt Barber and E. V. Sumner to N. A. Miles, December 22, 1890, *Report of the Secretary of War*, 224, 233.

<sup>8</sup>N. A. Miles to Colonel H. C. Merriam, December 24, 1890, *Report of the Secretary of War*, 209. Sitting Bull was the leader of the Hunkpapa ghost dancers. He was killed resisting arrest by the agent's reservation police. Some reports state that there were thirty-eight refugees, for example, Captain Marion P. Maus to H. C. Merriam, December 27, 1890, *ibid.*, 212.

<sup>9</sup>N. A. Miles to H. C. Merriam, December 24, 1890, *Report of the Secretary of War*, 209. Cheyenne River Reservation Agent Perain P. Palmer to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Thomas J. Morgan, December 22, 1890, *Army Investigation of Wounded Knee*, 635.

<sup>10</sup>Brigadier General Thomas Ruger, "Report of Operations Relative to the Sioux Indians in 1890 and 1891," *Report of the Secretary of War*, 185.

<sup>11</sup>N. A. Miles to H. C. Merriam, December 24, 1890, *Report of the Secretary of War*, 209. Fort Bennett was near the Cheyenne River Reservation agency. Miles estimated there were 100 fighting men.

<sup>12</sup>*Army and Navy Journal*, January 17, 1891, 355. Miles said there were 118 men and 250 women and children. Colonel James W. Forsyth arrived with reinforcements at Wounded Knee late on December 28. He thought there were 106 men. *Ibid.*, January 24, 1891, 366.

<sup>13</sup>Peter R. DeMontravel, "General Nelson A. Miles and the Wounded Knee Controversy," *Arizona and the West*, 28(1986):35.

<sup>14</sup>N. A. Miles, "Report of General Miles," *Report of the Secretary of War*, 150. N. A. Miles to Adjutant General, December 30, 1890, *Army Investigation of Wounded Knee*, 635.

<sup>15</sup>M. P. Maus to H. C. Merriam, December 28, 1890, *Report of the Secretary of War*, 214. N. A. Miles to Adjutant General, Dec. 28, 1890, *Army Investigation of Wounded Knee*, 626. Whitside estimated there were 120 men and 250 women and children.

<sup>16</sup>Brigadier General Wesley Merritt, "Report of Brigadier General Merritt," *Report of the Secretary of War*, 170. There were 129 men and 250 women and children.

<sup>17</sup>John C. Gresham, "The Story of Wounded Knee," *Harpers Weekly*, February 7, 1891, 106. His count was 120 men and 160 women and children.

<sup>18</sup>Peter McFarland, Eli S. Ricker Collection (MS8, Tablet 31, Nebraska State Historical Society).

<sup>19</sup>Donald F. Danker, "The Wounded Knee Interviews of Eli S. Ricker," *Nebraska History* 62(1981):176-79. Melvin R. Gilmore, "The Truth of the Wounded Knee Massacre," *The American*

*Indian Magazine* 5(1917):248.

<sup>20</sup>*Sixtieth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (Washington, 1891), 130. There were 120 men and 250 women and children.

<sup>21</sup>George Sword, "Account Given by Indians of the Fight at Wounded Knee Creek," *Sixteenth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 180.

<sup>22</sup>Charles W. Allen, *In the West That Was* (Lincoln: Nebraska State Historical Society, MS2635), 268.

<sup>23</sup>N. A. Miles to Adjutant General, January 5, 1891, *Army Investigation of Wounded Knee*, 812-24. On December 31 Agent Royer counted four men and forty-seven women and children, *ibid.*, 922.

<sup>24</sup>Lieutenant J. C. Byron, Report of February 16, 1891, *Army Investigation of Wounded Knee*.

<sup>25</sup>Captain Joseph H. Hurst to Assistant Adjutant General, February 22, 1891, *Army Investigation of Wounded Knee*, 1234.

<sup>26</sup>Perain P. Palmer, *Census of the Sioux belonging to the Cheyenne River Reservation who were in the Battle of Wounded Knee and are yet at Pine Ridge Agency, S.D. taken June 3/91* (National Archives Microfilm Publication, Microcopy 595, Roll 33).

<sup>27</sup>F. D. Baldwin to Assistant Adjutant General, February 5, 1891, *Army Investigation of Wounded Knee*, 1075.

<sup>28</sup>William Peano, Eli S. Ricker Collection, MS Tablet 1, page 20 and Ed Janis, Tablet 10, page 13.

<sup>29</sup>F. D. Baldwin to Assistant Adjutant General, February 5, 1891, *Army Investigation of Wounded Knee*, 1057.

<sup>30</sup>Captain F. A. Whitney to Assistant Adjutant General, January 4, 1891, *Army Investigations of Wounded Knee*, 1085.

<sup>31</sup>G. H. Preston, *The Unpublished Papers of the Order of the Indian Wars, Book #7*, John Carroll, ed. (New Brunswick, NJ:1977):31.

<sup>32</sup>W. A. Birdsall, Eli S. Ricker Collection, Tablet 2, page 19.

<sup>33</sup>David Miller, "Echoes of Little Big Horn," *American Heritage*, June 1971, 39.

<sup>34</sup>Donald F. Danker, "The Wounded Knee Interviews of Eli S. Ricker," 176-78.

<sup>35</sup>T. J. Morgan, *Sixtieth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (Washington, 1891), 130.

<sup>36</sup>Palmer, *Census*.

<sup>37</sup>Danker, *ibid.*, 176-79. In 1912 Walter M. Camp began interviewing survivors and asked James High Hawk for a list of fatalities, but as yet this list has not been located if it was ever completed. Walter M. Camp Collection, Lilly Library, University of Indiana, Bloomington, Box 4, Folder 14.

<sup>38</sup>*Wounded Knee Compensation Papers*, MS H76.24, Folder 14, Robinson Museum, Pierre. William Garnett prepared a list of 142 fatalities and fourteen survivors, perhaps at the request of McLaughlin. This rather puzzling document contains many names found nowhere else (*Big Foot Massacre Enumeration*, Nebraska State Historical Society, Microfilm 970.1 W93).



## BIG FOOT'S FOLLOWERS AT WOUNDED KNEE

Afraid Of Bear M75, K, i575, p, ee575, kk.  
 Afraid Of Bear, young M28, K, p, ee575, kk.  
 Afraid Of Enemy M37, W, c11, e126, g1, i53, j4-14, k86, ee53, gg53.  
     wife, Brown Eyes F36, W, c11, g2, ee53, gg53.  
     son, Scaring Hawk M5, W, c11, g4, ee53, gg53.  
     daughter, Good (Pretty) Spotted Horse F7, S, c11, g5, ee53, gg53.  
 Afraid Of Hawk, Richard M17, S, c52, e129, l262.  
 Afraid Of Left Hand MA, S, k84.  
 Afraid Of Nothing Bear (Bear Fool) MG, K, l395.  
 Afraid Of Tomahawk MA, Deceased before Wounded Knee, ff345.  
     wife, Bone F31, S, g45, ee345, gg345.  
     son, Yellow Horse M4, S, g46, ee345, gg345.  
     daughter, In Front F7, S, g47, ee345, gg345.  
 Appears Twice FG, K, f38.  
 Arousing Squirrel FG, K, f28.  
     mother FA, K, f29.  
 Ashes MA, K, c2, f144.  
     wife, Bear Gone FA, W, c2, f141.  
 Audacious Bear See Industrious Bear.  
 Ax See Brown Sinew.  
 Back Bone M53, S, g222, ee686.  
     wife, Stands Looking F49, S, g223, ee686.  
     son?, White Hawk M11, S, g224.  
     son?, Big Boy M8, S, g225, j4-14.  
     son?, King Boy M4, S, g226.  
 Bad (Bear) Woman FA, W, c42, c71.  
     son MG, K, c42, c71.  
 Bad Boy M23, S, g172.  
 Bad Braves MG, K, a72, b187.  
 Bad Hand See Wing.  
 Bad Owner Without Rope MA, K, f44.  
     wife FA, K, f45.  
 Bad Spotted Eagle M64, K, a175, f60, i253, ee259.  
     wife, White Woman F50, K, a176, ee259.  
 Bear Comes And Lies MA, K, a170, b187, f61, m244.  
 Bear Don't Run M45, K, g61, ee367.  
     wife F45, S, g62, ee367, gg367.  
     daughter, Head Woman F21, K, g63, ee367.  
     son, Pawnee Killer M17, K, g64, ee367.  
     daughter, Farms At The River F15, S, g65, ee367, gg367.  
 Bear Lays Down M30, K, c50.  
     wife FA, W, c50.  
 Bear Parts (Cuts) Body MA, K, a49, m244, p, kk.  
     wife F23, S, c5.  
     son MG, K, a50.

Bear Runs In The Woods XG, S, a201.  
 Bear Sheds His Hair M61, K?, a10 is Shedding Bear, g66, ee369.  
     wife F49, S, g67, ee369, gg369.  
     daughter, Red Buffalo F25, K, a13 is Red White Cow, g68, ee369.  
     son, Trouble In Front M22, K, all, g69, ee369.  
     son, Runs Behind M13, K, a12 is Last Running, g70, ee369.  
     mother-in-law FA, K, a14.  
 Bear Skin Vest MA, K, c5.  
     wife FA, W, c5.  
     daughter FB5, K, c5.  
 Bear That Shoots MG, K, f93.  
     mother FA, K, f94.  
 Bear With Small Body M30, K, g54, i364, ee364, hh364.  
     wife F29, K, g55, ee364, hh364.  
     son, Takes Away Enemy M11, K, g56, ee364, hh364.  
     son, Smokes Walking M9, S, g57, ee364, gg364.  
     son, Enemy M5, S, g58, ee364, gg364.  
 Bear Woman F26, S, g7.  
 Bear Woman FA, K, a32.  
 Bear Woman XG, S, k84 notes a Bear Woman family that survived. Edith Bear Woman and 2 daughters survived, c19.  
 Beard, Dewey M26, W, a196, c59, e103, k84, q157.  
     wife FA, K, a8, b199 is Wears Eagle, c59, e106, q166 is White Face.  
     son? Thomas MG, K, a9.  
     baby XB, K, b200 is Wet Feet, c59 e106, q167 is White Foot.  
 Benefactress FG, K, f117.

### Abbreviations:

MA Male Adult. If the age is known it replaces A, thus M28 is a male who was 28 years old in 1890.  
 FA Female Adult.  
 MC Male Child.  
 FC Female Child.  
 MB Male Baby.  
 FB Female Baby.  
 X Sex Unknown.  
 G Age Unknown  
 K Killed at Wounded Knee or died of wounds within a few days.  
 W Wounded but survived.  
 S Survived without injury or no mention of an injury.

Big Foot M65, K, a1, c28 and 40, f1, i316, ee316 is Spotted Elk.  
 wife, Sinte-chigela F60, K, a2, c28 and 40, h7, j14-4, ee316 is Small Tail.  
 daughter, Brings White F20, K, r255, ee316, c6 is White Horse Woman.

Big Foot, young XG, S, a281.

Big Skirt (Shirt) MA, K, p, kk.

Big (Loud) Voice Thunder M20, K, a159, b187, c23, f52, f129, g209, i436, ee436.  
 wife F20, K, c23, ee436.  
 child XC, K, c23.

Billy Woman XG, W, h9.5.

Bird Shaker See Brown Bull.

Bird Shaking Himself See Brown Bull.

Bird Wings XG, K, a168.

Birds Afraid Of Him XG, S, a188.

Birds Belly FG, K, f146.

Black Bugle XG, S, a212.

Black Crow XG, S, a239.

Black Flutes MC, K, a138.

Black Fox (Coyote) M33, K, a53, b184, g33, i280, m244, p, s, ee280, kk.  
 wife, Brown Hair F29, S?, g34, s is K, ee280.  
 daughter, Brings White F2, K?, g35, s is S, ee280.

Black Fox, Julia FG, S, t15-3.  
 mother FA, S, t15-3.

Black Hair M34, S, a284, c14.  
 wife FA, K, a174, c14.  
 son, Joseph MG, S, c41, e131.  
 son M5, K, c41.  
 son M7, W, c41.

Black Hawk M77, K, a183, c9, f47, i354, ee354.  
 wife, F54, K, a184 is She Bear, c9, f48 is Cheyenne Woman, ee354 is Comes Out.  
 daughter F16, K, a185 is Weasel Bear, c9, f49, ee354 is Weasel.

Black Moon, Philip See High Back.

Black Shield M45, S, a193, g51, i39, ee353, ff351.  
 daughter, Pretty White Cow F5, K, a114, g53, ee351.

Black Thunder M42, S, g23, ee198, ff198.  
 wife, Plenty Young Birds F39, S, g24, ee198, ff198.

Black (American) White Man MA, S, a283, c37.  
 daughter FG, S, c37.

Black Zebra XG, S, a192.

Blind FG, K, f40.

Blind Man M21, S, g218, ee757.  
 wife, Day F21, S, g219, ee757.  
 Daughter, Red Eagle F2, S, g220, ee757.

Blind Woman F59, S, c71, g112, i505 Woman Without

Sight, k84.  
 son?, Kills The Fair M7, W, c71, g113.

Blue American MA, K, p, kk.

Blue Arm, Charles (Charley) MG, S, c15, e136, j4-14.  
 brother MG, K, c15.  
 brother MG, K, c15.  
 sister-in-law, Brings Her FG, S, c15.  
 sister-in-law FG, K, c15.

Blue Cloud, Joseph MC, S, u2-3-91.

Blue Hair X14, W, h36.

Blue Whirlwind See Spotted Thunder.

Blue Wing M22, S, g221.

Bo Blue, F60, K, g210, ee436.

Break Arrow With Foot MG, K, f145.

Bring Her Home XG, S, a269.

Brings Choice MG, K, f147.

Brings Earth To Her FG, K, f36.

Brings It To Her XG, S, a257.

Brings Many F36, S, g31, ee274, gg274.  
 daughter, Brings Yellow F4, S, g32, ee274, gg274.

Brings Plenty F26, W, c13.

Brings The Dirt F71, S, g97.

Brings The Woman MA, K, j6-14.

Brings White Horses, Mrs. FA, S, c55.  
 daughter FG, K, c55.

Broken Arm MA, K, ee109, hh109.

Broken Arrow MA, K, a162.  
 wife FA, K, a163.

Brown FG, K, f33.

Brown Beaver See Elk Woman.

Brown Bull M68, K, f101, g48, ee349.  
 wife F67, K, f102, g49, ee349.  
 son, Bird Shaker M23, K, a84, b173, c72, f67, g50, p, dd349, ee349.

Brown Ear Horse FG, K?, e138.

Brown Hoops (Hoop) MA, K, a133, f89.  
 son MG, K, a134.  
 daughter FG, K, a135.

Brown In Ears FA, K, f68.  
 son MG, K, f69.

Brown Leaf FG, K, f104.

Brown Sinew M23, W, c14, ee194, ff194.

Brown Turtle M37, K, a166, f26, g184, m244, p, ee512, hh512, kk.  
 wife, Shot The Eagle F59, S, g186, ee512, gg512.  
 Mother, First Born F67, K, a167, g185, ee512, hh512.

Brown Woman F46, K, a83, f66, g115 is S, ee434.  
 Yellow In Ear F19, S, g114, ee434.  
 Kills (The) Fair M7, S, g113, ee434.

Buckskin (Bells In) Breech Clout M50, K, a28, g199, ee770.

## Big Foot's Followers

wife, Young Prairie Chicken F50, S, g203, ee770.  
 Bull Man M50, S, a205, i400, ee400, ff400.  
 Burnt Thigh FG, K, f65.  
 Cannu MG, K, f27.  
 Cast Away And Run XG, K, a71.  
 Catches The Boat M9, S, g10.  
     brother M7, S, g11.  
 Charge [?] Near The Lodge MA, K, c22.  
     wife, Iron Horn Woman F18, S, a243, c22.  
 Charge At Them XG, K, a66, p, kk.  
     mother FA, K, a67.  
 Charger MG, K, f106.  
 Chase In Winter XG, K, p, kk.  
 Chief Dog See Dog Chief  
 Chief Woman XG, K, a90, c9.  
 Close To Home, Louis M20, K?, a70, g187, i548, ee548,  
     gg548.  
     wife F19, S, g188, ee548, gg548.  
     daughter, Brown Girl F2, S, g191, ee548, gg548.  
     son?, Deserts Him M9, S, g190, ee548, gg548.  
 Clown FG, K, f128.  
 Comes Crawling XG, S, k85.  
 Comes Crawling Woman XG, S, a247.  
 Comes Home with Red M18, S, g134.  
 Comes Last MG, K, f23.  
 Comes Out Alive Woman XG, S, a244.  
 Confiscate Arrow MG, K, f2.  
 Corn, Frank M13, S, c9.  
 Cottonwood See Hair Pipe.  
 Courage (Courageous) Bear MA, K, a179, kk.  
     wife FA, K, a180.  
     Fat XG, K, a181.  
     George MG, K, a182.  
 Cow Buffalo Horn MA, K, c69.  
     wife FA, S?, c69.  
     son, Peter MG, W, c69, e123.  
 Crane Pretty Voice M36, S, v, ee777, ff777.  
     wife, Rock (Woman) F32, S, v, ee777, ff777.  
     daughter, Lost Bird FB, S, o878, v, ee777.  
 Crazy Bear MA, K?, a33, i88, p, ee88, ff88, kk.  
 Day MG, W, f86.  
 Deaf F69, K, g52.  
 Dependable FA, W, f138.  
 Different Woman XG, S, a249.  
 Disturbs Ahead MG, K, f22.  
 Dog Chief (Chief Dog) M29, S, a285, c46, e133, i271.  
     wife FA, S, c46.  
     child XC, S, c46.  
 Drops Blood, Mrs. FA, K, a141.  
     son MG, K, a142.  
     son MG, K, a143.  
 Eagle Hawk Bear or Hawk Bear MA, K, c3, d3.

wife, Eagle Hawk Woman FA, W, c3, f137.  
 daughter F12, K, c3.  
 daughter, Haketawin FG, S, c3.  
     son M6, K, c3.  
 Eagle Shape XG, S, a260.  
 Eagle Wing (Wing Eagle) M35, K?, c10, f124, ee740,  
     ff740.  
     wife, Her Roan (Red) Horse F35, S, c10, f123,  
     ee740, ff740.  
 Elk Creek MA, K, a34, f130.  
     wife FA, K, a35.  
 Elk Saw Him MA, W, t5-44, w292.  
 Elk That Looks M39, S, g71, i9, ee394, gg394.  
     wife F27, S, g72, ee394, gg394.  
     daughter, Good Pipe F6, K?, g73, ee394.  
     daughter, Kills Enemy F2, S, g74, ee394, gg394.  
 Elk Woman F47, S, a248, g28, i270, ee270, gg270.  
     son?, Brown Beaver M23, K, a51, g29, m224, ee270,  
     gg270.  
     daughter?, Beaver F9, K, g30, ee270, gg270.  
 Enemy Afraid Of Him XG, S, a288.  
 Fast Wolf XG, S, a194.  
 Fat Bear, mother of FA, K, c3.  
 Fat Hips XG, S, a218.  
 Feather Earring MA, K, f74.  
     son MG, K, f75.  
 Feather Man FG, K, f30.  
 First FG, K, f11.  
 Fish Boy X8, W, h21.  
 Flying Hawk FG, K, c3, f150.  
 Fool Bear M36, S, f59 is K, ee113, ff113.  
 Frog M47, W, c38, g75, h2, i223, t5-53, x135, ee398,  
     gg398.  
     wife F42, S, c38 is Mary, g76, ee398, gg398.  
     daughter, Ones Call F15, K, g77, ee398, gg398.  
     son, Hunts to Death M12, S, c38 is Alfred, g78,  
     ee398, gg398.  
 Gets A fight XG, S, a203.  
 Ghost Dog MG, K, f82.  
 Ghost Bear XG, S, e110.  
 Ghost Horse See Horses Ghost.  
 Goes To War XG, S, a224.  
 Goggle (Eye) Eyes M62, K, g153, m246, ee468, hh468.  
     Fair Woman F50, K, g154, ee468, hh468.  
     Thunder Boy M15, K, g155, ee468, hh468.  
     Pretty Woman F15, S, g156, ee468.  
     Blue Spotted M8, K, g157, ee468, hh468.  
 Good Bear MA, S, a202, f134.  
 Good Bear, old MA, K, a39.  
 Good Bear, young MA, K, a40.  
     wife FA, K, a41.  
     son MG, K, a42.

Good Enemy FA, K, f111, j6-14.  
 Good Hand F81, S, g217.  
 Good Hawk MA, K, c10, f122.  
     wife FA, K, c10.  
 Good Land Woman XG, S, a268.  
 Good Natured Woman F60, S, a253, ee126.  
 Good Thunder (Sits Straight) MA, S, b173, j6-14, w293,  
     bb1-30-91.  
 Good White Cow XG, S, a271.  
 Grease Leg Bone MA, K, kk.  
 Grey XG, S, a195.  
 Grey Hand M39, K?, c58, i401, ee401, ff401.  
     wife F30, S, c58, ee401, ff401.  
     son, George Randall M13, S, c58.  
 Grey In Eye (Eyes) MG, K, a140, f110.  
 Grey Owl Woman XG, S, a267.  
 Grey Thunder M17, K, g126, ee447, hh447.  
 Ground Horn Woman XG, S, a266.  
 Hair Pipe M44, S, c36, i279, ee279, ff279.  
     wife, The Hawk FA, S, c36, ee279, ff279.  
     son, Cottonwood M22, K, c36, f135, ee279.  
     son, Starts The Horse M7, K, c36, ee279.  
     daughter, (Her War) Bonnet F13, S, c36, ee279,  
     ff279.  
 Handsome FG, K, f17 and 39.  
 Happens MA, K, kk.  
 Hard To Kill or Young Bear M24, S, c9, j4-14.  
     wife, (Her) Elk Tooth FA, S, a258, c9, f53 is K.  
     mother FA, K, c9.  
 Has Scarlet FG, K, f131.  
 Has The Bell MA, K, kk.  
 Hat M25, K, a92, i410, ee410.  
     daughter, Makes Presents F1, K, a93, ee410.  
 Hawk, The F21, S, g150, ee458, gg458.  
 Hawk Bear See Eagle Hawk Bear.  
 Hawk Feather (Shooter) See Shoots the Hawk Feather.  
 Hawk Flying MA, K, f150, q167.  
 Hawk Woman F30, S, a251, ee117.  
 He (Male) Crow MA, K, a26, c30 and 68, f16, P, kk.  
     wife FA, W, c30 and 68.  
     son, Jackson M8, S, c30 and 68.  
 He Eagle See Male Eagle.  
 Heart Of Timber MG, K, f14.  
 Help Them (Helps Em Up) M30, W, h3, t5-67.  
 Helper, Simon M16, S, jj198.  
 Her Brown Faced Dog XG, S, a276.  
 Her Cedar XG, S, a270.  
 Her Eagle XG, S, a261.  
 Her First XG, S, a255.  
 Her Good Cloud FG, K, f13.  
 Her Neck XG, S, a275.  
 Her Room XG, S, a264.

Her Sacred Blanket FG, K, f7.  
 Her Shell Walks XG, S, a277.  
 Her White Horse XG, S, a263.  
 Her Yellow XG, S, a262.  
 High Back MG, W, c10.  
     brother, Black Moon M10, S, c10, e123.  
     brother, White Dog MG, K, c10, f119.  
     sister, Brown Ear FG, K, c10, f118.  
     mother FA, S, c10, e123.  
 High Hawk M51, K, a15, c18, e106, f34, ee413, P.  
     wife, Bear Woman F46, K, a16, c18, e136, f35,  
     ee413.  
     son, Long Woman M21, W, a17, c18, e136, g90,  
     ee413.  
     daughter? FG, K, a18.  
     son, James or Kills In A Hurry M5, W, a227, c18,  
     e135, g92, ee413.  
     son, Alex or Kills Twice M12, W, c19, e135, g91,  
     ee413.  
     son, Jonah or Scout M3, S, c19, g94, j4-4, ee413.  
     daughter F5, S, g92, ee413.  
     daughter, Only Man F4, S, g93, ee413.  
     daughter, Red Cow F13, S, g95, ee413.  
 His Crow XG, S, a282.  
 His Fight M41, K, g85, ee411.  
 His Two Lance XG, S, a216.  
 His War XG, S, a213.  
 His Wounded Hand MA, K, c23.  
     wife FA, K, c23.  
     son, Daniel Blue Hair M15, W, c23, e125, h36.  
     daughter, FG, K, c23.  
 Hits Her On A Run XG, S, a237.  
 Holds A Woman F16, W, h26.  
 Hollow Horn Woman XG, S, a246.  
 Hollow Teeth M21, S, g198, ee770.  
     son?, Uses His Feet M5, S, g200, ee770.  
     son?, Left Hand M4, S, g201, ee770.  
     son?, Runs Away With Horse M3, S, g202, ee770.  
 Holy Bone F6, W, h5.  
 Holy Comes XG, S, a208.  
 Horn Cloud M52, K, a3, c64, f54, g79, i406, ee406, gg406.  
     wife, Yellow Leaf F51, K, a4, c64, g80, ee406.  
     son, William M14, K, a5, c64, g84 is Enemy, p.  
     son, Sherman MG, K, a6, c64, p.  
     son, Joseph M17, S, a198, c64, g82.  
     son, Daniel M22, W, c64, g81 is Warrior, m244,  
     ee406.  
     daughter (niece?) Pretty Enemy F17?, K, a7, b164,  
     c64, ee406 is Her Horse.  
 Horse Nation XG, S, a256.  
 Horses Ghost M40, K?, a88, c20, i402, p, ee402, ff402, kk.  
     wife, Her (Good) Shawl F33, S, c20 nee Mrs.



## Big Foot's Followers

- Courage Bear, ee 402, ff402.  
 son, White Horse M6, K, a89, c20, ee402.  
 son, Warrior M2, S, c20, ee402, ff402.  
 daughter F12, S, c20 is Alice Kills Plenty, e122 is Alice Dog Arm, ee402, ff402.  
 son M2, S, c20.
- Howling Elk FA, W, y26, later called Many Holes.  
 son, Sammey MG, W, y26.
- Hunts Alone M50, K, h25, z1/13/91.
- Hunts The Enemy By Night or Hunts The Enemy M29, S, i705 is K, aa 269, ee705, ff705.
- I Shot The Bear M81, K, a100, g102, p, ee429, hh429, kk.  
 wife, Her Mind F63, S, g103, ee429, gg429.  
 daughter, Kills Straw F11, S, g105, ee429, gg429.  
 son, Enemy M4, S, g106, ee429, gg429.
- I Shot The Hawk M41, K, g12, i124, ee124, hh124.  
 Loose (Loves) Her Shawl F64, S, g13, ee124, gg124.
- Important Man M45, K, g36, i284, ee284, hh284.  
 wife F34, K, g37, ee284, hh284.  
 daughter, White Cow F8, S, g38, ee284, gg284.
- Important Woman M23, S, g6.
- In A Cow's Horn M61, S, i161, ee497, gg497.  
 wife F51, S, g162, ee497, gg497.
- Industrious, Lawrence See Long Feather.
- Industrious Bear M61, K?, c9, f10 is Audacious Bear, g39, i285, ee285, gg285.  
 wife, Smoke Woman F51, S?, a252, c9, g40 is Small Leg Woman, ee285, gg285.  
 son, Frost On Her M12, K?, c9, g41, ee285, gg285.  
 son, Poor M10, K?, c9, g42, ee285, gg285.  
 daughter, Face F17, W, d5, ee285, gg285.  
 daughter, Big Woman F14, S, ee285, gg285.
- Iron F61, S, g16, ee127, gg127.
- Iron American, Mrs. FA, K, a68.
- Iron Eyes MA, K, a58, c63.  
 wife, Plenty Horses FA, K, a59, c63.  
 son, Iron Eyes, Albert MG, K, a63.  
 Guy Buffalo XG, S, c63.  
 Has A Dog X17, K, a60, h1.  
 Pretty Woman F15, K, a62.  
 Red Shirt Girl XG, K, a61.  
 White Day F22, K, a64, f41, k85 is S.  
 son of White Day MC, K, a65, f42.
- Iron Hail See Beard, Dewey.
- Iron Lavatta, Annie FG, W, c140.
- Joining War XG, S, k84, i127.
- Jumps Good M24, S, g14, ee127, gg127.  
 wife, Red Beaver F24, S, g15, ee127, gg127.
- Kill Her White Horse XG, S, a272.
- Killed His Choice M13, S, g206.
- Killed The Bear M70, S, g17, i130, ee130, gg130.  
 wife F57, S, g19, ee130, gg130.
- son, Kills Against M12, S, g20, ee130, gg130.
- Kills MG, K, f83.
- Kills Assiniboine MG, K, a101, f99.
- Kills Close To Lodge, Bertha F17, W, e144, k86.
- Kills Crow Indian MG, K, a104, f100.
- Kills First or Killed First or Kills Him First M49, K, c21, c56, g107, i431, ee431, gg431.  
 wife, Holy Woman or Wakan F42, W, c21, c56, g108, ee431.  
 son, Wounded In Winter M20, K, a173, c56, g109, ee431.  
 son, Leon M3, S, c21.  
 daughter, Shoots The White F5, c56 is K, g110 is S, ee431.  
 daughter, White Mule F3, c56 is K, g111 is S, ee431.  
 daughter, Mary F20, S, c56.
- Kills In Bush M31, K, g194, ee769.  
 wife, Shawl Over Head F21, S, g195, ee769.  
 son, Mad M5, K, g196, ee769.  
 daughter, Hand F3, S, g197, ee769.
- Kills In The Middle XG, S, a222.
- Kills One Hundred XG, S, a236.
- Kills Seneca XG, K, p.
- Kills Tincup MA, K, kk.
- Kills Two M23, S, a225, i128, ee47, ff47.
- Kills (Killed) White Man MA, S, c54, e120, i43, ee430.  
 wife FA, W, c54, e120, ee430.  
 son, Harry Or Little Warrior M3, S, c54, e119, ee430.  
 son, Makes Him Mad M10, S, c54, ee430.  
 daughter, Runs Off With Horse FG, K, c54, e120, ee430.
- Kills Who Stand In Timber MA, K, f57.  
 wife FA, K, f58.
- Knife, Nellie FA, S, e138, i628 is Knife.
- Knocked In The Head F25, S, g168, ee501, gg501.
- Kyle, Charles MA, K, c8.  
 wife F26, S, c8.  
 child XC, S, c8.
- Lap, Mrs. FA, K, a46.
- LaPlant, Jack or Frank M33, S, q168, ee709, ff709.
- Last Man M40, K, h23, ee751.
- Last Talking FA, K, a155.
- Leg M61, K, g86.
- Light Hair FG, K, f5.
- Liking M7, W, h28.
- Little Bear XG, S?, m248.
- Little Body Bear MA, K, a105.  
 wife FA, K, a106.  
 son MG, K, a107.  
 daughter FB, K, a108.

son MG, S, a287.  
 Little Bull M46, W, a211, C32, e139, g189, ee548, gg548.  
 Little Cloud M27, S, a200, c53.  
     wife FA, S, c53.  
 Little Elk MA, K, a112.  
     wife FA, K, a113.  
 Little Eyed Woman XG, S, a265.  
 Little Finger, John M16, W, c29, e120 and 135, l273.  
 Little Water M36, S, g116 is K, i442, p, ee442, gg442, kk.  
     wife, White Face F39, S, g117 is K, ee442, gg442.  
     daughter, The Voice F17, S, g118 is K, ee442, gg442.  
     Light Hair Girl F11, S, g119, ee442, gg442.  
     Whip F9, S, g120, ee442, gg442.  
     Sacred Blanket M7, S, g121 is K, ee442, gg442.  
     Animal M6, S, g122 is K, ee442, gg442.  
     Not Stingy F4, S, g123 is K, ee442, gg442.  
 Little Wound XG, S, a289.  
 Liver Gall XG, S, a259.  
 Lives In Iron F31, S, g96, ee413, ff413.  
 Lives Reckless MG, S, f153.  
 Living Bear XG, K, p, kk.  
 Living Bull, Helena FA, S, b174.  
     son MG, S, b174.  
 Lodge Knapkin XG, K, p.  
 Lodge Skin XG, K, p, kk.  
 Log MA, K, a130, f85, i636.  
     wife FA, K, a131.  
 Lone Child FG, K, c25.  
 Long Bull MA, K, a178, c29, c68, f64, p, kk.  
 Long Bull MA, S, a214, b174, c51, i440, bb1/28/91, ee440.  
     wife, Badger FA, K, a145, c51, ee440.  
     daughter, Weasel F11, K, a146, c51, ee440.  
     daughter, Helen F17, S, c51, ee440.  
 Long Feather MA, S, c4.  
 Long Holy M15, S, g169, h11.  
 Long Medicine XG, K, a161.  
 Long Woman See High Hawk.  
 Looking Elk MA, W, c45, h4, x61.  
     wife, Lydia FA, W, c45, x61.  
 Looks Back F18, W, c5 is Looks Her Back, f140 and 142, h27.  
 Lost Bird See Crane Pretty Voice.  
 Made A Stand XG, S, a191.  
 Made Him Long XG, S, a190.  
 Made To Stand MG, K, g124, i447, ee447, hh447.  
 Made To (Makes Him) Shoot M69, S, g21, k85, ee147, gg144.  
     wife F65, S, g22, ee147, gg144.  
 Male Eagle MA, K, a125, c57, f87, g130, i488, p, s, ee449, hh449, kk.

wife, Roan Horse Woman or Short Woman FA, K, a126, c57, f90, g131, ee449, hh449.  
 daughter, Runs After Her F2, K, a129, c57, g136, ee449, ff449 is S.  
 son, Edward or Warrior M21, K, a127, c57, ee449, g132, hh449.  
 son, Two Arrows M19, K, a128, c57, g133, ee449, hh449.  
 daughter, Comes Home With Red F18, S, g134, ee449.  
 daughter, Many Brothers F9, S, g135, ee449.  
 Man Himself XG, S, a226.  
 Mangy Elk M42, K, g127, ee448, hh448.  
 Medicine Woman See White Man.  
 Mercy To Others XG, K, a160.  
 Minniconjou FG, K, f12.  
 Missed M21, S, g192, k86, ee549, gg549.  
 Mousseau, Mrs. See White Man.  
 Moves Over, Alice FG, W, n108.  
 Mule's daughter FA, K, a136.  
 Mustang Elk XG, S, a234.  
 Near Lodge MG, K, f78.  
 Nest FG, K, f55.  
 No Ears XG, K, p, kk.  
 No Name F60, S, g59, ee364, gg364.  
 Not Afraid Of Lodge (Camp) FG, K, a169, f116.  
 Not Go In Among MG, K, a156, notes he was son of Hailing Bear and Her Good Medicine, who seem not to have been at Wounded Knee.  
 On The Ground, Mrs. F34, S, g137, ee454.  
     daughter, Roan Woman F18, S, g138, ee454.  
     son, Red M6, S, g139, ee454.  
     son, Guide M4, S, g140, ee454.  
 One Feather MA, K, a78, i153 and i387.  
     son MG, K, a79.  
 One Skunk M24, S, a206, i150, j 4-14, ee150.  
     wife FA, W, e139, ee150 is mother?.  
 Owl King, Mrs. FA, K, c9 and 17, e117, i147.  
     son, Edward or Fast Boat MC, W, c9 and 17, e116, h9.  
     son MG, K, c17.  
     son MG, K, c17.  
     daughter FG, K, c17, e117.  
     (ee149 and ff149 lists parents and three sons all S.)  
 Pass Water In Horn XG, K, f31 is Use Horn For Toilet, p, kk.  
 Peaked MG, K, f91.  
 Picket Horse XG, K, p, kk.  
 Picks And Kill XG, S, a231.  
 Pipe On Head, James M10?, S, c28, e107, jj219.  
     mother, Runs On FA, S, e107, jj238.  
     sister FB, K?, e109.

## Big Foot's Followers

Plain Voice F21, K, h22.  
 Pretty Bear M36, K, g146, ee457, gg457.  
     son, Cub Bear M6, S, g147, ee457, gg457.  
 Pretty Bold Eagle See Three, Henry.  
 Pretty Hawk MA, K?, a43, i165, p, ee165, ff165, kk.  
     wife FA, K, a44.  
     baby, Whitewoman F3, K?, a45, ee165, ff165.  
 Pretty Shield M41, S, g148, ee458, gg458.  
     wife F32, S, g149, ee458, gg458.  
     daughter, Her Shawl F18, S, g151, ee458, gg458.  
     daughter, Yellow Eyes F7, W, g152, h10, ee458, gg458.  
 Pretty Voice Elk MG, K, f133.  
 Produce (From) F57, K, g125, ee447.  
 Put Away Moccasins FG, W, h6.  
 Quit On Him F6, S, g208.  
 Rattles FG, K, f32 and 51.  
 Rattling Leaf FG, K, f107.  
 Really Woman's son MG, K, a132.  
 Red Belly F53, S, g99, ee415, ff415.  
     Brings Yellow F9, S, g101, ee415, ff415.  
     Stands Up For Him M14, S, g100, ee415, ff415.  
 Runs Off With Horses MG, K, f108.  
 Red Eagle M50, K, a109, c18, f81, i26, p, ee310, kk.  
     wife, (Her) Black Horses or Her Gall F38, W, c18, ee310.  
     daughter, (Her) Eagle Body FG, K, a110, c18, ee310.  
     daughter, Cedar Horse F8, K, a111, ee310.  
     daughter FG, S, c18.  
 Red Ears Horse XG, K, a85.  
     sister FG, K, a116.  
 Red Finger Nail Woman XG, S, a241.  
 Red Fish MA, K, a37, f143 is W, p, kk.  
     wife FA, K, a38.  
 Red (Scarlet) Horn M28, K, a73, f121, p, hh240, kk.  
     son, Good Scarlet Horn M3, S, a286, ee240, ff240.  
 Red Horn Bear MA, S?, ii.  
 Red Juniper FA, K, c61.  
 Red Other Woman XG, K, a137.  
 Red Shell MC, K, e135.  
 Red Stone FA, S?, e139.  
 Red Water Woman XA, K, a54, i175.  
 Roots Its Hole XG, K, p, kk.  
 Rough Feather MA, S, f109 and 129. Two years later  
     Rough Feather married a woman (unnamed) who had a two-year-old son. They survived but her father, mother, two brothers and a grandmother were killed (i127). This woman, called Marg by McLaughlin, told him her son survived but that her grandmother, father, mother, two sisters and three brothers were killed (c73).

Run As Though His Hair Fussed MG, W, f136.  
 Running Hawk, George M54, S, a209, e111.  
 Running In Lodge MG, K, a29.  
 Running Standing Hairs MA, K, a120.  
     wife FA, K, a121.  
     daughter FG, K, a122.  
 Runs After MA, K, c16 and 25.  
 Runs After It XG, S, a223.  
 Runs Around Lodge M7, W, h17.  
 Runs Fast F47, S, g98, ee415, ff415.  
 Sack Woman F40, W, h14.  
     son, White Cowboy M4, W, h15.  
 Sacred Face FG, K, f148.  
 Sacred In Appearance MG, K, f120.  
 Scabbard Knife MA, K, a123, f70, h24, i230, p, kk.  
     wife FA, K, a124, f71.  
 Scares The Bear MA, K, c48.  
     wife, Yellow Bird Woman FA, K, c48.  
     grandchild XG, K, c48.  
     grandchild XG, K, c48.  
 Scarlet Calf FA, K, f96.  
     son MG, K, f97.  
     son MG, K, f98.  
 Scarlet Otter FG, K, f63.  
 Scarlet Rotation FG, S, f156.  
 Scarlet Smoke FA, K, c7.  
 Scarlet Tipi Top FG, S, f155.  
 Scarlet White Buffalo FG, K, f21.  
 Scatter (Scatters) Them MA, K, f112, p, kk.  
 Scout XG, S, a229.  
 Scout Tent X19, S(?), h35.  
 Sees The Bear XG, S, a279.  
 Sees The Elk XG, S, a189.  
 Seventeen, Patrick MG, S, c8.  
 Shakes The Bird See Brown Bull.  
 Shaving Bear MA, K, c68, i32.  
     wife FA, S, c68.  
     four children XC, K, c68.  
 Shell Necklace MG, S, a187, c9.  
 She Wears Eagle XG, S, a278.  
 Shot At Accurately XA, K, f123.  
     son MG, K, f125.  
 Shoot The Bear See I Shot The Bear  
 Shoots The Bear, George M21, K, a102, b174, g104, ee429, hh429.  
     wife FA, K, a103.  
 Shoots (With) The Hawk Feather MA, K, a86, c39, e107, f79.  
     mother FA, K, a87, c39, f80.  
 Shoots The Right XG, K, a47.  
     son, Bad Wound MG, K, a48.  
 Shoots Straight MA, K, c34.

wife FA, S, c34.  
 child XC, S, c34.  
 Short Hair (Close Haired) Bear MA, K, c29, f20.  
   wife FA, S, c29.  
   three children XC, K, c29.  
 Shot Him Off XG, S, a228.  
 Shot In Hand MG, K, t38-55.  
 Shows His Cloud XG, S, a215.  
 Sinew Belly XG, S, a204.  
 Singing Bull MA, K, d3.  
   wife FA, K, d3.  
   son, Ha-shi-ta M35, K, d3.  
   grandson later called James Red Fish M9, S, d3.  
   granddaughter, Scarlet Coat F7, K, d3.  
 Sits Poor, Frank MC, S, e129.  
 Sits Straight See Good Thunder.  
 Slippery Hide MG, K, f19, kk (Slicks His Hide).  
 Sloha main (Slohamani) FA, W, c49, d15.  
 Small Like (Bodied) Bear XG, K, f95, p, kk.  
 Snow Over Her XA, S, c37.  
 Sole Of Foot M34, S, g158, ee484, gg484.  
   wife, The Ring F32, K?, g159, ee484, gg484.  
   daughter, The Brownny F4, S, g160, ee484, gg484.  
 Spotted Bear, John M22, S, c4, f154.  
 Spotted (Speckled) Chief MG, K, a36, f132.  
 Spotted Eagle M57, S?, c67, ee185, ff186.  
   wife, Good Horse F46, S?, a220, c67, ee185, ff186.  
 Spotted Elk See Big Foot.  
 Spotted Elk (no. 2) MA, K, c53.  
   wife FA, K, c53.  
   son, M8, K, c53.  
   son M10, K, c53.  
   son M12, K, c53.  
 Spotted Thunder M49, K, a147, c47, f18, i219, ee219, p, kk.  
   wife, Blue Whirlwind F44, W, c47, ee219.  
   son, White Buffalo Boy M4, W, c47, ee219.  
   son, Spear M7, W, c47, ee219.  
   son, Pretty Boy M5, S, c47, h16, ee219.  
 Squirrel Bear MG, S, f151.  
 Standing Bear, Chief XG, K, p, kk.  
 Standing Bear, Mr. M67, K, p, i264, ee264.  
 Standing Elk M35, S, a274, b167, i319, ee319, ff319.  
 Stands A Showing F78, W, h30.  
 Stands For Himself M21, S, g163.  
 Stands With FG, W, f139.  
 Steals A Running Horse X5, W, h31, dd6.  
 Stinking Foot F90, S, g193.  
 Stone Hammer, Mrs. FA, K, a94.  
   baby XB, K, a95.  
 Stops Her Horse XG, S, a250.  
 Strike Scatter XG, K, a152.

son MG, K, a153.  
 Strong Fox (Tea) M39, K, a75, c16, f103, p, g211, ee515, hh515, kk.  
   wife F30, K, a76, c16, g212, ee515, hh515.  
   son, The Guide (Quick) M8, K, a77, c16, g213, ee515, hh215.  
   daughter, Brown Horn F9, K, g214, ee215, hh215.  
 Strong Tea M40, K, g211.  
   wife F31, K, g212.  
 Successful Spy MG, K, f105.  
 Sun In The Pupil MA, K, a55.  
   wife FA, K, a56.  
 Sunka Yatapi MG, W, c25.  
 Swift Bear MA, K, kk.  
 Swift Bird MA, K, a148, c3, f149, i667, p.  
   wife FA, K, a149.  
   son MG, K, a150.  
   son, MG, K, a151.  
 Swift Dog M57, W, c16.  
 Tail Hair MG, S, f152.  
 Takes (Away) The Bow MA, K, a139, c66.  
   wife FA, S, c66.  
   daughter FG, S, c66.  
   son, George Blue Leg M7, S, c66.  
 Takes The Buffalo F42, S, g207.  
 Takola Washaka MA, K, c25.  
   wife, Yellow Leaf Woman FA, K, c25.  
   child XC, K, c25.  
 Tattooed XG, S, a207.  
 Three, Henry M25, K in a57, S in g18.  
 Thunder M27, K, g60, ee364, gg364.  
 Thunder Hawk Woman FG, K, c44.  
 To Laugh F65, K, g129, ee448.  
 Touches The Ground F22, S, g8.  
 Trotter M31, K, g128, ee448, hh448.  
 Trouble XG, K, c44.  
 Trouble in Front See Bear Sheds His Hair.  
 Trouble In Love, Mrs. FA, K, a91.  
 Twin Woman M61, K, g87.  
 Two Arrows See Male Eagle.  
 Two Lance XG, S, a280.  
 Unintentionally Brave MG, K, f109.  
 Unties Shoestring F71, S, g205, ee770.  
 Up To His Waist M44, K, g142, ee456.  
   wife F50, K, g143, ee456.  
   son, Important Man M12, K, g144, ee456.  
 Used For Brother MG, K, f115.  
 Waki-he-he-le MG, S, c7.  
   daughter F15, S, c7.  
 Walking Buffalo F37, W, h29.  
 Walking Bull M61, K, g179, ee507.  
   wife F51, K, g180, ee507.



## Big Foot's Followers

- Walks Red F72, K, c25, ee68.  
     son, Chief Boy MG, K, c25.
- Walks With Circle M2, S, g145.
- War Is His MG, K, f88.
- Warrior See Horn Cloud and Male Eagle.
- Warrior M22, S, g181, k86, ee508, gg508.  
     sister, Comes And Stands F10, S, g183, ee508, gg508.
- Water Snake MG, K, f56.
- Wears Calf's (Calfskin) Robe M51, K, a171, f43, g170, i503, ee503, gg503.  
     wife F48, S?, g171, ee503, gg503.  
     son, Chases And Kills M5, S, g173, ee503, gg503.
- Wears Fur Coat XG, S, a217.
- Wears Yellow Robe MG, S, e120.
- Weasel MG, K, f25.
- Weasel Bear MA, K, p, kk, ee510, ff510.  
     Louise F10, W, e111.
- Whip FG, K, f6.
- Whirlwind Bear MG, K, f37.
- Whirlwind Hawk MA, K, a19, f3.  
     wife FA, K, a20.  
     daughter FC, K, a21.  
     daughter FC, K, a22.  
     daughter FC, K, a23.  
     son MC, K, a24.  
     son MC, K, a25.
- White American XG, K, a177, p, kk.
- White Beaver Woman XG, K, a52.
- White Bull M61, K?, g164, ee501, gg501.  
     wife, Clown Woman F61, K?, g165, ee501, gg501.  
     son, Blue Horse M17, S, g167, ee501, gg501.  
     daughter, Pretty Hair F11, K?, g166, ee501, gg501.
- White Cow Comes Out F22, S, a242, ee302, ff302.
- White Eagle M61, S, a235, i37, ee202, ff202.
- White Face Sun FG, K, f4.
- White Face Woman FA, S, a238.
- White Feather MG, K, a30.
- White Hair M26, S, g204, ee770.
- White Hat MG, K, f114.
- White Horse M42, S, a230, f48, ee203, ff203.
- White Lance See Horn Cloud.
- White Man MA, K, c68, m251.  
     wife, Medicine Woman FA, W, c68, e113, m251.  
     son M5, K, c68, m251.  
     son M1, K, c68, m251.  
     daughter FB, K, m251.
- White Man MA, K, c13.  
     wife, Never Misses It FA, W, c13.
- White Wolf XG, K?, a115, i36, ee36, ff36.
- White Woman Hand F61, S, g215.
- Wicaka-badeea MA, K, c25.  
     wife F30, S, c25.
- Wild Man F71, S, g227.
- Wind F78, K?, f113, ee331, ff331.
- Wind In Guts XG, S, a233.
- Wing MG, K, f8, m244.  
     son MG, K, f9.
- Winter XG, K, a74.
- Without Robe XG, K, a80.
- Wolf Eagle MA, K, a96.  
     son, Good Boy MG, K, a97, f73.
- Wolf Ears, Edward M51, K, a98, c32, f72, g174, i504, ee504, hh504.  
     wife F50, W, c32, g175, ee504, gg504.  
     son, White M25, K, c32, g176, ee504, hh504.  
     son, Feather Enemy M16, K, c32, ee504, hh504.  
     daughter, Medicine Lake Girl F5, K, a99, c32, ee504, hh504.
- Wolf (Dog) Skin Necklace M39, K, a154, c7, f24, i509, p, ee509, hh509, kk.  
     sister, later Mrs. Takes The Hat, F15, S, c7.  
     daughter, Scarlet Woman FG, K, d4.  
     mother, Naki-he-he-la FA, S, d4.
- Wood Shade MA, K, a119.  
     wife FA, K, a120.
- Wounded Both XG, S, a219.
- Wounded Hand MA, K, a157, b170, f50, f126, p, kk.  
     wife, Comes Out Rattling FA, K, a158.
- Wounded In Winter See Kills First.
- Yell At Them MG, S?, q168.
- Yellow Bird MG, K, f62, o, jj233, kk.
- Yellow Buffalo Calf XG, K, a69.
- Yellow Bull MA, K, a81, c72.  
     wife, Humming FA, K, a82, c72.  
     daughter FA, K, c72.  
     daughter FA, K, c72.  
     five grandchildren XG, K, c72.
- Yellow Hair M10, W, h20 and MA, W, h33.
- Yellow Robe XG, K, a172, p, kk.
- Yellow Turtle MA, K, q164.
- Yellow Woman FA, S, c50.
- You Can Eat Dog XG, S, a210.
- Young Bear, Henry See Hard To Kill.
- Young Calf MG, K, f77.



*Mass grave at Wounded Knee, 1989. Courtesy of author.*

## Sources:

These are indicated on the list by a small case letter which may be followed by a number indicating the page or a census list number.

- a Joseph Horn Cloud's list of Lakota participants in Donald Danker, "The Wounded Knee Interviews of Eli S. Ricker," *Nebraska History*, Vol. 62, No. 2, 1981.
- b Interviews of Dewey Beard and Joseph Horn Cloud published in Danker's "Wounded Knee Interviews." Beard and Horn Cloud were young men, members of Big Foot's band and survivors.
- c James McLaughlin Papers, Microfilm Roll 17, Notebook 40, Assumption College, Richardton, North Dakota.
- d James McLaughlin, *Wounded Knee Compensation Papers*, MS 76.24, Robinson Museum, Pierre. A former Standing Rock agent interviewed survivors and relatives in 1920.
- e James McGregor, *The Wounded Knee Massacre from the Viewpoint of the Sioux* (Baltimore, Wirth Brothers, 1940). Interviewed descendants and survivors in the 1930s.
- f William Garnett, *Big Foot Massacre Enumeration*, Nebraska State Historical Society, Microfilm 970.1 W93. An unreliable list probably compiled for McLaughlin.
- g Perain P. Palmer, *Approximate Census of the Sioux Indians belonging to the Cheyenne River reservation who were in the battle of Wounded Knee and are yet at Pine Ridge Agency S. D. taken June 30/91*, National Archives Microfilm Publication, Microcopy 595, Roll 33. A Census by Agent Palmer includes fatalities.
- h Captain Francis J. Ives, *Indians Wounded in Fight at Wounded Knee*, MS H84.38, Robinson Museum, Pierre. Ives treated the wounded who were brought to Pine Ridge from Wounded Knee.
- i *Issues to Indians*, National Archives, RG 75, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Cheyenne River Agency. List of families that received rations at the Cheyenne River Agency prior to Wounded Knee. This source is included as an aid in verifying names provided in other sources.
- j Walter Camp Collection, Lilly Library, University of Indiana, Bloomington. Interviews of survivors around 1912.
- k *Executive Documents of the Senate of the United States*, First Session, 52d Congress, 1891-92, Executive Document 58. A list of Indians who wanted to move to the Pine Ridge Reservation from Cheyenne River in June 1891. May include a

- l few who were not at Wounded Knee. Raymond L. DeMallie, ed., *The Sixth Grandfather* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984). Stories by Black Elk, an Oglala, who may have witnessed the massacre.
- m Melvin R. Gilmore, "The Truth of the Wounded Knee Massacre," *The American Indian Magazine*, Vol. 4, No. 4, 1917. Interviews in 1913.
- n Robert H. Ruby, *The Oglala Sioux, Warriors in Transition* (New York: Vantage Press, 1955). A survivor interviewed.
- o James Mooney, *The Ghost-Dance and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890, Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1896). First study of the ghost dance.
- p Wounded Knee memorial monument erected at Wounded Knee by descendants and survivors of the massacre in 1903 lists some fatalities.
- q James R. Walker, *Lakota Society* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982). Interviews of survivors and others around 1905.
- r Charles W. Allen, *In the West That Was*, MS2635, Nebraska State Historical Society, Lincoln. Reminiscence by a newspaper reporter who was at the massacre.
- s A. T. Lea Collection, Thomas Gilcrease Museum, Tulsa. Correspondence about 1900 by a census taker who was on the reservations in 1890.
- t Eli S. Ricker Collection (MS8, Nebraska State Historical Society, Lincoln). Interviews around 1905 with survivors and others.
- u Aemilius Perrig, *Diary*, Catholic Archives, Marquette University, excerpts copied by John Carroll. Missionary at Rosebud and at Pine Ridge in the 1880s and 1890s.
- v John R. Brennan Collection, H72.2, Robinson Museum, Pierre. Correspondence with survivors and officials about 1901.
- w Philip F. Wells, "Ninety-six Years among the Indians of the Northwest," *North Dakota History* (1948). Army interpreter at Wounded Knee.
- x Hearings before the Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. Senate, 94th Congress, 2d Session on S1147 and S2900, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1976. See Indian testimony.
- y Winifred Reutter, *Early Dakota Days* (White River, S.D., 1962). A secondary source.
- z *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, January 13, 1891. Survivor interview.
- aa Julia B. McGillicuddy, *McGillicuddy Agent* (Gordon: News Publishing Company, 1941). Biography

- of Pine Ridge agent who was replaced in the fall of 1890.
- bb *Washington Evening Star*, January 30, 1891. Survivor interview.
- dd George E. Bartlett, *Wounded Knee* (MS8 Ricker Collection, Nebraska State Historical Society, Lincoln). Bartlett was a Deputy U.S. Marshal.
- ee C. E. McChesney, "Census of Cheyenne River Agency S.D. Indians, June 30, 1890" (National Archives Microfilm Publications, Microcopy 595, Roll 33). This government census is included as an aid in verifying other sources.
- ff Perain P. Palmer, "Census of the Sioux of Different Bands Indians of Cheyenne River Agency . . .," June 30, 1891 (National Archives Microfilm Publications, Microcopy 595, Roll 33). Government census.
- gg Ibid. with notation "at Pine Ridge." Although this notation would seem to indicate that these people were relocated, most evidence indicates that many of them were fatalities.
- hh Ibid. with notations that the individual was killed at Wounded Knee.
- ii George Hart, Hart Iconographic Archives, Youngstown, Ohio, to John Carter, Nebraska State Historical Society, March 24, 1989. A secondary source.
- jj David Humphreys Miller, *Ghost Dance* (New York, Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1959). Miller mixed popular accounts, interviews, and historic records.
- kk Simon Helper's list of fatalities in *ibid.*, page 308. Forty-two of the fifty names are from the Wounded Knee Monument.
- ll "Paul Highback's Version of the Disaster of Dec. 29, 1890 at Wounded Knee," *The Wi-Iyohi*, South Dakota Historical Society, Vol. 10, No. 3, June 1956.