THE SOCIO-CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE ON THE AMERICAN PLAINS OF PICTOGRAPHIC TIPI DECORATIONS

By

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Oklahoma Historical Society owns a large skin tipi, covered with handsome paintings, that is on display in the southernmost room of the third floor of their Museum in Oklahoma City. Because of limited floor space, approximately one-third of the tipi's surface is not visible to the viewing public; the tipi sits in a corner.

Previous to this study, the only written information concerning the tipi was in The Chronicles of Oklahoma, Volume I; the Oklahoma Historical Society published the following information in that journal in 1923 on page 107:

> Mr. Will H. Clark, of Oklahoma City, has deposited with the Oklahoma Historical Society a buffalo-skin lodge or teepee cover, which was secured from his father, the late Colonel John G. Clark, from the Sioux Indians, at Fort Rice, Dakota in 1866. Although more than half a century has passed since that time, the lodge cover is still in a good state of preservation. Its exterior surface is embellished by about 100 pictographs which delineate stirring scenes in the chase and on the warpath. It is to be regretted that, until the Society has more museum floor space at its command, it will be impossible to place this interesting and valuable specimen on exhibition.

This study was begun with the purpose of validating the claims of Mr. Will H. Clark, and consequently those of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Assumptions

There are six assumptions inherent in the information cited above that are subject to validation:

(1) This tipi cover was produced and used by Dakota, or "Sioux," people living near the Missouri River in Dakota Territory (present-day North and South Dakota),

(2) The man who allegedly procured the tipi cover, Colonel John G. Clark, did so in 1866 at Fort Rice, which is located on the Missouri River,

(3) The pictographs on the tipi cover are symbolic of, and refer to, socio-cultural events and objects common to the Dakota people in 1866,

(4) The art forms that compose these pictographs were common to the Dakota people in 1866,

(5) The events and objects symbolized by the pictographs are primarily in connection with war and hunting, and

(6) War and hunting were of primary social and economical importance in the culture of the producers of the pictographs.

Validation of these assumptions will require discussion of the history of pictography on the American Plains (Chapter II), a discussion of the construction and purposes of Plains tipis (Chapter III), a discussion of ethnographic and historical descriptions of the Dakota, or "Sioux," culture (Chapter IV), and a discussion of the relationship of the United States government and the native population of the Dakota Territory in 1866 (Chapter V). A translation of the pictographs will be made in order to isolate the events and objects which they represent; particular art traits will be quantified in order to statistically describe and analyze the art forms and artists involved

in the painting of the pictographs (Chapter VI). The results obtained will be compared with the material presented earlier in order to validate the assumptions (Chapter VII).

Previous Studies of Plains Pictographs

The meaning and construction of (particular) Plains pictographs are the focus of this study. When compared with the quantity of literature available that concerns other aspects of art and written language, and their social functions and histories, literature concerning pictographs is relatively rare. There are, however, several excellent sources available.

One of the first, largest, and most comprehensive studies of American Indian pictographs was done by Garrick Mallery. In his "Pictographs of the North American Indians" (Fourth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1886) and "Picture Writing of the American Indians" (Tenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1893) Mallery discusses petroglyphs (pictograms carved into, or pictographs drawn onto, rock formations or caves) and pictographs found in North America. He discusses the various social usages of pictographs, e. g. to announce war, record the signing of treaties, and to record biographical events. He discusses styles, methods, and materials used in the making of pictographs, and he analyzes color symbolism. Mallery translates "winter counts" to illustrate the historical and biographical use of pictographs among the Dakota. Mallery's study contained in the Tenth Annual Report is an expansion and elaboration of that included in the Fourth Annual Report.

Frances Densmore's "Teton Sioux Music" (Bulletin 61 of the

Bureau of American Ethnology, 1918) is an ethnomusicological account of the melody and tone structures of Teton Dakota songs; Densmore describes the ceremonial contexts in which these songs appear. She also describes the accompanying ceremonial paraphenalia and the pictographs associated with the songs and paraphenalia. Color symbolism is discussed secondarily.

The most detailed study of pictographs is A Pictographic History of the Oglala Sioux, a series of drawing by Amos Bad Heart Bull, and edited by Helen H. Blish in 1929 at the University of Nebraska; it was published in 1967. Bad Heart Bull's pictographs and their accompanying Lakota narrative had been photographed in both color and black-and-white before their burial with his sister upon her death. Amos Bad Heart Bull (1869-1915) had inherited his father's role as band historian and kept an extensive "winter count," but this manuscript is an official tribal history of the Oglala branch of the Teton Dakota. Although born at the nadir of Plains culture, Bad Heart Bull moved within a circle of legendary warriors from whom he secured first-hand accounts of the past. Saddened by the death of Sitting Bull in 1890, he began this manuscript with the verbal help of Red Cloud, Short Bull, Kicking Bear, and others. He pictures his uncle, Crazy Horse, and other famous Oglala personalities and historic events: Dakota-Crow battles, ceremonial and social events, the Little Big Horn battle, the reorganization of the social structure during the early "reservation period," the Wounded Knee massacre of 1890, and "Indian shows," displayed annually. Blish notes that Bad Heart Bull's renderings are partly traditional, partly "reservation period," and partly personal style and innovation. She labels his style as "pano-

ramic realism with an essence of action." Bad Heart Bull is faithful to details despite his slightly modern style. Blish uses "White" sources to verify historical events portrayed.

John C. Ewers' Plains Indian Painting (1939) is a historical account of North American Indian art styles and an account of their diffusion to and from the American Plains. Focusing on the north-central Plains, from the Dakotas to Kansas, Ewers notes an apex in art achievement which he calls the "Late Siouan stage," characterized simultaneously by realism and sophisticated conventionalization. The Late Siouan stage is distinguished from earlier centrl and northern Plains art by sureness of line, careful application of color, and aesthetic, decorative qualities. Ewers chronologically classifies both geometric and representative art forms according to group and area.

James H. Howard's The Warrior Who Killed Custer (1968) has multiple illustrations but emphasizes the difficult technique of interpreting pictographs. Analyzing the content of Joseph White Bull's pictographs and narrative of his war exploits, Howard also compares his translation with the 1934 and 1957 translations of Stanley Vestal (Walter S. Campbell) and discusses the differences. Howard states that White Bull's art is good, but not the high point of Teton art.

Earlier primary works in pictographic analysis by Howard include a discussion of the winter counts of Swift Dog, High Dog, No Two Horns, Blue Thunder (and variants), and Vestal's Hunkpapa Count in Bulletin 173 of the Bureau of American Ethnology, and a discussion of the No Ears Count and the White Buffalo Man Count in North Dakota History, Volume 27, Number 2. Both of these studies were published in 1960.

Stewart Culin's "Chess and Playing Cards" (Annual Report of the

U. S. National Museum, 1896) discusses, in part, the decoration of objects used in games such as dominoes and cards by various peoples of the world. The central section of this study is devoted to North American Indian games and, in part, their artistic embellishment of game objects, often with pictographs that, in their nature, border on being ideographic. The study is a cross-cultural comparison; it was expanded and elaborated some years later in "Games of the North American Indian" (Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1907) wherein Culin details games of skill and chance. The discussion of pictographs in this comprehensive study, despite being tertiary to the main body of material, is of value because of the encyclopedic arrangement of applied art styles on game objects.

For differences between the style of Teton Dakota pictographs and Cheyenne pictographs, especially during the "reservation period," a comparison of Amos Bad Heart Bull's drawings, mentioned earlier, and those of Cohoe, a Cheyenne, which appear in A Cheyenne Sketchbook, is valuable. This collection was edited by E. Adamson Hoebel and Karen Daniels Petersen, and published in 1964. Although many factors operated on both the Teton Dakota and the Cheyenne in such a way as to alter their traditional art styles and social organization toward the same direction, the essential differences are observable. For example, the unusually long breechclout of the Cheyenne is still apparent in Cohoe's drawings, as is the distinctive Cheyenne manner of drawing the mane of the horse. Cohoe's personal style includes a Dakota-like realism in drawing the legs of horses, in contrast with the impressionistic, traditional style of the pre-reservation Cheyenne. War scenes are lacking in Cohoe's pictographs; he was imprisoned at the time he

drew them (the 1870's) and was discouraged from painting war scenes by his army captors and his missionary sponsor, Bishop Henry Whipple.

The data of Archives of Aboriginal Knowledge: Information Respecting the History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States was collected and prepared for the Bureau of Indian Affairs from 1850 to 1857 by Henry R. Schoolcraft. This work consists of six large volumes published over the period 1860-1868 by authority of the U. S. Congress and by executive directive. The work is a collection of various ethnographic sketches by various authors concerning every native culture then known to the United States government. Examples of Plains pictographs are plentiful, although they appear under such chapter titles as "Intellectual Capacity and Character" and "Daemonology, Witchcraft, and Magic." Illustrations were drawn in a careful and detailed manner by Captain S. Eastman; the work's main value lies in its ambitious scope, for its treatment of pictographs is secondary.

David Finster's "The Hardin Winter Count" (W. H. Over Museum News, Volume 29, Numbers 3-4, 1968) is a translation of pictographs that appear on a winter count. Finster compares his translation with the translation of other winter counts whose pictographs represent the same years as represented by the pictographs on his winter count.

CHAPTER II

PICTOGRAPHS AS PLAINS ART

American ethnographers, for the most part, have adhered to the conceptual distinctions between race, culture, and language as proposed by Franz Boas (1927:3). At times, however, it is difficult to maintain these distinctions, for the data can often refuse to be rigidly classified. Pictographs are an example.

The pictographs to be studied here are considered in the literature as both art and language, albeit written language. Written language is often dependent, to some degree, on spoken language or gesture. Because of the many purposes and functions of pictographs, they are seldom treated separately, but, rather, in conjunction with discussions of language, artistic techniques, or other related phenomena.

Pictographs are both art and (written) language possibly because the goals of self-expression through art and goals of intentional and specific communication through written symbols are similar: both aim at the introduction of new knowledge to someone else, directly or indirectly, by means of a standardized, but flexible, set of written or drawn symbols or forms. Expressive art and written language are both purposeful social phenomena (Geld, 1963:7).

Pictographs as Subjective and Objective Communication

In expressive art, the symbols are subject to more variation than in written language, and the message conveyed is generally not so specific in meaning. Art is more often "play" than is written language; that is, manipulation of the standardized symbols into an individual variation for the sake of manipulation, and as an expression of delight (Boas, 1927:25). Art, then, tends to be concerned with the manipulation of form rather than of content. Individualization of the symbols or forms may express feelings of separateness, as well, or feelings of power over them or the persons to whom the message is addressed. The personal style of handwriting, for example, may be as meaningful as the message; the former being an artistic expression and manipulation of form, the latter being specific and objective communication through standardized symbols.

Written language and art are by no means unrelated to the other forms of social expressions and communication. They are interdependent with, for example, spoken language and gesture (Gelb, 1963:10). There are forms of expression and communication that cannot be neatly categorized as either spoken language or gesture, as well, such as hissing, whistling at someone, and the combination of a blackslap and a laugh. There are many examples of people having a spoken language and a distinct set of gestures, however. The Plains Indians developed a set of inter-group gestures that referred to common meanings, actions, and materials; written language, which does the same, was impossible because of the diversity of languages present. The Dakota and Cheyenne, for example, were close allies who spoke different languages, and the only means of communication was standardized gesture (Laubin, 1957:125).

Material objects may be used as means of expression or communication. The quipu "writing" of the Inca people, or the wampum belts, or strings, of the Delaware people are examples of objects being used to convey knowledge. The "mnemonic devices" have the advantage over spoken language or gesture in that they are not restricted to time or space because of their material nature. But they are limited in the range of knowledge that they can convey. They may be "shorthand" spurs to memory, or, used as an accounting system, they convey "quantity" (Gelb, 1963:38).

Written language and art, as well, can escape the limitations of space and time, since they are markings on material objects. But since they are symbols for phenomena other than "quantity," they exceed the limitations inherent in most mnemonic devices. Art and written language can refer to specific materials and/or the quantity of those materials and/or specific actions and/or specific meanings, subjective or objective (Gelb, 1963:15). Because of their standardization, to some degree or another, among a group, they may convey objective, rationalized knowledge; irrational, subjective knowledge and personal creative innovations may be transmitted by the manipulation and stylization of the written or drawn symbols by the individual. However, both art and written language are concerned with preservation of the meanings conveyed, and are not used in face-to-face interaction and communication.

Pictographs as Written Language

Both linguists and art historians have at one time claimed pictographs as their "own." Linguists have usually done so in the belief

that there is always some correspondence between spoken and written languages and the belief that anything of a written or drawn nature was, or is, socially meaningful; art historians have done so because of the sometimes striking similarity in the structure of pictographs from peoples of various times and places, and because of the belief that cultural art forms, or structures, are social manifestations of the deepest emotional and aesthetic qualities of a people (Boas, 1927:11).

Since the conceptual boundaries of anthropology encompass, among other things, the spoken language, written language, art forms, and the history, structure, and function of language and art, an anthropological framework is convenient to use for a broad understanding of pictographs. Accordingly, the position taken here concerning the social function of pictographs is that they are cultural traits which are independent of the spoken language and are used to imply ideas about particular actions or social events, and materials associated with these events (Gelb, 1963:27). In this respect, they are a written language, but they cannot represent abstract ideas; that is, they do not convey ideas about ideas, only ideas about actions and materials. They cannot represent speech, as other forms of written language can. Further, because of the means of construction of pictographs, they are excellent means of expression of individually felt emotions and individual manual skills. Thus, a pictograph has two essential significances: (1) its qualities of craftsmanship, and (2) its meaning, and those actions and materials referred to by the pictograph (Gelb, 1963:26).

Because of this definition, pictographs do not generally qualify

as written language as defined by many linguists. The linguistic bias can be easily seen: the more a written language corresponds to a spoken language, the more "worthy" it is. There is no science of writing. Within the linguistic discipline there is (1) epigraphy, the study of inscriptions on "hard" surfaces made with incising tools, and (2) paleography, the study of inscriptions on "soft" surfaces made with paints or charcoal (Gelb, 1963:22). Accordingly, "primitive drawings" or "picture writing" are classified by linguists as pictograms if incised or carved, and thus to be studied by epigraphers, or as pictographs, if drawn or painted, and thus to be studied by paleographers.

Pictograms and pictographs are sometimes referred to as the "forerunners of real writing" (Gelb, 1963:24). As such, they do not qualify as either ideographs or logographs, which are written or drawn symbols that convey ideas about ideas or spoken words; the heiroglyphs of Egypt and the cuneiforms of Sumer of the fourth millenium B. C. are famous examples of ideographic and logographic systems. On the linguistic continuum of written languages, ideographs and logographs are the point at which written symbols begin to become dependent on the spoken language (Gelb, 1963:137). The next "stage" is syllabic written languages, where the written symbols correspond with spoken syllables, not just whole words. Written language is almost wholly dependent on spoken language when it is alphabetic, where the written symbols correspond with specific phonemes, or sound "units" (Gelb, 1963:16-17). Pictographs that may also be classified as logographs and/or ideographs are not uncommon; Figure 1 offers an example.

So when papyrus or skins do evade the corruption of time, the written language on them is generally of interest to linguists only

if it is alphabetic, syllabic, logographic, or ideographic, and not pictographic, and if it originated from some past "high" civilization, or at least from some culture that contemporary people consider ancestral (Gelb, 1963:23). It is the source of little wonder, then, that the pictographs of native North Americans have been passed over as the subject of intensive linguistic study.

The linguistic does offer, however, certain insights into the nature of pictographs. For example, the presence of an inter-group set of gestures, when combined with the pressures of forced acculturation, might have been the factors which could have caused the gradual evolution of Plains pictographs into ideographs. The conceptualization of pictographs as representing specific actions and/or materials is a most beneficial one, as well.

Pictographs as Art

As written language, pictographs must be standardized in form before their purpose can be accomplished. Art, as well, must adhere to standards of form; technical proficiency and conventionalization are requirements of true art (Boas, 1927:19). Everyday objects that are hand-made may then usually be considered as art or art objects (Boas, 1927:30).

Decorative and Representative Art

Decorative art employs standardized art forms, or patterns, that are often varied slightly, in order to create a pleasing, visual effect. Because of the limitations of the surface upon which the artisan paints, beads, quills, or incises, art forms, or patterns,

appear as a function of technical proficiency (Boas, 1927:62). Decorative art, according to Boas (1927:144) is characterized by symmetry, rhythm, and the accentuation or limitation of particular forms or areas of the surface. Decorative art forms are more often geometric than not, and are used to draw attention only to themselves, or the objects upon which they appear.

Representativeart may arise independent of decorative art (Boas, 1927:64). Its purpose is to indicate something beyond itself, and to convey objective knowledge. If representative art forms arise independently, they are usually realistic forms, or imitations of an external action or object. However, decorative art forms may be assigned meaning arbitrarily and thus become abstract representative art. To speak of a geometric art form, then, is not enough; it must be made clear whether this geometric art form is simply decorative, or is an abstract representation.

Representative art is also decorative (Boas, 1927:81). If technical proficiency is lacking, especially in the case of realistic representative, it becomes not so much art as only written language. Pictographs are representative art, and usually realistic in form, and their purpose is to simultaneously decorate and represent. They simultaneously have a subjective impact and point to actions and materials beyond themselves. If the latter purpose becomes the dominant one, pictographs become only written language and are no longer representative art.

Because of this dual purpose, representative art is characterized by style, or variation of standardized forms, primarily, and only secondarily by symmetry, rhythm, and accentuation of particular forms.

Realistic representative art, especially, is characterized by style, and is free of the strict requirements of formalism demanded of purely decorative art and ideographic writing, as well (Boas, 1927:149). There are restrictions imposed on representative pictographs, however. For example, because the artist desires to convey all aspects of an object or action realistically and yet has only a two-dimensional surface upon which to draw three-dimensional realities, he must employ the technique, as did the bas-relief sculptors in Egypt, of drawing the subject in profile and yet show aspects that could only be seen from a frontal view (Boas, 1927:72).

Early Historical Records of American Art

Decorative and representative art has been present in the Americas from Alaska to the southern tip of South America. Eskimo art appears carved on bone and ivory, and is of a pictographic nature; that is, it is realistic representative art. Carved Eskimo pictures portray domestic activities, games, food preparation, exploits, combat, and hunting, and generally appear on everyday utensils (Blish, 1967:16). Painting on "soft" surfaces, such as hides, was not known to the Alaskan Eskimo (Ewers, 1939:54); their work is more aptly classified as pictograms, rather than pictographs. Hide painting was common in South America, however; all the way from the Bororo people of the Matto Grosso, Brazil to the Teheulche people in Patagonia (Ewers, 1939:55).

Among the California peoples geometric, decorative art was common, and was usually painted on deer-skins (Ewers, 1939:52) or woven into their excellent basketry. The Northwest Pacific Coast peoples painted

and carved symmetrical, abstract representative art on deer-skin dance aprons and in wood. Hide painting was done with geometric forms on the skin robes of the Florida and East Coast peoples (Ewers, 1939:49); geometric forms were supplemented by pictographs by the people living in the Canadian Plateau and Mackenzie Basin areas (Ewers, 1939:51). They painted on wolf-skins until the introduction of the horse made buffalo-skin surfaces available for painting.

All of these various art forms were either noticed by early "White" historical travelers or continued to exist among the native population until as late as the twentieth century before being noticed by "outsiders." Some art forms that were peculiar to certain peoples and areas have been discovered archaeologically. For example, engraved petroglyphs and pictographs painted in charcoal were found in a cave near LaCrosse Valley, Wisconsin; they indicate the presence of decorative and representative art in that area as early as 1500 B. C. (Blish, 1967:11) according to dates supplied by dendrochronology. Similar sites have been found at Buffalo Rock, on the Snake River near Lewiston, Idaho, and on the Columbia River near the Dalles, Oregon (Blish, 1967:12).

The Lenape Walum Olum supplies engraved and painted records of the history, mythology, and art of the eastern people of the Algonquian "stock" in eastern Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Maryland (Blish, 1967:16). The originals of these pictographs, now lost, appeared on wooden talley sticks. The Ojibwa in Wisconsin and Minnesota likewise kept pictographs and mnemonic markings on bark, as a part of their mide-wiwin ceremony (Blish, 1967:17).

There were, then, many areas adjacent to the Plains where evidence

of pictography has been found. Evidence is scarce, for there were few historical observers in the Plains area at the time, and hides, the most common surface used by Plains pictographers, cannot easily avoid the corruption of time.

Historical records indicating art among the native American peoples began accumulating as early as 1528 as explorers, missionaries, and colonists commented on the hide paintings they saw (Ewers, 1939: 49). The artist Jacques LeMoyne drew fairly detailed portraitures of Timuem Indians in their decorated robes in 1564 (Ewers, 1939:50), and Coronado commented on the presence of hide painting in the Southwest in 1549. Statements concerning Plains art began occurring in the mid-eighteenth century, but these early statements and drawings are usually either so general or so fragmentary as to give little hint as to the exact nature of the decorative and representative art forms (Ewers, 1939:26).

For the earliest detailed information on pictographs and painted hides we are indebted to the Lewis and Clark expedition. In 1805, Lewis and Clark sent President Jefferson a Mandan pictographic buffalo robe upon which a battle known to have been fought in 1797 was painted. Lewis and Clark noted the elegantly painted robes of the Teton Dakota in 1804 (Ewers, 1939:27), and the trader Larocque wrote in 1805 that the Crow men wore robes on which their war exploits had been painted. Trader Alexander Henry wrote that the Mandan wore pictographic robes, as did the Blackfeet, Cree, Assiniboin, and Atsina. Edwin James, of the Long Expedition of 1819-1820 wrote of pictographic robes worn by the Oto, Pawnee, and Hidatsa (Ewers, 1939:12).

The paintings and narratives of George Catlin, and the writings

of Prince Maximilian and the paintings of Charles Bodmer, the artist who accompanied Maximilian, are valuable sources of details of Plains pictographs. Buffalo were plentiful and European contact was slight in the 1820's and 1830's, and the trade blanket had not yet replaced the buffalo robe; pictographic art blossomed as did Plains culture (Ewers, 1939:28). Catlin's numerous portrait studies show painted robes among the men of such cultural groups as the Cree, Blackfeet, Nez Perce, Shoshoni, Mandan, Arikara, Dakota, Crow, Cheyenne, Iowa, Ponca, Pawnee, Comanche, Apache, and Ojibwa. But Catlin's sketchy technique and his emphasis on physiognomy (Ewers, 1939:29) yield pictographs that are entirely uniform; all of Catlin's horses, for example, have hooked hooves, straight bellies, and large phalluses. It seems improbable that this uniformity occurred anywhere except in Catlin's art, especially in view of the evidence of the diversity of pictographic forms recorded by others. Charles Bodmer, for one, meticulously portrays the variations of detail and style among the groups he visited (Ewers, 1939:28).

The Construction of Plains Pictographs

On the Plains, the women were generally responsible for the purely decorative art and the geometric representative art and the men were generally responsible for the realistic representative art (Wissler, 1904:274). Although the women, through decoration, used art as an expression of playfulness, Wissler (1904:273) has maintained that they still looked upon the geometric with a certain awe, and as having been given by the GreatMystery. The designs, usually geometric, had names.

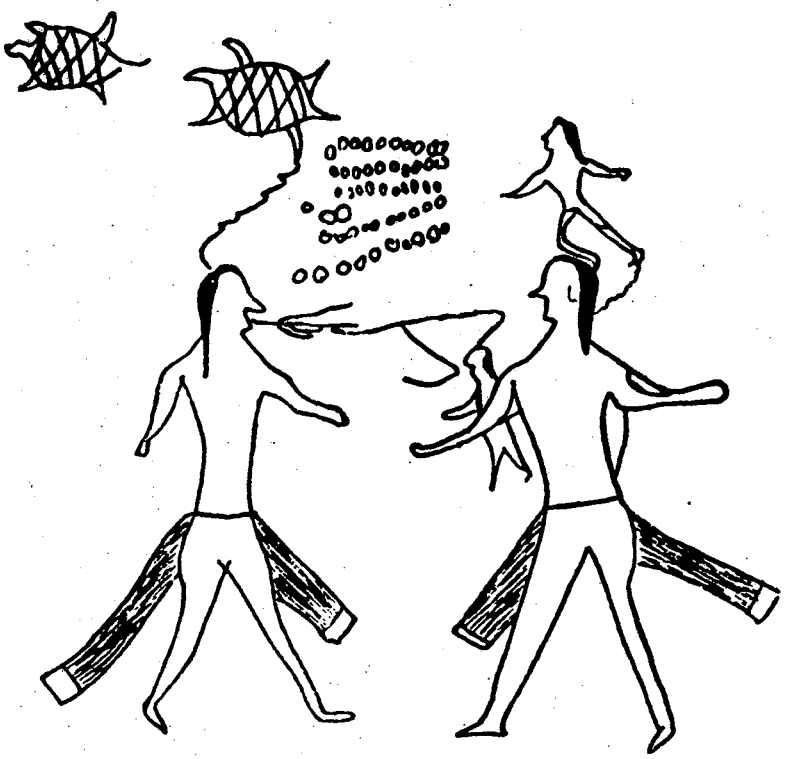

Figure 1. A Cheyenne Ideograph-Logograph

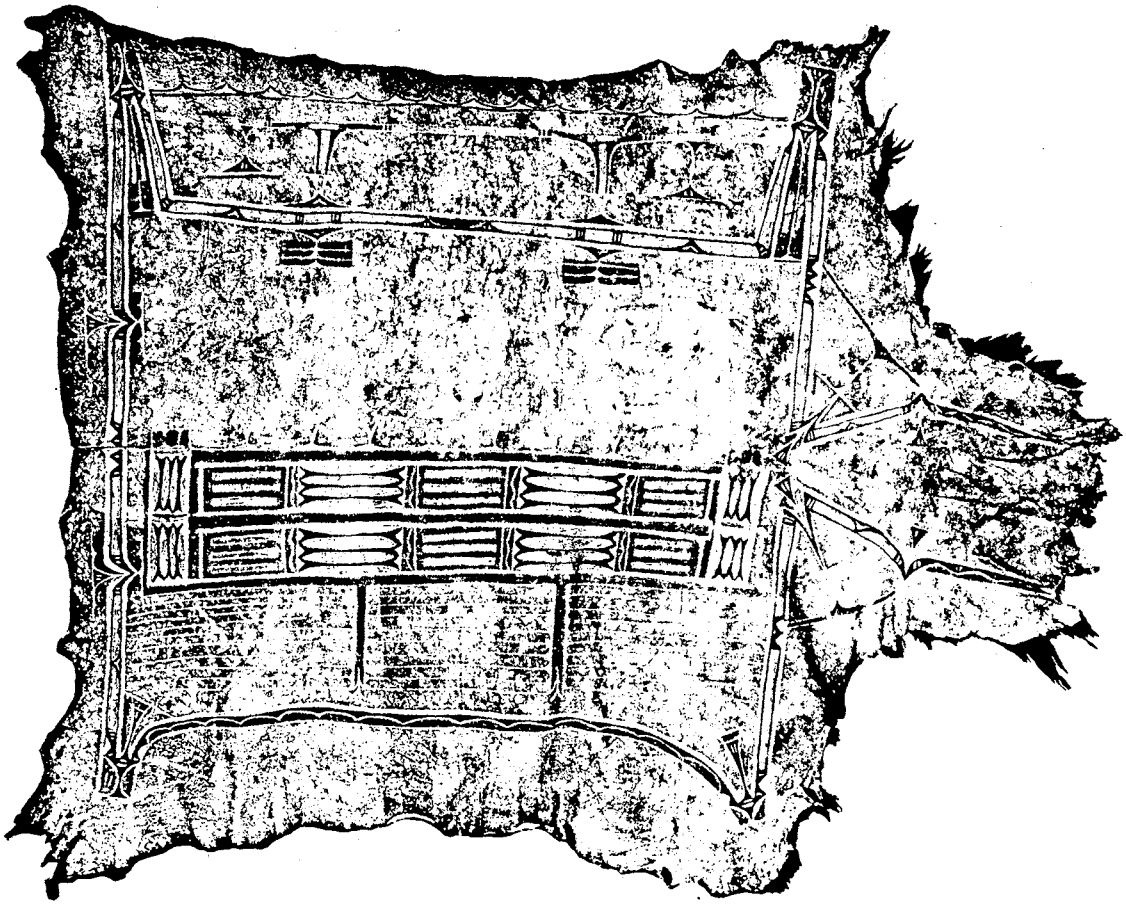

Figure 2. Geometric Forms on Dakota Buffalo Robe

A purely decorative form may be assigned on occasion. A diamond-shaped design was used by the women to represent the turtle, who was symbolic of fertility; the men used the same geometric decoration to represent slain enemies (Wissler, 1904:272). In fact, among the men, military interests provided the chief symbolic motive in representative art, whether abstract or realistic. For example, the Blackfeet men were always involved in horse-stealing and fighting that occurred incidental to the horse-stealing was of only secondary importance to them in their pictographic portrayal of the event (Ewers, 1955:214; Wissler, 1904:274).

Geometric Forms

John Ewers (1939:8-14) has isolated five major geometric forms that were painted onto skins on the Plains; they were used in both decorative and symbolic ways. On the basis of 122 buffalo robes located in various museums, Ewers classifies the major geometric forms used on the Plains as (1) "border-and-box," (2) "border-and-hourglass," (3) "feathered circle," (4) bilateral symmetrical, and (5) horizontally striped. The "border-and-box" design seen in Figure 2, consisted of a border drawn around the perimeter of the buffalo-skin and a square drawn in the center of the skin; the "border-and-box" was common to the entire central Plains and was generally worn only by the women. The "feathered circle," on the other hand, was generally worn only by the men of central and northern Plains groups as the Hidatsa, Mandan, Arikara, Crow, Dakota, and Cheyenne; the "feathered circle" consisted of a circular arrangement of stylized eagle feather designs, with their points extending toward the perimeter of the skin. The "border-and-

hourglass" design had the widest distribution, and was centered in the southern Plains; the Sarsi and the Blackfeet alone used the horizontal stripe designs on their buffalo robes. The bilateral symmetrical geometric form was common to the Dakota, Cheyenne, and Arapaho in the central Plains; it consisted of one geometric design which was mirrored on the opposite half of the skin. Ewers found that red, yellow, blue, and green were the most common colors used in this sample of buffalo robes.

Realistic Forms

Plains realistic painting is essentially the portrayal of life-forms, usually in profile and in flat colors with no background. Horses and humans are the most common figures. But in spite of their economic importance, buffalo are seldom portrayed (Blish, 1967:55).

Ewers (1939:18-22), in his discussion of 83 robes that have Plains pictographs painted on them, indirectly parallels the growing sophistication of Plains art with the cultural expansion and diffusion that was occurring in the central Plains during the first two-thirds of the nineteenth century. Pictographic painting in the far northern and western Plains remained the same throughout the nineteenth century; that is, more sketchy than realistic. For example, the hooves drawn by the Blackfeet, and others, were little more than an impressionistic hook. In the central Plains, though, the "Late Siouan" stage developed; this stage is characterized by dynamic realism. Using Late Siouan techniques, the Dakota, Crow, Cheyenne, Shoshoni, and Kiowa, for example, always painted their horses with large, projecting phalluses. A less detailed style is seen in Figure 3.

Despite the differences between the Late Siouan and non-Late Siouan styles on the Plains, there were some common techniques. Running horses were portrayed in "flying gallop" style, with their forelegs extending foreward and their backlegs extending backward. With human forms, the trunk was usually elongated, and the nose was the only facial feature that was regularly drawn. Horses' eyes were drawn as a dot, a circle or almond, or a dot within a circle or almond; the mane was usually not drawn.

The life-forms on the robes studied by Ewers were outlined in black or brown paint, usually, and then filled in with other colors. The life-forms were usually scattered over the surface of the hide, with only small groups of figures being carefully aligned. The most common colors, other than black and brown, were red, yellow, blue, and green.

It seems that the choice of color was determined by aesthetic and symbolic reasons, not by any desire to imitate nature; purple, red, green, and yellow horses are common in Plains pictographs, but rarely occur in nature.

Colors

Historical records indicate that certain colors were available in certain areas and not in others, and that certain colors were preferred by certain groups over other colors. The Mandan, at one time (according to historical reports) used only black, red, and blue (Ewers, 1939:27), and at another time used brown, blue-green, yellow, and reddish-brown. Perhaps this was due to a distinction made by the Mandan, or was causedby the availability of new colors through trade,

or perhaps different historical reporters simply made different observations. The California peoples used only red and black, according to one report (Ewers, 1939:52), and the colors used by the Northwest Pacific Coast peoplewere primarily red, black, green, and blue. In the Southwest, blue seems to have been the favorite color at one time, although brown, black, and green were also used. Traders reported at one time that the Piegan used ten different colors, while the Cree, Assiniboin, and Atsina used only one color (Ewers, 1939:27), although this is doubtful. Red, yellow, blue, green, black, and brown were reported as being the usual pictographic colors throughout South America (Ewers, 1939:54). But, again, these reports were possibly incomplete. There may well have been certain prescribed colors for particular pictographs (Dorsey, 1894:528), and observers were unaware of them.

On the American Plains, before the advent of European trade, the colors used in painting hides were principally earth pigments (Ewers, 1939:3). Red, yellow, and brown, found in the form of ferruginous clays, were commonly employed. A red paint was sometimes made treating limonite, an originally yellow, ocherous substance, with heat (Densmore, 1918:116). A black earth or charcoal provided black paint. Lewis and Clark found a green earth pigment in use among people living near the Rocky Mountains (Ewers, 1939:3). The Cheyenne used the vegetable coloring from the brown, gum-covered buds of the cottonwood tree for painting life-forms on their robes. There is evidence that Plains people had procured a native blue earth, by 1840, from around Mankato, Minnesota(Howard, personal communication). To a great extent, then, the colors available to artists were determined by the nature of

the surrounding flora and geological deposits.

Colors were used as trade items as early as 1776 (Ewers, 1939:4); vermilion is frequently listed as a favorite color by fur traders who bartered with Plains people in the early nineteenth century (Mallery, 1886:52). Other colors listed by Mallery (1886:52-53) are red, lead, chromate of lead (yellow), Prussian blue, chrome green, lamp black, Chinese white, and oxide of zinc (white).

Paints were generally ground to a powder in a shallow stone mortar and mixed for application with a thin, gluey substance obtained from the hide scrapings or the tail of a beaver (Mallery, 1893:221). This gluey substance served to make the colors adhere to the hide and increased luminosity. In some cases, the color was simply mixed with water and the gluey substance was applied as an overcoat in order to set the paint (Ewers, 1939:4). Unmixed paints were kept in skin bags when not in use; during the process of painting, the prepared paints were kept in hollow stones, or clam or turtle shells, and each color had a separate container.

Colors were associated with many aspects of everyday life. Personal names among the Dakota, Hidatsa, Mandan, and Winnebago, according to Dorsey (1894:533), often included colors; red, yellow, black, blue or green and white were the most common colors appearing in names. Among the "Thunder-being sub-gens" of the Winnebago, personal names such as Green Thunder-being, Black Thunder-being, White Thunder-being, and Yellow Thunder-being were common. Dorsey also points to the fact that the Winnebago, and others, substituted green for blue and blue for green (1894:533); Howard (personal communication) claims that this is still a common practice among the Dakota.

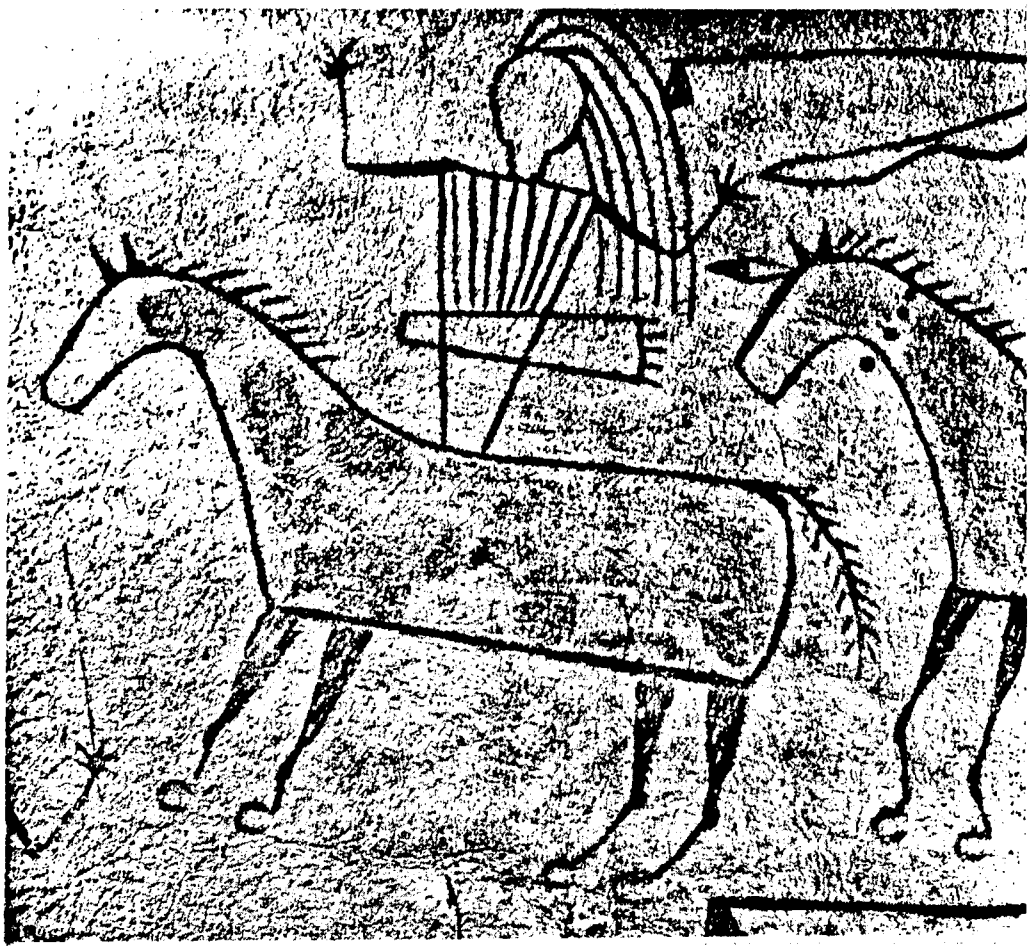

Figure 3. Realistic Forms on Mandan Buffalo Robe

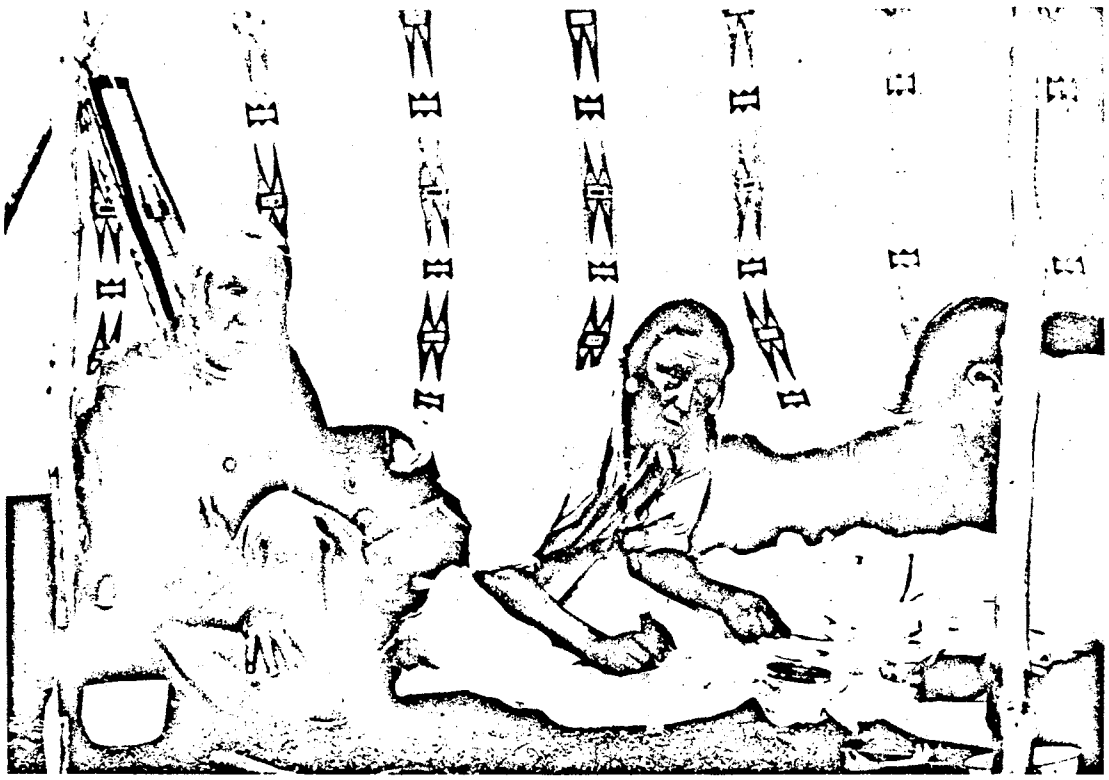

Figure 4. Sarsi Artists Painting Deeds of Old Warrior

Various colors were used by Plains people on particular pictographs and utensils, although reports are often confused as to the specific relationships of particular colors and particular pictographs and/or utensils. Ewers (1939:20), for example, points out in one place that Plains pictographers choose the color to paint their pictographs of horses on the basis of symbolism, but maintains in another place (1955:214) that the pictographs of Blackfeet horses are always painted with realistic colors. But the choice of color was subject to so many qualifications and conditions, not the least of which was personal whimsey, that it is difficult to know exactly when a particular color will be used.

Among the Dakota, red was generally considered a war color (Dorsey, 1894:535), as it was among the Omaha, Kansa, and Osage. The spear and tomahawk, as weapons of war, were said to have been given by the Wakinyan, the Thunder-being or Fire-power, and hence were painted red. Before European trade, white was seldom used; but when it was, it indicated sacredness (Dorsey, 1894:529). After trade, white became much more common, and is often used in association with the direction of "north" (Howard, personal communication). Black was also a Dakota war color; it was associated with the west (Dorsey, 1894:528) and the Wind-makers, whose servants are the four winds and the black spirits of night. Yellow often symbolized the water, particularly the color of the Missouri River; it often symbolized the setting sun, and the west at certain times. The use of Dakota colors was not, however, completely standardized; there was as much variation in color usage as there was in style, or variation of form. The use of yellow, for example on the hump of a pictographic buffalo may simply indicate that

the buffalo was old (Dorsey, 1894:529). Blue, according to Dorsey (1894:438), was a favorite among women; they used it frequently in their decorative art, although red lines were more often associated with ideas of womanly functions than blue (Wissler, 1904:273).

Sex was a factor in the selection of color on the Plains, as among the Dakota. But the actual technique of painting was common to both sexes.

Technique

Hides were generally painted with bone, horn, or wood. A favorite material was the spongy, porous part of the buffalo's leg bone (Ewers, 1939:5); one edge was pointed for making fine lines, while the side was commonly used for spreading color over large areas. Buffalo patellae were also common paintbrushes (Howard, personal communication). Pieces of willow or cottonwood were sometimes chewed to make loose, fibrous brushes or sometimes pointed at one end like a pencil and used to outline figures (Ewers, 1955:214). In the late nineteenth century, tufts of antelope hair tied to a stick were sometimes used in order to color the pictograph that had already been outlined with pointed sticks or bones (Laubin, 1957:72-73). After spreading the hide out before him, the artist began painting. He usually outlined the pictographs (Ewers, 1939:6), which he filled in with colored paints. Next, as he crouched beside the hide, he applied the glue sizing to the paint in order to set it. Often, as shown in Figure 4, several men stood by relating to the others the subjects to be pictured (Laubin, 1957:168). It was not uncommon for a warrior to call upon another man more skilled in painting than himself to execute the pictographs (Ewers, 1955:214).

Both men and women did decorative art as well as representative art, although geometric forms were usually painted by women and realistic forms were usually painted by men. The length of time it took the artist to complete the painting depended, in large part, on the function of the pictographs and/or the surfaces upon which they were painted. Some pictographs functioned as official documents, for example, and detail was of great importance in painting.

Pictographic Documents

Blish (1967:21)has divided pictographic documents that were common to the Plains into (1) mnemonic charts, (2) geographical charts, (3) personal communications, (4) traditions, (5) biographical records (see Figures 5 and 6), (6) tabulatory records, (7) chronologies, and (8) records of tribal episodes. Among the Dakota, for example, biographical records usually took the form of pictographically painted buffalo robes. Traditions, chronologies, and records of tribal episodes took the form of tribal winter counts (Blish, 1967:23).

The winter count was painted on buffalo-skin, and consisted of representations of events that had, in the mind of the biographer or tribal historian, distinguished each succeeding year. This practice was also common to the ancient Sumerians and Babylonians, who named each year after some outstanding event (Gelb, 1963:41). Tribal winter counts, often kept by the tribal historian, did not aim at a coherent narrative, as did most biographical buffalo robes, but rather at erecting calendric milestones (Blish, 1967:24).

Mallery (1886) was the first to publish synoptic winter counts. He had published in 1877 the winter count of Lone Dog, a Yanktonai

Figure 5. Dakota Biography Painted on Buckskin

Figure 6. Pawnee Biography Painted on Buffalo Robe

Dakota living among Sitting Bull's hostile sub-band of Teton Dakota; its pictographs began in the center of the buffalo-skin and moved outward in a counter-clockwise spiral. Mallery next published the winter counts of The Flame, a Two Kettle Teton Dakota, and Swan, a Miniconjou Teton Dakota. These three early winter counts parallel each other's pictographic narratives, and are called "The Lone Dog System" by Mallery. From the more western Brule and Oglala Teton Dakota, Mallery published the winter counts of Cloud Shield (1886), American Horse (1886), and Battiste Good (1893). This "Corbusian System" is also synoptic; the events for all six winter counts are parallel, although not identical. Later tribal histories were kept in composition notebooks (Blish, 1967:27).

Biographical buffalo robes were for wearing in public and served as "Sunday best" cloaks for the men, who proudly displayed their former exploits at war and hunting by means of painted pictographs.

The people of the Plains exercised the art of pictography for decorative reasons as well as documentary reasons; pictographs were often accompanied by quillwork, beadwork, or featherwork. These art forms appeared on a variety of surfaces.

Surfaces Painted

Painting was by no means limited to skins of buffalo. The Dakota men, for example, painted their own living skins, as well as those of their horses, under certain circumstances (Blish, 1967:60).

Parfleches, rawhide containers which folded like an envelope and used for storing prepared meat and other materials, were decorated, and usually with geometric forms; quivers, medicine cases, and circular,

Figure 7. Pictographically Painted Dakota Tipi Covers

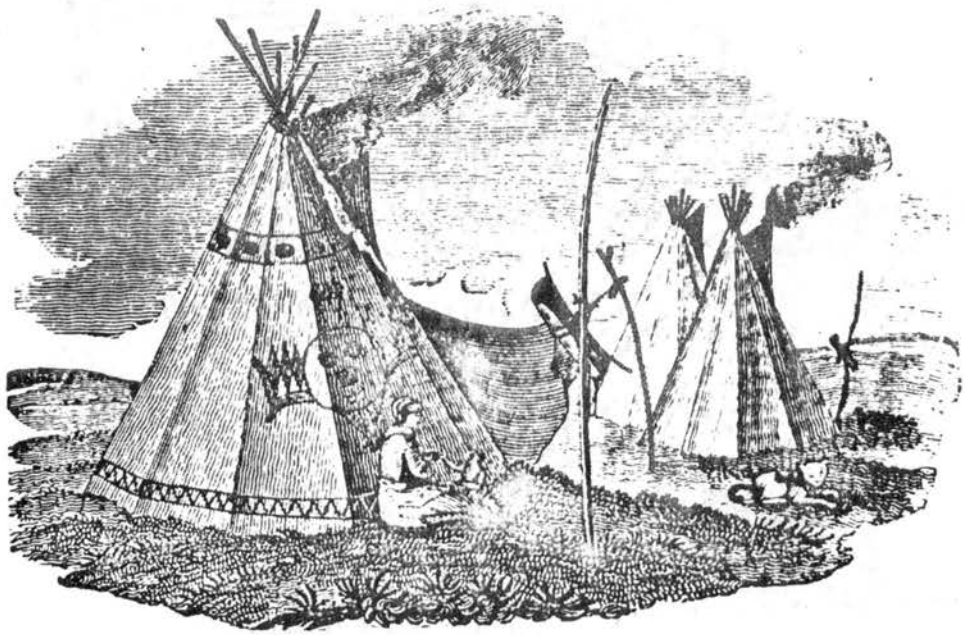

Figure 8. Dakota Tipis, Drawn by Titian Peale, 1823

buffalo-hide war shields were painted with geometric representative forms (Ewers, 1939:37-40).

In South America, Jaguar, otter, and guanaco skins were used for painting surfaces (Ewers, 1939:54); in North America, wolf-skin, deer-skin, buffalo-skin, ivory, wood, and bone were common surfaces.

On the Plains, the painting of pictographs on everyday utensils and objects, as well as on special objects, was taken granted. As soon as such items as trade blankets, canvas tipi covers, and cloth shirts appeared among them, the Plains people immediately painted, quilled, beaded, or feathered them. Art was both decoration and representation, and almost every available surface was used (Ewers, 1939:43).

One of the most striking painted surfaces, as shown in Figures 7 and 8 was the tipi cover; successful warriors were privileged to picture their war honors on their tipi covers, tipi linings, and buffalo robes (Ewers, 1955:214). The custom of painting tipi covers was common on the Plains among warriors; tipi covers often portrayed vision-images and symbols of status as well as war and hunting achievements (Ewers, 1939:39).

CHAPTER III

THE PLAINS TIPI

The Plains is an immense geographical and cultural area stretching from southern central Canada to central Texas. The Plains area extends from the foothills of the Rocky Mountains to the less distinct eastern boundary which roughly parallels the 97th meridian. The Plains area is a uniformly elevated steppe, although there are notable exceptions such as the Black Hills of South Dakota and the Wichita Mountains of Oklahoma. The area is dominated by the Missouri-Mississippi drainage system flowing from north to south across the northern Plains and from there along the eastern Plains boundary to the Gulf of Mexico. Tributary streams crossing eastward from the Rockies feed this system (Spencer, Jennings, et al., 1963:337). The western Plains tend to have "short-grass" vegetation and are more arid than the eastern Plains or Prairie, where the natural environment includes alluvial valleys with fertile bottomlands.

Natural food sources are less varied on the Plains than in the Woodlands, but the lack of variety was compensated for by the quantity and quality of the big herd animals, such as the mamoth and the giant bison in Pleistocene and early post-Pleistocene times (Willey, 1966:311), and later, the modern bison.

Archaeological evidence indicates that there were four broad cultural traditions associated with the Plains. They were (1) the

Big-Game Hunting tradition during the Paleo-Indian Period, from approximately 10,000 B. C. to 4,000 B. C., (2) the Plains Archaic tradition during the Archaic Period from 4,000 B. C. to 1,000 B. C., (3) the Woodland tradition which generally occurred during the Woodland Period years of 1,000 B. C. to approximately A. D. 1,400, and (4) the Plains Village tradition and Period, A. D. 1,000-1,800. The Archaic tradition of hunting and gathering developed from the Big-Game Hunting tradition, which expired on the Plains during the Altithermal climatic stage, and was suited to the new environmental pressures; diffusion from, and interchange with, the Archaic tradition of the eastern Woodlands aided in its development. The Woodland tradition from the east, as well, in many areas; it brought, generally, pottery and possibly maize agriculture. The Plains Village tradition, which "overlapped" with the Woodland tradition, contained Archaic and Woodland traits as well as traits from the expanding Mississippian tradition which occurred along the Missouri River and its tributaries in the eastern Plains. Sedentary village life based on river-valley farming alternating with the more ancient tradition of buffalo-hunting characterized the Plains Village tradition. The western Plains culture during this time generally remained akin to the old Archaic tradition. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the horse modified both the eastern Plains Village cultural tradition and the more strictly buffalo-hunting tradition in the west.

History of the Tipi

Early historical pictures of tipis, painted by travelers such as Catlin, Bodmer, and Miller were inaccurate in detail (Laubin,

1957:10), but they do point to the wide-spread use of the tipi; its broad diffusion probably occurred as the Plains began filling up with people from the east bank of the Missouri River, and as local cultural groups took up a nomadic economy that depended primarily on the horse and the buffalo.

Many of the tribes which used tipis are known to have migrated to the Plains within historic times. Some were pushed westward by enemies stronger or better armed by White traders; groups both native and alien to the Plains sought to share in the "buffalo economy" which had been made more possible, and attractive, after the introduction of the horse. With horses, buffalo-hunters could kill enough meat in one day to feed their families for weeks or months (Laubin, 1957:12). The Plains Village earth-lodges and other forms of non-nomadic housing were not well suited to this economy.

Among the many groups which migrated to the west bank of the Missouri River, and beyond, there were many contacts in the course of their wanderings so it is difficult to determine who taught whom to make and use the tipi. No prehistoric tipi has yet been found. The known variations of detail in structure and furnishings are so diverse that even those tribes whose tipis are most similar are not always allied or cognate tribes, or even of the same linguistic stock.

Laubin (1957:17) takes the Dakota tipi to be typical of the Plains tipis, especially since they were located centrally on the Plains and were the most powerful group there.

The tipi developed according to particular limitations and requirements. Hunting-and-gathering peoples and mobile pastoralists require light, weather-proof homes. There are thus several places

in the world where homes similar to the tipi appear, but the North American Plains tipi alone has (1) smoke flaps and (2) a tilting toward the rear so as to give the front a slope gentler than that of the back, which then places the smoke-hole on the front side, at the top, so that it can be sheltered by the smoke flaps during inclement weather (Laubin, 1957:3). Before the introduction of the horse by the Spanish, tipis were much smaller and pulled by dogs. The advent of the horse changed the nature of Plains economy, making it broader based, larger, and demanding mobility; the tipi itself was similarly effected.

Construction of the Tipi

Unlike the wigwam of the eastern forests or the wikiup of the Great Basin, the tipi is comfortable, ventilated, and weatherproof (Laubin, 1957:15); or, at least it can be, if constructed and pitched properly. Details of construction varied from group to group (the southern Plains people generally did not use door flaps, for example) but the characteristics were essentially the same.

The first thing that was needed was buffalo hide. Buffalo were taken by a hunting group, who treated the buffalo in a special manner if it was to be used as the source of a tipi cover. According to Densmore (1918:443-444):

> If the whole hide is to be used for a tent it was removed whole instead of being cut along the back. In this process the animal was turned on its back, the head being turned to the left so it came under the shoulder and the horns stuck in the ground so that the head formed a brace.

Normal procedure for the butchering of a buffalo was to begin at the back and take out each part, removing it from the bones, first along one side and then along the other. Although he might not have

killed the buffalo in a hunt, the man who first tied a knot in the tail of the animal was entitled to a certain, definitely prescribed and generous portion of the meat (Blish, 1967:98).

Buffalo hides were scraped of fat and hair, soaked in water before and after the scraping, had brains or liver or fats rubbed into them, and were twisted and pulled to make them pliable. Next, they were sometimes "smoked" above fired green wood, and then sewn together as a tipi cover (Spencer, Jennings, et al., 1965:353). The hides, as they were formed into a sewn tipi cover, were roughly in the shape of a semi-circle, as shown in Figure 9.

Smoke flaps were cut and sewn as part of the cover; they had "pockets" sewn onto them for the "guide" poles. The guide poles rest in the ground, and cross over each other in back of the tipi; these poles are moved around in order to adjust the smoke flaps to the requirements of wind or precipitation, as shown in Figure 10. One end of the guide pole rests in the smoke flap pocket, the other end rests in the ground (Laubin, 1957:27). The shape of the smoke flaps varied slightly on the Plains, from the long, wide "elephant ears" of the Crow in the north to the short, thin ones of the Arkansas River Cheyenne.

Poles

Poles for the Plains tipis needed to be smooth, and were gathered in the spring when young, straight trees could be found. They were brought home, stripped of bark and dried in the sun. The nearest forested area to the central Plains was in the Black Hills (Laubin, 1957:18), but often tribes had to cross the Missouri River into the

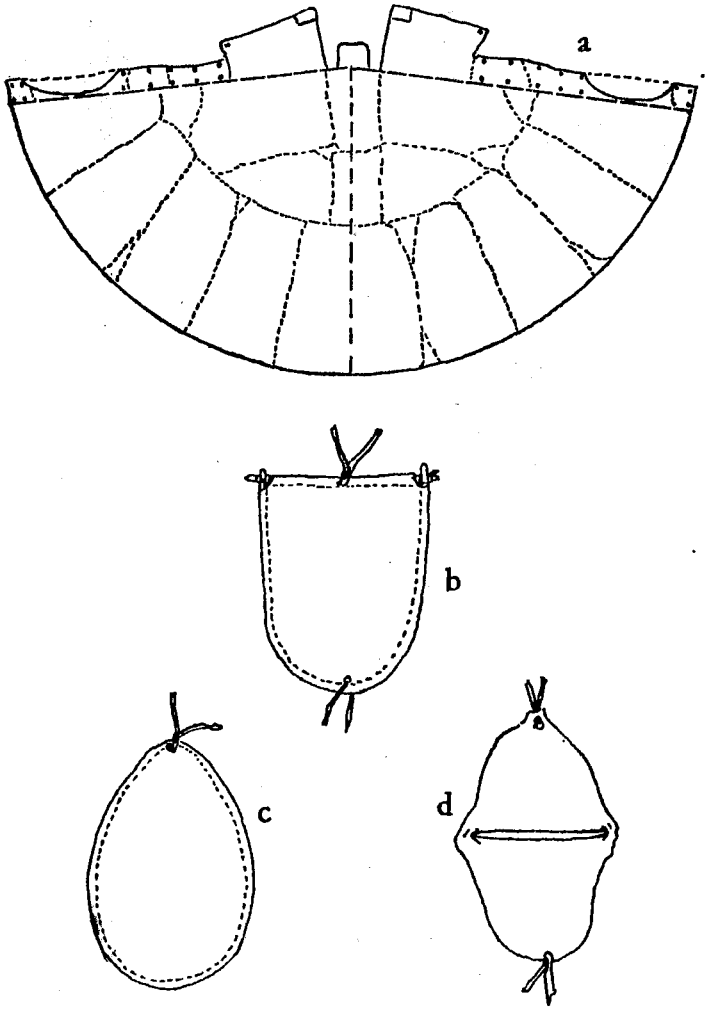

Figure 9. Sewn Tipi Cover and Three Types of Doors

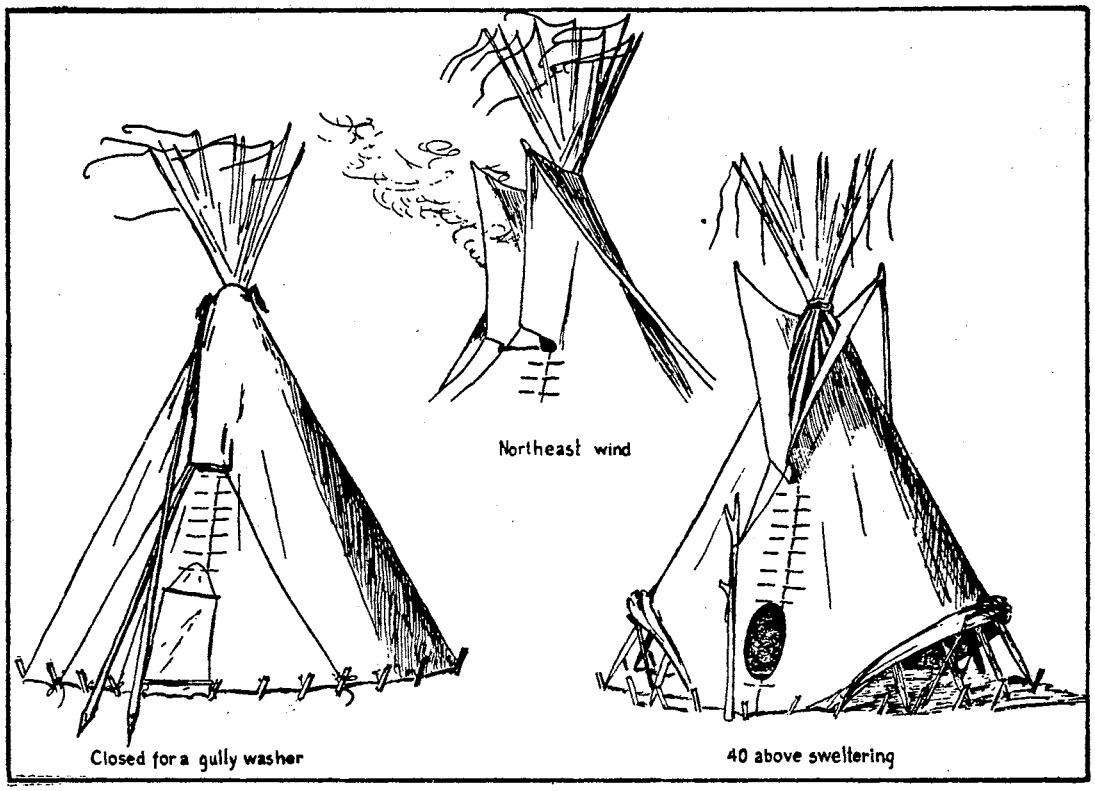

Figure 10. Adjustment of Smoke Flaps

Prairie in order to find satisfactory poles. The favorite trees for tipi poles were heavy tamarack or light, white cedar (Laubin, 1957:20).

The actual placement of the poles was as important as the construction of the tipi cover. A tipi had to withstand the howling blizzard winds of the High Plains, and sturdy pole support was literally a necessity for survival. There were two basic types of support foundations: the Tripod, used by the Dakota, Cheyenne, Arapaho, Kiowa, Hidatsa, Cree, Mandan, Arikara, Pawnee, and Omaha, and the Quadropod, used by the Sarsi, Ute, Blackfeet, Crow, Comanche, and Flathead (Laubin, 1957:17). This distribution is shown in Figure 11. The Tripod was by far the sturdiest. From a distance, the Tripod seemed to have one apex; the Quadropod, two (Laubin, 1957:122). This difference is illustrated in Figure 12. Quadropod users lived mainly in the northwest (or) where the winds weren't so strong. There were exceptions such as the Comanche, who used a Quadropod position that was arranged in such a way as to appear Tripodic from a distance because the two front poles were placed close together, in Tripod fashion. This no doubt led to trouble for visitors who had identified the Comanche as Tripodic and therefore possibly friendly (Laubin, 1957:121).

The Tripod position, as illustrated in Figure 13, consisted of laying two poles parallel to each other and laying a third pole, at a right angle, across them. A clove hitch was tied around the intersection of the three poles, and then the butt end of one of the two parallel poles underneath was swung to a point between the other two, which were then shifted so as to make all three poles equidistant (Laubin, 1957:34-36). The pole that had been swung then lay across, and into, the "X" intersection of the remaining two poles.

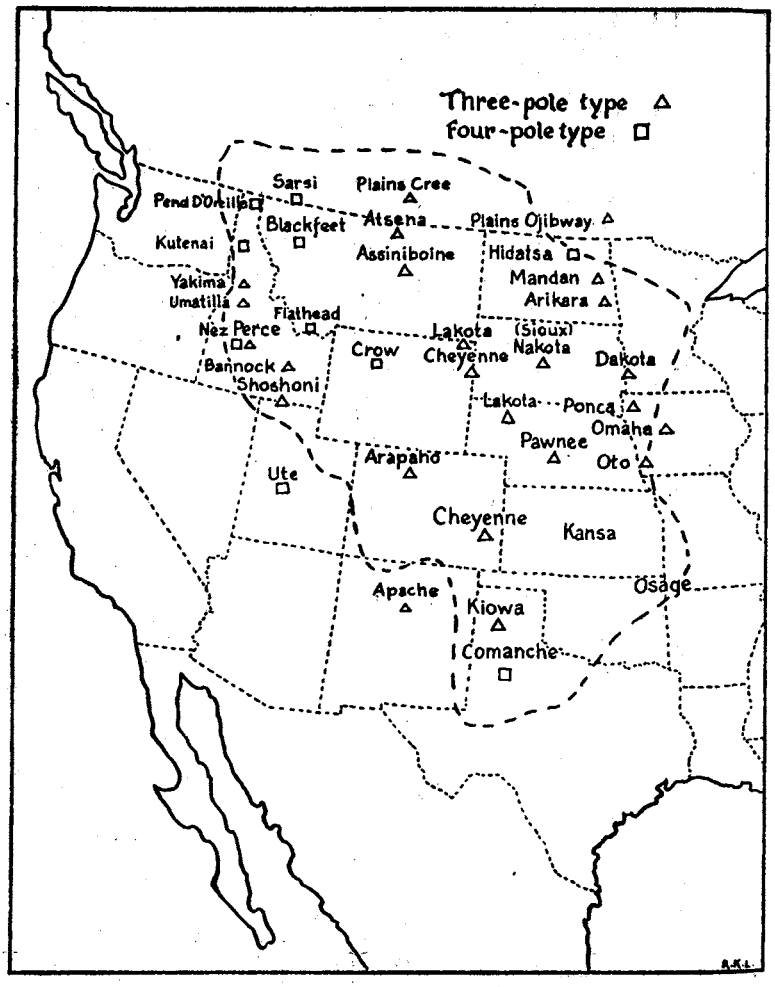

Figure 11. Distribution of the Tipi and Foundation Types

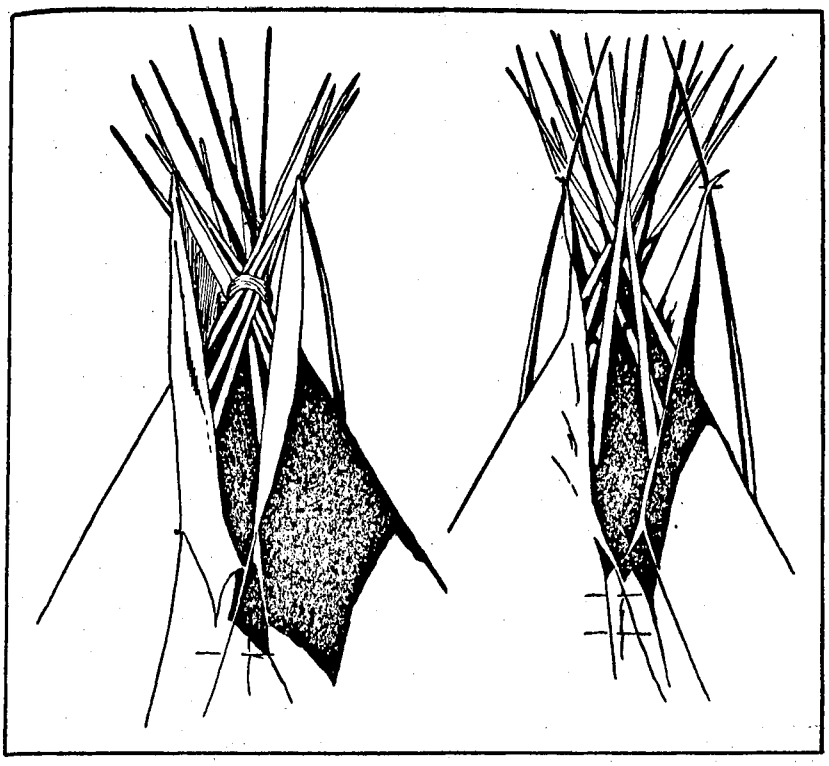

Figure 12. Comparison of Tripod and Quadropod Positions

Once this Tripod was erected, the remaining tipi poles were placed in positions so that they were closer together at the back of the tipi than they were at the front, and they were set solidly into the ground. Two-thirds of all the tipi poles rested in one of the three apex crotches, in doubles rows. Once erected, the poles were all tied about half-way up their length with a rawhide strip for added cohesion.

The tipi cover, furled around the last pole (the "lifting" pole, used to lift the other poles into place), was stretched around the poles (Laubin, 1957:39), and the guide poles were set into the smoke flap pockets. Next the tipi lining and possibly an ozan, an additional lining, were attached inside, and the door flap was sewn or pinned on (Laubin, 1957:44). The Oklahoma Historical Society tipi, for example, shows evidence of pin marks around the door, where at one time a flap appears to have been hung and held by bone pins.

Weather-proofing the Tipi

As mentioned earlier, the tipi cover had been treated with brains, liver, or fats in order to make it resistant to precipitation. But further precautions were necessary.

In order to prevent quick rotting, the tipi cover did not touch the ground; the bottomedge of the tipi cover was a few inches above the ground. A small trench was dug which encircled the tipi, and a drainage channel was also dug (Laubin, 1957:59). The tipi lining, which also had been water-proofed, was hung inside in such a way that even when rain did manage to get past the smoke flaps and into the smoke hole, no water would get on the lining. This was accomplished

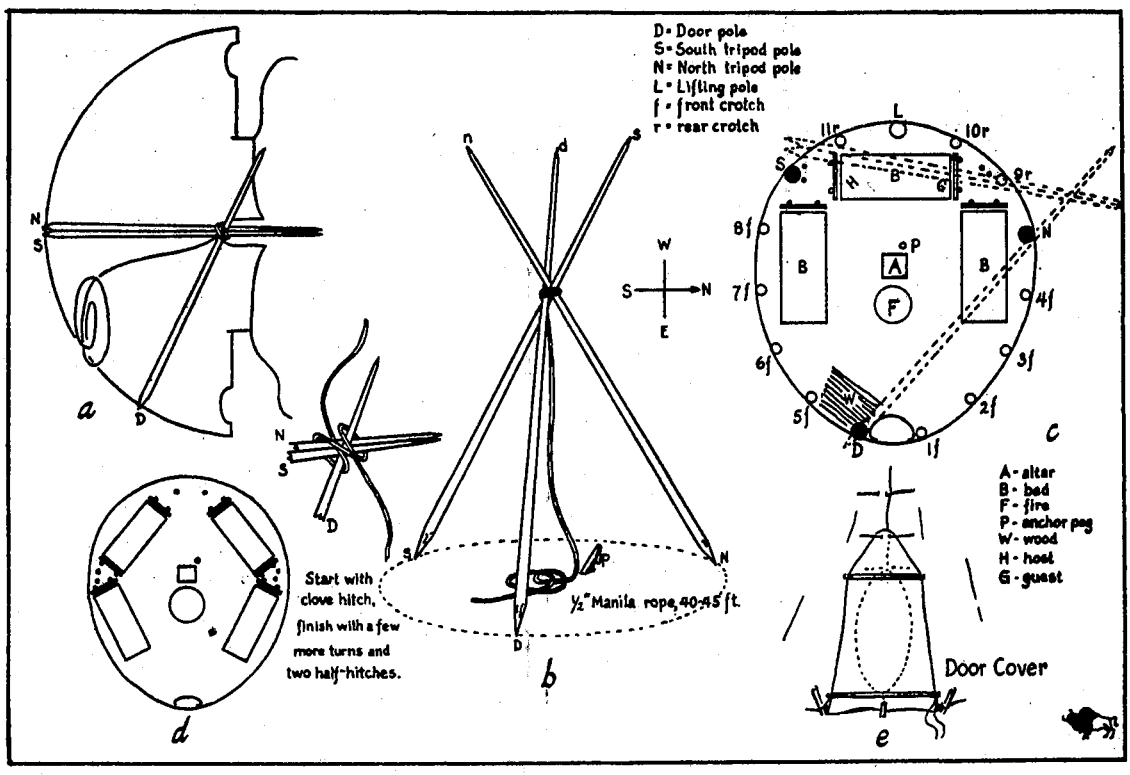

Figure 13. Arrangement of Poles in Tripod Position

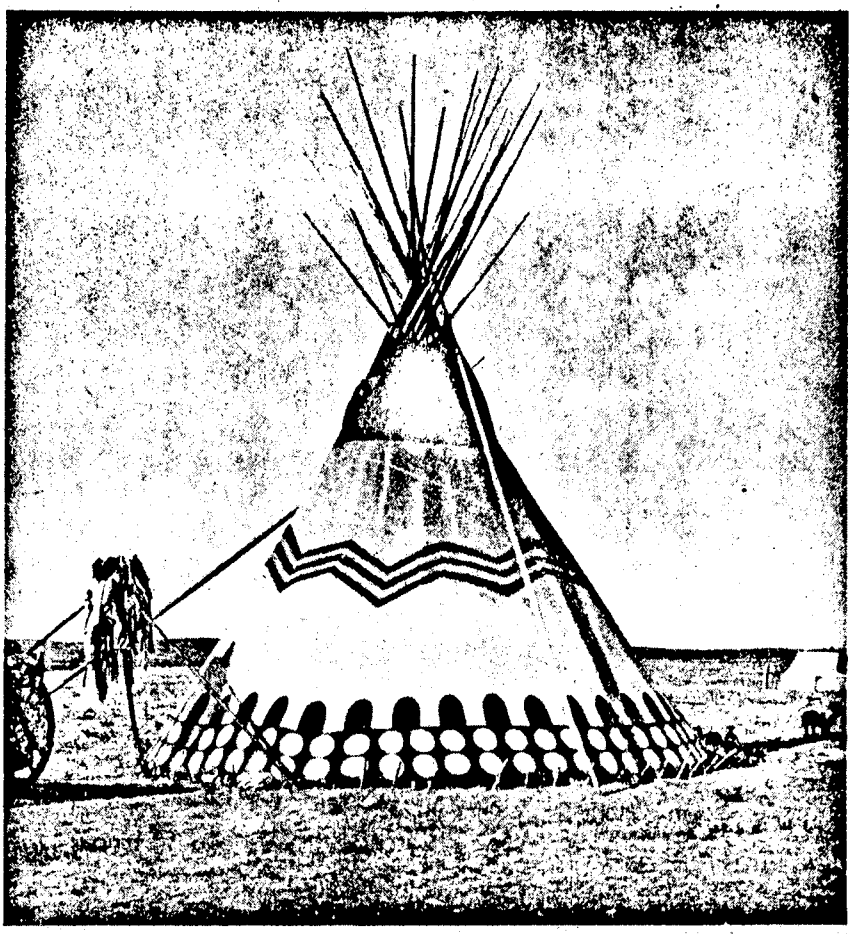

Figure 14. Lengthy Blackfeet Tipi Poles

by cutting channels into the tipi poles at various places; the channels began on the inside of the pole and spiraled downward and to the back of the pole. The water, then, seldom touched either the inside of the tipi cover or the tipi lining; it flowed down the poles into the trench outside (Laubin, 1957:49-52). The ozan, if used, was treated similarly.

A tipi, if properly constructed and pitched, would last for several years, whether it had been made from six buffalo-skins or forty. Tipis were warm in winter, with the tipi lining turned inward and covered with buffalo robes, and cool in summer, with the lining removed and the tipi cover rolled up (Laubin, 1957:52,58).

Sometimes, however, tipi covers or tipi poles were replaced quite often. Ewers (1955:131) claims that the Blackfeet made new tipis every summer, before the Sun Dance encampment, if they could afford it, for purposes of status among their peers. The Blackfeet were vain about the length of their tipi poles, as well, but only the wealthy could afford the prestigious poles that extended a full four feet beyond the intersection, as shown in Figure 14.

Among the warriors of the Plains who painted their tipi covers with pictographic biographies, the practice existed of either adding to the pictographs regularly, or of painting an entirely new tipi cover as their credentials warranted.

Tipi Decorations

The tipi cover on the Plains was usually decorated in some way. Hairlocks, quilled or painted art forms, and other decorations adorned most of the large Plains tipis. But the symbolism of representative

art found on tipis wasoften as much personal as socio-cultural (Laubin, 1957:161); Figure 15 offers an example of this. Even a cultural symbol could have several personal connotations. Nevertheless, there were symbols and motifs common to certain groups which were seldom found in others. The Dakota men, for example, were fond of painting primarily war exploits on their personal tipi covers, whereas the Cheyenne did so not nearly as often, usually preferring to paint war exploits on their ceremonial tipis while using geometric representative, i.e. abstract, art forms on their personal ones (Laubin, 1957:163).

In most groups, pictographically painted tipis were considered to be "medicine," and were owned by relatively few families (Laubin, 1957:145,147). Special tipis were nearly always painted, however; these tipis were such items as warrior society tipis, burial tipis, ceremonial and dance tipis, and children's tipis (Laubin, 1957:141-144).

Personal Decorations

Dorsey (1894) noted personal "mystery" decorations among the Ponca and Omaha that were applied to personal tipi covers. This practice was fairly common throughout the Plains, however. Among the Omaha, there was an order composed of those who had had dreams or visions about the Thunder-being, the sun, the moon, or some other superterrestrial objects or phenomena. When a person saw the Thunder-being or some other "mystery" object, he kept the matter a secret for some time (Dorsey, 1894:395). He took care to join the first war party that went from his camp. When the party reached the enemy, the man told the others of his dream or vision. If he killed or grasped an enemy while a member of the expedition he was allowed to

make a Thunder song. He waited for some time after returning with the party, and then prepareda feast to which he invited members of the order of Thunder shamans. At the feast, he showed them his personal dream-decoration, which he had painted on a buffalo robe. At this point, he was a member of the order, and could paint the image on his tipi cover and wear it painted on his person.

If an Omaha or Ponca man had a vision of the night or the Thunder-being or some other superterrestrial object, he might paint the upper half of his tipi cover black, or blue (Dorsey, 1894:397-398), although this did not qualify him for order of Thunder shamans. Some visions did not have corresponding orders into which a man might be initiated. For example, Dorsey reports (1894:401) an Omaha man who had seen a cedar tree in a vision, and painted a cedar on his tipi cover; the exact personal meaning of the tree was not socially known.

Sometimes, personal decorations were used that had not been obtained through dreams or visions.

Personal decorations, whether obtained through visions or not, were not limited to being painted on tipi covers. As mentioned earlier, they might be painted on the person's body, or the decoration itself might be symbolized in another way. Dorsey (1894:404) reports a Ponca man who replaced the pictograph on his tipi cover of a vision-horse with a pole to which a painted horse's tail had been fastened when he moved to an earth lodge.

Certain pictographic forms, such as pipes, may have been both personal and cultural to such a degree as to defy interpretation. For example, Dorsey believes (1894:408) that a man with a pictograph of a pipe which had reddened horse's hair attached and was quilled with

porcupine quills painted on his tipi cover may have been announcing that he belonged to the Keepers of the Pipes, and/or that he had seen the pipe in a vision, and/or he simply enjoyed either smoking his pipe or liked to draw them.

Personal "mystery" decorations obtained through visions were usually inherited by a man's son, although the son could not pass them on (Dorsey, 1894:394).

Not only was there a variety of possible meanings that a tipi decoration might have, but there was a variety of tipis upon which representative art was painted and which should alter or enhance the meaning of the art forms used.

Special Tipis

Not only are qualifications placed on the use of pictographic decorations, but special tipis have particular ritual activities associated with them as well as certain pictographic associations. The Dakota, for example, did not just build a tipi for the Sun Dance one day; several events preceded.

The Sun Dance Tipi

Certain Dakota men were selected to go in search of the Can-waken, or Mystery Tree, out of which they made the sun-pole for the Sun Dance. These men were selected from those who were known to be brave and had been acquainted with the war-path. The men selected to fell the Mystery Tree rode swift horses, and they decorated their horses and themselves as if they were going to battle; they wore their feather warbonnets. They raced their horses to a hill and then back again.

It was customary for any women who had lost children during a previous attack on the camp to wail often as they ran toward the mounted men.

The mounted men told of their brave deeds, and represented them in pantomime (Dorsey, 1894:453). The "managers" of the Sun Dance meanwhile borrowed skins from here and there. Part of these skins they used for covering the smoke hole of the large Sun Dance tipi, and part were used as curtains to protect the Sun Dance candidates from public view as they were being decorated inside the tipi. When the tipi was erected, there were new tent pins provided for it, new sticks for fastening the tent skins together above the entrance, and new poles for pushing out the flaps beside the smoke hole (Dorsey, 1894: 454).

Next, all of the candidates assembled in the Sun Dance tipi; each one wore a buffalo robe. The one who acted as leader sat in the place of honor at the back of the large tipi, and the others sat on on either side of him. They smoked their pipes; when night came they selected one of the songs of the Sun Dance in order to rehearse it. Certain men were chosen as singers and drummers (Dorsey, 1894:455).

Everyone involved was then ordered to horseback; this included the candidates' families, and anyone who was able to move rapidly. Each of the chosen tree-fellers took his turn striking the Mystery Tree, once they had selected it. Each one first told of his exploits, then brandished the axe three times without striking a blow, after which he struck the tree once, making a gash. He left the axe sticking in the tree, and it was removed by the next man.

Shouting and singing accompanied the felling of the Mystery Tree. Whenever a branch was cut off, red paint was rubbed on the wound.

No one touched the pole or walked in front of the horse on which it was being carried as all moved back to camp. When the sun-pole was raised into place near the Sun Dance tipi, it was considered to be the (temporary) center of the "four quarters of the heavens" (Dorsey, 1894:457).

The Sun Dance ceremonies took place in the Sun Dance tipi and around the sun-pole. The Sun Dance tipi was disassembled after the dance and given over to a consecrated person for care. Some Sun Dance tipis were so large as to require five horses to pull them during tribal movement (Laubin, 1957:173).

The Ghost Lodge

Some Plains groups constructed special burial tipis upon the death of a young man; these tipis were called Ghost Lodges (Dorsey, 1894: 487). Sometimes a special Ghost Lodge was not constructed, but the old tipi of residence was used.

When a son died the parents cut off some hair from his head, just above the forehead, placing the hair in a deer-skin cover. They then set up three tipi poles, fastened them together in Tripodic position, and tied a cord to the intersection. The cord held up the deer-skin cover in which the hair was contained; the hair and the cover were considered as the ghost of the deceased. The three poles were roughly equivalent to the ghost of his tipi (Dorsey, 1894:488).

Other Tipis

According to Dorsey (1894:413), the Omaha kept their Sacred Pole in a sacred tipi, which was never painted, unlike Sun Dance tipis which

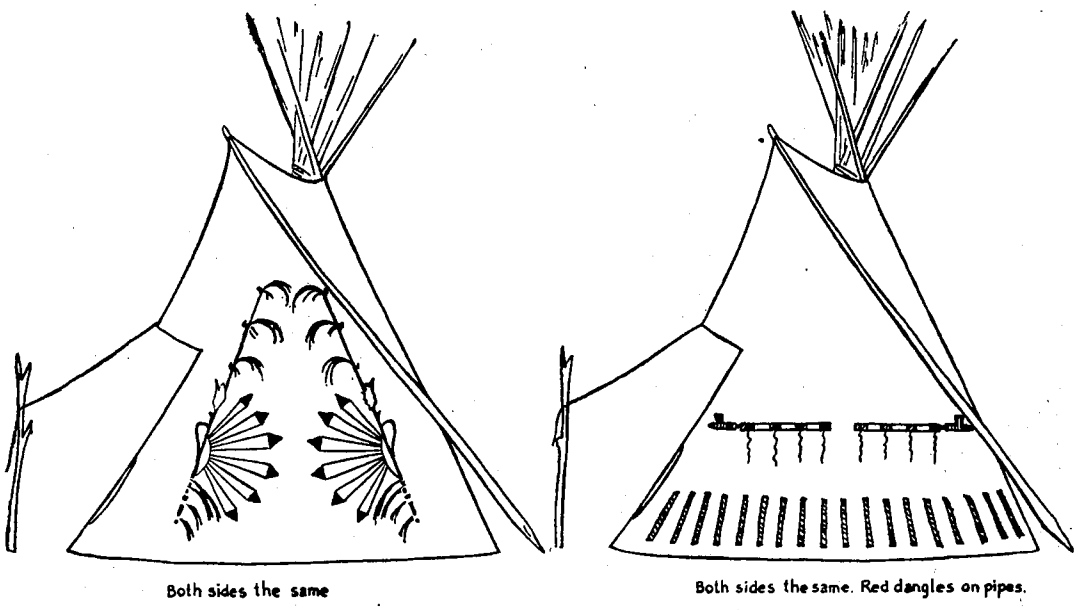

Figure 15. Ceremonial Pipes and Personal Pipes

Figure 16. A Teton Travois

may or may not have been painted. When the Omaha remained in their permanent villages of earth lodges, the entrance of the sacred tipi faced the sunrise; when the tribe migrated, the entrance of the tent faced the direction in which they traveled. The people feared and revered the sacred tipi and the Sacred Pole, and dared not touch them except by shamanistic permission.

Tipis, then, like art forms, had a variety of purposes.

The Travois

The tipi was the bulkiest, heaviest, and the most complex possession transported by Plains people in moving their camps.

An unbroken horse would not haul a travois, the device upon which the tipi and its parts were carried. The horse had to be trained for this task. One common method of training was to make a simple harness consisting of a rawhide rope around the horse's neck with a long rawhide line attached to it at each side extending backward and tied to a dry buffalo hide on the ground a few feet back of the horse's hind legs (Ewers, 1955:65). The rawhide line was always long enough so that the horse could not kick the hide. The Blackfeet preferred to train travois horses by making them pull tipi poles crossed over their heads.

The true travois, which can be defined as an A-shaped drag, had a relatively limited use among the tribes of the Plains (Ewers, 1955: 108). Undoubtedly they were all familiar with it, but its most common use appears to have been as a litter for transporting the sick and injured rather than as a transport for household goods (Ewers, 1955:109). The true travois consisted of poles which were harnessed

to either side of the horse, a loading platform which served as the support for all materials carried, and a hitch, or harness.

The Blackfeet had the strongest and most complex travois (Ewers, 1955:111); the travois used by the Hidatsa was probably typical of the Plains, however. It consisted of relatively short poles, one on each side of the horse, which were hitched to each other by means of a simple rawhide line that lay over the animal's back; the loading platform was an oval hoop.

There were travois variants among particular tribes, as well. Ewers (1955:110) reports that several types of travois were to be found among the Dakota, for example; a Dakota travois is shown in Figure 16. The simplest construction used by them involved the use of a few primary struts for a loading platform and a hitch achieved by tying the poles to the prongs of the saddle pommel; this particular variant was not a true travois, but a pole-drag instead.

CHAPTER IV

THE DAKOTA

The term "Dakota" has been used here in place of the more common term, "Sioux." The term "Sioux" was coined by French traders in reference to the Dakota, as well as to others; and even though "Siouan" is a standard anthropological term (and not an adjectival form of "Sioux") referring to an entire language family, many Siouan-speaking groups were not considered as "Sioux" by traders and many, such as the Mandan and Omaha, were often at war with the Dakota (Howard, 1966a:1). The Ojibwa, surrounded by the powerful Iroquois on the east and the Dakota on the west had named the latter "Nadoweisin-eg" (a phonetically Anglicized spelling), meaning "the Lesser Adders." The French dropped the first part of the word and the latter part, leaving only the middle "-si-," which they pluralized with the French "-oux." The term "Dakota," however, is a native one (Hassrick, 1964:6).

History

Possibly the northwestward movement of the Iroquois around the time of the arrival of Columbus split the Siouan-speaking peoples of the Ohio Valley; at any rate, the Dakota were living in the Mille Lacs region of what is now Minnesota by the early seventeenth century. In the Minnesota Woodlands, the Dakota consisted of seven bands. The

"Seven Council Fires" were (1) the Mdewakantonwan, or "Spirit Lake People" (referring to Mille Lacs Lake in Minnesota), (2) the Wahpekute, or "Shooters Among the Leaves," (3) the Sisitonwan, or Sisseton ("Ridges of Fish Scales"), (4) the Wahpetonwan, or Wahpeton ("Dwllers Among the Leaves"), (5) the Ihanktonwan, or Yankton ("Dwellers at the End of the Village"), (6) the Ihanktonwana, or Yanktonai ("Little Dwellers at the End of the Village"), and (7) the Titonwan, or Teton ("Dwellers on the Plains") (Howard, 1966a:3). The first four groups later became known as the Santee, or eastern, Dakota; the fifth and sixth groups became known as the Middle Dakota, or Wiciyela ("Those Who Speak Like Men"). The last band formed by itself the third main division of the Dakota, known later as the Teton, or western, Dakota.

The language of the Dakota tribe is Dakota. Corresponding with the three divisions, there are three dialects: (1) Dakota, spoken by the Santee Dakota, (2) Nakota, spoken by the Middle Dakota, and (3) Lakota, spoken by the Teton Dakota. The names of the dialects were often used by the members of each division to refer to the whole tribe; for example, a member of the Oglala sub-band of the Teton Dakota might identify himself as "Lakota," his sub-band as "Lakota," his Teton band as Lakota," and the entire Dakota tribe as "Lakota" (Howard, 1966a:4). Phonemically, the dental point of aritculation was predominantly voiced obstruent among the Santee, nasal among the Middle Dakota, and liquid among the Teton.

A general history of the Dakota is given by Howard (1966a:3):

> Partly as a result of pressure by the Ojibwa, who had been armed by the French, and partly because it was the path of least resistance, some of the Dakota began a movement westward. By 1750, the westernmost groups had begun to cross Missouri and filter into the Black Hills region. Until after

> the War of 1812 the Eastern Dakota were allies of the British. Beginning in 1815 a series of treaties entered into with, the United States sought to move the Dakota further west and to confine them to reservations. In 1862 the shabby treatment which the Eastern or Santee bands had received from the government, coupled with the depletion of game by White settlers in their territory, led these groups to rise against the Whites in what has come to be called the Minnesota Uprising.....Those remaining in the U. S. were placed on reservations further west, though some were allowed to stay, or filtered back, into Minnesota. Trouble with the Yanktonai band of the Middle Dakota and the Teton, or Western, Dakota followed, culminating in the campaign in which General George A. Custer and his entire command were annihilated. This led to the flight of some of the Teton to Canada, though all but a few returned. In 1890 occurred the last outbreak, in connection with an attempt by the government to suppress the Indian Ghost Dance religion.

During this 250-year period covered above, most of the differences between the three divisions of Dakota first appeared; their general areas of residence between 1800 and 1850 are shown in Figure 17.

Initial Separation

The Santee, who remained in the Woodlands of Minnesota, western Wisconsin, northern Iowa, and eastern North and South Dakota, lived primarily in an area of lakes, forests, and prairie, and closely resembled in culture their Woodland neighbors, such as the Minnesota and Wisconsin Ojibwa (Howard, 1966a:4), until the dispersion of such groups by Whites and other Indian groups.

The Middle Dakota moved westward sometime after 1683, splitting into the Yankton and Yanktonai. The former settled primarily in southern South Dakota, the latter primarily in northern South Dakota, and southern North Dakota on the east side of the Missouri River as far north as the present Washburn, North Dakota (Howard, personal communication). In these areas, the Yankton encountered and established

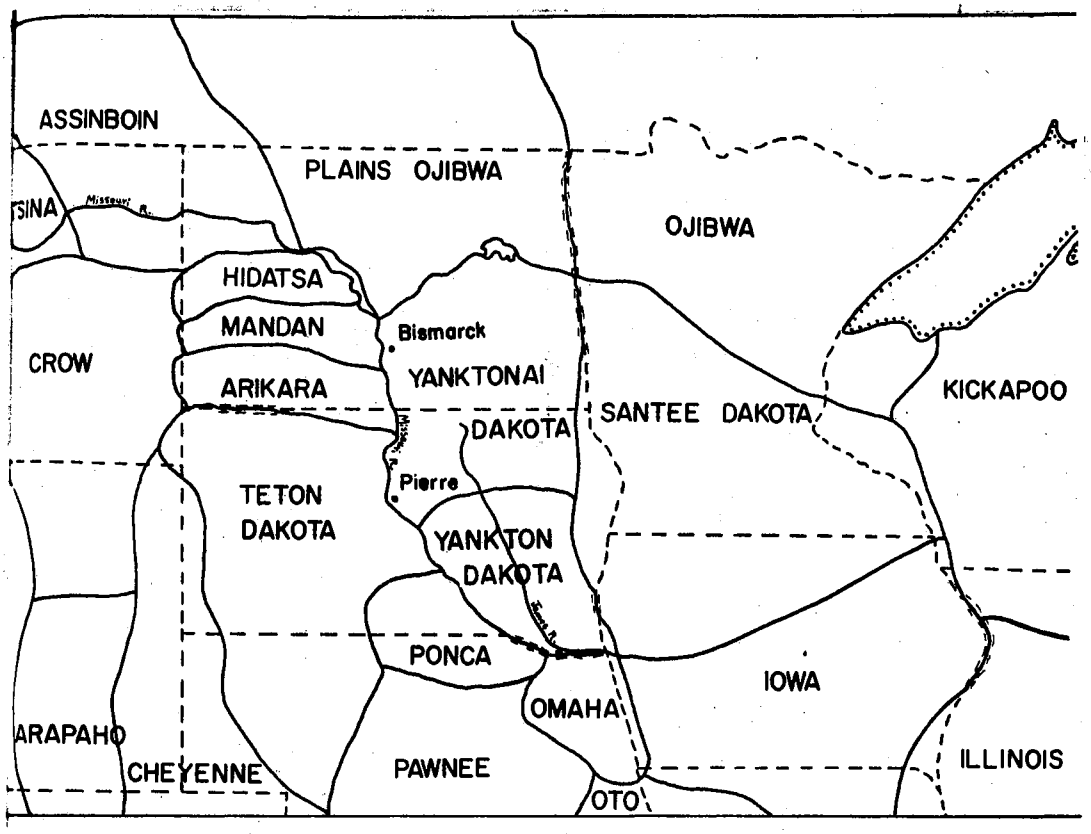

Figure 17. Cultural Territories, 1800-1850

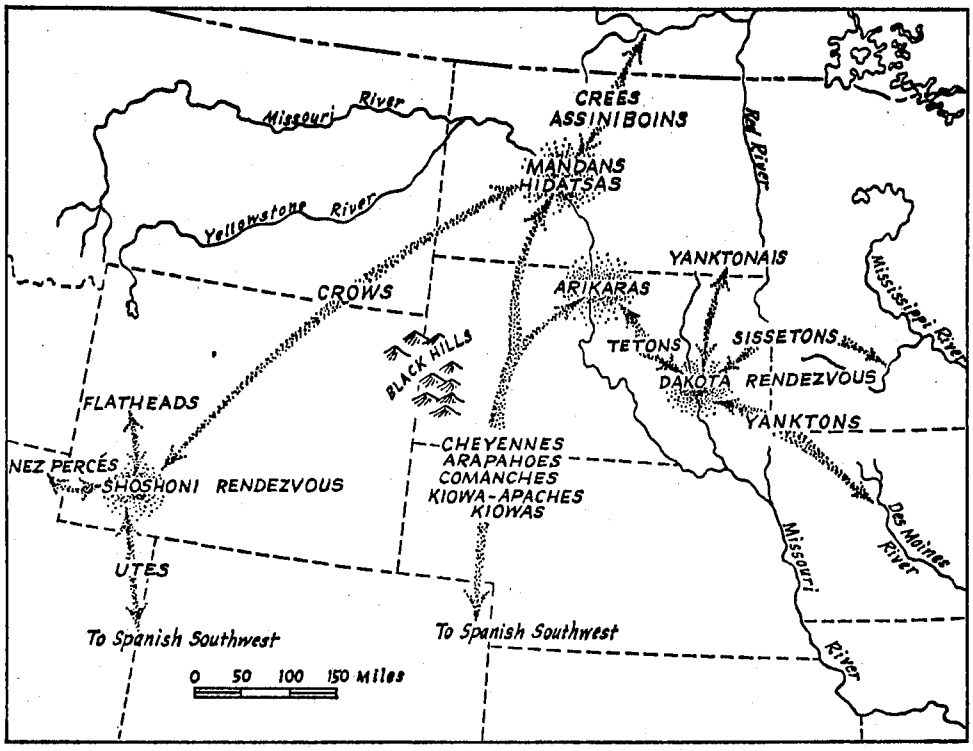

Figure 18. Directions of Intertribal Trade, 1805

friendly relations with the Siouan-speaking Ponca; the Yanktonai met and fought the Caddoan-speaking Arikara and the Siouan-speaking Mandan and Hidatsa (Howard, 1966b:1). These contacts enabled the Middle Dakota to borrow cultural traits from these semi-sedentary, riverine groups who had already adjusted to the physical environment of the Missouri River Valley, where rolling land with tall grass is characteristic.

Whether as a separate migratory group or as a part of a general migration that also included the Middle Dakota, the Teton moved between 1640 and 1700 into northern South Dakota; by 1750 they had scattered along the Missouri River and to the west of it (Howard, 1966c:1). Like the Middle Dakota, the Teton adopted a riverine culture, but for only a short time. In search of buffalo, they ranged into western North Dakota, eastern Montana, northern Colorado, northern Wyoming, and even into Canada (Howard, 1966c:2); their culture changed to the classic "High Plains" one that later made them the source of popular ideas about Indians in general. Lewis and Clark noted in 1806 that the Teton were the scourge of the Missouri River in North and South Dakota; they were securing guns and ammunition in trade with the Yankton at a trading center on the James River (Ewers, 1968:52). Trade routes and centers of the general area may be seen in Figure 18. The Teton had adopted the western Plains tradition of nomadic Big-Game Hunting because of many factors, notably the horse.

Even though the Teton Dakota were prime examples of Plains culture, they were historically influenced by their association with their Woodland Santee and Prairie Middle Dakota brothers. It is necessary, then, to consider here the nature of these groups.

Economy and Warfare

Sangee men hunted and fished, and Santee women gathered native flora and practiced horticulture. Moose, deer, fish, and sometimes buffalo were the important game, and were hunted with bow-and-arrow; Santee men used spears and large nets in fishing, as well as birch-bark and pitch torches for lighting at night (Howard, 1966a:4). Wild rice, maple sugar, the wild prairie turnip, as well as cultivated corn, beans, squashes, pumpkins, and tobacco were the concerns of the women.

In the Missouri River Valley, the Middle Dakota likewise engaged in hunting, fishing, gathering, and horticulture, although hunting and horticulture were probably more important to them than they were to the Woodland Santee. Great band buffalo hunts took place in mid-summer and late fall, as they did among other horticultural, riverine groups. The fishing activities were different from the Santee, in that the Middle Dakota used large weirs or fish traps, and seines made of willow branches and weighted with stones. Chokeberries and other wild foods were gathered (Howard, 1966b:2); the women grew corn, beans, and squash.

The Teton, further west, considered fish as unworthy of consumption, in the manner of the contemporary British attitude toward corn. Gathering activity was the work of the women; chokeberries were common fare. Corn horticulture occurred only occasionally (Howard, 1966c:2). Buffalo, deer, and pronghorn antelope were the primary game; the former was so important that the Teton traveled in sub-bands from spring through fall, moving with the buffalo herds. Other foods were ob-

tained by either trading or raiding.

Teton cooking utensils were made of horn, such as spoons, or wood, such as bowls, or skin, such as the containers into which food, water, and heated stones were added for the purpose of boiling the food, or parfleches (also common to the Middle Dakota), used as large (skin) "envelopes" for carrying dried meat and other items (Howard, 1966c:3).

Hunting and warfare were of paramount importance to the Teton Dakota system of social status, as well as to their economic system (Howard, 1966c:5). The Teton ideological systems reflect the value of involvement in war and co-operative effort with nature in hunting.

The Middle Dakota bands feared Santee magic, primarily their "black magic" (Howard, 1966b:7). The Middle Dakota respected the Teton prowess at war, but considered the Teton too rough, too rough, and ostentatious. The Teton sneered at their poor, less "showy" Dakota brethren and often bestowed gifts upon them in more of an insulting manner than a charitable one (Howard, 1966c:6).

The Middle Dakota used the short bow in both hunting and warfare. Hide-covered shields were used by the Yanktonai; both Middle Dakota bands used the stone-headed Plains warclub, although the Woodland ball-head and rifle-stock warclubs were retained as dance regalia (Howard, 1966b:5). The Middle Dakota adopted the bullboat from the Mandan, Arikara, and Hidatsa as a medium for transport across the Missouri River.

Among the Dakota of the Plains west of the Missouri there was an elaborate system of warrior societies, which engaged in intense competition for war and, hence, status honors (Howard, 1966c:5). Wealth was important only if it was given away, especially wealth

gained through warfare. Since everyone could not accumulate wealth, there was a fluid class system consisting of (1) the generous, wealthy warriors, (2) the poor who violated no laws, and (3) the miserly. Satus was based on prestige and success in war and raiding, primarily. War parties and raiding parties were usually organized by young men trying to prove their bravery and to gain a chance to steal goods or horses with which theycould be generous or even purchase a wife. The Teton ethic of individual heroism and the emphasis on hand-to-hand combat was matched only by the ethic of discipline; the illusion of whooping disorganization sometimes caused more psychological damage to their White foes than physical injury caused by their combat (Kane, 1951:62).

From the time that the Teton entered the High Plains they were rich in horses, buffalo, and trade goods (Howard, 1966c:5). The three most powerful, and the wealthiest, nomadic groups on the Plains were the Teton Dakota (allied with the northern Arapaho and the northern Cheyenne), the Comanche (allied with the Kiowa and the Kiowa-Apache), and the Blackfeet tribes (allied with the Sarsi and, until 1861, the Atsina) (Ewers, 1955:171). On the northern High Plains, Teton hostility toward the Blackfeet increased as the extermination of the buffalo east of the Missouri River forced the Teton to move westward in the middle of the nineteenth century. When Sitting Bull and his followers fled to Canada in 1877, Teton and Blackfeet hostilities increased until those Dakota returned to the U. S. in 1881 (Ewers, 1955:173). The Blackfeet raided the Teton primarily for horses.

Housing

Howard (1966a:5), after Mayer and Skinner, maintains that the Santee summer dwelling was a large, gabled house of bark. Their winter dwelling was a small, hemispherical cattail mat or bark wigwam, or skin tipi.

The Middle Dakota used primarily the skin tipi, although poorer families used a skin-covered or bark-covered wikiup. Both Yankton and Yanktonai sometimes constructed earthlodges. The Middle Dakota tipi was of Tripod foundations, although it was not usually so well constructed as the Teton tipi; the wikiup used by poorer families resembled the Santee winter wigwam. The Yanktonai earthlodge was identical to the Arikara or Mandan earthlodges (see Figure 19), except for tunnels occasionally used to connect two lodges (Howard, 1966b:3).

The tipi was the primary dwelling for both wealthy and poor in both summer and winter among the Teton Dakota.

Social and Political Organization

The Santee were characterized by a closely-knit village organization. The village organization was the primary social unit, and each village was generally exogamous. Although they were not clans, each village tended to be composed of one or more related lineages. Although several villages composed a band, the band was only occasionally a functional unit; those times usually being co-operative hunting or defensive warfare (Landes, 1968:34).

Leaders among the Santee were often shamans, and there were often different leaders for the hunt and war. War leaders from different

villages often led raids on each other; if the war leaders became too individualistic in the use of their power they were subdued by the police whom they had appointed, and who had great powers of social disciplining (Landes, 1968:32,48,64).

Later, a secular "peace" chief, or village chief, was present; this, however, was an office probably created by both pressure from the U. S. government and familiarity with the peace chief of the surrounding Central Algonkin groups (Landes, 1968:81). As a paternal elder, the function of this chief was to mediate between disputing individuals or groups.

Each village usually had a large ceremonial dwelling which was used primarily in the summer, for during the winter months the village broke up into usually three or four patrilineal kin groups. They re-grouped each spring to plant gardens and organize hunting and ceremonial activities.

By the time of White contact both the Yankton and Yanktonai bands were divided into sub-bands, which often constituted a village group, as well (Howard, 1966b:3). The Yankton were divided into seven sub-bands (an eighth was added later); the Yanktonai consisted of the Upper and Lower Yanktonai, which were divided into six and seven sub-bands, respectively (Howard, 1966b:7). Government was by chief and council, assisted bya police force, called akicita. Chieftanship tended to be hereditary. The akicita played primary roles in the semi-annual buffalo hunts (Howard, 1966b:4).

The Teton were likewise divided into sub-bands, each composed of a number of tiospaye, or "camps" (the term "village" is not appropriate to the nomadic Teton) of bilateral and bilocal extended kin groups.

Membership in both a camp and a sub-band was rather fluid. Chieftanship was generally granted on the basis of personal achievement, although family prestige was helpful (Hassrick, 1964:14). There existed the real possibility of any successful male achieving a leadership position; to keep that position required continuous display of generosity, bravery, wisdom, and self-denial. If a leader could not do that, followers might choose a new leader, or some might move to a new camp or even sub-band in order to follow a successful leader.

The Teton were, and still are, but one of the traditional seven Dakota "fires" or bands; they were, and are, but one of the three Dakota divisions. Yet the Teton outnumbered all other Dakota groups combined by the mid-nineteenth century. The Teton consist of seven sub-bands: (1) the Hunkpapa, or "Campers-at-the-horn," (2) the Mnikondžu, or Minneconjou, (3) the Sihasapa, or Blackfoot, (4) the Oohenopa, or Two-Kettle, (5) the Sicangu, or Brule ("Burnt Thighs"), (6) the Itazipco, or Sansarcs ("Those-Without-Bows"), and (7) the Oglala ("They-Scatter-Their-Own") (Howard, 1966c:1).

Each sub-band was composed of several camps; for example, Dorsey (1897:218) reports thirteen different camps among the Brule in 1880. The camps usually paralleled each other in their movements during the hunting season, but in winter the Teton lived in isolated camps. Each camp was led by a "headman," who was usually elected, although he may not have been the only leader in the camp.

Older men who had been great warriors, were good orators, were generous with their wealth, and whose deeds were above reproach were looked upon as community leaders, and have been loosely referred to as "chiefs." Although the details of organization varied from sub-band

Figure 19. Interior of Mandan Earth Lodge, 1833

Figure 20. Oglala Courting Scene

to sub-band, a council of these chiefs was generally the governing body (Howard, 1966c:4). This group of men, the Naca Ominicia, elected (in most sub-bands) seven men as their spokesmen (Pennington, 1953: 144). This group of seven men, the Wicasa Itacan, served as formal spokesmen for the larger group of elders, their peers. They appointed, usually annually, four young experienced warriors (who were usually the youngest of the Naca Ominicia) to be the active, decision-making governmental body. The four warriors chosen, the Wicapaho ogle yuha or "Shirtwearers," were given a special fringed shirt as symbol of their office; they were charged with making decisions concerning war and the hunt (Pennington, 1953:148-149). The seven chiefs, the Wicasa Itacan, also appointed four "city managers," the Wakiconze or councilors, who were charged with more bureaucratic duties. They were in charge of the details of buffalo hunts; one of their duties was to choose one of the many Teton (young) warrior societies to be the official police for that year during all cooperative sub-band activities (Pennington, 1953:151-153). Of course, usually only two or three camps were engaged in continuous co-operative effort. The Akicita societies were where a young man began his climb up the status ladder.

Thus, a single winter camp may have had several leaders other than the headman, who himself may not have been a Wicasa Itacan, a Shirtwearer, or a Wakiconze. Intra-group conflict was common. In a society where aggressive individual action was valued, methods of social control were sparse. A few famous charismatic leaders could effectively control followers, however; the Oglala Shirtwearer Crazy Horse (Tasunka Witko) is an example. The Oglala headman Red Cloud and the Hunkpapa headman Sitting Bull (Tatanka Iyotanke) wielded almost

dictatorial power, and defied the Wicasa Itacan more than once (Howard, 1966c:4).

By 1850, the Teton division had become so large (15,000) that the annual band meeting, at which the four "Supreme Owners" (the Wicasa Yatapika or "national" Shirtwearers) were chosen, was discontinued.

Marriage

The Santee had a custom of allowing the prospective groom to live with and work for the parents of his intended bride for a year, after which time he held a feast and was said to have bought her (Howard, 1966a:9). Marriage among the Middle Dakota was more often than not by purchase (Howard, 1966b:6). Among the Teton few formal marriage rules existed: spouses should not be too closely related to a common kinsman. The families often exchanged gifts in "high prestige" marriages although elopement was common, and it was permissible to steal a wife while on a raiding excursion. There were, however, prescribed courting customs, as shown in Figure 20. Usually, marriage was by purchase, except among the very poor (Howard, 1966c:5).

Burial

The Santee Dakota buried their dead in the ground with a small house above the grave in Woodland fashion, or buried their dead on scaffolds (Howard, 1966a:9). The Middle Dakota practiced only scaffold burial (Howard, 1966b:6). They also practiced the Ghost-lodge ceremony, similar to the ceremony described in the previous chapter, in which a lock of the deceased child's hair was kept in a fine tipi for a year. The Teton, as well, practiced only scaffold burial (Howard,

1966c:5).

Other Ceremonies

The Yankton and Yanktonai shared with the Mandan, Hidatsa, Arikara, and Cheyenne the Blue Bead ceremony, which involved the parents of a child giving away a great amount of goods in return for the privilege of adorning the child's forelock with a blue bead or pendant (Howard, 1966b:6). The Sun Dance and Horse dance were the foci of the summer encampments of all or several of the sub-bands of the Teton division. Although they lacked the Santee Medicine Lodge, Teton shamans sometimes gathered to publicly demonstrate their powers (Howard, 1966c:5).

Societal initiation rites were especially important among the Teton, and occurred over an extended period of time; the first war party, the first stolen horse, and other deeds of valor and self-sacrifice were all a part of extended rites, which often culminated in the Sun Dance and vision quest. Young Teton men were often given medicine bundles consisting of a spear, an arrow, and a small pouch of paint (Dorsey, 1894:443). Contained also in the bundle was the "spiritual essence" of some animal. The young man did not eat this animal, but held it sacred, at least until after he had proved his manhood by counting coup or killing an enemy. Almost every Teton male over sixteen years old was a soldier and was formally and mysteriously enlisted into the service of the "war prophet" (Dorsey, 1894:444). From the "war prophet" the young man received the implements of war, including paints which served as magical protective devices. This medicine bundle, mentioned earlier, could never be touched by an adult

female, and was treated as a sacred object. From the "war prophet" the young man learned which animal's "spirit" inhabited the medicine bundle. The "war prophet" was usually an experienced old warrior or shaman; often, before presenting himself to the "war prophet," the young man would fast and stay in the "sweat lodge" for the purpose of purification (Dorsey, 1894:445).

Dress and Handicrafts

Santee women wore a wrap-around skirt, ornamented with ribbon-work applique at the hem and up the front, and a loose blouse, often ornamented with beadwork or silver broaches; their hair was worn in a single braid, down the back, which was ornamented with a beaded wrapping. Beads were also usually worn around the neck (Howard, 1966a:7). Although they had more than one type, at one time most Santee moccasins were soft-soled, puckered to a single seam over the instep with large ankle flaps. Soft-soled moccasins were well-suited for stalking game on ground covered with moss and pine needles. Among the Sisseton and Wahpeton bands, however, hard-soled moccasins were often found, as well. These two bands also displayed a fondness for Plains-like fringed shirts and leggings. All of the Santee bands made clay pottery tempered with crushed rock. Santee men sometimes wrapped their braids in otterskin.

Before the nineteenth century, the Santee favored geometric designs and realistic animal forms in their beadwork and quill work, but by the mid-nineteenth century they had come to favor curvillinear floral designs, shown in Figure 21, almost entirely.

The dress of the Middle Dakota was typical of riverine groups.

Yanktonai wore their hair in three braids; the one in back was wrapped in otter fur. Hair was often banged in front. At either side of the forehead dentalium shells sewn on rawhide were tied to the hair. Otter fur turbans and warbonnets were both used to some extent (Howard, 1966b:4).

Although the fringed buckskin shirts worn by Middle Dakota men were indistinguishable from those of High Plains groups by the nineteenth century, their breechcloths and leggings were different, as is shown in Figure 22. The Yanktonai breechcloth was ornamented with a ribbonwork "V" design in back, and hung out over the belt only in front; in back, it was tucked inward. The leggings often had a large quilled or beaded rosette at the bottom of the leg in front, instead of the beaded strips up the sides characteristic of High Plains groups, according to Howard (1966b:4).

During the nineteenth century, Middle Dakota people changed their primary form of footwear from soft-soled moccasins to hardsoled ones; both Yankton and Yanktonai made small pottery vessels, and did continue that Santee tradition. But unlike the Santee, the women of the Middle Dakota wore one-piece dresses, which were ornamented by an additional cape that was covered with dentalium shells (Howard, 1966b: 5). Women's moccasins had high tops or leg wraps, similar to those of Mandan, Arikara, and Hidatsa women. The Middle Dakota practiced both floral and geometric design beadwork and quillwork (Howard, 1966b:4).

Both Middle and Teton Dakota men and women were fond of necklaces made of cut bird-bone or dentalium shells. George Catlin noted in 1831-34 the presence of shell "hair-pipe" necklaces among the Woodland and Plains groups (Ewers, 1957:78). After the introduction of bone

Figure 21. A Santee Dakota Man in Festive Dress

Figure 22. An Upper Yanktonai Couple

"hair-pipes" to the Plains, a complex, specialized form of women's hair-pipe necklace was invented, probably by the Middle or Teton Dakota, which then diffused up the Missouri River to the Blackfeet and Hidatsa. West of the Rocky Mountains, the bone hair-pipe necklace was primarily a man's ornament.

The wearing of the close-fitting, hair-pipe "choker" necklace seems to have been confined to people of the southern Plains. Probably the failure of the bone "choker" among the Dakota bands was due to their preference for a choker necklace of dentalium shells (Ewers, 1957:79). The presence of the tubular bone breastplate was first noted in 1854, among the Comanche; it diffused northward. By 1877 the dentalium shell breastplate, so popular among the Teton (especially the Brule and Oglala), had been entirely replaced by the new hair-pipe breastplate.

The Teton women wore their hair-pipe breastplates or necklaces atdances, and with the bones positioned vertically, instead of in the man-like horizontal position. The yokes of the one-piece Teton dress was often heavily beaded or quilled; a dress might even be covered with rows of elk teeth (Howard, 1966c:4).

Teton moccasins were hard-soled. Long warbonnets of either the "split-horn" or crown types were favored. Another characteristic headdress was a strip of quillwork, with a buffalo tail fastened to it, worn at the back of the head with one or two upright feathers. The northern sub-bands, the Blackfoot, Sansarc, and Hunkpapa, occasionally wore "riverine" style leggings and breechcloths, in the manner of the Middle Dakota. Women's leggins were often solidly beaded (Howard, 1966c:5); lengthy concha belts of German silver were common women's adornments. Various types of apparel are shown in Figures 23 and 24.

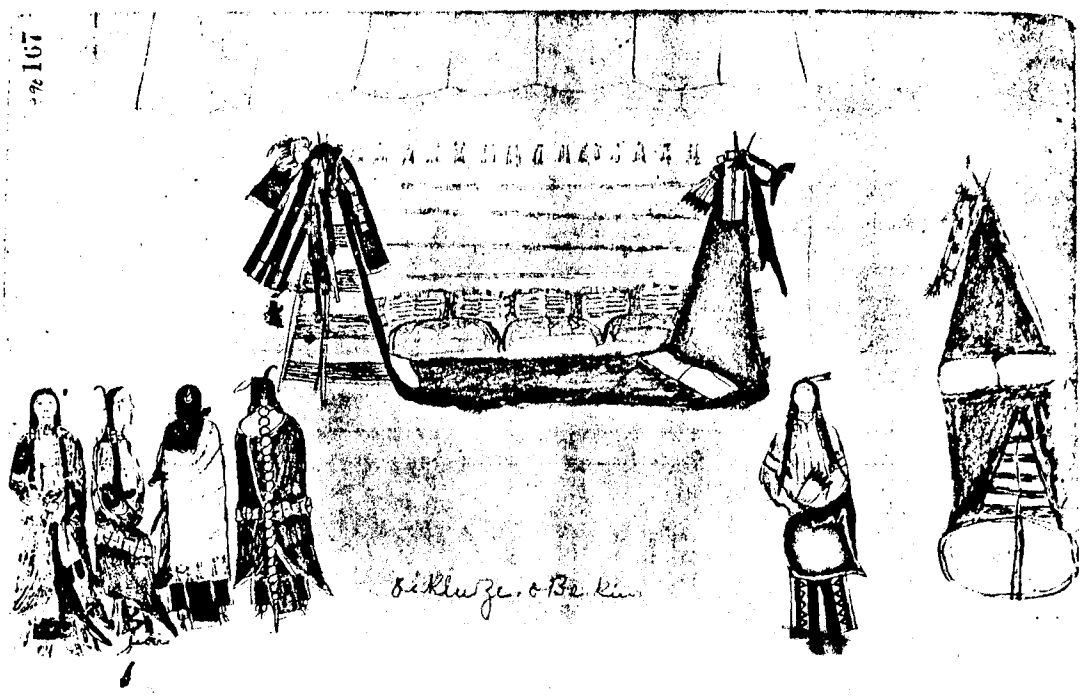

Figure 23. Some Customary Wearing Apparel of Teton Men

Figure 24. Some Customary Wearing Apparel of Teton Women

Both men and women wore their hair in two braids; the men often wrapped theirs with otterskin or strouding. The men's fringed shirts had quillwork or beadwork sewn up the arms over the shoulders, and at the front and back of the neck, according to Howard (1966c:4). The designs of this beadwork or quillwork were geometric or realistic. Geometric forms were favored by Teton women who were responsible for beading and quilling, as mentioned earlier. Leggings often had similarly designed beaded strips sewn onto them. The breechcloths were longer and narrower than those of the Middle Dakota. Featherwork was a secondary artistic expression, with painting, quilling, and beading being primary.

The Teton Dakota were perhaps the most history-conscious of all native Americans. Their art often served the double purpose of decoration and the recording of personal events (Blish, 1967:xx). Art forms were often personalized; men owned the art forms, or designs, whether geometric or realistic, on tipis, pipes, arrows, shields, and war regalia. The designs, as well as honors and stories of exploits, were usually passed on to the younger generation; most other property, however, was given away, usually to the needy, in the Give-away held at the owner's death. Teton men painted realistic forms, usually, on buffalo-skin robes, tipi covers, tipi linings, and their bodies. In these pictographic histories, the hero is shown in his warrior society regalia (types of which are shown in Figures 25-29), his personal painted markings and hair styles, and other accoutrements which identified both his person and his statuses (Blish, 1967:xxi).

Men'sartistic themes were often concerned with exploit, and were closely related to the activities of war and the hunt; picto-

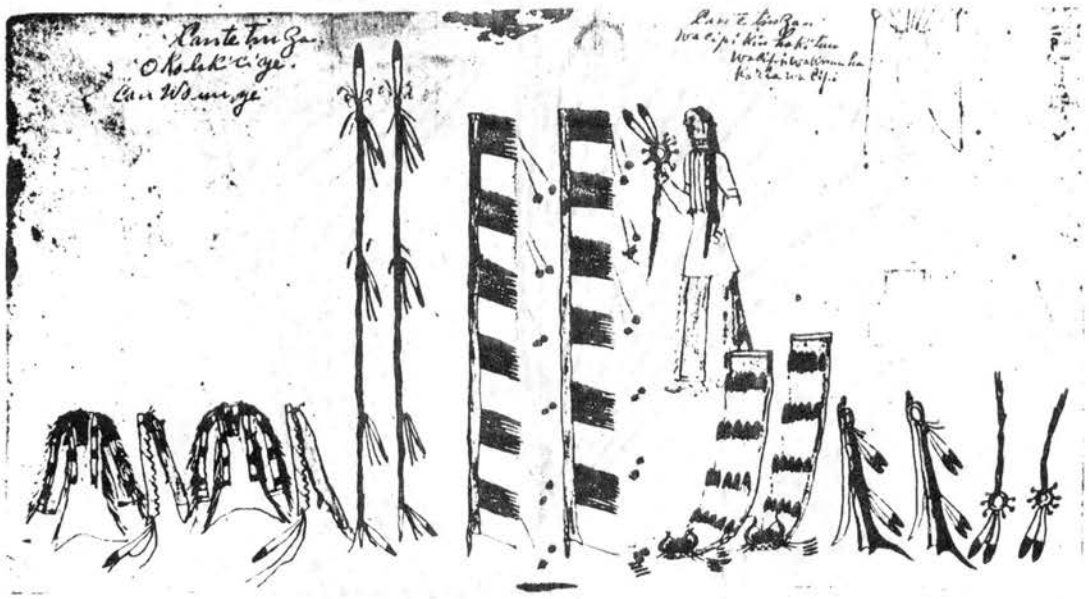

Figure 25. Regalia of the Teton Cante T'inza Society

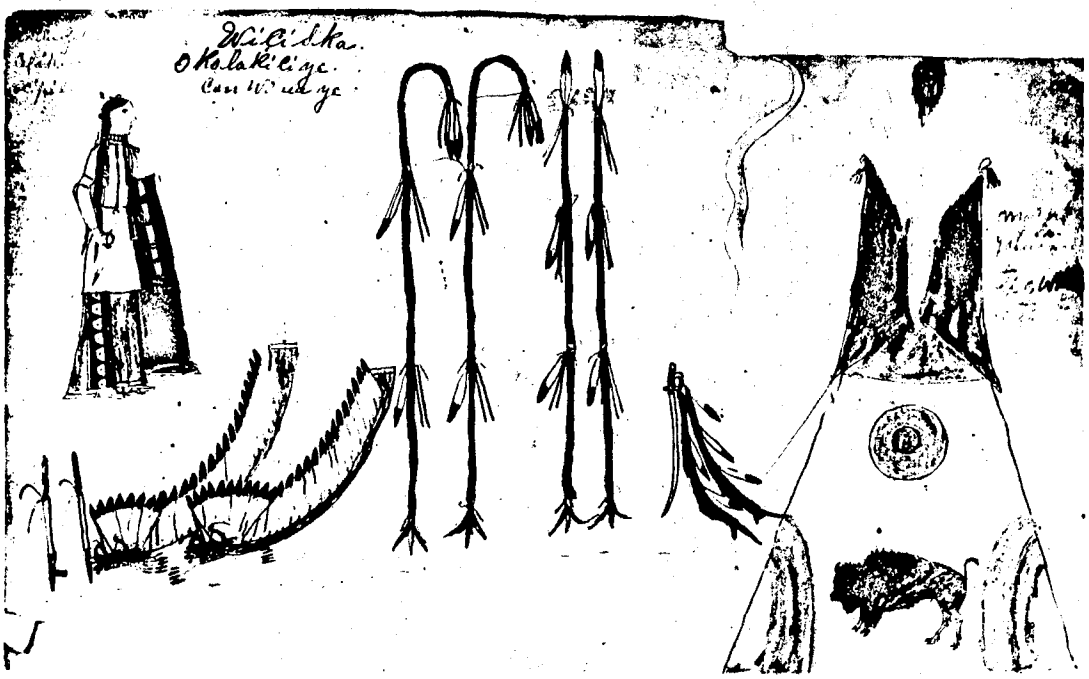

Figure 26. Regalia of the Teton Wiciska Society

graphic histories emphasized bravery, prowess, and achievement. However, beadwork designs were sometimes symbols of events, as well; beaded pipe bags and eagle-bone whistles often carried decorative designs which symbolized deeds, i.e. abstract Representative art (Blish, 1967:60).

One of the essential qualities of Teton realistic art is its powerful display of action (Blish, 1967:62-63). The Teton viewed art as always being decoration, but also as general symbols of the power and movement that they felt characterized their lives. For although the exact nature of the references of specific pictographs may have been known to only a few, all understood the general power symbolism. Early observers note that the Lakotą were highly adept at "sign language," and that pantomime and gesture had developed into art form (McGee, 1897:168). These arts, it was noted, were complemented by Teton mastery of pictography. They had mastered a system of dramaturgy, or symbolic behavior (which is still poorly understood even today); the peace-pipe was a general item in such conduct (McGee, 1897:169). As both individualists and observers of social minutiae, the Teton were simultaneously precise and general in their artistic symbolism.

Eagle feathers, and those of other birds, were often worn as insigniae of rank, while such items as bear claws or the scalps of enemies were worn as symbols of the chase and battle. The face and body was painted in distinctive ways when going on the warpath, in organizing the hunt, in mourning the dead, and in celebrating victory and other events.

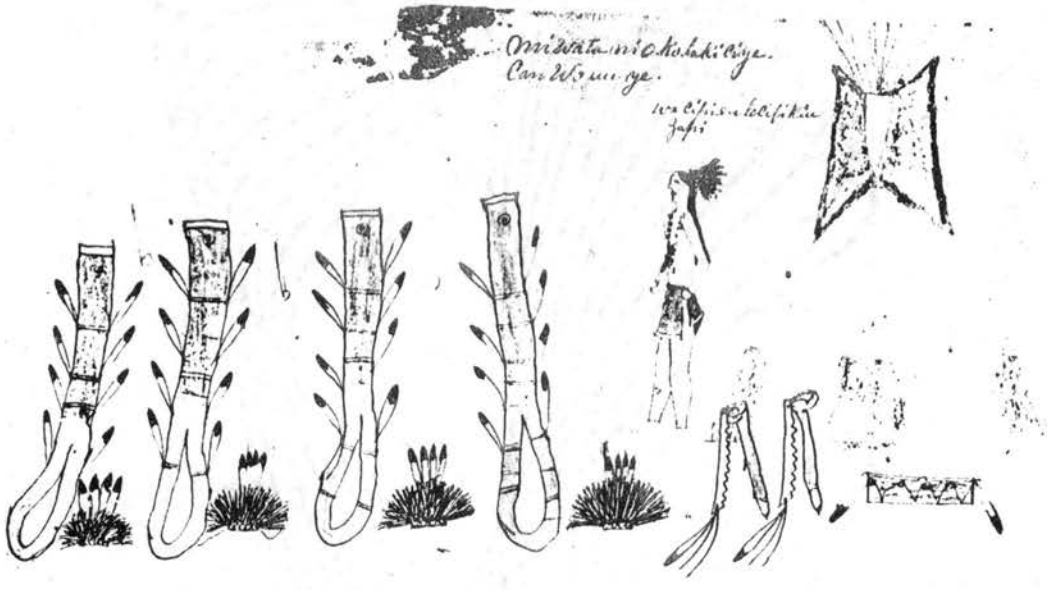

Figure 27. Regalia of the Teton Miwitani Society

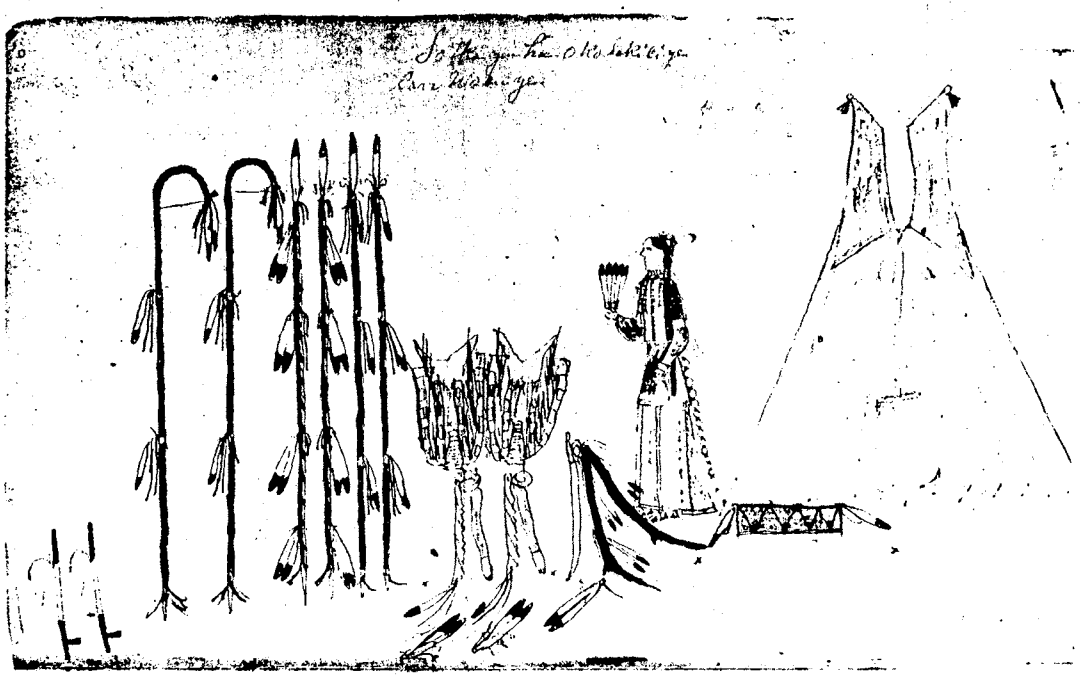

Figure 28. Regalia of the Teton Sotka Yuha Society

A man marked his previous success in battle by the application of particular paints and designs to his body.

Finale

By the 1860's the cultural superiority of the farming and riverine tribes was lost forever as the Arikara, Hidatsa, and Mandan huddled around Ft. Berthold for protection from the Teton Dakota and the Yanktonai. The nomadic groups of the Plains along the upper Missouri River, such as the Teton, had been growing in power since the acquisition of horses and guns in the eighteenth century. Their prowess as warriors was often supported by a strong religious faith (Ewers, 1968:114). The nomadic tribes often fought among themselves, even in the later years, when White immigrants, railroads, and hide-hunters posed more of a threat than they did to each other. But usually their enemies, and victims, were the farming or riverine groups; the Dakota divisions' relationship was a notable exception.

By the 1860's those groups that had suffered the most at the hands of the Teton, and to a much lesser extent, the Middle Dakota, had sided with the U. S. Army against the Dakota; groups such as the Crow, Pawnee, Shoshoni, Arikara, and Hidatsa. The Army gratefully accepted their help, seeing it as the quickest route to pacification (Kane, 1951:65).

After being forced onto the reservations in North and South Dakota, many Teton joined William F. Cody's Wild West Show; it opened in Omaha, Nebraska in 1883 and ran for more than thirty years. Even Sitting Bull (shown in Figure 30) traveled with the show in 1885, four years after having returned from his four year exile in 1881 (Ewers,

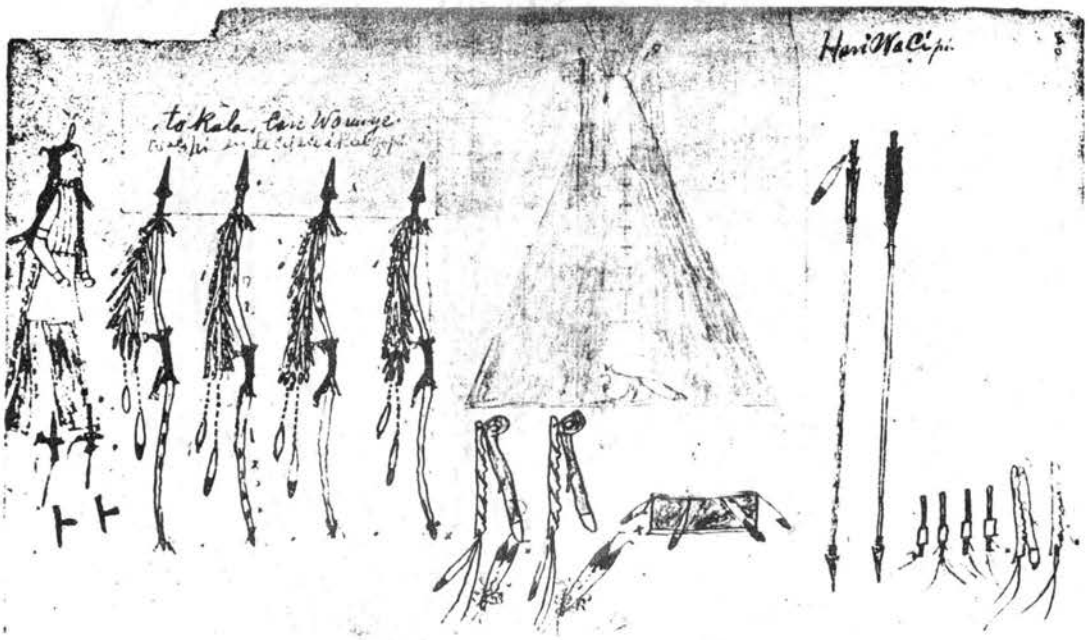

Figure 29. Regalia of the Teton Dakota Society

Figure 30. Sitting Bull

1968:199). Sitting Bull and his unarmed followers were killed in 1890 by a U. S. government threatened far more by his legend than by his strength as they suppressed the Ghost Dance religion; that symbolically marked the end of the Teton Dakota as an independent culture. Even today, however, they still possess an arrogance and openness that distinguishes them from the Santee and Middle Dakota (Howard, 1966c:6).

CHAPTER V

U. S. INVOLVEMENT IN THE DAKOTA TERRITORY

In 1860 "dime" novels appeared in America; the first ones exploited the general fascination with the Indian's prowess as a warrior. Of course, in these novels the White man triumphed, and gloriously. So entertaining was this escapist fare that during the Civil War publishers sent bales of paperback books to both the U. S. and Confederate armies, in order to brighten depressed spirits (Ewers, 1968: 197).

But the military situation for the U. S. Army in the Dakota Territory of the 1850's and 1860's was far from bright and glorious. Alcoholism, discontent, desertion, lack of discipline, incompetence (Utley, 1967:29), scurvy (Athearn, 1967:191), and venereal disease (Athearn, 1967:221) typified the state of affairs. Even though there were over 200 battles with the native population between 1848 and 1861, boredom dominated post life (Utley, 1967:42-43). Hunting and fishing were almost the only remedies for this problem (Kane, 1951: 76-77,119) for most officers; enlisted men sought relief in fighting with each other, alcohol, and sex with Indian women living near the post. The wives of Army officers, however, were satisfied with the chronic garrisoning of their husbands (Utley, 1967:44).

Secretary of War Jefferson Davis and General of the Army Winfield Scott were for some time, during the 1850's, literally not on speaking

terms; this lack of communication and direction was present all through the ranks, so that field generals often made their own national policy (Utley, 1967:49-50). This decentralized power structure worked to several disadvantages; it was not until 1856 that someone (George B. McClellan) suggested that what was needed to defeat the Indians was a light cavalry, not an infantry (Utley, 1967:57), composed of men familiar with Indian culture. As late as 1867 his advice had gone unheeded (Kane, 1951:65).

Into the midst of this demoralized affair came further chaos. Prospectors for gold began entering Dakota Territory, where they were joined by their fellow profiteers, the fur traders, who made themselves permanent residents with the construction of Ft. Berthold in 1845 (Kane, 1951:57; Mattison, 1951:55); Ft. Berthold was built by the American Fur Company, which later merged with the Northwest Fur Company. Indian agents, political appointees from the Department of the Interior after the Indian Bureau's transfer from the War Department in 1849 (Utley, 1967:10), were often simultaneously traders, and many were given to stealing treaty goods intended for the Indians (Utley, 1967:118-119). This situation caused anger among the military, as well as among the Indians, but for a different reason: it prevented quick pacification (Utley, 1967:10-11, 347; Kane, 1951:160, 182-183). In fact, the military held even the honest Indian agents in contempt; the military view was that if the agents weren't corrupt, then they were permissive, incompetent bunglers who made treaties which could only put the U. S. at a disadvantage (Kane, 1951:157, 361). Missionaries entered the area, and their various activities irritated the military, the traders, the agents, and the prospectors; not being under any centralized authority,

they only confused the already diverse goals of the White visitors even more (Kane, 1951:xviii).

There was further division within the ranks of the military. Career officers, without benefit of strong, centralized control, involved themselves openly in personality struggles. They blamed each other, alcohol, and the policy of isolated garrisons for their military inertia (Kane, 1951:68).

The Expeditions

By the middle 1850's, large numbers of Oglala, Brule, and Minneconjou Teton Dakota people began congregating at Ft. Laramie on the North Platte River annually, at their southern territorial border, for trading and distribution of treaty goods; they were often joined by the northern Cheyenne, who were about 800 in number (Utley, 1967: 62). The main body of Cheyenne, the southern branch, gravitated toward their southern border, the Arkansas River, at Ft. Wise for the same purpose. Distribution of these goods was a condition of the Ft. Laramie treaty of 1851 and the Ft. Wise treaty of 1853; in return, the Indian groups agreed to stop raiding White parties. But the entry of more and more White groups of varied natures, as well as the main means of gaining social status by warring and thievery, often made Indian adherenceto the treaties difficult (Hassrick, 1964:113). The U. S. Army also had its "young bucks" who could not overcome their boredom with post life by fishing. Defined as policemen instead of as warriors, and frustrated by it as much as the members of the warrior societies that they policed, the young U. S. officers actually hoped for a fight each year at Fts. Laramie and Wise (Utley, 1967:110-111).

They were often obliged. The decentralized political structure of the Teton Dakota, for example, prohibited leaders, usually, from being able to compel non-aggression in their followers for very long (Pennington, 1953:143).

Colonel Harney was sent to take charge of this volatile military situation in 1855, but his public statements advocating war instead of peace did little to engender trust in him. He assembled the Teton Dakota at Ft. Pierre in 1856 and made a treaty with them which, at the urging of the Indian Bureau (who felt that their authority had been usurped,), the U. S. Senate refused to ratify (Utley, 1967:118-119). This did little to enhance Harney's reputation as an honorable man with either the Teton Dakota or the U. S. Senate.

In general, during this time, Indian raids on trading posts for goods or cattle, or attacks on Missouri River riverboats or unprotected White travelers, were met by sporadic "search and destroy" missions by the U. S. Army; the Dakota Territory of the United States was a Territory in word only. Physically, it still belonged to the Dakota. These missions resulted in nothing, generally, or at best resulted in only a temporary victory over Indian warriors who simply "vanished into the hills" (Utley, 1967:110). This only served to increase Army frustration and White settlers' fears. But victory to the Dakota meant "to-kill-and-come-back-alive," and their morale was lifted by these incidents (Hassrick, 1964:280).

For many years, the peaceful "three tribes" around Ft. Berthold (the Mandan, Arikara, and Hidatsa) had appealed to Washington through the Indian agents for more garrison troops to protect them from raids from the Teton (Mattison, 1951:55). Raiding sedentary agriculturalists

was essential to the Teton economy (Hassrick, 1964:112), but the White traders and prospectors were victimized, as well, and they joined the native groups in a plea for more U. S. soldiers. But it was not until the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861 that a War Department decision was made to send troops in large numbers to the area; the decision was made mostly on the grounds that most of the employees of the fur trading companies were Confederate sympathizers, according to the reports available to the Department (Mattison, 1951:56). This, combined with the raiding by Teton of the Minnesota border in 1862, led to the creation of a new military area in the same year. It was commanded by General John Pope; in 1863 Generals Henry Sibley and Alfred Sully were placed in charge of two military expeditions by Pope. The two men did not like each other (Utley, 1967:271-273). Sibley and Sullywere charged with securing Dakota Territory by subduing the "hostiles" and building more garrisons. Sully was later put in charge of the Department of Dakota, created in 1866.

When General Sully began his second expedition (shown in Figure 31) in 1864 into the Territory, only two military garrisons existed on the upper Missouri River; they were Ft. Randall, built in 1856, and Ft. Sully, built in 1863 for the relatively unsuccessful first expedition (Mattison, 1953:87). Ft. Sully was deemed to be too far south for Sully's purposes, so he ordered the construction of Ft. Rice in May, 1864. Sully set out on his campaign against the people living west of the Missouri River and north of the Cannonball River, i. e. the northern sub-bands of the Teton Dakota. Sully left behind him five companies of the 30th Wisconsin Volunteers to build Ft. Rice eight miles north of the Cannonball River's juncture with the Missouri

River. This garrison was to serve as (1) a station for White troops and travelers, (2) protection for friendly Indian groups, (3) quarters for inactive troops, (4) a storehouse for food, clothes, and munitions, and (5) a central point of distribution of treaty goods.

Sully preceded toward the Killdeer Mountains. On July 28, he encountered 5,000 warriors. The warriors, having been surprised, were dispersed and their camp was captured; the women and children fled elsewhere (Mattison, 1953:88-89). Sully moved to the "Badlands" area, where another conflict with warriors lasted three days. He eventually reached the Yellowstone River on August 12, and then, after leaving one company of the 30th Wisconsin Volunteers that had accompanied the expedition to garrison Ft. Union at that post, Sully marched to Ft. Berthold (which the Army had purchased from the fur company) after ordering the construction of Ft. Buford (Mattison, 1953:90). General Sully returned to Ft. Rice on September 9, 1864 and occupied the new buildings that had been constructed in three months by the Wisconsin charges of Colonel Daniel J. Dill (Utley, 1967:279).

U. S. policy by this time was that if land purchased from native groups, or land protected by the U. S. Army under the terms of a treaty, was violated, or if any "friendly natives" or U. S. citizens were molested on said land, then the Army was obligated to avenge such trespassing (Mattison, 1953:88; Kane, 1951:106). Ft. Totten and Ft. Stevenson were constructed in 1867, and other garrisons were planned at specific locations (Mattison, 1951:61). Order was imposed slowly upon the people of the upper Missouri River.

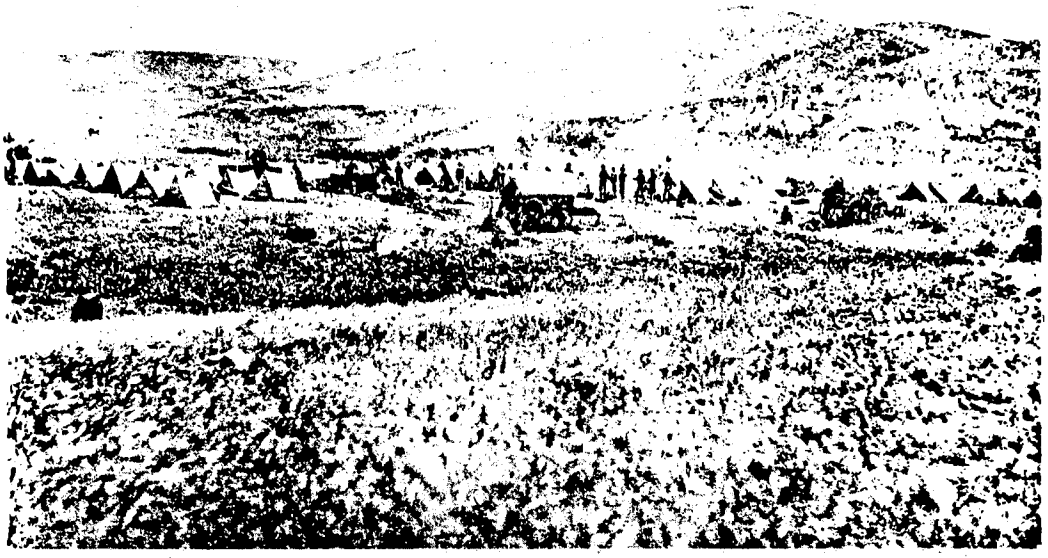

Figure 31. Sully's 1864 Expedition, Near Ft. Berthold

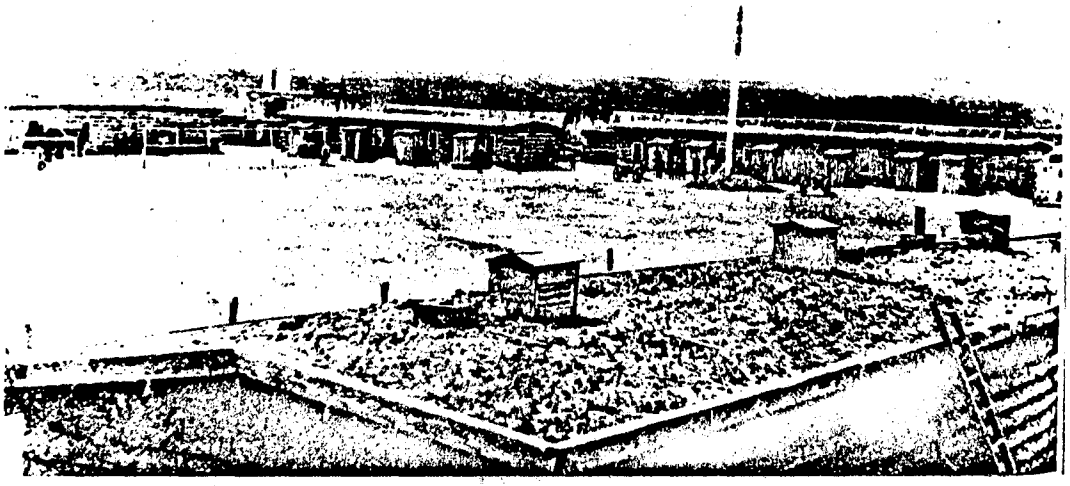

Figure 32. Ft. Rice, 1865

Activity at Ft. Rice

The day General Sully returned to Ft. Rice, he was obliged to send 550 infantry, 300 cavalry, and a section of artillery under Colonel Dill's command to rescue a wagon train of White settlers, who were under seige by approximately 300 Teton warriors. Colonel Dill returned them to Ft. Rice (Mattison, 1953:91); but the settlers were not too grateful, for they had expected a military escort to their destination and were angry that the Army allowed "savages" to roam U. S. territory.

Colonel Dill and the 30th Wisconsin Volunteers, including the company at Ft. Union, were relieved of duty on October 17, 1864 by the ambitious Colonel C. A. R. Dimon and the First U. S. Volunteers, a regiment consisting of Confederate prisoners of war from Lookout Point, Va. Dimon and his charges remained at Ft. Rice until September 30, 1865 (Mattison, 1953:91). Ft. Rice, as it appeared during this time, is shown in Figure 32.

In order to relieve boredom and alleviate the high incidence of venereal disease, a post theatre was opened. The next summer, in July, 1865, a massive Independence Day celebration was held (Mattison, 1953:93-94) as a form of rehabilitation for the First U. S. Volunteers.

On April 2, June 2, July 28, and July 30 of 1865, Indians attacked the post in groups ranging in number from 100 to 2,000, apparently for purposes of stealing post cattle (Mattison, 1953:92-93); this practice continued until the early 1870's (Kane, 1951:122). Colonel Dimon's usual response was to send out cannon and scare the attackers away; Dimon could operate only "by the book" (Athearn, 1967:175; Utley,

1967:334-335). Dimon's rigidity, incompetence, and ambition were always tripping over each other, somewhat in the manner of George Custer; by September he and his regiment had been transferred. The Civil War was over, anyway, and the First U. S. Volunteers were returned to their homes in the southern States.

"Hostile" Indian activity around Ft. Rice gradually slowed. A friendly group of Hunkpapa Teton was camped around Ft. Rice from late 1864 until the middle of 1866. Hostile Hunkpapas, led by Sitting Bull, had promised to destroy it, but were occupied elsewhere during this period (Utley, 1967:335-336). Battles around, and peace treaty meetings at, Ft. Rice occurred with renewed vigor again in late 1866, in 1867, and in 1868, in which Hunkpapa, Sansarc, and Blackfoot Teton and Yanktonai Dakota were the main participants (Mattison, 1953:96-98).

Colonel John G. Clark

The First U. S. Volunteers were replaced in September, 1865 by the 50th Wisconsin Volunteers, a regiment of nine companies commanded by Colonel John G. Clark (Heitman, 1903:88; Athearn, 1967:220-221). They remained at Ft. Rice until May 31, 1866; during their stay, they engaged in no battles with Indians, and they were the last volunteer unit to man the post (Mattison, 1953:96; Athearn, 1967:220-221), much to the relief of everyone. The career military officers had a low opinion, generally, of volunteers and their state-commissioned officers (Utley, 1967:42). The disbanding of the volunteer groups after the Civil War was good news for them, as well as for the volunteers, who were grateful for the opportunity to return to their homes (Kane, 1951:204).

After an uneventful seven months, Colonel Clark and his Wisconsin "loggers" were paid a visit by the Inspector General in May, 1866 (Athearn, 1867:222), prior to their return home later that month. During his inspection, Colonel Sacket, the Inspector General, praised Colonel Clark for the excellent job of maintenance and quartermastering of the postdone by his charges. Colonel Sacket overlooked their long hair, since most of the rest of the troops at other Missouri River garrisons looked like "buffalo-skinners," and he didn't mention the men's appearance to Colonel Clark (Athearn, 1967:219,221-222). Sacket also silently excused Clark for not drilling his men; they (1) were incompetent volunteers, (2) Clark worked them very hard at maintenance, and (3) morale, already low, could only have gotten worse by forced drill, and these were the reasons Sacket didn't bring the subject into discussion (Athearn, 1967:221-222). He believed that their healthy outdoor life had not only prevented them from getting scurvy and venereal disease, but, combined with not having to bear the frustration of indecisive battles with Indians, also kept their morale at a functional minimum. Clark was praised for his excellent, if sparse, bookkeeping. The 50th Wisconsin Volunteers were sent home later that month; Colonel John Clark was mustered out and never served in the U. S. Army again (Heitman, 1903:88). He may well have taken a "curio" home with him, the collection of which was a favorite hobby of Dakota Territory officers (Kane, 1951:119).

Ft. Rice was closed down in 1878, the "area" having been secured by the Army; little of the garrison remains today (Mattison, 1953:104).

CHAPTER VI

THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY TIPI

The Oklahoma Historical Society has owned the tipi that is the subject of this study since 1923; the Society has had the tipi on public display since 1930.

The tipi cover is made of buffalo hides; twelve, in all. Two other hides were used to make the original smoke flaps, but they have almost completely rotted away.

The tipi, as presently erected, consists of the grayish-brown tipi cover and ten somewhat crooked poles arranged in a Tripod position. The poles are each approximately thirteen feet in length, but due to the angle of their positions the tipi itself stands at a height of ten and one-half feet. The diameter of the tipi, from front (where the opening is) to back, is eleven feet; its diameter from side to side is slightly over twelve feet.

Because the tipi is displayed in a corner not all of the pictographs that cover the surface of the tipi cover are visible to the viewing public. Those pictographs which have been listed here as Nos. 67-109 are hidden from public view.

Although there are nearly 300 separate figures, or drawings, on the tipi cover, usually at least two figures are involved in interaction; a few figures were drawn as separate pictographs, but in some cases as many as thirteen figures are involved in interaction.

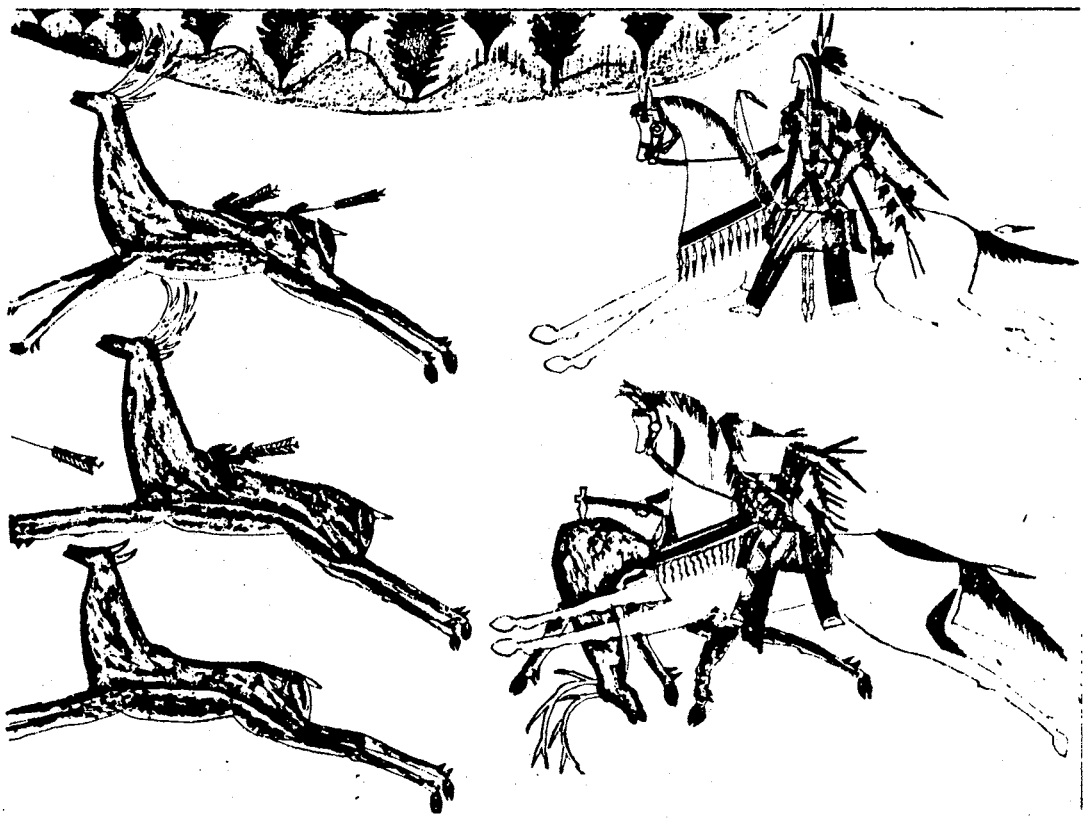

Figure 33. Cheyenne in War Regalia Hunting Elk

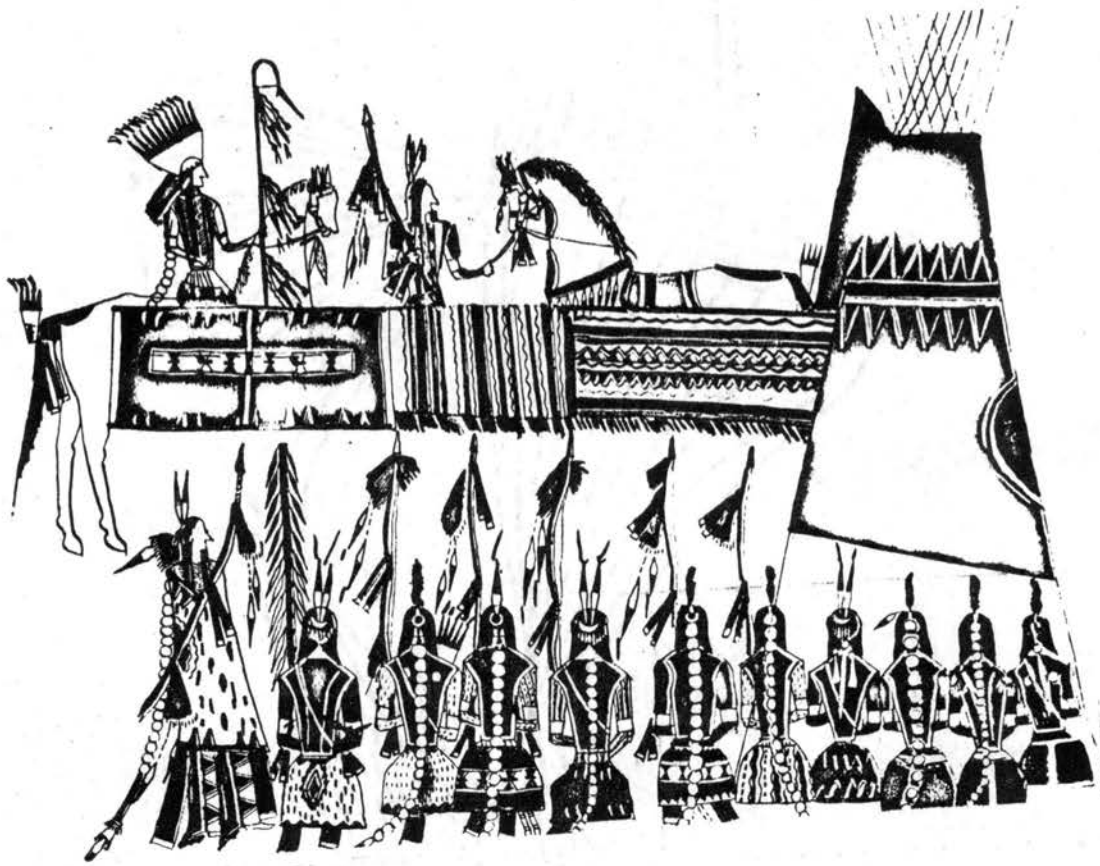

Figure 35. A Cheyenne Society Honoring Crooked Lance Owner

For this reason a pictograph was defined as a scene which included all interesting figures; the actions referred to by pictographs are as important as the construction of the figures themselves. Thus there are 125 pictographs listed here. This means that there are 125 separate sets of symbols, or scenes, that have never been systematically described and interpreted.

The Pictographs

These pictographs are essentially portrayals of human and animal forms, usually involved in some action. They are nearly always outline in black, and nearly as often are filled in with additional colors. The colors are applied in flat tones, and no attempt is made to introduce a third dimension by color gradation, shading, or shadows. In construction they are similar to known High Plains pictographs (see Figures 32-37 for examples of these). Little attention was paid to composition, so that an orderly and thematically unified presentation is lacking. Descriptions and interpretations of these pictographs are listed below.

Number 1. He Kills the Enemy with a Rifle

The protagonist, or "hero," of this scene rides a black horse that is shod (indicating that its original owner was White) and carries a red and black scalp attached to its bridle (indicating that it had been taken by the hero in a recent battle. The red color symbolizes blood, but since the Dakota often painted the underside of scalps with red (in order to maintain the illusion of freshness) this may be imitative painting. The hero wears a black and yellow shirt. But since black

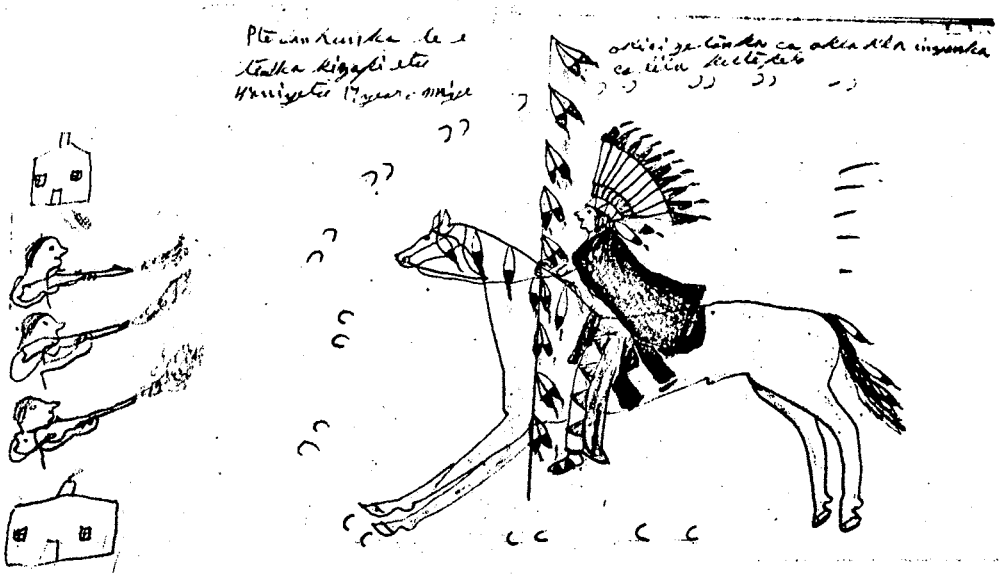

Figure 35. The Miniconjou White Bull in an Act of Bravado

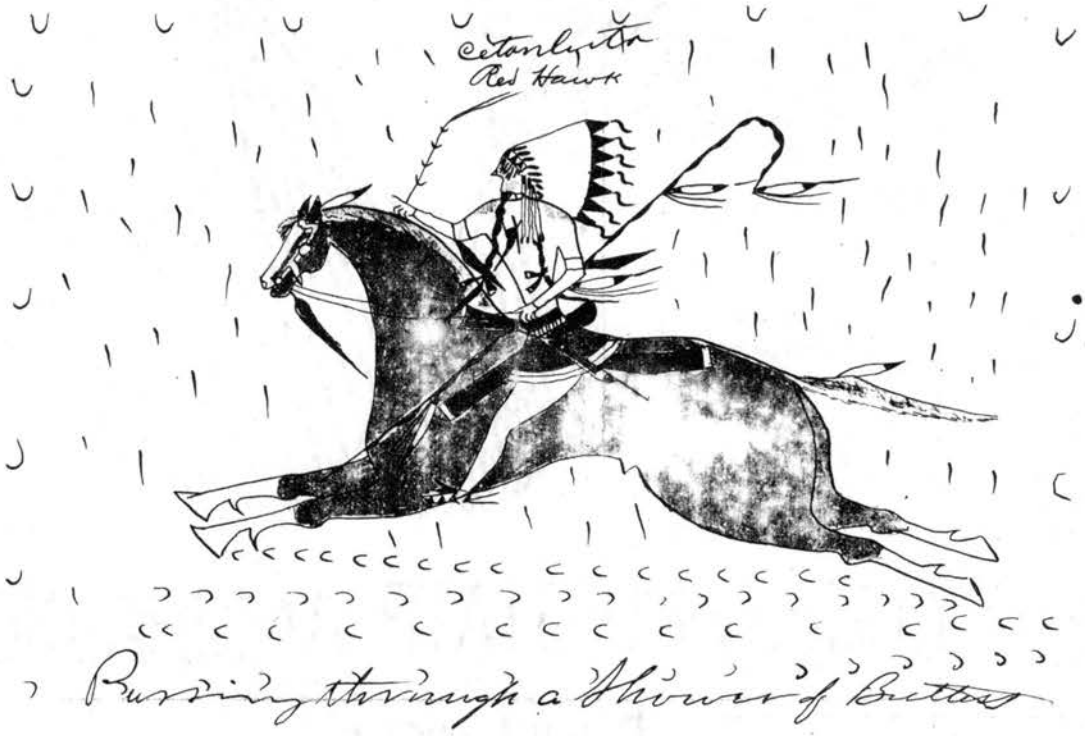

Figure 36. The Teton Red Hawk Passing Through Bullets

and blue are functional alternates in Dakota pictographs, the shirt could be considered as a blue and yellow shirt. The lower half of the shirt is yellow, the upper half is blue (black), and the sleeves are fringed with yellow. The hero is thus wearing a shirt that matches the description of a Shirtwearer's shirt. He wears a black-tipped white feather in his hair; this is the tail feather of a golden eagle. His leggings are decorated with black geometric (rectangular) designs.

The horse runs toward a figure, upon whom the hero is firing with his black rifle. This figure, the antagonist (or "enemy"), is drawn in black outline, and wears a short, horizontally striped breechcloth; the stripes are yellow and black. He clutches a red lance in his right as he falls backward, suffering from a wound in the throat which has been inflicted the Shirtwearer hero's rifle. This wound (and all wounds portrayed in these pictographs) is indicated by a smear of red paint.

Number 2. A Ceremonial Pipe

This pictograph is a large (three feet) pipe with a black bowl; the stem is black, but is barely visible because it is wrapped in quillwork to which strands of (painted) red horse hair have been attached. There are eight strands of this horse hair. A black-tipped red feather "fan" and a "fan" of yellow feathers is attached to the stem. This pipe is probably symbolic of an office, or membership in a society, held by the owner. Its "mate is pictograph Number 115. There is one of these pipes on each side of the tipi door. Pipes were common and important elements in Plains cultures.

Number 3. He Kills the Enemy with a Lance

The description of the horse in this pictograph is identical to the horse in Number 1;the hero is dressed the same as in Number 1, except that his shirt-fringe here is green (not yellow) and he uses a black sword instead of a black rifle with which to assault his enemy. The sword has a hand-guard, similar to the swords of regular U. S. Army officers before the Civil War. The sword might be considered blue (the Army's color) since it is painted black.

The hero's enemy is a figure outlined in black, and wears his hair in the style of several enemies of the Dakota: the Arikara, Mandan, Hidatsa, Crow, Shoshoni, etc. This "enemy" hair style appears 38 times in these pictographs. The enemy wears a short, black striped breechcloth. He holds a red lance in his right hand and a red shield in his left. A large red area near his throat indicates a wound there that was probably fatal.

Number 4. He Steals a Roan

Although the protagonist is generally drawn as the figure at the far right in pictographs, there are exceptions. A set of exceptions occurs in scenes in which the hero is pictured as having stolen a horse; this pictograph is one such scene.

The hero, on the left, rides a black horse and wears a red breechcloth, leggings with blue geometric (triangular) designs, and an eagle feather warbonnet. He carries a straight lance that has been wrapped (probably in animal skin or fur) and has horse hair strands at its tip and middle; it is similar to a Teton Omaha Society lance.

He carries a shield painted with concentric circles of black, yellow, and green. The hero wears a checked "trade" shirt, of a type which first appeared in the area after the treaty of Ft. Laramie in 1851.

The hero leads a horse, which wears eagle feathers on its bridle and tail. The horse is blue, and has a wound in his neck; his original owner was probably killed in the battle or raid in which the hero has just taken part. Blue, when applied to horses, often indicated a ("strawberry") roan; roans are brown and reddish-yellow in color.

Number 5. He Kills the Enemy with a Rifle

Here the hero rides a red and black streaked horse; the horse is shod and runs at a gallop. The hero wears a black shirt, and red paint on his lower face, indicating that he has prepared properly for battle. He also wears a red "dog soldier" sash and two eagle feathers in his hair. This is sash similar to the one that was part of the regalia of the Miwatani Society; wearing this sash indicated that the wearer had been chosen to be "point man" in the battle. The hero also carries a green shield which is adorned with three eagle feathers, and he aims a red rifle at his enemy.

The hero's enemy wears the "enemy" hair style and a black loin cloth; he holds a red rifle and has a large wound in his head. Such wounds are usually fatal.

Number 6. Three Figures

Although the tipi cover is in good shape (especially considering its age), there are occasional areas of obliteration which, in some cases, make it impossible to infer the nature of a pictograph that

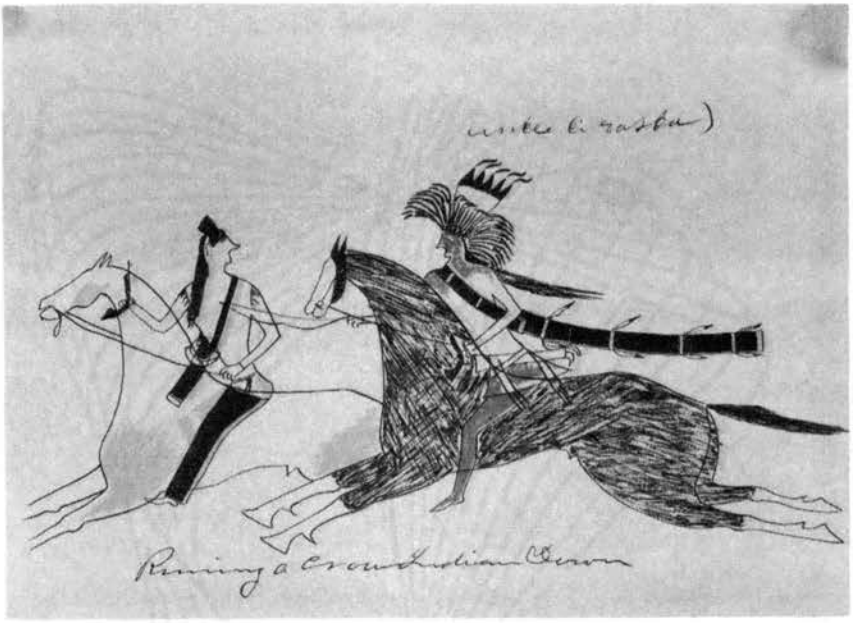

Figure 37. Teton Counting Coup on a Crow

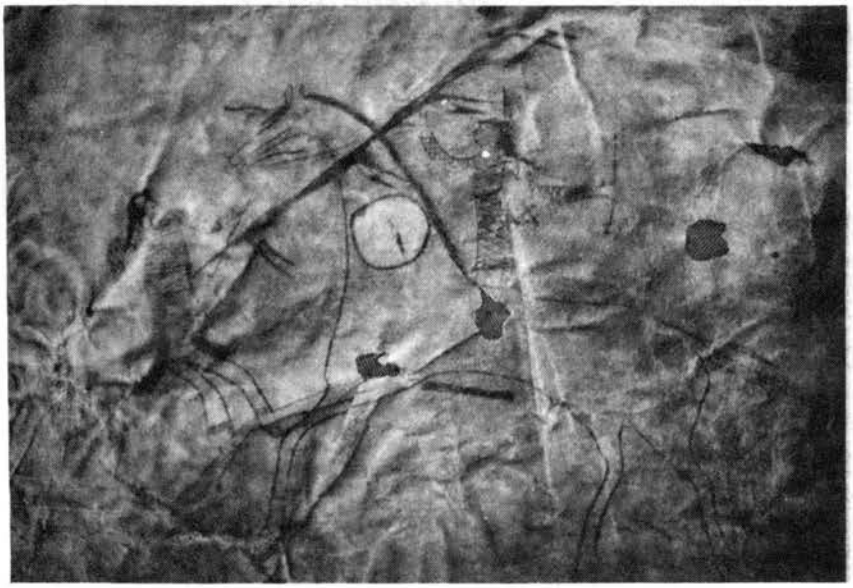

Figure 38. O. H. S. Tipi Cover Pictograph No. 7

had been (at least partially) painted on that area. This pictograph is such a case.

This pictograph has been partially obliterated, so that it displays only the black leggings (with a red vertical stripe on each leg) of the hero as he rides a roan (blue) horse that is shod; the horse carriesa red and black scalp on its bridle. Standing in the foreground, next to the standing horse, is a woman in a black dress with a red face, and a man wearing three feathers in his hair and a checked "trade" shirt. He also has a painted red face. The figures are possibly kin receiving the hero home from battle.

Number 7. He Counts Coup on the Valiant Enemy

This pictograph is shown in Figure 38, and displays the hero wearing a "trade" shirt, a red sash, an eagle feather in his hair, and red paint on his lower face. He has prepared for war with his war paint, his society regalia, his battle feather, and his shirt is made of cloth that was made by Whites. The lance the hero carries in this pictograph is identical to the Sotka Yuha Society lance shown in Figure 28. The hero sits on a red blanket with black border-stripes. Similar "trade" blankets appeared after the 1851 Ft. Laramie treaty, although it is probably a Hudson's Bay "trade" blanket, which appeared much earlier. The hero also wears a red breechcloth, and "carries" a yellow shield with an eagle feather attached to it (it is common in these pictographs for the hero to "carry" three or four items, so that one or two of them appear to float in air as this shield does). The hero rides a horse drawn in black outline; the horse has a feathered bridle, and red strouding and an eagle feather tied to

its tail. The horse has a wound in its neck.

Even though the hero's lance is touching the enemy, no wound is indicated. This (and the wounded horse of the hero), combined with the unusual detail in the drawing of the enemy, indicates a worthy opponent. The "enemy" style hair, black-bordered leggings, "trade" shirt, and short black breechcloth of the enemy is complemented by a red rifle (which is the agent responsible for the wound in the neck of the hero's horse). To have counted coup (touched) on an enemy who had gotten the best of the exchange was an honor worthy of recording for posterity.

The enemy's black breechcloth is, for reasons mentioned earlier, probably a breechcloth made of blue strouding; this may well be the case in most breechcloths, shirts, and leggings in these pictographs that are colored black.

Number 8. He Kills the Buffalo with an Arrow

The hero is drawn in black outline here, and wears a black loin cloth, which is thus probably blue strouding; he carries a short bow with which he aims an arrow at a partially obliterated black buffalo. The buffalo has a wound in its side and is running; it is pursued by the hero on his shod horse, which is drawn in black outline.

The artist would have everyone within viewing distance know that the hero was not only a valiant warrior, but a successful hunter, as well.

Number 9. Allies

In this pictograph, the hero may well be on the left, since an identical figure appears in both Numbers 71 and 73.

The figure on the right wears a partially obliterated red-tipped feather warbonnet, a black robe, and a red breastplate. He holds a red rifle in his left, and touches the hero's left hand with his right hand. No hair is drawn on this man.

The hero holds a black rifle in his right hand. He wears a red robe and a black breastplate; he wears nothing on his head, but his long, loose hair is piled upon his shoulders.

These two men may have been close friends, since the hero is shown in two other pictographs (Numbers 25 and 39) cooperating with a second man in order to defeat a common enemy.

Number 10. A Courting Scene

The hero wears red paint on his upper face and yellow on his lower face; he wears a blue robe, under which a red breechcloth is visible as well as geometric leggings. He also wears a hat with a feather in it while he embraces a woman.

The woman wears a blue robe, black leggings, yellow paint on the front of her profiled face, and red on her cheeks. Such paint indicates a ceremonial occasion; compare this with Figure 20.

Number 11. A Wounded Buffalo

A delicately drawn black buffalo is shown here; it is bleeding from the mouth and has a wound in its side. What is probably its

hunter, the hero, has been obliterated.

Number 12. He Exchanges Injuries with the Enemy

The hero has dismounted, and for that reason his shod (blue) roan is the figure on the right of this pictograph. The hero wears his hair in a pompadour style; he wears a blue shirt and red paint on his lower face. He carries a blue and red shield with three eagle feathers in one hand and a sword in the other. He has a wound in his left thigh.

The wound was inflicted by an enemy with "enemy" style hair who holds a short bow in one hand and an arrow in the other. The hero's sword, however, has inflicted a wound in the enemy's shoulder.

Number 13. He Wounds the Enemy with a Rifle

The hero rides a red horse; red was often used to represent the reddish-yellow color of a sorrel horse. The hero wears a black shirt (which may have been made of blue strouding), and aims his black rifle at a partially obliterated man who is drawn in black outline. The enemy carries a red rifle and points a black lance at the hero. The enemy has a wound in his side, however.

Number 14. A Pronghorn Antelope

This pictograph is a small, delicately drawn pronghorn antelope (Antilocapra americana) with black markings on its neck and the front of its face. It has black horns, and a red neck and back.

The artist may have drawn this animal (and all isolated animals in these pictographs) because it was personal "medicine," because it

symbolized some personal or social meaning, or simply because he liked to draw pronghorn antelopes. They are not, however, the subjects of hunt in these pictographs.

Number 15. He Goes to Battle

The hero ridesa red-spotted pinto; he carries a short bow and a yellow quiver. His style of hair is the "roach;" although this style was common on the Prairie, the Dakota did not typically wear it at this time, and its appearance here is most unusual. The hero displays black, yellow, red, and green bands of paint on his upper arm; they are a part of his personal war markings.

This pictograph is typical of many on this tipi cover: the hero is often shown alone, mounted, and wearing his war regalia. The artist simply wanted to portray the hero as he looked at various times in particular battle markings, etc.

Number 16. A Pinto Horse

This pictograph is a red-spotted pinto, identical to the one in Number 15. Its mane is bristled; its legs and tail have been obliterated.

This pictograph, too, is typical of several pictographs on the tipi cover; a lone horse is often portrayed. Perhaps the artist wanted to display a favorite or particularly valuable horse.

Number 17. He Wounds the Enemy with an Arrow

The hero is drawn in black outline, is standing, wears a hair feather, and aims a bow and arrow at two figures. One figure is a

man drawn in black outline; he is standing. The second figure is a man with "enemy" hair and checked breechcloth; this figure holds a red rifle, and has been wounded in the neck by the hero.

Number 18. He Wounds the Enemy with a Lance

The hero rides a black horse with a white face. He wears a red shirt and a hair feather. The hero carries a blue shield and a black lance with which he wounds a black-robed man in the side.

Number 19. A Stolen Sorrel

All that is visible here is a red horse with a black tail and a black saddle blanket. A black rope is tied to its bridle; it is being led by an obliterated figure, which is presumably the hero.

Number 20. He Goes to Battle

The hero is shown in this pictograph (as seen in Figure 39) mounted on a black horse; the horse has a white face and a black scalp on its bridle. The horse is running at a gallop. The hero wears a black breechcloth (of blue strouding), a red shirt (possibly made of red strouding, or one painted red to signify battle), red paint on his lower face, and an eagle feather warbonnet. He also wears a warrior society (red) sash. He carries a green shield with three eagle feathers and a warrior society lance that is crooked and wrapped.

Number 21. He Fights Several Men and Escapes

The left side of this pictograph can be seen in the far right side of Figure 40.

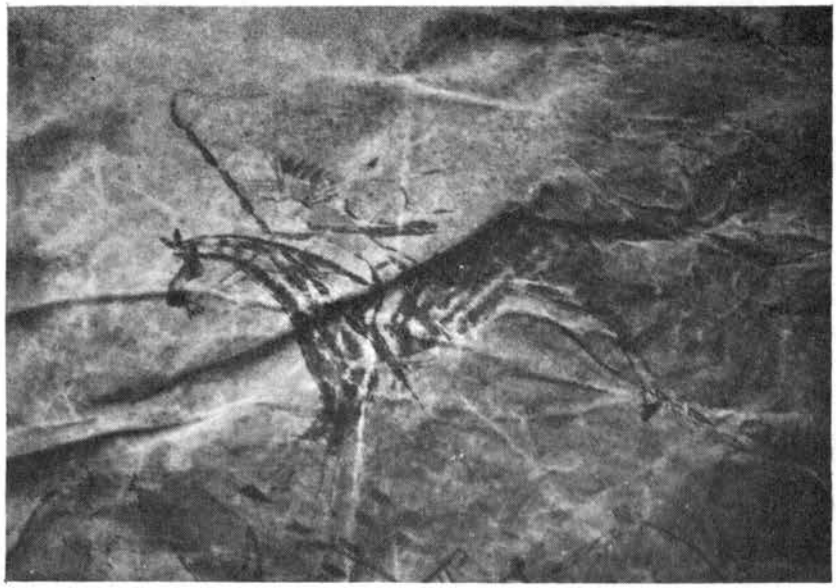

Figure 39. O. H. S. Tipi Cover Pictograph No. 20

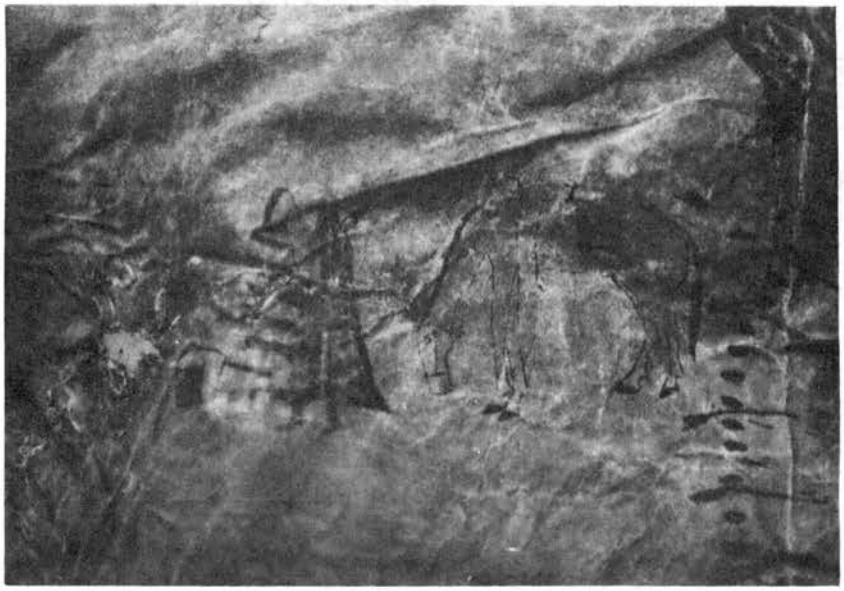

Figure 40. O. H. S. Tipi Cover Pictograph No. 22

The hero is again in the center of the pictograph. This is because he has dismounted, and his unusually long, sorrel (red) horse is behind him at the right of the pictograph.

The hero is painted all over his body with yellow; his face is red. He wears his hair in pompadour style, and has on a red breechcloth. This is the costume of the Tokala, or Kit Fox, Society; the hero was thus a young man at the time. He carries two bows and is wounded in the leg.

The hero, no doubt engaged in an act of bravado, faces a series of five rifles firing red flames at him by men represented by sixteen black ovals.

Young men often tried to ride as close to the enemy as possible in order to show their bravery, before a final retreat. Perhaps the hero was ambushed and wanted to show his bravery before he retreated.

Number 22. He Meets a Woman by the River

This figure is also shown in Figure 40.

Again, since the hero has dismounted, his horse is at the right of the pictograph. This finely drawn red horse has a red horse, a black tail, black saddle pommels, and a white saddle blanket. He is grazing.

The hero wears a black robe, black leggings, and a red breechcloth. He faces a woman with red on her cheeks, and who wears a black striped blanket: these Navajo "trade" blankets appeared only in the period 1850-1880. The black water bucket behind her indicates that she had gone to the creek or river to fetch water; the hero has followed her there. The paint on her face indicates that she might have

expected him to do so.

Number 23. He Carries the Woman Away

This pictograph is shown in Figure 41.

This scene displays a horse in black outline wearing an eagle feather in its forelock and a Navajo silver bridle (obtained through trade, probably). The horse's tail is tied with feathered red stroud-ing. The hero wears his hair in three braids; the one in back is decorated with metal hair plates. These circular decorations first appeared among the Dakota in 1808-1809. The other (side) braids are wrapped. The hero wears his hair in this fashion in one other picto-graph (Number 90). His face is painted red and he wears a black breastplate, a red breechcloth, and his hair is feathered. Adding to this finery is a red capote and a pair of "Crow" leggings (that the artist has taken great pains to draw) with black, red, and yellow frontal border stripes. The hero's hand touches the shoulder of a woman standing by his horse.

The woman wears a black choker necklace, has painted red cheeks, and wears her hair in two long side braids. Her dress is yellow, with black outlined beading around the skirt perimeter; she wears a beaded belt, and the shoulders of the dress are also decorated. The woman wears red striped leggings; a red-black "trade" blanket serves as a cape. The woman is reaching for the hero.

Number 24. He Attacks with a Lance

The hero's leggings are drawn in great detail in this pictograph, which is shown in Figure 42. They are blue, with red vertical border

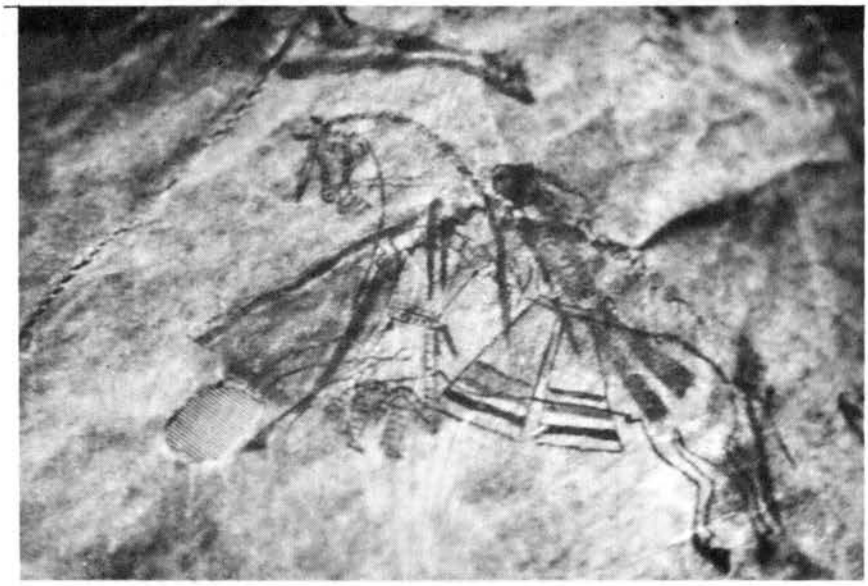

Figure 41. O. H. S. Tipi Cover Pictograph No. 23

Figure 42. O. H. S. Tipi Cover Pictograph No. 24

stripes and a series of vertical yellow spots. His shirt is a blue "trade" shirt; he wears red on his lower face.

The hero is also dressed for battle with four eagle feathers in his hair; he wears eight horse hair strands flowing from the back of his head, where they are tied to his hair. This matches the description given by Densmore (1918:Plate 52) of a dance ornament hair-piece common among the Crow, Mandan, and Hidatsa (from whom the hero probably obtained it in battle). The hero carries a powder horn, and a black rifle, as well as a wrapped and eagle-feathered (warrior society) lance, which is thrust toward an obliterated area. The hero carries a red shieldwith a blue center and two eagle feathers.

The hero's horse has a feathered mane, and his bristled tail has eagle feathers attached. Attached to his detailed bridle is a red-black scalp. The hero has painted three black bands on each of the horse's legs; these are his personal war designs.

Number 25. Two of Them Fight the Enemy

In this pictograph the hero and a friend are fighting a man drawn in black outline, who is sitting and aiming his bow and arrow at the hero's friend, who is in the center of the scene. The enemy wears his hair in the "enemy" style.

The hero, who is shown in the center of Figure 43, rides a yellow horse that has been wounded by an arrow in the stomach; the horse's tail has been bound, and is tied with feathers and red strouding. The hero carries a whip similar to those of several warrior societies. He also carriesa curved sword with a yellow hand-guard (an Army item), and a bow. The hero wears a black (blue strouding) shirt, a hair

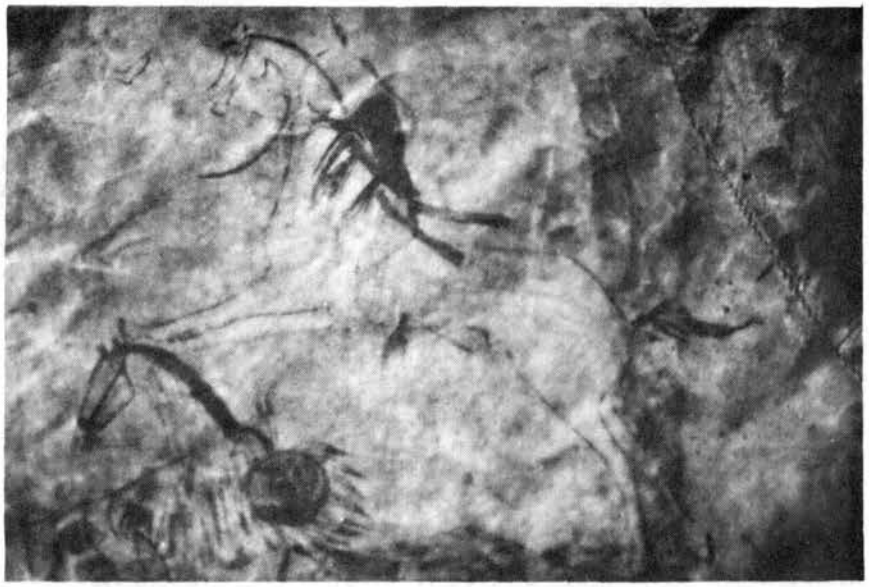

Figure 43. O. H. S. Tipi Cover Pictograph Nos. 25 and 28

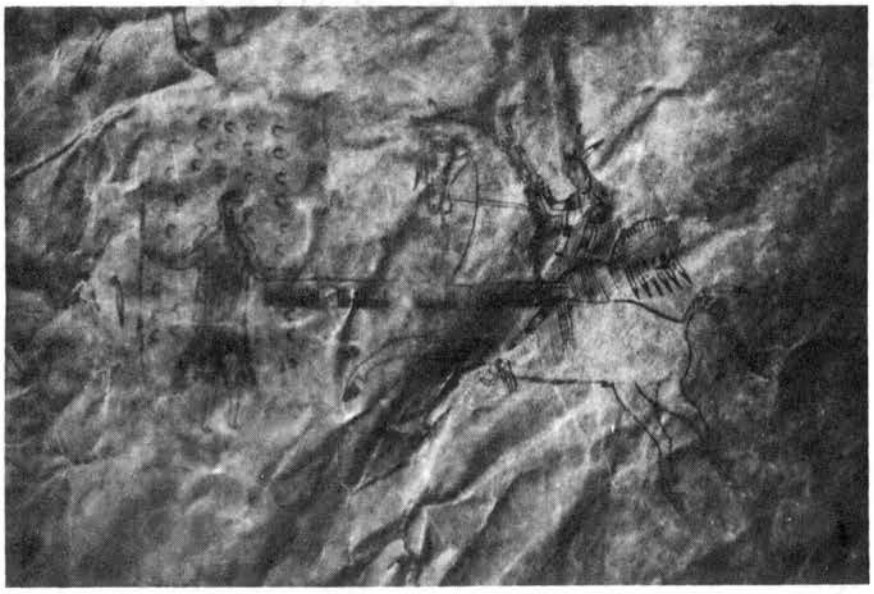

Figure 44. O. H. S. Tipi Cover Pictograph No. 27

feather, and a black breechcloth (made of blue strouding) with a white border.

The hero assists his friend; the friend wears an eagle feather warbonnet and carries a large shield with twenty-four eagle feathers. Otherwise, he is drawn in black outline, with no clothes; his toes are drawn in detail, however. This man rides a yellow horse with a black bound tail tied with feathers, and who carries a red-black scalp. This man fires a red rifle at the enemy.

Number 26. A Bear

This pictograph is of a running black bear. His nostrils, teeth, and long claws have been drawn in detail.

Number 27. He Circles the Shaman and Counts Coup

In this pictograph, shown in Figure 44, the hero rides a horse whose mane and tail are bristled; the tail carries an eagle feather. There is an eagle feather on the horse's forelock, as well; he also carries a red-black scalp on his Navajo silver bridle. There are yellow streaks across his body and legs. He is prepared for battle.

The hero wears two eagle feathers in his hair; his hair is worn in a pompadour in front and is long and flowing in back. This type of "topknot" pompadour was said to have been worn by men who were shamans as well as war leaders. He wears geometric leggings and shirt, both of which are fringed with black, green, and red. The shirt appears to be regalia of the Cante T'inza Society (Brave-heart Society), as does the lance he carries. It has a strip of red strouding attached along its length with alternating rows of black and white feathers.

The hero also carries a rifle and a yellow shield with six eagle feathers. He wears red on the lower face.

With the Cante T'inza Society lance he touches a black-robed figure who holds a small lance. Hoofprints surround this man, indicating that the hero rode around him; the man must have had great power for the artist to have drawn a non-warrior enemy in such detail. A shaman would be such a man.

Number 28. He Fights the Enemy with a Lance

Part of this pictograph can be seen in the lower half of Figure 43.

The hero rides a red and black streaked horse that is shod; it has a thick brown mane and tail, and a brown bridle. The hero wears a white-bordered black (blue strouding) breechcloth and two eagle feathers in his hair. He carries a shield painted with red and green concentric circles and which has ten eagle feathers attached to it. The hero aims a blue lance (perhaps it is wrapped in blue strouding) with six strands of red horse hair and five eagle feathers at his enemy. The enemy wears the "enemy" hair style, and carries a bow and quiver.

Number 29. Four Women

This pictograph is partially obliterated, and all that can be seen is the lower half of four women; they were perhaps part of the hero's family, even his wives.

The first figure wears a robe over a black dress, and black striped leggings. The second and third figures wear black robes and

black leggings. The fourth figure wears a black striped robe and black leggings.

Number 30. Mule Deer

The two figures in this pictograph are finely drawn, green Blacktail, or Mule, deer (one of the two species native to the upper Missouri River area). They both have black hooves and long tails. The male has black antlers.

Number 31. A Wounded Bear

This pictograph is of a black bear identical to Number 26, except that he has a long lance in his back. A lance identical to this one appears in Number 44: the lance has had feathers tied to its butt end, and then the feathers have been cropped.

Number 32. He Wounds the Enemy with a Sword

The hero rides a yellow horse that is shod and carries a red-black scalp on his bridle. The hero wears two eagle feathers, a black (blue strouding) shirt, and black leggings with green geometrics. He carries a yellow shield with four eagle feathers and a black sword (probably an Army blue one) with which he has wounded his enemy in the stomach. The enemy wears the "enemy" hair style and a short black (blue strouding) breechcloth, and carries a red rifle.

Number 33. He Attacks with a Rifle

The hero rides a captured U. S. Army horse; the black letters "J C" on the horse's shoulder are an attempt at illustrating the "U S"

brand placed on their horses by the Army. The horse, of course, is shod.

The hero wears a black shirt and a black breechcloth (blue strouding); he carries a blue shield with three feathers and a red rifle, which is pointed toward a black-robed figure.

Number 34. A Buffalo Calf

This pictograph consists of a very small, finely drawn black buffalo.

Number 35. He Counts Coup on the Enemy with a Lance

The hero is riding a yellow horse (probably a "buckskin" horse) that has a black mane and tail. The hero wears a black (blue strouding) shirt, a red "dog soldier" sash, and wears his hair in a feathered roach (which seems to be unusual, as mentioned earlier). He carries a large shield with twenty-four feathers, and points a black (possibly wrapped in blue strouding) lance with an eagle feather attached toward the enemy.

The enemy is a man in black outline, but who also wears a red sash. He is being touched by the hero's lance.

Number 36. He Goes to Battle

Here the hero wears "Crow" leggings with a green "box" design at the bottom; his leggings also have four green vertical stripes. He wears red on his face, and an eagle warbonnet. The horse he rides is a roan (blue) with red strouding attached to its tail; the horse's legs have been obliterated.

Number 37. He Goes to Battle

The hero wears a red breechcloth, a blue shirt, an upright eagle feather headress, and is outlined in black from the waist down. The horse he rides is black with a white face, and has a black, bound tail.

Number 38. He Goes to Battle

The hero rides a "buckskin" (yellow) horse that is shod; it has a black tail and two black bands on each leg. The hero wears black geometric leggings, a black shirt (of blue strouding), a red cape, and a Wiciska Society warbonnet (shown earlier in Figure 26). This "split horn" headress has a series of horizontally attached eagle feathers on red strouding trailing behind the crown.

Number 39. Two of Them Kill the Enemy

Here the hero wears a pompadour hair style and a hair feather, a choker necklace, and leggings with a black border at the bottom. He rides a "buckskin" horse that is shod, and has a green tail and mane; the horse also has three black bands on each leg. The hero points a long bow at a man wearing the "enemy" hair style, a red shirt, red leggings, and an animal skin over his shoulders. This enemy carries a red rifle; he has suffered arrow-wounds in the back, face, stomach, and arm.

Also attacking the enemy, with a red rifle, is a partially obliterated figure riding a "strawberry" roan horse with a forelock feather. The man, a friend of the hero, wears blue leggings, a blue shirt, a red breastplate, and a warbonnet identical to the one in Number 38.

Number 40. His Horse Was Wounded

In this pictograph the hero wears a black and green geometric shirt with green fringe and black geometric leggings with green fringe; this is similar to the description of the clothes in Number 27. The hero wears red on the lower face, three eagle feathers in his hair; he carries a red rifle and a yellow shield with six eagle feathers and a green center. He is thus dressed for battle in this pictograph, which can be seen in Figure 45.

The yellow buckskinhorse he rides, however, is wounded in the chest. The artist may have been implying that the hero was fortunate to have escaped a particular encounter.

Number 41. He Wounds Two Enemies with a Lance

The hero rides a horse outlined in black. The hero is also outlined in black; he wears a red cape, and carries a large red shield with twelve eagle feathers. He carries a black lance with an eagle feather attached to the butt. With this lance he has wounded two of the three men standing opposite him and his horse.

The first wears the "enemy" hair style, carries a powder horn, and is wounded in the side. The second enemy wears "enemy" hair and carries a short bow and a black quiver; he is also wounded in the side. The third enemy wears "enemy" hair, and stands to the left of his comrades.

Number 42. He Attacks with a Rifle

The hero is drawn in black outline, and is visible only from the

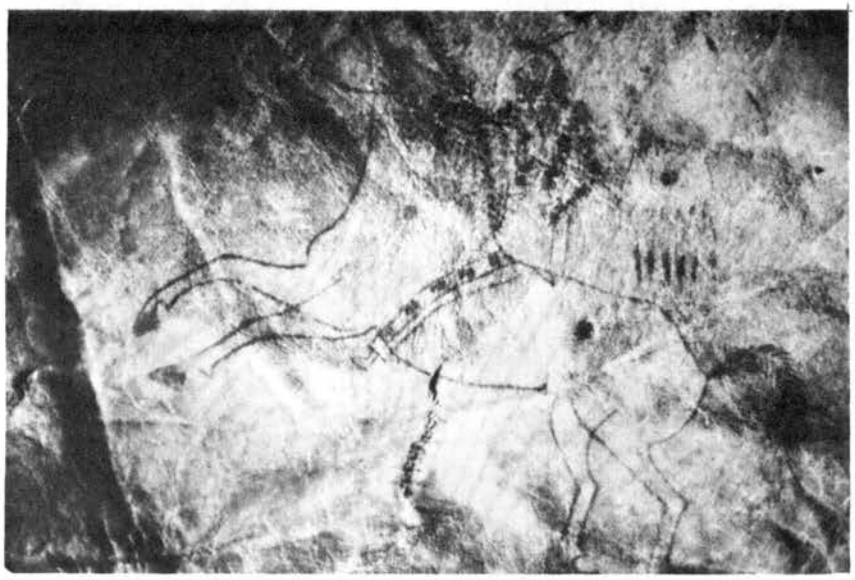

Figure 45. O. H. S. Tipi Cover Pictograph No. 40

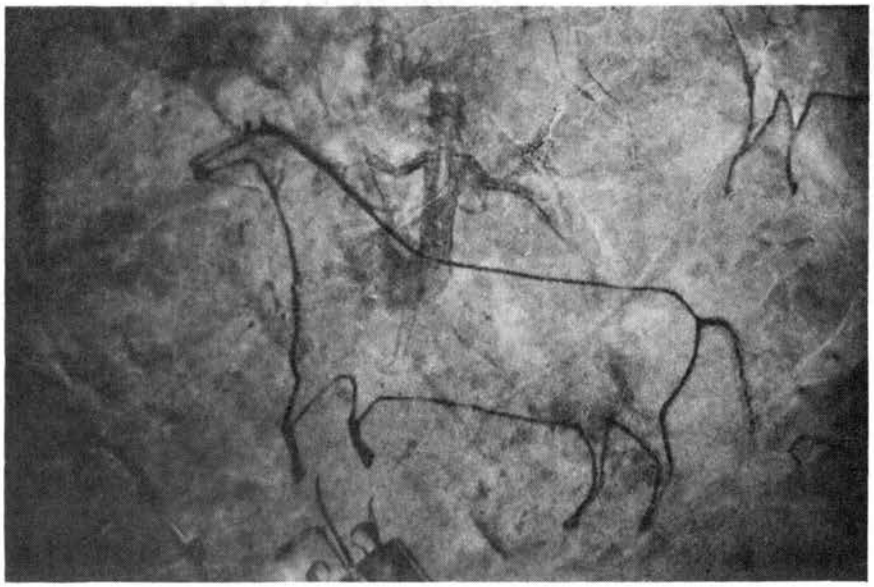

Figure 46. O. H. S. Tipi Cover Pictograph Nos. 43 and 44

waist up. He rides a sorrel horse, and wears a black cape and an upright feather headress identical to the one worn in Number 37. The hero carries a red lance with several horse hair strands attached, and a red rifle, which he fires at obliterated figures.

Number 43. He Attacks with a Rifle

The hero is drawn in blue outline as is his horse. As shown in Figure 46, the hero is riding an unusually thick horse. The horse has two wounds in its abdomen, and a green stripe on its back leg. The hero wears a blue shirt and a blue turban. The hero carries two blue rifles, and his face is painted red.

Number 44. A Courting Scene

The hero wears a hair feather, a black robe with a white border-stripe, a long black breechcloth (of blue strouding) and yellow leggings with black geometrics; the leggings are so long that they are split. These "Big Leggings" were of a style worn by "chiefs." He holds a long black bow, the upper half of which is visible.

Standing next to him is a woman, who also wears a black robe with a white vertical border-stripe. She also wears leggings and a breechcloth.

Between the hero and the woman is a feathered lance.

The two are dressed for courting, and the hero displays part of his war regalia, no doubt in an attempt to better his chances.

Part of this pictograph can be seen at the bottom of Figure 46.

Number 45. He Kills the Arikara

In this scene the hero rides a black-maned, sorrel (red) horse that has a bound tail and a scalp attached to its bridle. The hero wears a yellow shirt, and his hair is styled in a pompadour. He carries a red shield that has a human face painted in the center; the shield is decoratedwith twelve large eagle feathers. The hero points a red lance at a man drawn in black outline.

The enemy has the "enemy" hair style; the hero's lance has wounded him in the throat, stomach, and legs.

Number 46. He Fights the White Soldier

The hero rides afinely drawn, sorrel horse that has black ears and a black mane; it also has a black bristled tail. The hero wears a red breechcloth and a red sash. He sits on a black saddle, with a black saddle blanket underneath. If the hero carries any weapons, they are not visible.

His enemy is a U. S. Army soldier; the soldier wears a blue "Union" cap. This cap had become popular among enlisted men in the late 1850's, and became regular issue in 1861 replacing a taller, short-billed hat. The soldier also wears blue pants, a blue officer's coat, and carries a black sword, which he waves at the hero. The soldier is riding a shod, roan (blue) horse that has black ears and mane.

Since there is no indication as to the outcome of this encounter, the artist probably had in mind only recording that the hero had a "close call" with a soldier.

Number 47. Dance of the Brave Heart Society

This pictograph has thirteen figures in it. The hero is in the "limelight" here, but in a different way than previously presented.

The hero wears a red shirt underneath a brown robe; visible beneath the robe are his red breechcloth and his green and black geometric leggings. He wears red on his face. Watching him are twelve figures, all standing close to each other.

The first figure wears a red robe with a white belt and three white vertical stripes; split horns are visible on this man's head.

The second figure wears a black robe with a red belt, an eagle feather in his hair, and has eight metal hair plates on his long back braid.

The third figure wears a green robe and an eagle feather warbonnet.

The fourth figure wears a red robe; split horns are visible on his head.

The fifth figure wears a yellow robe that has a circle design in the center of it; the design consists of alternating red and green quadrants. This figure also holds a crooked staff that has been wrapped in blue strouding and has red horse hair strands tied near the tip.

The sixth is drawn from the back; he has eagle feathers on red strouding trailing down the back of his black robe. Split horns are visible, as well. This warbonnet is similar to the Wiciska Society warbonnet. This figure also holds a tall, yellow, crooked lance.

The seventh figure is a black-robed figure wearing an eagle

feather warbonnet.

The eighth figure wears a black robe and holds a wrapped lance.

The ninth figure wears a robe with black "V" bands crossing its width.

The tenth figure is hidden by the other figures to a great extent; all that can be seen of him is the outline of his head, and an eagle feather in his hair.

The eleventh figure wears a green robe, a warbonnet, has red on his lower face, and holds a wrapped crooked lance with horse hair strands tied to it.

The twelfth figure wears a black striped robe, red leggings, and holds a Cante T'inza Society lance.

The presence of both Wiciska and Cante T'inza (Brave-heart) Society regalia in this scene may be accounted for by the fact that among the northern sub-bands of the Teton Dakota these two societies were "collapsed" into one;it used the unique Cante T'inza lance and the Wiciska warbonnet, with "split horns" and feathered red strouding.

This scene probably portrays the hero's initiation ceremony, during which he was accepted into the warrior society.

Number 48. He Escapes the Enemy

The hero is ridinga black horse that has green lightning streaks on its trunk and legs. It runs at a gallop. The hoofprints in front of the horse indicate that he galloped quite a long distance.

This was required because of the flurry of arrows coming from behind the hero and his horse. These indicate that a large number of enemy warriorschased the hero for some distance, trying to kill

him with arrows.

The hero shows no wounds. He fires arrows back; his body and face are turned back toward the charging enemy.

The hero wears black and green geometric leggings, a black shirt, and a black (blue strouding) breechcloth with a white border.

Number 49. A Yellow Horse

This pictograph consists of a partially obliterated yellow horse that has black ears.

Number 50. He Fights the Enemy

The hero wears a breechcloth and an eagle feather warbonnet; he carries a powder horn and a rifle. The rifle is being fired at the enemy. The hero is riding a sorrel horse that has a black bristled mane.

The enemy aims an arrow with his bow at the hero. The enemy's left arm is painted black.

Number 51. He Goes to Battle

The hero rides a roan that has a white face and black ears. The hero wears a blue belt around his black shirt; he also wears leggings and a red "dog soldier"sash that hangs well below the horse's shoulder, and an eagle feather warbonnet.

Number 52. His Horse was Wounded

This pictograph is partially obliterated. All that can be seen is a sorrel with wounds on its head and rump; the hero is visible only

by means of an eagle feather warbonnet.

Number 53. He Kills the Enemy with a Rifle

Part of this pictograph can be seen at the far right side of Figure 47.

The hero ridesa pinto horse that has blue ears and mane; the horse's blue tail is tied with red strouding. The partially obliterated hero is drawn in black outline; he points a rifle at two figures.

One of the enemies is standing, and drawn in black outline. The second is in a black robe, and lies on the ground.

Number 54. He Goes to Battle

This pictograph is shown in the upper half of Figure 47.

The hero rides a buckskin that has black ears and tail; the horse carries a red-black scalp on its bridle. The hero is finely drawn, with his nostrils, eyebrow, and mouth being detailed. His hair is in two braids, and he wears a loin cloth.

Number 55. He Goes to Battle

This pictograph can be seen in the center of Figure 47.

The figure of the hero in this pictograph is just as finely drawn as in the pictograph above. The hero wears a choker necklace and a brown robe. He carries a yellow shield and a thin, black lance that has eight feathers fastened along its length. The hero wears two feathers in his hair. He rides a sorrel with a black mane and tail. The horse carries a scalp on its bridle.

Figure 47. O. H. S. Tipi Cover Pictograph Nos. 53-56, 59

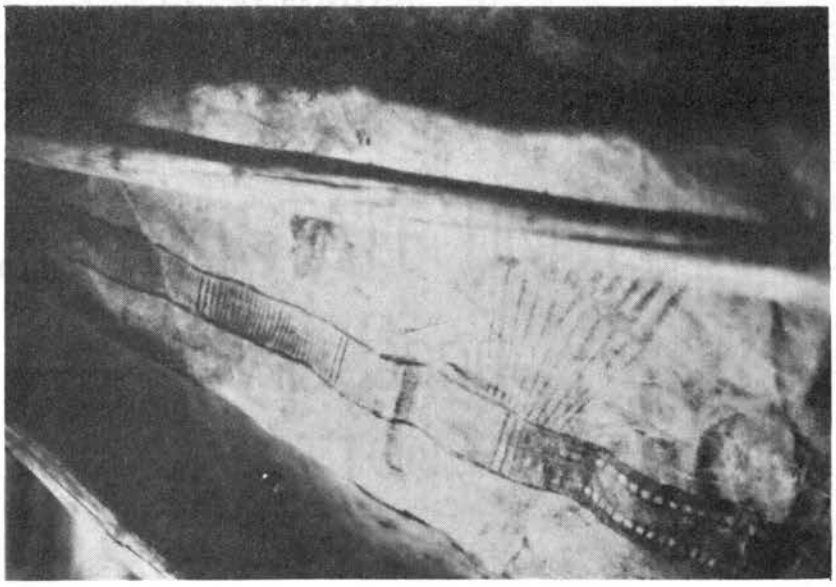

Figure 48. O. H. S. Tipi Cover Pictograph No. 67

Number 56. He Goes to Battle

This pictograph can be seen at the left in Figure 47.

The hero rides a black horse. The hero's body is painted red, and his face is white. His roached hair has an eagle feather in it. He wears a black (blue strouding) loin cloth and carries a knife in a sheath. The hero carries a shield with a red stripe across the middle, a yellow lower half, and blue dots in the upper half; the shield has six eagle feathers attached to it.

Number 57. He Wounds the Enemy with a Lance

The hero rides a red and black streaked horse. He wears blue leggings, a black "trade" shirt, and he carries a yellow shield with a blue perimeter band and six eagle feathers. He points a black lance at the enemy.

The enemy is drawn in black outline; he has "enemy" hair, wears a red breechcloth, holds a bow, and has wounds in the arm and chest.

Number 58. He Kills the Enemy with an Arrow

The hero rides a shod sorrel with a black tail. He wears an eagle feather in his hair, a blue shirt, and a blue (strouding) breechcloth. He aims his bow at the enemy.

The enemy is a man in black outline wearing a breechcloth and a partially obliterated "trade" shirt; he has a wound and an arrow in his throat.

Number 59. He Kills the Man with an Arrow

This pictograph can be seen, in part, in the lower right corner of Figure 47.

The hero rides a shod horse that is drawn in black outline. The hero is drawn in black outline; he aims his bow and arrow at the enemy.

The enemy is a square-shouldered man drawn in black outline; he falls backward after having been shot in the chest by the hero's arrow.

Number 60. He Attacks the White Soldier with a Sword

The hero's horse is at the right in the pictograph; the hero has dismounted. The horse is black, and wears a red saddle blanket. The horse stands by the partially obliterated hero, who is drawn in black outline, and raises a black (blue) sword into the air.

Standing in opposition to the hero is an Army soldier who wears a blue "Union" cap, blue pants, and a blue officer's coat. He is not wounded, but neither does he have any weapon.

Number 61. He Fights the Enemy

The hero's "strawberry" roan is shod, has a black mane, and is partially obliterated. He and his horse ride toward the enemy.

The enemy wears his hair in the "enemy" style and rides a shod buckskin horse with a black mane. He holds a red rifle, and points an eagle-feathered lance toward the hero as the hero pursues him.

Number 62. He Goes to Battle

The hero wears a black (blue strouding) loin cloth, red paint on his lower face, and an eagle feather warbonnet. He carries a black, warrior society whip and a shield with six feathers. The hero rides a galloping buckskin.

Number 63. A Buffalo

This pictograph consists of a running black buffalo; the artist has carefully drawn fringe on the animal's head, hump, and forelegs.

Number 64. He Goes to Battle

Here the hero rides a (red) sorrel that is drawn in green outline. The hero wears black leggings, a black shirt, and a pompadour hair style. He carries a green shield.

This pictograph is the only example on the tipi cover of a figure being outlined in green. All other figures that are outlined are drawn with black, blue, or red.

Number 65. He Wounds the Enemy with a Lance

The hero's sorrel horse has a bound tail. The hero wears blue leggings, a black shirt, and a red "dog soldier" sash. He carries a yellow shield with twleve eagle feathers, and points a lance at the enemy.

The enemy is drawn in black outline, and has wounds in the leg and chest.

Number 66. He Wounds the Enemy with a Lance

The hero rides a roan; the hero is drawn only in blue outline. He points a blue lance at two antagonistic figures.

The first enemy is drawn in blue outline, and wears a stroud cloth breechcloth. He has a wound in his side. The second enemy is dressed identically, but he is not wounded; in fact, his body has been painted red, he carries a quiver, and uses his bow to defend himself against the hero.

Number 67. A Personal Calumet

This pictograph is shown in Figure 48.

This pictograph displays a large (four feet) calumet, or pipe. It has a red catlinite bowl, and a wrapped stem. The wrapping, for half the length of the stem, consists of three sections of quilling; a green section, a red one, and a green one, each separated from the other by a white band. The other half of the stem is painted black with parallel rows of white spots. The calumet has red and green horse hair tied to the mouthpiece and a "fan" of eagle feathers tied to the middle of the stem.

Men often quilled and painted their pipes with personally meaningful decorations. Since these are geometric, their meaning can only be the subject of conjecture.

Pipes, or calumets, were used in personal and cultural rituals continuously; few men were without one.

Number 68. He Wounds the Enemy

The hero rides a sorrel, and he wears a black robe. Although he and the horse are partially obliterated, they can be seen charging an enemy figure.

The enemy is drawn in black outline; he has a wound in the stomach.

Number 69. He Goes to Battle

In this pictograph the hero's yellow buckskin horse is drawn as if it were a giant dog; possibly it is a mule, although the artist of this particular pictograph is less than sophisticated in his technique in most of his other pictographs. The animal wears a feather in its forelock. The hero is drawn in blue outline; he wears a blue pompadour. The hero carries a shield, also outlined in blue, with a red center. He carries a red rifle and a blue-outline rifle, which fires flame past the horse's side.

Number 70. He Goes to Battle

The hero is standing in this pictograph. He is drawn in blue outline, and wears a blue pompadour and a blue braid. These are meant to be black; the two colors are often used interchangeably. The hero holds a red rifle aloft.

Number 71. He Goes to Battle

The hero is standing in this pictograph, also. He wears a blue necklace, a black breastplate, a red shirt, red leggings, and he

carries a red rifle with one of his blue hands, both of which have been painted.

Number 72. He Attacks with a Lance

The hero is riding a sorrel. The hero wears a black shirt and a hair feather. He points his black lance at an obliterated area.

Number 73. He Counts Coup on the Enemy

The horse of the hero is unusually long; it is drawn in red outline, and has no phallus. This may or may not have been purposeful on the part of the artist. The hero wears blue braids, a red shirt, and red leggings. He carries a red rifle and a red lance, with which he touches the enemy. The enemy is a figure in black outline, and wears the "enemy" hair style.

Number 74. He Goes to Battle

Here the hero's horse is a (blue) roan drawn in black outline. The horse has no phallus, in the manner of Number 73, and its body is unusually long. Thehero is drawn in blue outline, wears blue braids, and carries a red shield. He also carries a rifle that is outlined in blue and fires red flame down past the horse's side, as is done in Number 69.

Number 75. He Kills the Enemy with a Rifle

The hero again rides a blue-outline horse. The hero wears a red sash, and a red breechcloth. He has a black band on his upper arm; this is part of his personal war markings. He carries a red shield

and a red rifle, which he fires at the enemy.

The enemy is a figure in black outline with a large wound in his head.

Number 76. He Kills a Buffalo

The hero, drawn in black outline and wearing yellow hair feathers, rides a buckskin horse that has a black mane and black legs. The hero carries a bow, and charges toward a black buffalo that has two wounds in its side.

Number 77. A Courting Scene

The hero wears a blue robe and blue geometric leggings. He has an animal skin tied to his back braid. The hero stands next to a woman wearing a robe with black "V" stripes and black leggings. Both the hero and the woman are smiling at each other by means of a curved-line mouth on each face.

Number 78. He Goes to Battle

The hero is drawn in blue outline; he rides a blue-spotted pinto and carries a blue lance.

Number 79. A Marriage

The hero is involved in this pictograph in another ceremony. He wears a long black robe; visible beneath it are black leggings and a red breechcloth. He is embracing an obscured woman; all that can be seen of her is yellow leggings.

Behind the pair, to their left, stands an "elk" shaman, with a

curved-line smile drawn on his face. He wears a long robe that is black from the waist down, and has a pair of small antlers in his hair. He wears his hair in a long braid in back, and holds a black, curved stick (possibly a flute) toward the hero and the woman.

Standing yet further to the left are six figures who are dressed in ceremonial dress. The first figure wears a black robe and has an eagle feather in his hair.

The second figure wears a black striped robe, red leggings, an eagle feather warbonnet, and is holding a Cante T'inza Society lance.

The fourth figure wears a red robe, and holds a wrapped crooked lance.

Thefifth figure wears a blue striped robe; the sixth figure wears a blue robe and a warbonnet.

The hero, the obscured woman, and the shaman are shown in the upper right corner of Figure 49.

Number 80. He Goes to Battle

The hero rides a sorrel that carries a scalp on its bridle; the horse has a black bound tail and a black mane. The hero wears red paint on the lower face, blue geometric leggings, and a short black breechcloth. He also wears a large, flowing, blue and red cape. The hero carriesa large blue shield with seven eagle feathers on it. He also carries a wrapped crooked lance; this probably indicates that he was the "standardbearer" of a warrior society at this particular time (see Number 20 in Figure 39 for comparison).

This pictograph is shown in Figure 49.

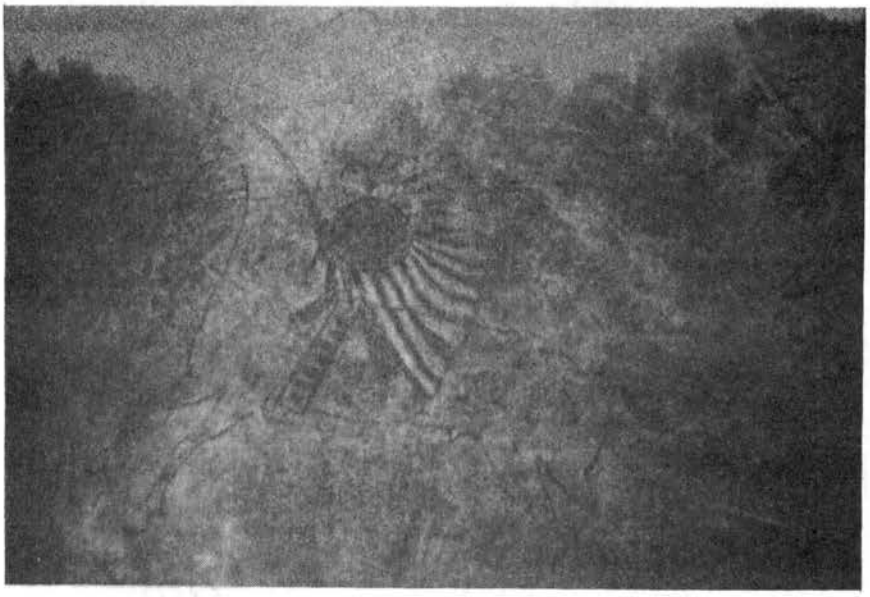

Figure 49. O. H. S. Tipi Cover Pictograph Nos. 79 and 80

Figure 50. O. H. S. Tipi Cover Pictograph No. 82

Number 81. A Buffalo

This pictograph consists of a small black buffalo.

Number 82. He Receives Adulation

In this pictograph (shown in Figure 50), the hero rides a black-outline horse that has been decorated with black geometrics on its body. The hero wears a green "trade" shirt, a black (blue strouding) breechcloth, red paint on his lower face, his hair long in back, and a "split horns" warbonnet. The hero holds his arms in a position that suggests that he is receiving praise; he is probably returning home from battle.

There are six figures to his left, four of whom are offering praise to the hero (as indicated by the wavy lines drawn upward from their mouths). The first of these figures wears a dress with a black belt; she has no arms, and she sings the praise of the hero. The second, third, and fourth figures are identical to the first, except that the third wears green leggings.

The fifth figure is a man drawn in black outline wearing a black breechcloth.

The sixth figure is a woman, with arms, who wears a dress with a black belt. Although the fifth and sixth figures do not sing praise, they extend their arms toward the her. These figures are possibly the hero's family; however, they may be people in general. At any rate, the hero is portrayed by the artist here as being the recipient of public honor.

Number 83. He Fights the Enemy

The hero rides a buckskin horse that has a black mane and tail. The hero wears a red choker, a shirt with a red upper half, a black lower half, and red sleeves; he carries a yellow quiver. His leggings are "Crow" type; they are long, and large at the bottom, with a black border.

The hero's weapon is obliterated, but he rides toward a man drawn in black outline who wears a black loin cloth and an "enemy" hair style.

Number 84. He Attacks the Enemy with Arrows

The hero rides a sorrel that has a black face and a feathered forelock. The hero wears a black shirt with black fringe; he carries a shield with three rows of eight eagle feathers on red strouding attached to it. The hero aims his bow and arrow at the enemy.

The enemy is a man drawn in black outline, riding a partially obliterated yellow horse. The enemy has black legs.

Number 85. He Attacks with Arrows

The description of the hero and his horse in this pictograph is identical to the one above, except that the hero also carries a yellow quiver, and has a red-black "trade" blanket as a saddle blanket. He aims his bow and arrow at an obliterated area.

Number 86. A Wolf and a Toad

These two animals face each other, nose-to-nose. The horned

toad is outlined in blue, with a blue head and a single row of ridges along his back and tail. The wolf is outlined in black. This scene probably records an unusual confrontation of these two creatures observed by the tipi owner while on a hunt, and regarded as "wakan" by him.

Number 87. He Fights

In this pictograph, all that can be seen of the hero is a red shield in the midst of a partially obliterated area. The yellow horse with a black mane and tail (a buckskin) which stands to the right of the pictograph appears to be watching the hero, who has presumably dismounted, in order to fight.

Number 88. A Horse

This horse, outlined in blue, has no phallus. Its ears are unusually long and bend toward each other, so that their tips are almost touching. This artist generally has an unsophisticated technique, otherwise this horse might well have been intended to be a mule. However, it is not shod and bears no brand (which a captured or stolen Army mule would have). This artist has drawn all of his horses disproportionately; they often look like giant dogs, or are unusually long, or have extremely long or short ears, or have no eyes and mouth, etc.

Number 89. A Bald Eagle

Part of this pictograph can be seen in the upper part of Figure 51. This black eagle has a white head; a portion of its ten tail-

feathers are white (an artistic oversight, since eagles have twelve tail-feathers). Its claws are extended, as are its wings.

Number 90. He Kills Four Buffalo

Part of this pictograph can be seen at the far left side of Figure 51.

The hero's horse wears a Navajo silver bridle, and its green mane and tail are feathered; its tail is tied with red strouding. The hero wears three braids; the two side braids are wrapped and extend to his feet, and the black braid is adorned with ten brass (yellow) hair plates and a red feather. He wears a yellow capote, and a black and white cape. He sits on a saddle that has been stolen or traded from a White source. The hero carries a scabbard; he aims his "double curve" bowand arrow at the four buffalo that run before him. Beneath his horse, a red-black "trade" blanket has been drawn.

Each of the four black buffalo is running, bleeding from the mouth, and has an arrow and a wound in its back.

Number 91. He Attacks the White Soldier with a Sword

Here the hero rides a sorrel with a bristled mane. The hero wears a blue shirt and a red "dog soldier" sash. His face is painted red and he wears an animal skin tied to his braid in the back. He sits on a black saddle and waves a black (blue) sword toward a White soldier, who is dismounted and running from the hero.

The soldier wears a blue "Union" cap, and a blue officer's coat; he carries a blue rifle.

Number 92. A Bear

This pictograph consists of a blue (grizzly) bear, with long claws, that is running.

Number 93. He Goes to Battle

The hero rides a sorrel that has a brown face and brown legs. The hero wears blue leggings, a blue "trade" shirt, and a red sash. The rest of the pictograph is covered by a smoke flap and cannot be reached.

Number 94. He Fights the Enemy with a Rifle

The hero rides a horse that is streaked with red on its body and hasblue stripes on its legs; these are war markings. The horse is drawn in blue outline and carries a scalp on its bridle. The hero is also outlined in blue, and wears four yellow feathers in his hair. He points his blue rifle at a blue-outline man; the enemy points a red rifle at the hero.

Number 95. He Kills Two Enemies

Riding a brown, shod horse, the hero wears a Wiciska Society warbonnet with eight eagle feathers trailing behind on red strouding; he carries a red shield with three eagle feathers, and charges toward two black figures, both of whom lie on the ground.

Number 96. He Steals a White Man's Horse

At the right of this pictograph is a black horse that is shod

Figure 51. O. H. S. Tipi Cover Pictograph Nos. 89-91

Figure 52. O. H. S. Tipi Cover Pictograph Nos. 102 and 122

and being led by a rope. The horse has no feathers or war markings or bridle. It was probably stolen from a White man; or, at least, it belonged to a White man at one time, for it is shod.

The hero, riding his own brown-maned sorrel, leads this stolen horse. The hero wears black geometric leggings; otherwise, he is visible only in black outline.

Number 97. He Kills a Buffalo with an Arrow

The hero rides a roan. He is drawn in blue outline, carries a black quiver, and aims a bow and arrow at a black buffalo. The buffalo is lying on the ground with an arrow and a wound in its back.

Number 98. He Stands by his Horse

All that can be seen in this pictograph is a partially obliterated man in black outline standing by a partially obliterated horse, also drawn in black outline, with a long, black tail.

Number 99. His Horse was Wounded When He Stole a Horse

The hero wears three feathers in his hair, a yellow shirt, red paint on his face, and a red breechcloth. He holds a black rope (possibly of braided bison hair). The hero rides a horse drawn in black outline that has a scalp attached to its bridle. The horse has a feathered mane and tail, and has wounds in its chest, stomach, and rump. The hero is leading a horse that is drawn in blue outline.

The hero was obtained in a battle or raid in which the hero's horse was wounded.

Number 100. A Bear

This pictograph consists of a blue (grizzly) bear with blue claws; it is standing.

Number 101. A Horse

All that can be seen here is a partially obliterated green horse with a blue mane and tail.

Number 102. Touching an Elk

This pictograph is shown in Figure 52.

At the left of this scene is an elk, drawn in black outline, with a long, thick, black neck; it has a black tail, black antlers, hooves, and legs. Its body is painted yellow.

Drawn as an afterthought, at the right of the pictograph, is a horse in black outline; it is ridden by the hero, also drawn in black outline. Thehero is bending to touch the back of the elk with his hand.

The hero and horse are drawn over the colored elk; the elk is standing, not running. The scene was therefore not drawn originally as a hunting scene; no chase is involved. Perhaps the owner of the tipi had at one time touched an elk and felt that experience was "wakan."

Number 103. A Horse

This pictograph consists of a horse drawn in black outline, with a black mane and tail, and a forelock feather.

Number 104. He Exchanges Injuries with the Enemy

This pictograph is shown in Figure 53.

The hero is riding a black horse with a white face; the horse carries a scalp on its bridle. The hero is wearing two hair feathers, a red breechcloth, and red paint on his lower face. He carries a lance with red horsehair strands attached; he has an arrow and a wound in his stomach and wounds in his shoulders.

The enemy wears a black breechcloth; the lance held by the hero has pierced his chest, leaving a large wound. The bow held by the enemy has let fly the arrow that pierced the hero's stomach.

Number 105. He Fights the Enemy with a Rifle

The hero, clad in a black breechcloth and a black shirt, rides a green horse with black mane, legs, tail, and ears. The hero wears a feather in his hair, and carries a black rifle and a red rifle, which he fires at a man drawn in black outline. This enemy wears a blue breechcloth, and holds a bow and arrow.

Number 106. He Kills the Enemy with a Rifle While Dismounted

The hero's brown horse is at the right of the pictograph because the hero has dismounted. The horse, wearing a black saddle with black stirrups, stands beside the hero. The hero wears a black shirt, a black breechcloth, blue leggings, and a warbonnet or headress similar to the Cante T'inza Society's. It consists of split buffalo horns worn on a skin cap behind which a series of rows of eagle feathers have been attached. Instead of red strouding, however, the hero's

Figure 53. O. H. S. Tipi Cover Pictograph No. 104

Figure 54. O. H. S. Tipi Cover Pictograph Nos. 107 and 109

headress feathers are attached to blue "trade" cloth. The hero holds a shield with three eagle feathers, and holds a black (blue) sword. He faces the enemy.

The enemy is drawn in black outline, and wears a high, rolled pompadour high style (which may possibly identify him as a Crow), and a red cape; he carries a red rifle, and has a large wound in his throat.

Number 107. He Wounds the Enemy with a Lance

This pictograph is shown in Figure 54.

In this scene, the hero rides a black horse that has a scalp attached to its bridle. The hero wears his hair in a pompadour; he wears a black shirt, and blue geometric leggings. He wears a red sash over his shoulder. The hero carries a red rifle and a shield with five rows of eight feathers fastened to red strouding. He also carries a bent lance, similar to the Tokala Society lance, which has two feathered scalps attached. The lance is colored in alternating red and blue. The hero has wounded the enemy in the thigh with it.

The enemy wears blue cloth or a blue animal skin tied to his hair, has a red rifle, and wears a red sash and a black breechcloth.

Number 108. A Turkey

This pictograph consists of a turkey drawn in black outline, with black wings.

Number 109. He Kills Two Buffaloes with Arrows

This pictograph can be seen in the lower left corner of Figure 54.

The hero rides a black-spotted pinto horse that has a feathered forelock. The hero wears a "trade" shirt, black leggings, pompadour hair, and a black sash over his shoulder. He carries a black quiver and a short bow. He and his horse are chasing two buffalo. One of the black buffalo is lying on the ground with an arrow in its back, and is bleeding from the mouth. This arrow is the only feathered arrow drawn on the tipi cover. The second buffalo is running parallel to the hero's horse, and has an arrow and wound in his back.

Running beneath, and slightly behind, the hero's horse is a third buffalo. A fourth black buffalo, a calf, is standing beside the third one.

Number 110. He Goes to Battle

The hero rides a "strawberry" roan that has two eagle feathers on its forelock. He wears a brown turban (possibly of otter-skin); the only other turban shown in these pictographs is a blue one that appears in Number 43. The hero carries a shield to which feathered red strouding has been attached. The pictograph is partially obliterated.

Number 111. A Horse

This pictograph consists of a (blue) roan horse with a red mane.

Number 112. A Horse

This pictograph consists of a partially obliterated horse drawn in blue outline.

Number 113. He Steals a Horse

At the right of this scene is a (red) sorrel with a black tail and a yellow band on its neck. It belonged to a warrior that was (or could have been) an enemy of the hero.

The hero leads the horse on a rope. The hero is walking. He wears a red sash and a hair feather. He carries a black rifle at his side. The pictograph is partially obliterated, so that the hero's horse, in black outline, can be barely seen standing beside him.

Number 114. He Attacks with an Arrow

The hero rides a black horse that has a white face. The hero is drawn in outline. He wears an animal skin tied to his hair, and carries a quiver. With his bow, he lets fly an arrow toward an obliterated area.

Number 115. A Ceremonial Pipe

This is the "mate" of the pipe shown in Number 2. Their descriptions are identical, except that the stem of this pipe is green as well as black; they are both ornamented with red horse hair, however. The bowl of this pipe differs slightly from the other, too, in that the bowl of this pipe is slightly rounded at the intersection with the stem. As with the other, this pipe has "fans" of yellow and red feathers attached to the middle of the stem.

Number 116. A Wolf

Shown here is a wolf with a yellow body, a black head and tail, and detailed teeth.

Number 117. A Turtle and a Fish

A circular-backed turtle with a black head and black feet appears in this pictograph. A black fish with a white face rests its tail on the back of the turtle.

Perhaps these animals symbolized some meaning or power for the artist, or perhaps he liked to draw them.

Number 118. He Escapes the Enemy

The hero's horse is a sorrel, has a feathered tail and bridle, black ears, and an arrow in one of its hind legs. No wound is indicated; so even though an arrow would quite obviously cause a wound, the wound that was caused was probably not serious enough to indicate. This may be especially true in view of the occurrence of hoofprints in front of the horse, indicating that he (and maybe others) ran fast and long in order to escape those pursuers who had shot him with an arrow. The hero riding this horse is wearing a black shirt and an eagle feather warbonnet of unusual length; the red strouding and "split horns" are similar to other warbonnets discussed earlier. Although the pictograph is slightly obliterated, the hero appears to carry a bow.

Number 119. An Eagle

This pictograph consists of a small eagle, drawn in black outline.

Number 120. He Wounds the Enemy with a Lance

The hero rides a green, shod horse with a black mane and tail. The hero wears feathered hair that is loose and flowing, and a black "trade" shirt. He carries a red shield with six eagle feathers, and a red rifle. He also carries a black lance which he points at the enemy.

The enemy is drawn in black outline, and wears "enemy" hair, a black and yellow cape, and red leggings. He has a wound in his chest.

Number 121. A Pronghorn Antelope

This pictograph consists of a small, black pronghorn antelope.

Number 122. A Pronghorn Antelope

This pictograph can be seen in Figure 52.

This pronghorn antelope is outlined in black, but unlike the one above, it is drawn in more detail and is not as sketchy. It has yellow stripes on its neck and back, black horns, a black nose, and is standing alone.

Number 123. He Wounds the Enemy with a Rifle

This pictograph is a notable exception to the general rule that the protagonist always appears at the right of the scene unless he has dismounted (in which case his horse is at the right). On the

right of this scene are three men with "enemy" hair who have been partially obliterated. The first is wearing a black breechcloth, carries a red rifle, and has a wound in the stomach. The other two enemies all carry red rifles but due to obliteration no wounds can be seen. At the far left of the pictograph is the partially obliterated hero wearing a red cape, carrying a powder horn and a rifle, and aiming at the third enemy figure. The hero rides a red and black streaked horse.

The obliterationof this pictograph is such that no indication is available as to exactly why the protanogist is drawn on the left.

Number 124. Three Horses

This pictograph consists of three horses; two large ones and a colt. All three are drawn in black outline.

Number 125. Nine Horses

The area immediately to the left of this pictograph has been completely obliterated,so it is impossible to tell if this scene was intended to portray the hero stealing nine horses, or if the artist simply wanted to draw horses for one reason or another.

There are three black horses, four red horses (or sorrels), one yellow horse (a buckskin), and one green horse. These horses are identically drawn; the artist may possibly have used a rawhide stencil as an aid.

These 125 pictographic scenes portray the actions and materials common to the owner of the tipi. He was, or had been, an honored warrior as his membership in several warrior societies indicates.

He was a wealthy man, as his many horses, fine clothing, and possibly many wives indicate. He may have been a member of a shamanistic society; he had married(at least once) and underwent initiation rites. His clothes, weapons, personal markings, and other accountrements identify him as a Dakota man of considerable social standing.

Types of Scenes and Artists

Pictographs refer to particular actions or materials. The actions and materials illustrated by, or implied by, these pictographs function to reveal (in part) the social organization and material culture of the artists.

The actions and materials pictured within each pictograph, when compared with historical and ethnographic data, resulted in both titles for the pictograph (e. g., "He goes to war") and general (cultural) categories of social actions and materials.

Following the description of the pictographs, they were categorized according tothe dominant, specific action and material referred to, or illustrated by, the drawings. Four categories are used here: Animals, Battle, Hunting, and (social) Status.

A pictograph was categorized as a battle scene if the protagonist was (whether mounted or on foot) involved in armed conflict with someone represented realistically or mnemonically, e. g. scalps attached to the bridle of the protagonist's horse. Even if no antagonist is pictured or implied, but the protagonist is in an active position, and is either armed or wears battle dress, then the pictograph was categorized as a battle scene. Seventy-nine such scenes resulted in this category.

If the actions or materials seen in the pictograph seemed to represent some aspect of the social organization, the pictograph was categorized as a scene representing or implying a position within that social organization. Thirteen scenes resulted in this category; scenes portraying societal initiation and membership, courting, (possibly) kinship, etc. This is a Status category.

A third category (which contains seven pictographic scenes) is the Hunting category. Any pictograph with an animal or animals wounded and/or being pursued by a hunter was categorized as Hunting.

Pictographs that contain animals which are not being pursued and/or are not woundedare categorized as Animal scenes. There are twenty-six pictographs so categorized. These animals are inactive. Possibly they were drawn for aesthetic or mythological purposes, but this category is defined by material references, not ideological ones. There are several animals in this scene: wolves, a turtle, an elk, eagles, pronghorn antelope, bears, deers, a turky, several buffaloes and horses.

These four categories of Battle, Hunting, Status, and Animals, were chosen because of the nature of Plains "horse" cultures of the mid-nineteenth century as indicated by ethnographic data presented earlier.

More than one artist is responsible for the drawing of these pictographs. The basis for this statement is an aesthetically subjective one; but some consensus may be achieved concerning this judgement by a comparison of Figures 41, 46, and 38 (which show Numbers 23, 43, and 7). These figures are typical of the degrees of technical proficiency that appear throughout the tipi cover's pictographic array.

Continuity and firmness of line, degree and complexity of detail, and sophistication of color application vary among the pictographs in such a way that they fit comfortably into three categories, called Artist A, Artist B, and Artist C.

Using the style, and other characteristics, of the three pictographs referred to above as standards, all other pictographs were compared to them. The lack of phalluses on the horses drawn by Artist B, for example, is almost always matched by the use of blue instead of black and a lack of leggings. These characteristics of Number 43, as shown in 46 are found over twenty times.

Table I is a list of the pictographs as they have been categorized according to which artist painted them and what type of scene is displayed.

Table II shows the comparison between the percentage of various scenes drawn by any one artist and the total number of scenes; that and the total number of scenes drawn by the artist are compared in Table III.

Colors

There is variation in the distribution and type of color used in the pictographs. The colors used in each pictograph are shown in Table IV.

From these quantities, which are summarized in Table V, it can be seen that although there was a hierarchy of color preference (from black to brown), the colors tended to be applied in particular types of scenes proportionate to their general frequency. Exceptions are red, which was used significantly less in animal scenes than in

TABLE I

COMPARISON OF PICTOGRAPH NUMBER, ARTIST, AND TYPE OF SCENE

Number	Artist	Type Scene	Number	Artist	Type Scene	Number	Artist	Type Scene
1	A	B	43	B	B	85	C	B
2	C	S	44	A	S	86	C	A
3	A	B	45	A	B	87	C	B
4	A	B	46	A	B	88	B	A
5	A	B	47	A	S	89	A	A
6	C	B	48	A	B	90	A	H
7	C	B	49	B	A	91	A	B
8	A	H	50	C	B	92	C	A
9	B	S	51	C	B	93	C	B
10	A	S	52	C	B	94	B	B
11	A	H	53	C	B	95	C	B
12	A	B	54	A	B	96	C	B
13	C	B	55	A	B	97	C	H
14	A	A	56	A	B	98	C	B
15	C	B	57	C	B	99	C	B
16	B	A	58	C	B	100	C	A
17	C	B	59	B	B	101	C	A
18	C	B	60	C	B	102	C	A
19	C	B	61	B	B	103	C	A
20	A	B	62	C	B	104	C	B
21	B	B	63	A	A	105	C	B
22	C	S	64	B	B	106	C	B
23	A	S	65	C	B	107	C	B
24	A	B	66	B	B	108	B	A
25	A	B	67	A	S	109	A	H
26	A	A	68	C	B	110	B	B
27	A	B	69	B	B	111	B	A
28	A	B	70	B	B	112	B	A
29	A	S	71	B	B	113	C	B
30	C	A	72	C	B	114	A	B
31	A	H	73	B	B	115	C	S
32	A	B	74	B	B	116	C	A
33	A	B	75	C	B	117	C	A
34	C	A	76	C	H	118	A	B
35	A	B	77	C	S	119	C	A
36	C	B	78	A	B	120	A	B
37	A	B	79	A	S	121	C	A
38	B	B	80	A	B	122	C	A
39	B	B	81	C	A	123	A	B
40	A	B	82	C	S	124	C	A
41	C	B	83	C	B	125	A	A
42	B	B	84	C	B			

TABLE II

COMPARISON OF PARTICULAR SCENES TO TOTAL SCENES

Type of Scene	ARTIST A	B	C	
Animal	5 (19.23)*	6 (23.07)	15 (57.70)	= 26 (100)
Battle	28 (35.44)	16 (20.26)	35 (44.30)	= 79 (100)
Hunting	5 (71.43)	0 (00.00)	2 (28.57)	= 7 (100)
Status	7 (53.84)	1 (07.69)	5 (38.47)	= 13 (100)
Totals	45 (36.00)	23 (18.40)	57 (45.60)	=125 (100)

*Numbers in parentheses are percentages

TABLE III

COMPARISON OF PARTICULAR SCENES BY ARTIST TO TOTAL SCENES BY ARTIST

Type of Scene	ARTIST A	B	C	
Animal	5 (11.11)*	6 (26.08)	15 (26.32)	= 26 (20.80)
Battle	28 (62.22)	16 (69.57)	35 (61.40)	= 79 (63.20)
Hunting	5 (11.11)	0 (00.00)	2 (03.50)	= 7 (05.60)
Status	7 (15.56)	1 (04.35)	5 (08.78)	= 13 (10.40)
Totals	45 (100)	23 (100)	57 (100)	= 125 (100)

*Numbers in parehtneses are percentages

TABLE IV

COLOR CONTENT OF EACH PICTOGRAPH

1.	Bk, R, Y*	43.	Bk, R, Bl, G	85.	Bk, R, Y
2.	Bk, R, Y	44.	Bk, Y, W	86.	Bk, Bl
3.	Bk, R, G	45.	Bk, R, Y	87.	Bk, R, Y
4.	Bk, R, Y, Bl, G	46.	Bk, R, Bl	88.	Bl
5.	Bk, R, G	47.	Bl, R, G, Br	89.	Bk, W
6.	Bk, R, Bl	48.	Bk, G, W	90.	Bk, R, Y, G
7.	Bk, R, Y	49.	Bk, Y	91.	Bk, R, Bl
8.	Bk	50.	Bk, R	92.	Bl
9.	Bk, R	51.	Bk, Bl, W	93.	R, Bl, Br
10.	R, Y, Bl	52.	R, Bl	94.	R, Bl, Y
11.	Bk, R	53.	Bk, R, Bl	95.	Bk, R, Br
12.	Bk, R, Bl	54.	Bk, R, Y	96.	Bk, R, Br
13.	Bk, R	55.	Bk, R, Y	97.	Bk, R, Bl
14.	Bk, R	56.	Bk, R, Y, W	98.	Bk
15.	Bk, R, Y, G	57.	Bk, R, Y, Bl	99.	Bk, R, Y, Bl
16.	R	58.	Bk, R, Bl	100.	Bl
17.	Bk, R	59.	Bk	101.	Bl, G
18.	Bk, R, Bl	60.	Bk, R, Bl	102.	Bk, Y
19.	Bk, R	61.	Bk, Y, Bl	103.	Bk
20.	Bk, R, G	62.	Bk, R, Y	104.	Bk, R, W
21.	Bk, R, Y	63.	Bk	105.	Bk, Bl, G
22.	Bk, R, W	64.	Bk, R, G	106.	Bk, R, Bl, Br
23.	Bk, R, Y	65.	Bk, R, Y, Bl	107.	Bk, R, Bl
24.	Bk, R,Bl	66.	R, Bl, W	108.	Bk
25.	Bk, R, Y	67.	Bk, R, G, W	109.	Bk, R
26.	Bk	68.	Bk, R	110.	R, Bl, Br
27.	Bk, R, Y, G	69.	Bk, R, Y, Bl	111.	R, Bl
28.	Bk, R, Bl, G	70.	R, Bl	112.	Bl
29.	Bk	71.	R, Bl	113.	Bk, R, Y
30.	Bk, G	72.	Bk, R	114.	Bk, W
31.	Bk	73.	R, Bl	115.	Bk, R, G
32.	Bk, R, Y	74.	Bk, R, Bl	116.	Bk, Y
33.	Bk, R, Bl	75.	Bk, R, Bl	117.	Bk, W
34.	Bl	76.	Bk, R, Y	118.	Bk, R
35.	Bk, R, Y	77.	Bk, Bl	119.	Bk
36.	Bk, R, Bl, G	78.	Bl	120.	Bk, R, G
37.	Bk, R, Bl, W	79.	Bk, R, Y, Bl	121.	Bl
38.	Bk, R, Y	80.	Bk, R, Bl	122.	Bk, Y
39.	Bk, R, Y, G	81.	Bl	123.	Bk, R
40.	Bk, R, Y, G	82.	Bk, R, G	124.	Bk
41.	Bk, R	83.	Bk, R, Y	125.	Bk, R, Y, G
42.	Bk,R	84.	Bk, R, Y		

*Bk = Black, Bl = Blue, Br = Brown, Y = Yellow, G = Green, R = Red, and W = White.

TABLE V

DISTRIBUTION OF COLOR

	Pictograph Total	Type of Scene			
		Animal	Battle	Hunting	Status
Black	84.00*	61.62	89.87	100.00	92.31
Red	72.00	15.38	89.87	71.43	76.93
Blue	38.20	38.46	45.32	14.29	15.39
Yellow	32.00	19.23	35.44	28.58	38.46
Green	18.20	11.55	18.99	14.29	30.77
White	09.60	08.32	08.85	00.00	23.07
Brown	04.80	00.00	06.32	00.00	07.70

*All numbers here are percentages

TABLE VI

ITEM FREQUENCY

Breastplates	(4)	Horses, shod	(21)	Sashes	(12)
Blankets, trade	(5)	Rifles	(70)	Swords	(7)
Bridle, silver	(3)	Roached hair	(3)	Shamans	(2)
Choker necklace	(3)	Scalps	(13)	Split horns	(5)
Hair plates	(3)	Shirts, trade	(10)	Turbans	(2)
Leggings,"Crow"	(4)	Shirtwearer shirts	(2)	Union cap	(3)
Horses	(109)	Soldiers, U. S.	(3)	Wrapped lances	(14)

other scenes, and blue, which appeared less in status and hunting scenes than it did (proportionately) in other scenes. White appeared in proportionately higher quantities in status scenes than it did in other scenes.

Colors in these pictographs were chosen for aesthetic and practical reasons. For example, although red appeared as body colors in some animal scenes, its use in these scenes was severely limited because of the strong connotation of red with blood and battle. Although black and blue were often used interchangeably in animal and battle scenes, blue possibly had connotations in a hunting or social status context that black did not have. White may have had connotations in a social status context that it did not have in other contexts. These changes in connotations may well have been conditioned by ideological factors.

In sum, practical and imitative considerations seem to have been responsible for the greater frequency of some colors over others, aesthetic considerations were responsible for their fairly even distribution, except in the cases mentioned above.

Frequency of Particular Items

Certain objects, or types of objects appear to have been "favorites" of the artists, or were drawn because they were common in everyday life. Several items that were common in everyday life were seldom drawn. Table VI is a partial list of item frequencies; the items were discussed or implied in earlier chapters.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The descriptions of such items of dress as necklaces, fringed buckskin shirts, otter-skin wrapping for braids, and "Crow" leggings match ethnographic descriptions of the Teton and Middle Dakota. Turbans are drawn on the tipi cover, and turbans were common among the Middle Dakota. The quilled yoke of a woman's dress, which is pictured on the tipi cover, was a trait common to the Teton Dakota. The unique Shirtwearer's shirt and Cante T'inza Society lance are drawn in these pictographs. But several of these (above) traits were found among other groups, as well. Corroborative evidence is needed for confirmation of the tipi cover's Dakota origin.

Summary

Other evidence, when considered, seems to fall on the side of the claim made by the Oklahoma Historical Society that their tipi was procured by Colonel John G. Clark from the Dakota ("Sioux") people who lived near Ft. Rice in 1866. The evidence tends to support the six assumptions made at the beginning of this study. With this support, it can be properly inferred that the claim made by the Society is valid.

Before any conclusions of a general nature may be drawn, however, a review of the six assumptions is in order.

One assumption was that "war and hunting were of primary social

and economical importance in the culture of the producers of the pictographs." War and hunting scenes, combined, account for 85 of the 125 pictographs, or 68% of the total. War and hunting scenes are thus of primary importance in the context of the pictographs; before it could be stated that war and hunting were of primary importance in the culture of the producers, it would have to be demonstrated that the intention of the artists' pictography was to mirror socio-cultural reality. It is impossible to interview the artists, but the literature cited in Chapter I emphasized the realistic quality of Plains pictography.

Another assumption was that "the events and objects symbolized by the pictographs are primarily in connection with war and hunting." As stated above, and in the translations and tables in Chapter VI, this is the case. Other than human figures, the most common objects drawn were weapons and horses. The most common actions were killing, wounding, and counting coup. Hunting did not appear as often as battle, but did appear as often as scenes of peaceful, social interaction (such as courting); in fact, many of the Status scenes had a battle "flavor." For example, warrior society lances were present at a marriage ceremony.

Another assumption was that "the art forms that compose these pictographs were common to the Dakota people in 1866." This is emphasized by the information presented in Chapters II, III, and IV; Figures 35-37 are Dakota pictographs, and they are stylistically more similar to Figures 38-54 (the O. H. S. Tipi Cover Pictographs) than the Cheyenne pictographs shown in Figures 33-34. The Distribution and use of colors on this tipi cover confirms the statements of Dorsey,

Ewers, and Howard in Chapters II and IV.

Another assumption was that "the pictographs on the tipi cover are symbolic of, and refer to, socio-cultural events and objects common to the Dakota people in 1866." The socio-cultural events and objects referred to by the pictographs can be inferred by description and interpretation, as is demonstrated in Chapter VI. When these inferences are compared with information presented in Chapter IV, the evidence indicates that the social and material culture of the Dakota, as is historically recorded, is extremely similar to the social and material culture of this tipi's creators. Fringed shirts and leggings with geometric designs, warrior society regalia, courting rituals, and native fauna are examples. Other than the pictographs, the tipi itself matches descriptions given in Chapter III of Dakota tipis.

Another assumption was that "the man who allegedly procured the tipi cover, Colonel John G. Clark, did so in 1866 at Fort Rice, which is located on the Missouri River." The evidence that John G. Clark obtained the tipi at Ft. Rice in 1866 is inferential and circumstantial. Although sources of documentation verify that John G. Clark commanded Ft. Rice in 1865-1866, these same sources indicate that Clark was never engaged in any battle with Indians in the area. He could have obtained the tipi second-hand, and that is probable; exactly how, where, when, and why the tipi passed from the hands of the owner into someone else's is not recorded. Exactly how the tipi cover passed into Clark's hands is not recorded, either.

Concerning the first point, however, it is recorded that the only U. S.-Indian conflict prior to 1866 in which the Indians were driven from their camp (probably the only way that a tipi such as

this could have been obtained by Whites) in the military area west of Ft. Rice was during General Sully's 1864 Expedition into the Killdeer Mountains. Other incidents similar to the successful 1864 raid by Sully may have occurred, but they are not recorded. Although not verifiable, this incident is a very possible candidate for the occasion when the tipi was procured.

Concerning the second point, only speculation is possible. Clark arrived at Ft. Rice a full year after the return of Sully's 1864 Expedition. Perhaps the tipi cover was a gift to Clark. It can be stated that Clark himself did not obtain the tipi while fighting the Indians.

It can also be stated that the tipi was absolutely no more than eleven years old at the time of its capture. The "Union" caps drawn in the pictographs first appeared among enlisted men in 1855. They became official, regular issue in 1861. Information presented in Chapter III indicates that skin tipis subjected to regular use had a life-span of approximately five years; this would place its construction at around 1861, at the earliest, probably.

Another assumption was that "this tipi cover was produced and used by Dakota, or "Sioux," people living near the Missouri River in Dakota Territory." The information given in Chapter V indicates that the Indians in the military area adjacent to Ft. Rice belonged to the northern sub-bands of the Teton Dakota and some sub-bands of the Upper Yanktonai Dakota. In the pictographs, possible Yanktonai influence appears in the portrayal of turbans, "Crow" leggings (which were popular among the northern sub-bands of the Teton, as well), and the hair braided into three braids with the back braid wrapped in

otter-skin. Although the lance of the Cante T'inza Society appears together with a man wearing a Wiciska Society headress three times, this is significant when it is understood that among the northern sub-bands of the Teton, these two (southern) societies were "collapsed" into one.

Although the Teton did not characteristically "roach" their hair at this time, roached hair appears three times, and although they were fond of shell breastplates (especially the northern Brule), only four are pictured in these drawings.

The evidence, however, does fall on the side of the contention that the Dakota west of Ft. Rice made the tipi. The unique Shirt-wearer shirt and the Cante T'inza Society lance with feathered red strouding were not found at this time among other conceivable candidates, even though other tribes did have items indicative of increasing acculturation that appear on the tipi cover: red and blue strouding, hair plates, silver bridles, swords, rifles, trade blankets and cloth, etc.

Conclusion

As noted earlier, only in two pictographs does the protagonist act in cooperation with another man. In all other pictographs featuring a protagonist, the impression is created of an individualistic people who sought pride in their social selves primarily by blood-letting and thievery. This parallels the White American tradition. This tipi proclaimed to all within viewing distances the exploits of the owner, defying anyone to forget that the way to social status was through war.

What distinguished them from their White adversaries, however, was of profound sociological significance. They were a truly social people; they were not afraid to interact, and their ideology required them to be social. They valued personal achievement as an indication of personality, not as a function of ideological subscription. When the Dakota killed a man, they saw a man die; sketchy as they are, dead or dying enemies are drawn with their personal markings and accoutrements. White men killing an Indian saw only the elimination of an object, as witnessed by several military diaries and journals (not to mention public statements). The latter attitude is not possible socially, but only ideologically; that is, when the person is unaware of the reality of his actions and materials. Unlike the Whites they fought, the Dakota were intensely aware of the personalness of all actions.

The survival of a culture is dependent on many factors, not the least of which is the presence of a society, a set of purposefully interacting personalities who are conscious of the emotional bonds between them, and between them and their ideology and material culture. The Dakota were surely a society; they quickly adopted new cultural traits. But because they were a society, they had difficulty adapting to new traits when forced to do so.

This socialness was reflected in their art, which is typified by action and interaction. Art attempts to form the formless, to preserve the fleeting moment and the emotion born of closeness. Art forms are material vehicles by which a society's essential qualities are transmitted; art is a transition point between society or personality and culture. It operates logically and materially in order to

convey emotion and action (and their objects).

Art is the point at which culture reflects the quality of a society. This pictographic art as Dakota culture is simple, direct, and traditional without being rigid; this pictographic art as Dakota society is aggressive, chaotic, and personal.

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