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SOUTHERN CHEYENNE ORTHODOXY: A STUDY IN MATERIALITY

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DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

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I dedicate this dissertation to those Cheyenne people who sacrifice their time and effort to fulfill their obligations, and to those who gave me an opportunity to understand.

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ABSTRACT

The study of materiality teaches us that the connections between objects and subjects express themselves in a variety of ways. Focusing on historic and contemporary challenges of knowledge transmission, this study explores the materiality of Southern Cheyenne moccasins through the lens of religious orthodoxy. Based on research conducted with Southern Cheyenne consultants in Oklahoma, I demonstrate how moccasins serve as the material manifestation of religious ideology and actively circulate within an orthodox Cheyenne system of cultural values. I explore the indexicality of moccasin designs to highlight the didactic function of moccasins as religious art and provide a detailed analysis of an orthodox Cheyenne system of indigenous knowledge and issues of design ownership. The research I present here contributes to anthropological understandings of knowledge transmission, regimes of value, symbolic capital, indexicality, and indigenous knowledge systems. This study, when coupled with earlier work by anthropologists who worked with the Southern Cheyenne, also contributes to a longitudinal study of cultural change and knowledge transmission.

PROLOGUE

A few years ago, as I was beginning my doctoral training at the University of Oklahoma, I attended a society dance of the Ponca tribe in White Eagle, Oklahoma. While at the dance, an older man entered the dance circle with two of his young grandsons. These young boys were dressed in straight dance suits, decorated with beaded strips extending down their legs. This style of beaded suit is not completely uncommon, but it was certainly in the minority at that time. To me, the beadwork was particularly beautiful—striking colors and crisp designs made it visually stunning. I leaned over to the man sitting next to me on the bench and pointed out the suits of these two young boys. I said, “Hey, take a look at those suits!” The response I received took me off guard. “I don’t like them,” he said. “They aren’t traditional. They aren’t authentic.” After asking him to clarify his judgment, I realized that what he meant was that the beadwork did not meet certain conventions that he had in his mind of what would have been made 100-120 years ago when these style suits were more common. In contrast to the older style beaded suits this man had in mind, these two suits were ‘modern.’ The elder man that brought these boys into the dance circle had adapted old women’s ribbonwork designs into beaded men’s legging strips. The old man adapted a historically used design from one art genre and applied it to another genre. Following the view of the man that did not like this adaptation, if these designs appeared in ribbonwork, they would meet the criteria of being ‘traditional;’

however, since these designs were applied to a different genre of art, and used on clothing worn by men rather than women, they seemed, at least in his view, to have lost the connection to ‘tradition.’ In essence, the issue at the heart of this situation was that the term ‘tradition’ here applied to something that was created at a particular point in time, i.e. a fixed, static point in time that is widely accepted in some ways as the standard. Deviation from this norm leads to devaluation from a traditional standpoint.

This brief encounter stuck with me throughout my graduate studies. I became obsessed with understanding exactly what ‘tradition’ means and how it is created. Furthermore, the idea of authenticity intrigued me. How does authenticity relate to tradition? Are they related? Where, in this view, is there room for dynamic change? How are these views developed, maintained, transmitted, destroyed, and/or changed? How does knowledge of the past serve those in the present? Does the lack of knowledge of the past hinder individuals within a particular cultural context? These questions led me down various paths, but ultimately I found some answers while working with the Southern Cheyenne. The key to these answers lays with an understanding of orthodoxy and ideology.

Introduction

As I began my field research for my dissertation, I had a number of ideas and expectations about what I was going to do and ultimately ‘discover,’ but this final report is nothing like what I had expected. I present, here, a study of the materiality of Southern Cheyenne moccasins through the lens of religious orthodoxy. This study addresses the transmission of cultural and religious knowledge in the Southern Cheyenne community in western Oklahoma and highlights orthodoxy within a dynamic culture.

The ideas and themes addressed within this study intersect with broad questions and topics of interest to the field of anthropology in general and with those who study North America in particular. This study speaks to issues of the transmission of culture and to ways individuals access an ideology that is no longer dominant in a culture. I challenge the traditional anthropological discussion of ‘tradition’ offering an alternate way to view historic practices in the present through the application of orthodoxy. Through a discussion of knowledge transmission and the transmission of symbolic capital through social networks, this study also contributes to broad issues of indigeneity.

The transmission of culture proves an important theme in anthropology, and this study addresses in detail what happens when transmission structures previously used in a community break down. In this discussion, I question what

actually broke. I demonstrate how two bodies of information became disconnected: 1) moccasin designs and their relation to ideology and 2) opportunities to share information. When a small group of individuals possess knowledge but have few opportunities to share such knowledge in historically established networks, a break in transmission occurs. Access to that information at times becomes politicized, similar to when language is used as political capital in societies experiencing language loss.

When access to information becomes limited, a broad understanding of the way that information fits within a larger social/ideological sphere becomes unclear. This has implications for issues of intellectual property and indigenous knowledge systems. Indigenous knowledge systems ultimately change when the maintenance of cultural knowledge changes.

American Indian cultures have historically been depicted as being endangered, vanishing, or simply something of the past. These cultures have often been presented as homogeneous; however, this depiction has not taken into account the vibrant, diverse, and dynamic reality of these cultures.¹

This dissertation, at its broadest level, focuses on how the lens of Southern Cheyenne religious orthodoxy illuminates the materiality of moccasins. I

¹ I use Pfister's (2000: 115) definition of culture: "the shared products of a given society: its values, knowledge, norms, and material goods."

purposely use the term ‘orthodox’ throughout this study, rather than ‘traditional,’ for two main reasons: 1) the views that influenced my research come from a religious foundation that draws on the past to make meaningful the present, and 2) tradition is too loaded of a term and is imbued with value judgments. I use the term ‘orthodox’ in its dictionary definition: “conforming to established doctrine especially in religion” (Meriam-Webster), or more broadly as “accepting and closely following the traditional beliefs and customs of a religion” (learnersdictionary.com, accessed 18 February 2011).

‘Tradition,’ or ‘traditional,’ as descriptive terms do not work well in this study, and I argue are generally not useful. Throughout time, tradition has been categorized in two ways: by its commonsense and scientific meanings (Handler and Linnekin 1984). The commonsense meaning is associated with “an inherited body of customs and beliefs,” whereas, the scientific meaning has been the subject of ongoing discourse by scholars due to its empirical and theoretical inadequacies (Handler and Linnekin 1984: 273).

Since the time of Edmund Burke (1968), the first modern theorist of tradition, a naturalist view dominated Western social thought (Handler and Linnekin 1984:286). This naturalist view compared tradition to “a natural object, occupying space, enduring in time, and having a molecular structure” (Handler and Linnekin 1984:286). Handler and Linnekin (1984) discussed M.E. Smith’s

(1982) argument that “‘traditional’ and ‘new’ are interpretive rather than descriptive terms: ‘since all cultures change ceaselessly, there can only be what is new, although what is new can take on symbolic value as ‘traditional’” (1984:273-274). They added to this argument by stating first that designating parts of culture as ‘old’ or ‘proach’ “encourages us to see culture and tradition naturalistically, as bounded entities made up of constituent parts that are themselves bounded objects” (1984: 273). Secondly, they recognized that in this context, or ‘atomistic paradigm,’ “we treat culture and its constituents as entities having an essence apart from our interaction of them” (1984: 274). Handler and Linnekin argued that “the task of a naturalistic science of tradition is to identify and describe the essential attributes of cultural traits, rather than to understand our own and our subjects’ interpretive models. The prevailing understanding of tradition, both in our commonsense notion and in scholarly elaborations of it, embodies these premises” (1984: 274). The main problem with viewing ‘tradition’ in a naturalistic sense is that, as we shall see, beliefs and actions deemed ‘traditional’ cannot be bound—they are too dynamic.

The popular concept of tradition in modern times is based on A.L. Kroeber’s (1983 [1902, 1904, 1907]: 411) definition: tradition is “the internal handing on through time” of cultural traits. However, the main problem with this definition is that it seems to imply a temporal continuity. In contrast, Edward Shils’ (1971: 19) approach emphasized the dynamic nature of tradition. Shils argued that

variation has always existed—noting that a static, “unchanging folk society,” to which Kroeber alluded, never existed (Shils 1971: 18). Handler and Linnekin (1984: 273) argued that the definition of tradition cannot be bound, given, or referred in essence; rather it is “an interpretive process that embodies both continuity and discontinuity.” Additionally, they argued that tradition fails as a scientific concept when Western concepts of commonsense are applied, assuming “an unchanging core of ideas and customs is always handed down...from the past” (Handler and Linnekin 1984: 273). From those varying views of tradition, it is clear that time plays a vital role, whether it is changing time or static time.

The recognition of the dynamic nature of ‘tradition’ is evident in scholarly writing since Kroeber (Eisenstadt 1973; Rudolph and Rudolph 1967; Singer 1972); however, the inclusion of history to the understanding of tradition is a more recent phenomenon. In his critique of previous scholarly writing on tradition, Raymond Bucko (1998:99) noted that history is “an objective guide” for the study of tradition, which is often omitted. He presented tradition as a dialectic, with the poles being history and present experience (1998:252). In the context of his research, Bucko illustrated this dialectic by describing the links between Lakota ‘ancestral ways’ and their present reality and argued that “contemporary behavior is the ultimate criteria for tradition, albeit behavior that is linked to and evaluated by perceptions of the past” (Bucko 1998:100).

Ultimately, 'tradition' has baggage. It is not well defined, or rather that definition is not widely understood free of assumptions and value judgments. The views used within this study find their root in a religious ideology, not simply the past, and the term 'orthodox' stands clear of many of the assumptions and judgments tied to 'tradition.'

Material culture theory in the past focused on the binary split between subject and object (Miller 1998), and those that studied material culture often viewed the object as static and part of the past. People were reduced to the object level when static material culture was used to represent a living culture. These views did not fare well in response to the post-modern critique of anthropology, which continued the decline of the respectability of material culture studies within anthropology. Within the past fifteen to twenty years, anthropologists have reinvigorated material culture studies. Bolstered by well-considered theory (e.g. Miller 1998; Keane 2005; Morphy 1992; Myers 1993, 2001, 2002, 2005; Pinney 2005; Price and Price 1999; Tilley 2006b, 2006c), the study of 'materiality' has been able to address the critiques of past material culture studies, while developing respectability within anthropology.

Materiality focuses on destabilizing the binaries of subject/object (Keane 2005; Hoskins 2006), mind/matter (see Kucher 2005), and material/immaterial (Myers 2005). It suggests that objects, while not necessarily social, are still active

in societies. Separating objects and people from classificatory systems proves unnecessary. Studies should focus on how these systems affect people and objects, rather than finding divisions between objects and people. Materiality aims to show "how the things we make, make people" (Miller 2005). Materiality helps us to move beyond binaries, while allowing us to continue to engage and discuss the categories created by human thought and ideologies.

Daniel Miller (1998) argued that materiality is a theory of consumption and is useful to the study of consumer societies. Materiality affords people agency in identity construction by recognizing that people choose the material that they use to construct their identities. Fred Myers (2005) presented a case for how ideology ties to materiality. In his review of legal discourse related to cultural appropriation of Australian Aboriginal heritage, Myers' view of materiality and heritage must address local understandings of ownership and use of object. His study leads to the question, *who owns culture and the use of cultural material?* In the case of Australian Aboriginals, as presented by Myers, material objects are an important part of heritage. Heritage often takes a material form. As noted by Chronis (2006) and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998), heritage plays a part in identity development and maintenance. Identity is a human construction and is part of what drives people in life. Following this line of connections helps to illustrate how material objects are part of the people that give them meaning (Keane 2005; Tilley 2006b). The meaning and impact of material culture, specifically heritage

objects, does not simply affect the maker, but all those who share the heritage. Regardless of the temporal or geographic distance between the creation of a material object and living communities, objects and people have shared, interconnected lives, even though they have their own temporalities (Pinny 2005).

Webb Keane (2005) added to the understanding of materiality by providing a semiotic argument that suggests that a ‘bundling’ of qualities occurs when humans make and use objects and that these qualities are connected to history. He argued that material objects take on attributes of the time in which they were created and serve as signs of this past. The selections of the features of the objects imbued with meaning are identified by contemporary people to act as a signifier of a historical memory. Keane’s focus is not on ‘what’ the objects stand for, but rather the signification process itself.

Delimitations and Limitations

Writing about history for anthropologists proves difficult. Should I write in the present, describing what happens currently [meaning, as of the time I recorded my research]? Or should I write in the past, presenting material in a way future generations read as past practices, but leaving the impression that these ideas no longer have weight for those involved? Taking cues from the people

with whom I worked on this study, I will present material as it was presented to me, i.e. if I cite past publications or if a consultant discussed material in the past tense, I will present it in the past tense; however, if a consultant discussed ongoing actions, I will present it in the present tense in order to emphasize my consultants' desires to preserve particular aspects of their culture for future generations. This study deals with orthodox Cheyenne views, which inherently involve the preservation of past actions for future purposes, and my presentation style will attempt to maintain this purpose.

Ultimately, this study addresses the processes in which orthodoxy is formed, maintained, and changed. To contemporary orthodox Cheyenne people, certain aspects of the past are synonymous with the present, while others recorded by early anthropologists prove less meaningful; consequently, this privileging of a selected past leads to slight variation within orthodox practice. To put it simply, one person's idea of orthodoxy is another's idea of the un-orthodox. I have witnessed many occasions when one Cheyenne person made a critical comment about the actions of another, while the other maintained they were acting in a proper (orthodox) manner. Within this study I aim to demonstrate where some of these variations exist by using moccasins as a vehicle for discussion. While I intend to follow a (Cheyenne) community agenda in the presentation of these ideas, I hope such a style proves useful for a deeper anthropological understanding of the facets of orthodoxy. Key aspects of Cheyenne history are

found throughout this text; however, a brief introduction to the Cheyenne remains important.

A Southern Cheyenne Snapshot

Under the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act of 1937, the Southern Cheyenne and the Southern Arapaho were politically tied by the U.S. government to form the Cheyenne-Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma (Moore, Liberty, and Straus 2001: 878); however, these tribes had, and have, different languages and religious traditions. It is these differences that led me to conduct my fieldwork with the Southern Cheyenne exclusively, rather than attempting to make sense of a complex topic while filtering through two competing cosmologies.

So, who are the Southern Cheyenne? Grinnell (1907: 169), who worked for a short time among the Cheyenne in the early twentieth century, stated that:

[The Cheyenne] is made up of the descendants of two allied tribes, the Tsīs-tśīs'tās, or Cheyenne proper, and the Sūh'tai, who are said to have joined the Cheyenne after they had crossed the Missouri River, probably much less than two hundred years ago. Ancient men give the name of the Cheyenne as Tsīs-tśīn-tśīs'-tas, and say that it means "we belong here." This tribe was earlier called Sand Hill People, or Sand Hill Men, Nī-ōm-a-he'-tān-iu (pl.). This is said to be the name originally given to the

Cheyenne and to have been borne by them for a long time after they were first placed on the earth.²

Much debate and speculation was published on the movement of the Cheyenne and ancient changes to their ways of life (see Grinnell 1923; Moore 1974b; Powell 1969); however, this debate has little meaning for the Cheyenne people with whom I worked. The main aspect of history that proves important and is repeated by orthodox Cheyenne ceremonialists, is that “Cheyenne bands [were] unified in the Black Hills of South Dakota, an area rich with buffalo, where the oral literature and religion of the tribe attained its historical form” (Moore, Liberty, and Straus 2001: 863). This piece of history is the foundation for much of what is presented within this study.

John Moore (1974a: i), an anthropologist who worked for much of his career among the Southern Cheyenne, suggested the alliance between the *Tsīš-tšīn-tšīš'-tas* and the *Sutaio* “ultimately led to the nearly complete cultural and genetic absorption of the *Sutaio*” into the Cheyenne proper. Beginning in the early nineteenth century, a split occurred within the Cheyenne leading to the formation of northern and southern divisions by 1826. These divisions were solidified by the early 1830s as the southern group settled near Bent’s Fort along the Arkansas River, Colorado (Carlson 1998: 40; Moore, Liberty and Straus 2001:

² Also see: Moore, Liberty and Straus (2001: 881).

865). With these divisions came access to different material resources that affected the material production within these groups. Carlson (1998) suggested that the separation of the southern Cheyenne from sources of historically used materials, such as porcupine quills, coupled by the relatively easy access to glass beads at Bent's Fort, may be the main impetus for decorative changes between the two groups.

The divisions between the northern and southern Cheyenne were further solidified by the signing of the Medicine Lodge Treaty (Southern Cheyenne and Southern Arapaho) in 1867 and the Treaty of Fort Laramie (Northern Cheyenne and Northern Arapaho) in 1868 (Moore 1974a: 95). The signing of these treaties, along with confinement of the Southern Cheyenne on their reservation in Indian Territory by 1880, ultimately led to the close placement of the Southern Cheyenne and the Southern Arapaho—an issue that proves important to the maintenance of Cheyenne orthodox beliefs and identity and a topic I address throughout this study.

Much material was published on Cheyenne history, political/social structures and ceremonial practices between 1900 and 1974, which Moore (1974a: 18-53, 329) criticized for their historical inconsistencies and the methods

used by early anthropologists to collect such material.³ Having spent time in other Native communities and having recognized the major inaccuracies presented by many early scholars about Native peoples, I had made the decision before beginning work with the Cheyenne *not* to read any historical publications. My purpose was to learn the history and culture of the Cheyenne *from* the Cheyenne with the expressed purpose to learn what aspects of their history they find most important and to accept their current practices without the bias of ‘knowing’ they vary from what was recorded a century earlier. This tactic proved highly useful when conducting my research because it allowed me to focus my lines of inquiry to areas my consultants deemed important without falling into traps of preconceived notions of misunderstood practices and beliefs. Additionally, it allowed me to identify current variations without confusing them with historic variation. This does not suggest that I conducted research without a designed study, rather my study focus changed and I adapted to the circumstance. I deferred to Cheyenne modes of learning related to sacred knowledge and knowledge/information central to this dissertation, rather than biasing myself with the cultural filters of past researchers.

John Moore (1974a: 305), in the concluding words of his dissertation on Cheyenne religious symbolism, stated that

³ Such as: Dorsey 1905; Grinnell 1923; Hoebel (1960); Hoebel and Llewellyn 1941; Mooney 1907 and 1911.

No recent ethnographer of American Indians, to my knowledge, has seen fit to junk existing ethnographies, or leave them in abeyance, and simply to start from scratch with field observations... Yet, in my opinion, this is exactly what is needed now. I believe that the more pedantic problems of classical pre-reservation ethnography would disappear, and we would be forced to consider the real and present culture of a living people, rather than looking at the relics of the past.

I had not read these words by Moore until after I completed my field research, but his views seem to validate my strategy.

This study was organic by design and grew into a community directed project. The history and behaviors I describe here are what influence my consultants' lives and belief systems. Primacy is given to *their* thoughts and actions, not those of the past, unless that past is made meaningful in the present.

Cheyenne Ceremonial People: An Orthodox Perspective

Religion is an important part of life for many Cheyenne people, and their religious views, ideology, and cosmology help shape the world around them. While various forms of Christianity are practiced by many Cheyenne, including the Native American Church (Kroeber 1983 [1902, 1904, 1907]; La Barre 1989; Stewart 1993), a viable group of orthodox individuals, numbering in the hundreds, continue to participate in Cheyenne religious activities, e.g. Sun Dance and Arrow Worship. Those that complete vows in the Sun Dance receive the label of

‘ceremonial man’ or ‘ceremonial woman.’ In this sense, the Sun Dance serves not only as a place of prayer and sacrifice, but also as a form of Rite of Passage.⁴ Those individuals who complete a four-year vow emerge from their experience as a new person with a new set of standards they are expected to follow in life.

Participants of a Sun Dance often receive a vision, hear a message, or receive some form of healing ability from the Sun Dance. These blessings, accompanied by a strict sense of action and response between human action and nature’s response, leads to a feeling of connection between humans and the world in which they live. Actions that an outsider may call ‘superstitious’ are nothing of the sort to Cheyenne ceremonial people. The recognized connections between human action and the spirit world are what guide the lives of these individuals, reinforce their ideology, and what ultimately keep most ceremonial Cheyenne on a path of religious orthodoxy.

The social expectations of ceremonial people puts them in a very unique situation as it applies to knowledge transmission and authority. Among orthodox Cheyenne, authority is hierarchical—those who are ceremonial people have more authority than non-ceremonial people; elder ceremonial people have more authority than their younger counterparts; young ceremonial people have more authority than elder non-ceremonial people; and, generally speaking, ceremonial

⁴ See Victor Turner (2004 [1964]) “Betwixt and Between.”

men have more authority than ceremonial women. A challenge to the broad transmission of knowledge by ceremonial people arises due to the Cheyenne value of humility. While ceremonial people have the authority to speak, public displays of authority are often avoided. Non-ceremonial people are not, from an orthodox perspective, expected to show humility and are permitted to speak broadly; however, they are only permitted to do so with the permission of ceremonial people.

Ceremonial people almost exclusively possess the knowledge that this study addresses, and they have the authority to speak, but will not. This is not to suggest that ceremonial people do not want the information included in this study shared with a wide audience. *They* just cannot speak so broadly. I did not request the role I have assumed in presenting the knowledge they wish to share. The ceremonial people with whom I worked requested I present this material and permitted me to speak with an authority they granted. While I maintain authorial authority in writing this dissertation, ceremonial people have vetted the material for accuracy, cultural value, and sensitivity.

The Cheyenne orthodox perspectives I present involve beliefs related to religion and the material world and incorporate the views of both women and men. John Moore (1984: 310) noted that “classic Cheyenne ethnography, like most ethnography of that period, suffers from a preoccupation with males and

male activities. Very few of the articles and books written about Cheyennes contain much about the institutions of women.” On the other hand, he and others have continued to emphasize the male role in Cheyenne religion by stating (correctly, mind you): “For the Southern Cheyennes, traditional authority derived from their Sacred Arrows through the agency of the Arrow Keeper, the priests, the men’s societies, the chiefs’ society, and participants in major ceremonies” (Moore, Liberty and Straus 2001: 879).

The primary challenge I faced in my research proved to be the small number of individuals that possess the knowledge I describe within this dissertation. This small number is the result of various reasons I discuss in Chapter One. Due to the small number of consultants who were both orthodox Cheyennes and had knowledge of the connections of Cheyenne moccasins and religious ideology, I had difficulty verifying some information that was presented to me. For this reason, I chose not to include information that was not accepted by a majority of this sub-population of consultants.

Another challenge, as I noted above, was the unwillingness of some consultants to speak with authority when in the presence of others more senior to them. In those cases, the more knowledgeable individual often deferred to the elder (or more senior ceremonial person) in the room who may or may not have had any knowledge of the topics we were discussing.

The knowledge addressed throughout this study that I associate with ‘orthodox’ Cheyennes is largely held by a small sub-sub-group. If you imagine one large circle that represents ‘Cheyennes,’ and within that circle is a sub-group that are orthodox, within *this* orthodox sub-group you find multiple sub-sub-groups with specialized knowledge related to certain topics that fall within the orthodox sub-group. Moccasin making is one of these sub-sub-groups. An individual does not need to be at the core of all the sub-sub-groups of orthodoxy to be orthodox, and he/she most certainly does not need access to *all* the orthodox knowledge associated with other sub-sub-groups to be orthodox. For example, many orthodox Cheyennes function as ‘orthodox’ without the specialized knowledge associated with moccasin making, just as orthodox Cheyenne moccasin makers need not possess knowledge of cosmological ornithology to function as an orthodox Cheyenne. That said, many orthodox Cheyennes do bridge these sub-sub-groups and have the ability to speak more broadly and with more authority due to their varied and more nuanced understanding of orthodoxy. My key consultant, David Ramos, fits this role that bridges multiple sub-sub-groups of Cheyenne orthodoxy. David, as I will explain in more detail in Chapter One, is a moccasin maker, dress maker, storyteller, Kit Fox Society member, and ceremonial man.

Field Site, Recruitment, Confidentiality, and Methods

I conducted a multi-sited ethnography (Marcus 1995) primarily in western Oklahoma within the borders of the former Cheyenne-Arapaho Reservation—north of Interstate 40, from Interstate 35 to the east and the Oklahoma-Texas border to the west. My research was conducted in such locations as artists' homes/workshops, 'Indian Stores,' highway tourist attractions/trading posts, museum gift shops, tribal trading posts, Indian art cooperatives, and at powwows and Indian art shows.

During my field research, I lived in Norman, OK, but commuted to my field site three to five times per week beginning in February 2009 until February 2010. During the summer of 2009 I rented an apartment in Weatherford, OK in order to stay in a closer proximity to my field site and establish my presence within the Southern Cheyenne community. After my initial period of research, I continued to return to western Oklahoma a few times each month to attend cultural and ceremonial events and to maintain contact with Cheyenne consultants. I collected the data for this dissertation over a period of two and a half years.

I used theory-driven judgment sampling (Barroso 1997), which provided me with the ability to purposefully adjust my sampling process as I encountered new opportunities related to the study objectives, and snowball sampling

(Weisner 2002) to identify and include moccasin makers who make and/or sell moccasins.

The consultants who participated in this study were primarily individuals enrolled in the Cheyenne-Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma, including moccasin makers, religious leaders, and ‘ceremonial’ people. Those who were not enrolled had close long-term connections with the community through marriage or adoption, or through longstanding business relationships with moccasin makers. I worked most closely with eight moccasin makers from orthodox Southern Cheyenne families (as defined in this Introduction). During the data collection phase of my dissertation, I enrolled eighty-six people in my study. I obtained signed informed consents for each person enrolled. I approached all potential participants and utilized the original approved verbal recruitment script. The same recruitment script was utilized if potential participants are contacted by telephone in the future. All recruitment was either done face-to-face or over the phone, which ensured that only I was privy to information regarding an individual’s decision to participate in the study.

Participant confidentiality has been, and will continue to be, maintained unless the participant consented to being identified. I also, independently, have considered the implications for those participants who wished to be named in publications. I reserved the right to withhold the name of a few individuals who

otherwise were willing to be publicly credited because I determined that their named inclusion may have placed that person at some social risk in the community.

I used three main methods for data collection: 1) semi-structured, face-to-face interviews, 2) participant observation, and 3) formal survey methods. Susan Weller (1998) highlighted the utility of semi-structured interviews, which rely on pre-formulated (prompt) questions but allow for both open-ended answers and spontaneous follow up questions. I used a ‘passive participation’ methodology (Hall 1976; Spradley 1970, 1980) to observe interactions between moccasin makers and others in public contexts to get an understanding of the role of moccasins within an orthodox Southern Cheyenne way of life. Quite often, I was asked to engage in a more active role of participant observation (Nelson 1969; Spradley 1980) by assisting in the construction of moccasins or in more ceremonial contexts at Sun Dance. Nelson noted that “when full [active] participation is used to document a technique...the ethnographer must learn to do it himself with at least the minimum of proficiency for success” (Nelson 1969:394).

Some participants were asked to participate in more formal surveys, including a paired comparison and a pile sort exercise. While I did not use the results of these formal survey methods in this dissertation, the topics they covered

elicited additional information from consultants, resulting in deeper interview sessions.

Unless requested otherwise by the consultant, interviews during this project were audio recorded. Participants were free to provide information to this project without being audio recorded.

In terms of Cheyenne language use in this study, I was presented with a variety of problems. Most notably, the historic literature on Cheyennes used various orthographies and were often not consistent within single studies. I have attempted to adhere to the Cheyenne orthography presented by Rodolphe Petter (1915), though inconsistencies remain for further research and analysis. Additionally only six of my primary consultants speak Cheyenne, and of these, only one is an orthodox Cheyenne moccasin maker. I do not speak Cheyenne, but that did not impede my data collection on the material presented here.

Chapter Overview

The organization of the material presented, and the chapters themselves, was influenced by the arguments of Webb Keane (2006). Keane argued that many studies of materiality only focus on parts of a greater story, i.e. they focus on either production, representation, subjectivities (such as fetishism and agency),

or how objects are an extension of the subject. He argued that the materiality should be presented as ‘bundled’—all these stories are connected.

In Chapter One I discuss orthodox Southern Cheyenne values and how they relate to walking a ‘road’ of life. The importance of Bear Butte, the sacred mountain, to orthodox ideologies is also made clear. These ideological themes prove important to an understanding of how moccasins are viewed from an orthodox perspective. Here, I also discuss the transmission of cultural knowledge through formal and informal means and how shifts in knowledge maintenance have affected the spread of this knowledge today. Towards the end of Chapter One, I also discuss the agency of moccasins and the ideological foundation for the handling of moccasins by orthodox Southern Cheyennes.

In Chapter Two, I present a variety of values associated with moccasins from an orthodox Southern Cheyenne perspective. This discussion demonstrates how moccasins are created, distributed, used, and transformed by those who use them. Within this chapter I argue that the use of moccasins and the values they contain are limitless due to their materiality.

Chapter Three presents a number of aspects related to moccasins never discussed in print before now. The focus of this chapter is on the didactic function of religious art and the *intended* use of moccasins, and more precisely moccasin designs, by orthodox Cheyennes as teaching tools to communicate

religious and cultural lessons. In order to more completely understand this chapter, I emphasize the need to read Chapter One first, because it illuminates the discussion of icons, indexes, and symbols.

In Chapter Four, I discuss the differing views of representation by orthodox and non-orthodox Cheyennes, as well as those of non-Cheyenne Native people and non-Indians. From this discussion, I explore the issue of design ownership and the challenges materiality poses to the maintenance of orthodox beliefs.

The Conclusion will tie together all the threads discussed throughout this dissertation, and it will discuss how a lens of religious orthodoxy influences studies of materiality. Ultimately, I will demonstrate how this study relates to current questions and issues in Anthropology and will highlight areas for future research. While I present a broad picture of materiality, orthodoxy, knowledge transmission, cultural value systems, art, indexicality, representation of identity, and indigenous knowledge, this study explores connections to various other topics of anthropological interest that require additional consideration in the future, such as market economics, exchange theory, and language shift.

Chapter I Religion and Values of the Southern Cheyenne

The experience of worship is somewhat akin to the experience of a work of art: when you give enough time and reflection to an artwork, it becomes a part of you. You bring to it your questions, emotions, non-verbal memories; the artwork answers and affirms and reminds. It has its own reality, and at the same time it participates in yours. (Stone 2003: 137)

Cheyenne Religion, Value System, and Image

Karen Stone's (2003) ideas on the connection of religion and art are particularly useful when discussing Cheyenne religion, value systems, and moccasins. She argued that the absorption, integration, and creation of images is part of "the universal language that human beings have used to respond to God and to address the spiritual dimensions of their lives" (Stone 2003: 7). To orthodox Cheyenne, the creation and use of moccasins emphasizes this connection of religion, value systems, and image. More specifically, the most important parts of Cheyenne religion that manifest themselves in Cheyenne moccasins are the prophet, Sweet Medicine (Motseyoef),⁵ the sacred arrows given

⁵ Other translations of 'Morseyoef' include: Sweet Root, Sweet Root Standing, or Rustling Corn Leaf (Grinnell 1907: 169).

to them by their prophet, and the sacred mountain, Bear Butte (Nowah'wus, *nóvávóse*)⁶, where their prophet received the arrows.



(Fig. 01 - Photo of Bear Butte by John P. Lukavic 4 July 2010)

Moore, Liberty, and Straus (2001: 873) identified four ceremonies that were important to Cheyenne people: the Sacred Arrow Renewal, the Sun Dance (Medicine Lodge/New Life Lodge), the Massaum or Animal Dance, and the Sacred Hat ceremony.⁷ The authors suggested the Sacred Renewal Arrow ceremony was the most important of the four, and this was corroborated by my Cheyenne consultants. Of the remaining three ceremonies, the Sacred Hat is currently more associated with Northern Cheyenne people and the Massaum is defunct.⁸ Other authors (Carlson 1998:45; Dorsey 1905b: 186; Hoebel 1960: xi-xvi) suggested the Sun Dance came to the Cheyenne by the Sutayo after 1700

⁶ Bear Butte is located just northeast of Sturgis, South Dakota.

⁷ See: Powell (1960)

⁸ The last Massaum ceremony was performed among the Southern Cheyenne in 1927 and among the Northern Cheyenne in 1911 (Schlesier 1987: xiii).

C.E.—a point hotly debated by many Cheyenne ceremonialists—leaving the Sacred Arrow ceremony as the oldest ceremony practiced by Cheyenne today and most relevant to this study.

Goerge Dorsey (1903: 644) noted that “it is commonly known that there exists in each of several Plains tribes of Indians an object or group of objects held in great veneration and known as the tribal ‘medicine’ . . . Among the Cheyenne it is four arrows, one painted red, another white, another yellow, and the fourth black.” The arrows mentioned here, along with a new cosmology, value system and—to steal a term from the Judeo-Christian tradition—covenant, were given to Sweet Medicine by Maheo (the Creator) at the Sacred Mountain. Cheyenne stories tell how Sweet Medicine brought all these things to the Cheyenne people, while also rescuing them from famine (Grinnell 1907: 170). Because of the connection between these gifts and actions of Sweet Medicine, Bear Butte proves a core symbol—although, not a key symbol⁹—for orthodox Cheyenne beliefs, but is also used to unify and represent Cheyennes, in general. The use of Bear Butte designs on moccasins is discussed from an orthodox perspective in Chapter Three, and from a non-orthodox perspective in Chapter Four.

The actions of Sweet Medicine and the events/locations associated with these actions are of great importance to orthodox Cheyennes. Dr. Henrietta

⁹ See: Sherry B. Ortner (1973) “On Key Symbols.” *American Anthropologist*. Blackwell Publishing. Vol. 75, No. 5 Oct.

Mann, an elder ceremonial woman and current President of the Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribal College in Weatherford, OK, wrote about the connection of these elements:

As The People walked their road of life they came upon new situations, some of which significantly changed their lives. Thus it was that they came into contact with Sweet Medicine somewhere on their pilgrimage from the woodlands of Canada southwestward to the plains. “The Great One” had sent Sweet Medicine to The People with four sacred (medicine) arrows and the accompanying ceremony, the Arrow Renewal. Through this major ceremony the life of the Cheyennes is strengthened and renewed. Their distinct identity as a tribe has as its very foundation the four sacred arrows, the holy gift from the Creator. [Sweet Medicine] also devised their value system, consisting of love, respect, cooperation, generosity, understanding, humility, and maintenance of the Cheyenne way of life. During the 446 years Sweet Medicine lived with the Cheyennes, they were happy and life was good. (Mann 1997: 2)

Bill Red Hat, the current Keeper of the Sacred Arrows, echoed these ideas:

Motseyoef gave the Sacred Arrows to us. These four Arrows belong to all men in the tribe, youngest to oldest. We got them way back in giant stage on our homegrounds, the Black Hills, on our Sacred Mountain, Nowah’wus. Motseyoef, the one we call Sweet Medicine, he brought everything to our people, the Arrows, all the ceremonies, the food, everything we have. (Schukies 1993: 34-35)

As Mann and Red Hat noted, and a point internalized by orthodox Cheyenne ceremonialists, Sweet Medicine is at the core of Cheyenne life. Moore, Liberty and Straus (2001: 875) added that “the Cheyenne polity is structured according to the instructions received by their culture hero, Sweet Medicine, and symbolized

by the four Sacred Arrows he received at the sacred mountain (Bear Butte).” All of these connections are recorded and made clear in Cheyenne stories that are shared through generations (see Chapter Three). Ultimately, as Moore (1974a: 12) argued, “the ideal expectations for the traditionalist role model are contained, I submit, in symbolic form, in the system of religious beliefs embodied in the Sun Dance and Arrow Ceremony. Cheyenne myth and cosmology contain, both in explicit and implicit form, all sorts of directives for proper conduct for a modern Cheyenne.” Moore (1974a: 13-14) added that, “By participating in traditional religion a Cheyenne learns and acts out in microcosm some social values which are of practical benefit to him in surviving on the reservation.” He suggested that the value of Cheyenne ceremonies is “that a Cheyenne learns specific patterns of behavior which can be translated into real social and economic improvements in his personal life.” Moore (1974a: 12) maintains that “there exists within Cheyenne society a whole constellation of political, familial, and other social events which are keyed to an appreciation of the ideal values expressed in traditional religious action.”

Fifteen years after Moore wrote these words, he maintained that “the stories are more meaningful if one knows about Cheyenne society and history, and especially about the moral, ethical, religious, and aesthetic values which have been important to the Cheyenne people” (Moore 1999: 176). I echo this statement in my argument that the role of moccasins and moccasin designs are “more

meaningful” with such knowledge as Moore described. In order to understand the varied aspects of Cheyenne moccasins, as is a focus of this dissertation, an understanding of orthodox Cheyenne beliefs is essential. Candace Greene (1985: 114) made this point when she argued that “at one level knowledge of Cheyenne culture is the essential starting point to an interpretation of their art.” When it comes to orthodox Cheyenne beliefs, a study of normative values helps shed a light on the motives and motivations associated with the production and use of moccasins.

Judgment and Expression of Values

On Friday, 27 November, 2009, I travelled with David Ramos, a ceremonial man and moccasin maker from the Watonga community—as well as my brother and primary consultant—to Cheyenne, OK to attend “A Day of Remembrance” at the Washita Battlefield and National Historic Site. This event marked the 141st ‘anniversary’ of an infamous massacre that occurred there on 27 November 1868. On that cold morning, Black Kettle, a Cheyenne Peace Chief, and his band of Cheyenne were attacked by the 7th U.S. Cavalry, led by Lt. Col. George A. Custer. Cheyenne people including women, children, and men were

slaughtered. To this day, Cheyenne people return to the site of this massacre to remember and honor their lost ancestors.

At this ‘Day of Remembrance,’ Dr. Henrietta Mann took the podium and addressed the crowd on the topic of Cheyenne values, expressing with power and emotion the core normative values of Cheyenne orthodoxy. That following week, I had the opportunity to sit and visit with Dr. Mann in her offices at the Tribal College on the campus of Southwestern Oklahoma State University. I asked her if she could reiterate and expand upon the theme of values she presented at the ‘Day of Remembrance,’ specifically Cheyenne values that she considered important to be passed down to the next generation in Cheyenne culture. Following the impactful method Les W. Field (2008) used to interject views from his consultants in his study on the use of abalone among the Native people of California, here, I present Dr. Mann’s (2009) words, (mostly) uninterrupted, to illustrate an orthodox Cheyenne perspective:¹⁰

I would put, in terms of values that have sustained us over time, I would put love and respect clear at the top. I even told, and I understand that love and respect are a human's most powerful weapons. I don't know that I would call them powerful weapons, but very powerful virtues. Very powerful values that have been ours for as long as we have lived on this earth as a people...as Cheyenne people. It's because we know what love is. We love our children. We love our elders. We love being Cheyenne

¹⁰ The following is a long quote that introduces various Cheyenne values and how they are realized among orthodox Cheyennes. Dr. Mann is a story teller so I felt it was only proper to let her tell this part of the story.

and being Cheyenne [inaudible]. But along with that level goes our respect. We love this land, especially our sacred mountain, Bear Butte. And, when it gets to Bear Butte, then you've got to stop and think of the other value that I think sort of constitute a pair, at least in my own mind: of respect. Because, when you love somebody you're going to show them the utmost respect. A love of person. A love for your community. You're also, hopefully, be respectful of that place in which you live and the people around you.

When you go to visit our sacred mountain in the north, in South Dakota, you go there in a very respectful way and that you go there even more with a great sense of reverence for the place that it holds in our history as a people. It's our teaching mountain, and our values as a people come from within that mountain where one of our prophets was taught many, many, many year ago, and brought the Cheyenne way of life. So, our values are very old. They're as old as we are, and they have helped us to sustain through...sustain ourselves through a very long period of time in our history, but the most traumatic times being of early Cheyenne-Anglo contact. And, we were told by the prophet that he foresaw that someday that we would meet these individuals that he called "strangers," and that they would have their own ways. So that when you stop and think, when you give something, you give something and that's it. Sometimes it's going to be reciprocated, maybe it's not. But we live with this concept of reciprocity, and we are very generous.

Another of the values that characterizes us as a people is generosity. This wonderful love that we have to give, especially to someone that we respect very highly. I go to support the community and I love attending our dances after having been gone from Oklahoma for as long as I was gone. I left in the early seventies and went to teach at the University of California, Berkley and wandered from there to teach at the University of Montana and ultimately retired as a full professor at the Montana University system. So, it gives me a very good feeling to be able to wander into one of our community dances, one of our benefit dances and it makes me feel even better because sometimes someone will give me a giveaway item, and, it's again, a way of showing not only being generous, but being very respectful. And, those values we certainly cherish.

In our creation story, after we were created and Maheo looked around and could see this beautiful earth that he had made, who Maheo said was a woman, our grandmother, our first oldest woman, first woman, thought that in the heart, not in the mind, but in the heart. So that if you stop and look at the fact that creation accounts are the whole of our cultural foundations, and they hold our values in much the same way that for those of the Christian faith there's a Genesis in the Bible and tells them how to be in relation to the environment. Our creation stories share the same function. And since Maheo looked at earth and thought in the heart that earth was the most beautiful of creation, then you can look to see how thinking with the heart is very important, and that thinking with the heart produces a very compassionate people. So that compassion is something that, again, is one of the values that we cherish.

I was going to make a trip to Italy, I think it was. I was talking to my sister and I said, "well, what should I do?" And what I was talking about was of this journey across the water that I was going to be taking and we have, again, these beliefs that our final journey to that camp, to that eternal camp in the stars as you travel over four rivers, and when you get to that last camp, that river that runs and borders that last camp...if you cross that it means death and all its finality for all those that have gone there and come back to say...I guess you would stop and think of that as a near-death experience. So that you have to be very cautious and make sure that you do the right things before you go on, go across the seas--the huge body of water we call the Atlantic Ocean. And so, I talked to my brother in law and he says, "well, just remember, when you go there, you're in someone else's homeland." He says, "you're not going there to change them or tell them what to do." And he said, "You go and you understand them." He said, "And even though there are going to be things that you're going to see that are going to be different from ours." He said, "You be a compassionate person. You understand them." He said, "Not just up here [pointing to her head]...with your heart." Which is the same way Maheo thought when looking at earth, thinking with the heart, that she [earth] was the most beautiful of creation. And so, out of that creation story, the lesson, the teaching that, when you're thinking you not only use the intellect, but you also balance that with thinking with the heart, which I

think is a very, very powerful value when you stop and think of the government today—the government, the United States government has no heart. Well, maybe it's got a heart now since President Obama is in office, but it has no heart.

Everything is based so much upon, I guess mercantilism and consumerism, and corporate America has no heart. You've got corporations that are paying lobbyists to make sure that whatever it is that they are doing in their companies is not going to be harmed by any kind of declaration of cutting down on the use of fossil fuel, and greenhouse gasses, or to begin to mitigate or curb this whole matter of global warming. There's no heart there. There's no understanding.

Dr. Mann highlights the antiquity of Cheyenne values while demonstrating how they remain important to contemporary orthodox Cheyennes. Her last point, “There’s no understanding,” struck me and I asked her to elaborate:

Understanding is another value, because, again, we are taught that you should be not just a compassionate person who has a great deal of love and respect for life and everything in life, that you also be very understanding. I can remember being it...being brought home to my grandfather when I went home to use a new phrase that I had learned at school: "Nobody understands me!" Hearing some of my little, teenaged friends at that time talking, in terms of their parents, I thought, "Hmmm...OK, yeah." So I went home and I was told something and I said, "You don't understand me!" [dramatic pause] I think my father was a little shaken. My mother, too. And my grandfather asked my father, "What did she just say?" [dramatic pause] So my father had to translate my statement into Cheyenne. So my grandfather looks at me as says [speaks in Cheyenne] Yut-ya [sp?] was my childhood, maybe even baby talk name, and I thought, "Oh my gosh." When my grandfather tells me to come sit next to him and his voice drops down so quietly you think you'd just gone deaf. You're in trouble...I was in trouble. My grandfather never scolded me. My father didn't either, but I knew when they dropped the level of their voices that I was in trouble, and so I went down and sat next to him and I

thought, "Oh, what did I say?" And I thought, "Aaaaaa" [long inhale]. It was the statement I just heard someone use that I thought would work with me and because I felt that way, "You don't understand me." So I got this lesson in terms of being disciplined. Not so much that my grandfather was disciplining me, but it helping me to develop discipline myself. The gist of it was 'understanding' was a very good thing. He says, "My mother used to say that: understanding is a wonderful thing." He said, "But the thing is that it's not your job to be understood as much as it is to understand. You understand others." So there's a certain application of understanding.

And so, you've got along with humility and respect and love and compassion, you've got humility. And this is something that my father and my grandfather were, and all the family...say you're getting a good education or you want to get a good education, which they wanted for me, and I did get it, and they would begin to say, "Just because you got an education doesn't make you better than anyone else, it just means that you have a better education. So that you have to always remember where you came from. You have to always be humble. You have to always walk with humility. We're just a very small part of the whole scheme of life." And if we stop and look at that, I remember talking to John Harrington, who's the first federally recognized American Indian astronaut, when they reached the International Space Station some two-hundred plus mile out in space, and he did some EVAs, which are space walks. He did three of them, and looked down upon planet earth, he said how he understood...[pause]...at that precise moment how insignificant we are in terms of how small earth was in compared to, I guess, the expanse of the universe. And, so, yeah. We are but a small part of everything in life and we exist as co-equal partners in this great circle, and so you realize that and then you should know that you're just a very humble, small part of the universe. And so, humility, not as a negative thing, but humility as a very strong character trait that keeps you grounded. That grounds you rather than to demeaning yourself, or making yourself lesser than, I guess, dominant society looks at that particular word.

I can remember one day when I was walking from our tent to the Lone Tipi¹¹, getting ready to go into the Sun Dance Lodge, that one of the last things, or 'the' last thing that my sister—she wasn't my biological sister, she was actually my cousin, but we were like sisters—said to me as I was leaving, she said to me, "Remember Henri, you have to be your most humble throughout the whole thing," and she said, "and for the rest of your life." That's something that I have to work very hard to do and people, I hope that I continue to show them that I know what our values are as Cheyenne people, because sometimes all they see is me sitting here, the President of their tribal college with the doctorate degree, and I'm just still me. I'm still Henri. I'm from Hammon! I grew up here. I'm one of them. So, you've got humility and, of course, patience. (Mann 2009)

Dr. Mann's words highlight a series of normative values expressed and taught by orthodox Cheyenne: love, respect, generosity, compassion, understanding, humility, and patience. These are all values expressed by many of the Cheyenne ceremonialists I worked with while conducting my field research. Orthodox Cheyennes recognize these values as *more* than ideals that one strives to maintain, but rather as a road map one is *expected* to follow after becoming a ceremonial person. When a Cheyenne makes a commitment to go through Sun Dance, they are expected to adjust their actions in life to meet the *ideal* behavior accepted by other Cheyennes. Deviation from the accepted values threatens a ceremonialist's role in his/her community and ceremonial life, in general. In fact, I have witnessed both men and women stripped of their rights in ceremonial activities

¹¹ Lone Tipi is a tipi, constructed on a Thursday, the evening before Sun Dance begins. It is used for the instruction and preparation for those who will dance during the Sun Dance.

due to their actions in life that deviate from the accepted behavior of ceremonialists.

I asked David Ramos (2010) what he considers some of the more important values, or Cheyenne values by which Cheyenne people strive to live. He added honesty and trust to Dr. Mann's list, while reiterating the importance of respect as it manifests itself among orthodox Cheyennes:

Honesty. Trust. Live your life respectful. Respect yourself so people can respect you. If you put yourself out there and you're going to bars and drinking and acting fast, stuff like that, then people, if they're out there doing that with you, they're out there rubbing elbows with you on the dance floor and they're out there doing shots with you and stuff like that, well, they know in their hearts that that is the wrong way to live as Cheyenne people. And how can they turn around the next day and ask you for something when you know you're walking the exact same path that they are walking? There's that respect issue. If you walk your life the best you can and you do for others and you're not trying to profit...basically, act stink or act like you're better than anyone else, then, people would be more humble to come to you and want you to help them in their time of need, whether they need spiritual guidance or whether they need just someone to talk to, tell a story, or whether they want you to doctor them, bless them, or whether they need to be painted so they can get back in the powwow arena, what-have-you. If you're given these gifts and you walk this way of life, then you need to continue to walk this, because nobody has put you there. Nobody has picked you up and said, "This is your path in life and this is how you're supposed to do," and you rebel against it. This is something that YOU have chosen. If someone had told you, "This is what you want to do, this is how you need to move forward..." People expect you, since you've taken on that road, to do those things.

David's main point—one that he expressed to me time-and-time again—is that once you make the commitment to ceremonial life, you are bound by that commitment. Certainly individuals have the agency to stray from that life, but set within an orthodox belief system, that deviation from expected behavior comes with spiritual and societal consequences ranging from sickness or death to marginalization and ostracism.

Walking an Orthodox Road

Minoma Littlehawk, a moccasin maker now living near Seiling, OK, was raised by her grandparents and spent time as a youth among orthodox Cheyennes. When I once asked her about societal pressures to conform, she told me this:

[My grandmother, Leah] always told me that anything that I do or say are what reflect on my surroundings and my future. She said, "You always have to be careful in what you do and what you say." What's really awesome with that is the fact that I had an elder here [at the Washita Battlefield Visitor's Center] about six months ago who kind of told me the same thing that she did, as far as my lineage coming from the Sacred Arrow family. He came in here one time and says, "Minoma, I need to talk to you." Grandma didn't go into quite so much detail, but he really slammed me. It made me really think. It just reminded me of her words. The reason it's so fresh in my mind is because it just happened. But he was telling me, he says, "Minoma, you've been around those sacred arrows all your life." He said, "You've been around them," you know, through the Red Hats. He said, "I know you were out there on their property playing when that tipi was there. You were out there with that family a lot." He

goes, "And then, when they didn't have them [the arrows] anymore, your grandpa, Joe Antelope, had them. So you've been around them all your life," and he says, "I'm telling you right now, girl..." And I says, "Yes?" "You need to be careful what you say, what you do, how you carry yourself, how you present yourself," and, this is kinda funny to me, he realized I was divorced, and he said I needed to be careful about how I act, because I'm a single woman and I need to remain a lady, because whatever I do reflects on those arrows. Which, it kinda blew me away that he talked to me like that, but she [Leah] basically telling me the same thing, just with gentler words. About being respectable, and not doing anything to bring bad on your family. (Littlehawk 2010)

Societal pressure to conform is great, not only among Cheyenne ceremonialists, but also their extended families—whether they, themselves, believe in an orthodox way or not. During my time working with orthodox Cheyenne ceremonialists, I often heard stories of other ceremonialists or their family members who deviated from the path set before them, only to suffer some ill fortune. Those criticizing this deviance usually attributed the result to ‘walking the wrong road.’

For Dr. Mann (1997), the concept of ‘roads’ is integral to Cheyenne orthodoxy. In her description of how Cheyennes were influenced by Sweet Medicine, she recognized how people walk “their road of life” (Mann 1997: 2). The concept of a ‘road’ was explained by John Moore as “following a particular design or recipe for living” (1999: 181). Moore expanded this definition by explaining that, among orthodox Cheyenne, obligations exist that differ

depending on the chosen road.¹² According to Moore, “Cheyennes think that it is important to follow only one road at a time, and thereby avoid ‘mixing medicines.’ The term ‘mixing medicines’ is also used in warning young people not to follow the traditions of other tribes, whose ideas might not be compatible with Cheyenne ideas.” Moore (1999: 180-181) explained that to orthodox Cheyennes, medicine is a term used to describe “the whole body of special knowledge” associated with a particular “herb or an amulet.” This knowledge requires education. So, in order to follow a road, one needs a particular medicine, and to gain that medicine, one must receive some form of education. Furthermore, to receive such a formalized education, one must be equipped with a basic knowledge and employment of Cheyenne values in order to gain access to training, i.e. respect, generosity, etc. Moore noted that,

For women, this includes such tasks as beadwork, tipi making, and midwifery. For men, the tasks are mostly religious and ceremonial, but also include creating war medicines, making pipes, and training horses. In every case, etiquette requires that the potential student must approach a potential teacher respectfully, and present an appropriate gift to begin the instruction and receive the medicine. (Moore 1999: 180-181)

Moccasin making, especially for orthodox Cheyennes, falls squarely within this protocol to receive training;¹³ however, moccasin making today is not gender

¹² See Lassiter, Ellis and Kotay (2002) *The Jesus Road*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln. for another example of how the concept of ‘roads’ exhibits itself in the Kiowa community, located just south of the Cheyenne & Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma.

¹³ The process of gaining access to designs is described in Chapter Four.

specific.¹⁴ That said, among orthodox moccasin makers, the same expectations to follow protocol apply.

John Moore (1999: 174-184) listed a series of traditional values among orthodox Cheyenne, most of which were expressed by Dr. Mann and David Ramos: sharing, respect for elders, medicine, roads, personal modesty, hospitality, respect for the natural order, empowerment, and proper behavior. In addition to these, Moore added the values of personal bravery and ‘familism.’ The value, familism, leads to an important aspect of Cheyenne orthodoxy: education and training.

Developing Habitus and Transmitting Cultural Capital

The schools and the community conspire to habituate us to value choices and exhort us to abide by certain ideals to which the community gives various lip service. However, since these approaches have never achieved the kind of enlightened cherishing that is the real goal of value education, one begins to suspect that we may have overlooked another dimension of value experience. I shall call it the aesthetic dimension, which, although in many ways the most potent factor in our value experience, has received the least attention in our schools. (Broudy 1972: 7)

¹⁴ Many Cheyenne people explained to me that men have always made moccasins, or at least were taught how to make moccasins out of need. The decoration of moccasins was historically most associated with women; however, today women and men are equally represented among moccasin makers.

In his book, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (1977), Pierre Bourdieu presented a theoretical and methodological way of addressing aspects of individual agency and collective action in relation to historic context. He suggested that structure in society does not assume determination in action. He began his study by offering a critique of earlier theory, within an ethnographic account, by arguing that vulgar Marxism (Bourdieu 1977: 22), Structural-functionalism (Bourdieu 1977: 115), Structuralism (Bourdieu 1977: 11, 25, 27), Interpretive Anthropology (Bourdieu 1977: 10), Phenomenology, and Methodological Individualism (Bourdieu 1977: 12, 22), including the works of Durkheim, Weber, Levi-Strauss, et cetera, all are unable to account for the individual within an objective structure. The roles individuals play in the creation, exchange, and use of moccasins is crucial for understanding how moccasins fit within an orthodox Cheyenne context.

Practice theory is not without limitations. Bourdieu's presentation was reductive at the material level by suggesting that "all practices, including those purporting to be disinterested or gratuitous, and hence, non-economic, [are] economic practices directed towards the maximizing of material or symbolic profit" (1977: 183). Additionally, he neglected to explain how a system becomes self-perpetuating and he bound all individuals within a system without recognizing that an individual can leave a system; although, he would have

argued that even after leaving, their habitus traveled with them into a new system, which would then work on the individual to form a new habitus.

The concept of habitus was presented to describe a set of dispositions. Bourdieu contrasted habitus with the idea of rules or laws, which he outright rejected as the guiding force in affecting individual action. He viewed habitus as the “organizing principle” of society that provides individuals with particular strategies to respond to particular situations (responses defined ‘in relation to a system of objective potentialities’) (1977: 76). Habitus is what makes action reasonable. It is “history turned into nature”—the “unconscious” (1977: 78). It is what becomes embodied through socialization and cultural transmission. For Bourdieu, there existed no determination of action based on particular conditions and there existed no freedom of individual action or creativity. All action is mediated through the orientations and limits on, and of, habitus. He further argued that habitus uses ‘practical sense’ to look for analogies and homologies to guide individual (and collective) action. Every socialized agent is believed to have a system of classifying schemes within them which organizes all practice, e.g. linguistic schemes. These schemes are then used by individuals to interpret and make sense of the world in which they live.

Some forms of criticism leveled at Bourdieu’s theories attack the notion that the focus on habitus is too reductive. Sayer (1999) argued that Bourdieu

reduced actors to a totalizing habitus and unconscious forms of distinction.

Additionally, Sayer stated that the non-monetary forms of capital presented by Bourdieu obscured the use-value and exchange-value of objects and confused the distinction between material consumption and the consumption of distinction.¹⁵

Woodward and Emmison (2001) agreed that Bourdieu was too reductive in his theories. In their work on moral codes, they argued that humans have agency to establish particular morals and those morals then shape the actions of the individuals. This stance would be debated by both Blim (2005) and Graeber (2005). Blim argued that values are culturally bound and are tied to the economic situation in which a person lives. Economies both shape, and are shaped by the values of that culture. The examples given to support this claim relate to the view of equality. Blim argued that in some cultures, the equality of opportunity is valued (as in America), while in other cultures, the equality of outcome is valued (such as in India). Furthering this point, the redistribution of wealth is directly tied to this view, such as in the Socialist values of Scandinavian countries and how they redistribute wealth. In all of these examples the value systems expressed shape their economies in specific ways. This illustrates how an individual is guided by a particular value system.

Habitus is not innate. It is learned behavior and ideology. Many factors play a role in the establishment of habitus that take the form of either formal or

¹⁵ See Chapter Two for discussion on 'distinction.'

informal education. Historically among the Cheyenne, men's warrior societies and women's societies (including the Sewing Societies referenced towards the middle of Chapter One) used primarily formal education¹⁶ to teach members aspects of Cheyenne culture and their belief system, whereas families tended to utilize more informal methods of education. During the developmental phase of one's habitus, emphasis was needed to stress certain lessons; however, the ultimate level of acceptance was not realized until the lessons became engrained in the individual.

Marshall Sahlins (1985) took the concept of habitus even further. In his book, *Islands of History*, Sahlins addressed the role of history in social action. His study of Pacific Islanders demonstrated how historic events are influenced by past social action and also provided a template for future social action—as Sahlins noted, “no event *sans* system” (1985: 154). He suggested that “culture is...the organization of the current situation in the terms of the past” (1985: 155) and that there exists a dialog between sense and reference (synthesis of the past/present, system/event, structure/history).

Sahlins suggested that habitus was the guiding force in Hawaiian society before, during, and after the arrival and death of Captain Cook. He presented a

¹⁶ The use of the term ‘formal education’ does not refer Western ideas of curriculum based education. It refers to more direct guidance by an instructor or mentor during the learning process.

case for ‘performative structures’ in society, which involves individuals acting out their habitus. He suggested that habitus is a symbolic form of dialog with history, noting that experience involves *a priori* concepts. Within this framework, action is influenced by the habitus of an individual, and the completed action ‘makes’ history (meaning that once an action is complete, it is added to the historic experiences of that individual, and by extension, the larger society). That history then becomes the experiences that are incorporated in habits (or dispositions)—which will later affect the actions of individuals in the future. Sahlins (1985: 152) suggested that there is “always a past in the present”—“an *a priori* system of interpretation.” In other words, an individual acts through their interpretation of habitus. The habitus is established through a historical process which guides, but does not determine, the interpretation and subsequent action of the individual. This understanding of the relationship between history and action is an important shift in focus for the study of anthropology. Marxists argued that the historic system guided society and, in a sense, individuals were just along for the ride, whereas scholars that focused on Methodological Individualism focused on agency and individual choice. Sahlins’ work seemed to argue that individuals live within a system that influences their choices and action but does not necessarily determine them.

It is clear, then, that Sahlins’ work provided a conceptual way to address structure, systems, history, and agency all at once. His work was not purely a

structural approach, since he allowed for changing structures and individual agency. It seemed to provide a bridge from structuralism to a practice approach as is seen in his use of habitus.

The idea that habitus provides a framework which humans use to structure their lives is useful for this study on orthodoxy. The utility of this idea rests on the premise of change. That is, while an individual or group of individuals who share an ideology can structure their lives around the principles of their habitus, the structure has the ability to change over time. An orthodox ideology formulated on aspects of the past remains dynamic as the past expands and more recent history becomes available from which an individual can structure their experiences.

Bourdieu's concept of habitus was additionally useful in further analyzing change in society (as was seen in Sahlins' example):

the fact remains that whenever the adjustment between structures and dispositions is broken, the transformation of the generative schemes is doubtless reinforced and accelerated by the dialectic between the schemes immanent in practice and the norms produced by reflection on practices, which impose new meanings on them by reference to alien structures. (Bourdieu 1977: 20)

In this section, Bourdieu described how habitus can change due to particular changes in context and experience. He considered this the 'improvisational'

nature of the habitus, which is useful to addressing change within society due to various forces, including colonialism and revolution.

Even among orthodox Cheyenne families, not all information is readily available. Many aspects of Cheyenne culture, i.e. knowledge of spiritual forces or meanings associated with moccasin designs are considered specialized knowledge. Receiving a culture-based education reveals information over an individual's lifetime and that individual is, at least from an orthodox perspective, expected to incorporate their increased knowledge base and associated experiences into their habitus. The inculcation of such knowledge leads to changes in one's ideology. For orthodox Cheyennes, those changes can lead to an even deeper expression of orthodox beliefs. This all falls within the realm of the conscious, but unconscious factors are at play as well.

The *doxic mode* was presented by Bourdieu to address the concept of the 'natural world,' and contrasted with heterodoxy and orthodoxy. These concepts referred to aspects of awareness and recognition of the social world. Bourdieu (1977: 166) presented doxa as "a self-evident and natural order which goes without saying and therefore goes unquestioned" and this differed from heterodoxy and orthodoxy in that both these later concepts fell within the field of opinion—"that which is explicitly questioned" (Bourdieu 1977: 169).

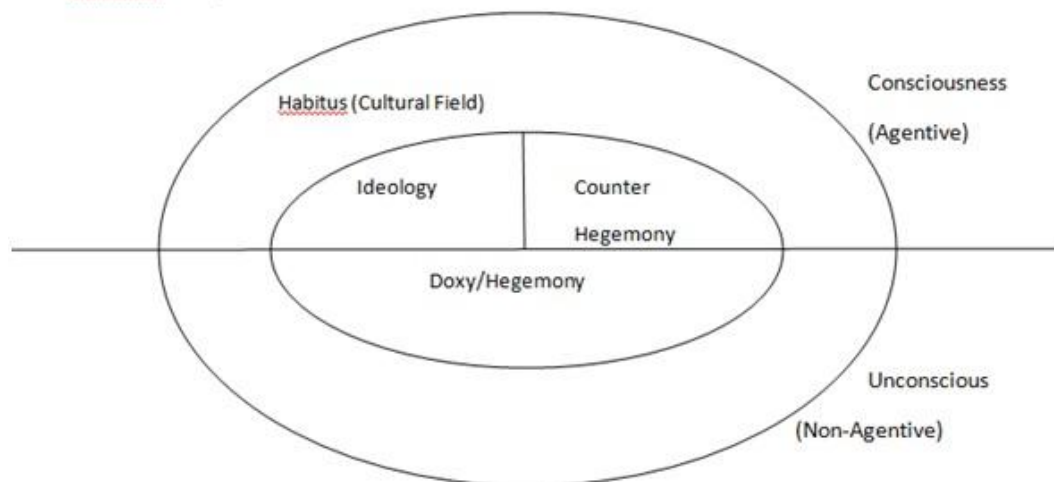
My work with Cheyenne ceremonialists, specifically moccasin makers from orthodox families, is a study of orthodoxy and the challenges associated with orthodox ideologies. One unique attribute of orthodoxy is in its application. I argue that among those that practice orthodox religion, the goal is to act as if guided by doxa, however, that is impractical. A conscious action remains part of orthodoxy, so one cannot purposefully act out an unconscious belief. Doxa transcends goals or even effort. If one attempts to achieve a level of doxic action, they are, in truth, performing the orthodox in his/her attempt. Walking a particular 'road' requires effort and guidance that is structured by explicit knowledge and choices made based off an individual's interpretation of orthodoxy. The fact that any path requires a level of interpretation leads to variation and variety of expression of orthodoxy, and by extension, heteroglossic (multi-voiced) views on the subject (Bahktin 1982). Recognizing this point, I found within the Cheyenne community criteria that limited the variation of orthodoxy. I do not suggest the views presented within this study are homogenous; rather, a degree of commonality is maintained because the core ideology of orthodox Cheyennes remains codified under the guidance of the Arrow Keeper, Arrow Priests, and Sun Dance Priests. This guidance helps individuals learn and then maintain a particular set of orthodox beliefs associated with a particular 'road.' In order to stay on this road, one must maintain a

conscious level of thought, which keeps them motivated by orthodoxy, rather than doxa.

Jean and John Comaroff (Comaroff and Comaroff 1991) discussed the conscious and unconscious aspects of habitus in their colonial account of South Africa, *Of Revelation and Revolution*. Their critique of both Interpretive Anthropology and Practice Theory was offered in light of the Postmodern Critique. The Comaroffs addressed the battle for conscious and consciousness in the form of signs and symbols in South Africa, which they noted was part of the final goal of colonialism: “the final objective of generations of colonizers has been to colonize their consciousness with the axioms and aesthetics of an alien culture” (1991: 4). In order to address this battle, the questions they posed fell within the framework of Practice Theory, namely, “How was consciousness made and remade,” and “how are we to understand the dialectics of culture and power, ideology and consciousness that shape such historical processes” (1991: 6). The Comaroffs argued that in order to see the whole system, you must look at *all* actors, and not just the dominated. They were careful to distinguish between culture (1991: 21), ideology, and hegemony (1991: 24). To the Comaroffs, hegemony “is that part of a dominant worldview which has been naturalized and, having hidden itself in orthodoxy” (1991: 25); however, as noted above, what they are describing is doxa, not orthodoxy. To Bourdieu, orthodoxy “aims, without ever entirely succeeding, at restoring the primal state of innocence of

doxa, [and] exists only in the objective relationship which opposes it to heterodoxy” (1991: 169). The Comaroffs argued that hegemony is unconscious and ideology is conscious and state that their goal was to describe the space between hegemony and ideology.

Model of Agentive/Non-Agentive Beliefs and Actions (See Bourdieu 1977, Comaroff and Comaroff 1991)



(Fig. 02 – Model of Agentive/Non-Agentive Beliefs and Actions (modified from Bourdieu (1977) and Comaroff and Comaroff (1991))

Figure 02 is a visual representation of habitus—both the conscious and unconscious. The focus of this study, i.e. orthodoxy, falls within the area marked ‘ideology.’ This ideology is agentive—meaning individuals within this area act

out their lives in a conscious way, while guided by a particular belief system.

These choices are conscious, which leave them as orthodox choices.

Bourdieu's theories on human behavior were not without critics. For example, Verdaasdonk (2003) criticized Bourdieu for his reductive understanding of human behavior. He argued that a focus should be placed on rational conscious thought and rejected the notion of unconscious forces dictating the actions of humans within groups. This view is countered by Henrichs (2002) who argued that human decision-making is entirely too fraught with errors and miscalculations to support a view of rational choice theory, and more specifically, cost-benefit analysis. He supported this view by citing human decision-making experiments that illustrate this point. Henrichs argued that human decision making is more directly tied to biased culturally transmitted information which was passed down through either direct learning or emulation, and that over time, this information can sustain productive activity.

Henrick's assessment of human decision making certainly has a point. Humans often act out the *how* without consideration for the *why*. I contend that the *why* is not always important to all orthodox individuals because not all forms of orthodoxy are the same. My point is that some orthodox individuals will ultimately have more knowledge (the why) than others, and these others will emulate those with the knowledge; however, the others that lack the knowledge of

‘why’ still do what they do because they know there *is* a ‘why’—even if that ‘why’ is beyond their grasp. Because of this, those without specialized knowledge in a particular sub-sub-area within the umbrella of orthodoxy will inevitably exhibit more diversity in behavior and action than those with the knowledge. If the point of orthodoxy is to guide behavior through ideology, it leads to suggest that those with more knowledge will have more guidance. This point is clearly expressed in an orthodox view of Cheyenne moccasins.

This discussion of habitus and orthodoxy reinforces the role of education in the lives of orthodox Cheyennes. The more time I spent with Cheyenne people the more I gained an understanding the role of family ties and the role of historic women’s societies in the creation and maintenance of the core aspects of orthodox Cheyenne ideology and moccasin making.

Societies and Families

The education of Cheyenne people into an orthodox belief system is rooted in membership-based societies and individual families. John Moore, an anthropologist who began working with the Southern Cheyenne in the late 1960s, explained how he was educated in the Cheyenne cosmology. He addressed the roles of formal and informal education in Cheyenne life:

If I had been raised as a Cheyenne, listening to stories and paying attention to my elders, this kind of formal instruction would not have been necessary. But as it was, since I was an outsider, I needed to learn the fundamentals. I was told that the same kind of instruction was sometimes given to Cheyennes who wanted to participate in ceremonies but had been too much acculturated to Anglo-American society. (Moore 1999:202)

I shared Moore's experience by receiving a more formalized education on moccasin making and their meanings than I would have had I been raised in an orthodox Cheyenne family. Spiritual meanings, loose associations, cultural metaphors, and referential stories were among the topics I would have grown to learn to some degree; however, I required a much more formal education in order to understand, or at least grasp the meanings behind moccasins. As I mentioned earlier, I made a point to avoid most previously published material on Cheyennes prior to my research. After spending time with Cheyenne people, learning from them, then going back to the literature, I feel I made the correct decision. Reading the literature published on the Cheyenne made me realize that the material associated with moccasin making is largely in the minutia—little nuggets of information mentioned in passing by early scholars that, more than likely, did not realize the importance of what they recorded. Having received an education *from* orthodox Cheyennes helped illuminate those small bits of information.



(Fig. 03 - Cheyenne Women - Beginning on the left: Anna Hawk, Minnie, unknown woman, Anna's three daughters (Frances, Lorene, and Beulah) - Photo courtesy of Wanda Queenan, Elk City, OK)

Historically speaking, not all information related to moccasins was gained through family life. Some sacred forms of beadwork required more formalized methods of education, such as those offered by women's societies.¹⁷ Among the Southern Cheyenne a number of secretive women's societies, or sometimes called craft guilds or sewing societies, existed in the late nineteenth and into the twentieth century, and provided oversight and guidance to the decoration of specific sacred objects (Campbell 1915, Carlson 1998, Petter 1913-1915, Moore Liberty and Strauss 2001). Donita Lynn Carlson (1998: 23), in her study of

¹⁷ There exists considerable research on women's societies on the Plains. See: Hilger (1946), Fowler (2002), and Albers and Medicine (1983).

Cheyenne women quilling societies, identified two different women's societies: *Mon in i'heo*¹⁸ and *Me e no' ist st*.¹⁹ These sacred objects, specifically tipi covers, walls, doors, pillow covers, and bed spreads, were made in fulfillment of a vow made by a Cheyenne woman.²⁰ Similar to a pledge made for the Sun Dance, Alice Marriott (1938: 5) noted that these vows were beneficent, for purposes such as "to cure the illness of a relative, for the easy deliverance of child-birth, or as a marriage gift to a relative."

Veiled in secrecy and with a definitive hierarchy, power and control were important issues in these women's societies. It was crucial for a woman fulfilling a vow to conduct herself in a particular way and follow specific instructions on the construction of the intended item. Marriott (1938: 9) further noted, "The head woman gave definite instructions to the vower as to the hours she was to work and her [personal] conduct while the work was in progress." In describing a ceremony involved when a woman pledged to bead a wall or tipi liner, Marriott (1938: 8) described how "one beaded medallion [was] beaded as a pattern," which was then to be copied exactly. Also, "to make sure that the vower understood the exact pattern of the rows, she was given four sinew threads and [was required to]

¹⁸ This group was "in charge of the symbolic designs and colors." Carlson suggested the *Mon in i'heo* was an ever older society than the Quilling Society and originally used paint to decorate items. Petter (1913-1915: 779) listed this group as: Monenheeo, and noted that they "were experts in the higher ornamentative works of women."

¹⁹ This was the Quilling Society that used porcupine quills to decorate items.

²⁰ Coleman (1980: 62) noted that Cheyenne women began using beadwork as a substitute "for quillwork at some time in the early 19th Century, probably around 1800."

work them up before the members went out of the tipi” (Marriott 1938: 8). In his well known article on the designs and construction of Cheyenne moccasins, Tyrone Stewart (1972a: 3) noted that “the habit of always doing fine work was the result of the trade guilds and the habit was therefore carried over to all other types of beaded articles, including moccasins, pipebags, saddle bags, cradle boards, etc.” While not considered ‘sacred’ beadwork under the direct supervision of women’s societies, the technical precision employed by these society members carried over to moccasin making.

The original number of women’s societies among the Cheyenne is unknown, at least to scholars. In fact, in a letter dated December 12th, 1939 from Alice Marriott to a Mr. Theodore A. Ediger from Tulsa, OK, Marriott suggested to Mr. Ediger that “most of the printed material on the subject of women’s arts and crafts among the Cheyenne is incomplete and inaccurate, owing to religious and social taboos” (Marriott and Rachlin 1939: 1). During my time in the field, I experienced difficulty finding people willing to discuss these early societies, and the information I received was often either contradictory to other published material or to other contemporary consultants; however, the longer I spent working with contemporary Cheyenne moccasin makers and elders in various Cheyenne communities, it became clear that these societies were very much community focused, rather than coordinated at a tribal level, leading to different knowledge bases in these different communities. Many elders have memories of

their grandmothers and aunts discussing these old societies, but details of their structure were not recorded or well remembered.

During her own research conducted in 1937, Marriott suggested that only three societies were active (Coleman 1980: 51).²¹ At that time, the three medicine bags associated with these societies were found in Clinton, Bethany, and Hammon, Oklahoma. These bundles were individually owned and were generally passed down through family lines. In 1937, membership in these societies ranged from about 10 to 30 women each; however, according to Winfield Coleman (1980), by the 1980s, membership in these same three groups fell to about half a dozen each. Today, the existence of these societies is doubted by most contemporary Cheyenne beadworkers with whom I worked.

Marriott (1938: 17) noted that “It was part of the duty of the Cheyenne women to instill in her daughter a desire to belong to the Tipi-Makers,” another name used for these societies. “Membership was a mark of social prestige.” Santina (2001: 305) suggested,

The reason for the flourishing of women’s arts during the early reservation era likely resulted from women assuming the responsibility of resisting acculturation and passing on their own knowledge. Interestingly, Bethrong noted that in Cheyenne and Arapaho reservation-era camps,

²¹ I believe Marriott meant that there were three groups of *Mon in i’heo* or *Me e no’ ist st*, not three different types of societies.

women were often more conservative in their resistance to non-Indian culture than men were.²²

Within these women's societies, knowledge transmission, i.e. the education of new and lower-ranked members of the society, was quite time consuming and required high levels of dedication. This knowledge transmission required formalized training conducted by a high-ranking member of a society. This high-ranking woman served as a mentor and teacher who not only taught technique and spirituality, but also led to the sharing of particular design elements (Schweinfurth 2009: 90).

Carlson noted how "a woman who wished to learn to quill went to someone who was already part of the society and after making a present to the woman, pledged herself to ornament a piece" (Carlson 1998: 23) The tasks required of members as they progressed through the ranks of the societies increased in scale. Moccasins were generally the first project a woman attempted, graduating to other projects such as beading baby cradles, making decorations for lodges, decorating buffalo robes, and decorating the interior of tipis (Carlson 1998: 23; Coleman 1980: 52; Grinnell 1962: 161; Moore, Liberty and Straus 2001: 876).

²² Anthropologists have found many other examples of women exhibiting a great sense of cultural conservatism. See: Brackette Williams (1993) and Fry (2001) for examples.

The secrecy of these societies had advantages and disadvantages. Various authors noted that the limited distribution of knowledge created a monopoly and put the owners of such knowledge in positions of power (Carlson 1998: 27-28; Santana 2001: 140; Schneider 1983: 112-114). The material created by society members was necessary for many aspects of Cheyenne ceremonial life, and those members were rewarded in a variety of ways, which are outlined in Chapter Two.

For a variety of reasons that I discuss throughout this study related to social, political, and economic policies and practices of settler colonialism, these women's societies lost their influence, and ultimately their place, in Cheyenne communities. The membership of the women's societies tended to consist of a small number of extended families who maintained their practices in less formal ways by bringing their knowledge into their homes. It was there—in the home—where the transmission of knowledge related to the sacred arts were maintained.

Dr. Henrietta Mann, in her study on the history of education among the Cheyenne and Arapahos, presented an account of the early education of White Buffalo Woman (Mann 1997: 12-15). Dr. Mann wrote:

Family members, extended family, respected elders, and the entire tribe were White Buffalo Girl's teachers, because Cheyennes taught predominantly by example. Of all tribal members, spiritual leaders or medicine people and chiefs were the exemplars of Cheyenne personality. Her principle instructors, however, were her paternal aunts and her grandparents, as well as other elders. Not only did she learn through

observing and emulating the actions of older members of the family and tribe, but she also learned from observing life in action in all its facets during the first dozen years of her childhood. During her adolescent years, education became more formal, in that elders continually instructed her as to what was involved in being a Cheyenne: its language, ceremonies, value system, moral code, kinship system, tribal government, band structure, gender roles, traditions, customs, and economy. Succinctly, she learned through observation and by intense instruction about everything that comprised Cheyenne life and made up its world view.

White Buffalo Woman's experience during her early and adolescent years was not uncommon. Schweinfurth (2009), in her study of Cheyenne grandmothers from the Hammon community in western Oklahoma, noted the importance of grandparents in the transmission of cultural knowledge to younger generations. She argued that "family histories are especially helpful for understanding the dynamics of power and authority in individual families" (Schweinfurth 2009: xiv). I also argue for the importance of family histories to help understand the ways in which cultural knowledge is maintained, while at the same time fragmented in contemporary Cheyenne society.²³

When reviewing transcripts from interviews I conducted with various moccasin makers from different Cheyenne communities in Oklahoma, I realized that the information I received tended to vary depending on the circumstances in which that individual was raised. I was curious why it seemed different people

²³ Also see Moore (1974b) who generational structures of Cheyenne households. He takes a more materialist interpretation of these households and suggests that causal agents of a shift away from multi-generational households are varied.

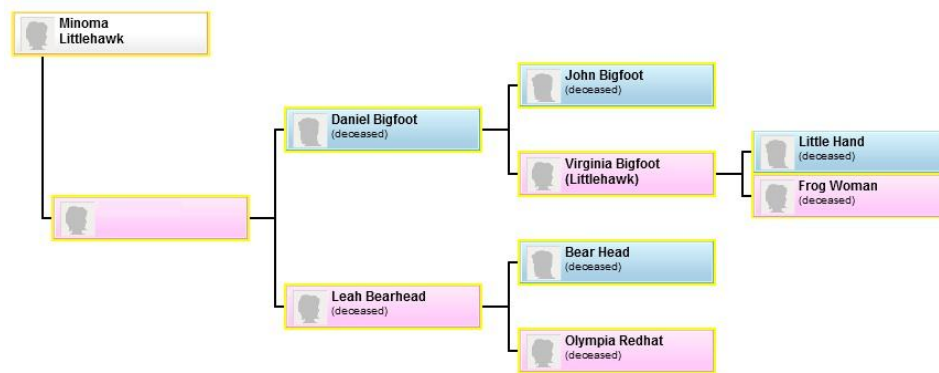
had different knowledge about moccasin designs, and the answer largely centered on two criteria: 1) the generational structure of the household in which they were raised, and 2) the social networks of the elder members of the household. In fact, nearly every moccasin maker from a ceremonial/orthodox family I interviewed was raised by their grandparents, or at least had their grandparents living with them as a child. Moccasin makers from non-ceremonial families tended to be raised Christian in two-parent households. This difference in childhood tended to put children of ceremonial/orthodox families in closer contact with tribal elders who possessed a deeper understanding of the Cheyenne belief system and tribal stories. This deeper understanding influences the development of an orthodox ideology.

Based on research conducted in the mid-1970s, Schweinfurth (2009: xxiv) noted that “approximately half of the Cheyenne domestic groups, or households, [were] multi-generational with three, and sometimes four, generations in one household;” however, she stated that “today most individuals are born into a nuclear family or a single parent family” (Schweinfurth 2009: xxv). I argue that this shift away from multi-generational families caused a marked break in the transmission of knowledge related to moccasin making, leaving few moccasin makers today with the experiences once common in Cheyenne communities.

Minoma Littlehawk, a moccasin maker from Seiling, OK, had a once common Cheyenne childhood. She was raised by her grandparents, Leah Bearhead and Daniel Bigfoot. She told me,

My grandma, she would talk, especially when she was teaching us how to bead, and she would be watching us and she would just be telling us stories and things from her childhood, you know, about going to Bear Butte all the time. They, her grandpa [who raised Leah], were nomadic until their death, I mean, they went up north two-three times a year.

Minoma stressed to me the importance of attending beading groups with her grandmother as a child to her understanding of not only moccasins, but Cheyenne life in general: “Beading was a social thing.”



(Fig. 04 - Lineal ancestors of Minoma Littlehawk)

Another moccasin maker I spoke with, Charlotte Lumpmouth, was an orphan raised by her extended family. While Charlotte identifies as Arapaho, she is enrolled Cheyenne-Arapaho and some of those who raised her were orthodox

Cheyenne. During an interview in her home on 18 April 2010, I asked how she was taught to make moccasins. Charlotte responded:

In all reality, I'd have to say I wasn't taught. I was shown. My family...I would say, maybe 15 women in a bead group that came way out here [west of Geary] to bead together and they shared designs and they shared their beadwork. As a little girl, without a mother and a father, they'd babysit me that way. They put me...my grandfather had built a little platform for them to sit around on, while I was stuck in the middle of that platform. I could not get off. That's how they'd baby sit me. These were my aunts and my grandmothers. And, my grandfather's got seven...there were seven brothers and two sisters, and so I have a gigantic family. And they used to all come together at certain times and bead together. The ladies. And, that's how I grew up and that's how I learned...just by watching. And it wasn't until, maybe, I was 25 or 20 that I really took an interest in beading, and then I really had to remember how things were done. Just from watching them. No one certain person taught me. So, I learned that way, but it was with me in my young childhood, girl days. My infancy...toddler days. It was just from watching my grandparents. My grandmothers, aunts and cousins. From watching them. (Lumpmouth 2010)²⁴

This social aspect of moccasin making was important for a number of reasons, most importantly, it was a time when knowledge about designs were shared amongst those present, and it was a time when children were introduced to a Cheyenne-specific aesthetic. As noted in various studies (Berthrong 1992; Hyde 1979; Jablow 1994; Seger 1924); due to a series of challenges Cheyenne people faced in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, such as illness,

²⁴ Charlotte was taught moccasin making by her relatives: mainly Lucy Lumpmouth, Carrie Lumpmouth, Martha Olair (sp?), Daisy Harrison, Daisy Behan, Etta Treat, Ella Sleeper, Louise Geary, and Edna Pedro.

population decline, boarding schools, missionary interference, etc., these social networks that at one time centered on society membership began to splinter off into smaller, extended family based groups.

Shift From Societies To Extended Family Units To Nuclear Family Units To Individuals

Women who were members of sewing societies, and who possessed the designs and knowledge associated with these societies, brought their collective property into their homes and shared (to varying degrees) these designs and knowledge with their extended family and local community. Each member of a society had their own collection of designs to use that were recorded in beads on a *design hide*.²⁵ These hides (or sections of canvas) were covered in design elements that were given, traded, or paid for by the owner and formed the core of that individual's—and by extension, that community's or family's—visual representation of their identity. This explains why some beadwork is

²⁵ A design hide is a collection of designs beaded often on leather scraps and sewn together to form a larger patchwork of designs. These hides are usually passed down through generations and each moccasin maker adds to it over time. See: Chapter Four, as well as Lohrmann and Ah Be Hill (2003), "'As Long As I Can Thread A Needle:' Southern Plains Beadworkers and Their Art," which depicts a photo of part of Mary Armstrong's (Cheyenne) "sampler."

recognizable to some Cheyennes as coming from particular communities, e.g. Hammon or Watonga.²⁶

David Ramos (Ramos 2010), when asked about the sharing of design elements once they moved from societies to families, stated that

When those societies kinda disbanded they took their patterns back to their families and their families had those same patterns that they could use to reproduce. Because, I'm sure that they passed their work and their stories on to their family, and it was passed on to their family, and [then] *their* families, and then if you take someone for a brother or sister and they make you regalia or an outfit, they've given you a pattern and that pattern, you've taken into your family. Then somebody in your family wants to dance with your pattern, and they ask you, and you give it that right, because that pattern was given to you, and that's kinda how the patterns have all moved around and integrated from society to society and community to community, because you intermarry, and you're so related and you're so close that you may have a really good friend that lives, for example, in Hammon and that individual has taken a pattern that means a great deal to their family and has made you something to honor you and has given you that right to wear that pattern, and then you have that right to give that pattern to somebody else, and that kinda integrates and it becomes part of your family. All that cross contamination! [laughs].

The situation David described is what led to the concept of 'family designs;' however, while beadworkers within families used and maintained these designs, the issue is much more complicated than simple family ownership (see Chapter Four).

²⁶ Certain design elements or color combinations are known to have either been created first in a particular community, such as the 'turtle design' in Hammon, OK, or the strong preference of the color orange from Watonga, OK.

When I asked Imogene Blackbear (2010) if she knew of any remnants of the old women's societies still active, she told me, "No. Everyone's just individual. Just the families bead together. That's all I know." Imogene and I discussed the decline in social networks for moccasin making and its effect on passing down tribal knowledge. Those meetings of social networks, while formed by the desire to bead together, also functioned as a time when tribal stories were told. Imogene told me that there really are not many opportunities in this day and age for such transmission to occur. She stated simply, while shaking her head: "All the old people that were old when I was growing up, they've all went on. I just... If you learned it, you learned it. If you didn't, then I guess you ain't got it." Imogene does actively share her knowledge with her children but noted that when she was learning, the social networks of moccasin making dwindled from extended families down to small groups within her immediate family: "When I lived in Watonga, me and my sisters, we would bead, but it would just be two of us...sometimes three of us...But, nobody does that anymore" (Blackbear 2010).

Irene Hayes, daughter of the well known moccasin maker, Lillie Hayes, from Hammon, OK, told Schweinfurth (2009: 89-90) that "I don't bead. I can do a little. I thought that my grandmother [Lillie] was going to live forever and that I didn't need to learn. She used to tell me to sit down and she would tell me how she was going to do this, and she would show me, and I just didn't listen. I'd sit there to please her for just a minute, and then I would get up and go." Today, the

social aspect of moccasin making is largely nonexistent. It has become a solitary enterprise. Most moccasin makers, having no one to share their knowledge and skill with, often bead alone. Some, even though they mourn the loss of the social connections to moccasin making, actively avoid others while beading.

Cheryl Carter, a moccasin maker from Hammon, OK, who now lives alone in Hobert, OK, told me about how she grew up in a large extended family of moccasin makers. Her mother was Minnie Miles. Minnie would get together with all of her sisters and close friends, such as Anna Hawk. They would all come together, and they would all sit and bead. That was the environment in which Cheryl was raised; however, when Cheryl beads today, she sits alone in her apartment, churning out moccasins (Carter 2009).²⁷ Minoma Littlehawk, when asked if she beads with others people stated, “No, I haven't done that in years. I just spread me a towel out, get my bowls out with my beads and I just sit there and bead at the kitchen table, or I have a TV tray that I just sit in front of me while I'm watching TV and beading” (Littlehawk 2010). David Ramos had, until recently, a shed in his backyard where he would sit and bead for hours, alone. Over the course of my research, I worked most closely with eight orthodox moccasin makers and every one of them does most of their beading alone.

²⁷ Cheryl is the fastest moccasin maker I have met. She often makes two fully-beaded pairs of moccasins per week. I have been told that Anna Hawk, who was a close friend of Cheryl's mother and who taught Cheryl's brother, James Miles, how to bead, had the ability to make a pair of fully-beaded moccasins in two to two and a half days—a point verified by my graduate advisor, Dr. Daniel C. Swan, who knew Annie Hawk many years ago.

After the decline in women's societies, these social networks, which were largely based on kinship and marriage, served to distribute cultural knowledge to not only young girls—as was the focus in the past—but to young boys as well. I argue that the circumstance in which an individual is raised or taught about their culture plays an integral role in that individual's cultural knowledge and ideology. This is important to note when social networks that provide the basis for such knowledge and ideological formation are hindered. Separation from bastions of cultural knowledge removes an individual from full immersion. Tribal elders and wide social networks within a community, along with the ability to spend extended periods of time with elders and within these wide social networks, provide the foundations for such bastions of knowledge. When these bastions become isolated or limited, the flow of knowledge does not spread and the system breaks down. Within certain Cheyenne families, however, the knowledge connecting moccasin making and a broader Cheyenne ideology are maintained.

Moccasin Making Families

Moccasin making traditions—that is, the historic act of making moccasins that have been carried on throughout many generations—while not considered

‘sacred’ beadwork,²⁸ as was once created by members of the women’s societies, remains an important part of Southern Cheyenne culture. Nearly all families at one time had moccasin makers; however, today, few have the skill, knowledge, or more importantly (to some, mostly orthodox Cheyennes) the *right* to make moccasins for their family. Moccasin making is not necessarily the most complex task, but it is a time consuming endeavor, and it requires a degree of technical knowledge. Knowledge of moccasins at an even deeper level of understanding beyond simple construction requires specialized knowledge gained through both formal and informal means.

When the women’s societies were active, members would gather to bead together. This social gathering was a time during which women would share ideas, provide technical instruction to younger women, and share beadwork designs they created. Because these women often stayed (matrilocal) within their own communities,²⁹ the shared beadwork designs tended to spread within a particular community; however, some of the more popular designs would make their way to other Southern Cheyenne communities. These distributed designs would remain associated with their originating community. The origins of some moccasin designs remain identifiable, e.g. the turtle design from the Hammon

²⁸ Julie Jordan (1972: 9) noted that “in sacred quill and beadwork there were strict rules in the use of designs and colors, and the symbolism of the work was kept secret from the uninitiated.”

²⁹ See: Moore (1974b) who discusses Cheyenne matrilocal settlement patterns.

community (see Chapter Three). As I found through my research, the sharing of moccasin designs proved an important practice in the development of moccasin making families.

As women's societies declined, the social networks of female beadworkers moved to a focus on the extended family. Over time, the families that maintained moccasin-making traditions dwindled, leaving few moccasin makers today that claim a direct line of knowledge transmission from earlier generations and even fewer who actively participate in the orthodox Cheyenne religion. During my field research, I worked most closely with moccasin makers from orthodox moccasin-making families that originated in the Watonga³⁰ community; however, moccasin makers from Hammon, Seiling, and Clinton, OK also helped to guide this study.

While beading moccasin making was once largely done by women, today men represent approximately half of the active moccasin makers in the Cheyenne community. This trend marks a shift in historic roles of men and women;³¹ although as I discuss briefly in Chapter Three, various consultants suggested that Cheyenne men have always known how to construct moccasins. In fact, even if

³⁰ Watonga, OK is located in Blaine County, approximately 25 miles north of Interstate-40 (exit 108) at the intersection of Highways 281 and 33.

³¹ Kay Schweinfurth (2009: 90) suggested this shift began in the early 1970s. She stated, "The historical division of labor that assigned beading to women has weakened in today's [1970s] economy. Men seldom beaded in the past...[but] now that beading is a readily available source of money, it is regarded more favorably."

moccasins were beaded by a women, many times a man would participate in the construction by either sewing on the rawhide soles, turning the moccasins after the soles were sewn on, or cutting out the soles from larger pieces of rawhide.

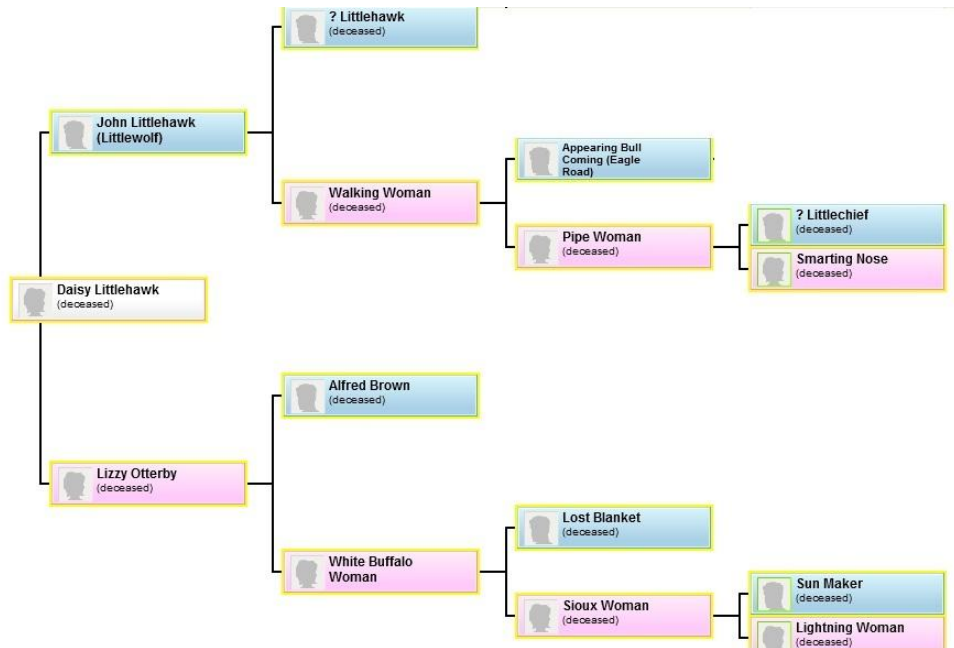
The closest relationship I formed during my experiences working with Cheyennes was with David Ramos. David was raised in Lawton, OK by his grandparents, Daisy Littlehawk McLaughlin and Don McLaughlin. His grandparents were originally from Watonga, and his grandmother came from a prominent orthodox ceremonial family. The daughter of Lizzy Otterby Littlehawk, Daisy descended from a long line of moccasin makers, including White Buffalo Woman, Sioux Woman,³² and Lightning Woman. David learned to make moccasins from his grandmother, who also taught him orthodox Cheyenne beliefs. Daisy was a moccasin maker, a dress maker, and story teller and passed all these skills (and the rights to them) down to David.

David became a ceremonial man after dancing four years at Sun Dance in Seiling, OK. His paint, or medicine, is the Bald Eagle paint—a dream, or vision paint. He is also a member of the Kit Fox Society.³³ As a ceremonial man, and having received education in Cheyenne religion from a young age, David actively walks the road of an orthodox Cheyenne. The perspective orthodoxy gives to moccasin making is something that has slipped from the general knowledge of

³² Sioux Woman was a survivor of the Sand Creek Massacre in Colorado, 29 November 1864.

³³ The Kit Fox Society is a men's warrior society among the Southern and Northern Cheyenne.

Cheyenne people (orthodox or not). It is the desire of David, and the few others that share his knowledge and views, to communicate to others the relationships moccasins have to Cheyenne religion.



(Fig. 05 - Lineal ancestors of David Ramos, beginning with David’s maternal grandmother, Daisy Littlehawk McLaughlin³⁴)

Imogene Blackbear and her daughter, Avril Prairie Chief are two active moccasin makers from a moccasin-making family. Imogene encouraged Arvril’s interest in moccasin making from a young age. Avril remembered how struck she was by the colors and designs her mother used to bead and that impression led to her desire to learn how to make moccasins and other beaded items. The process

³⁴ Dorsey 1905b: 57 – “The ceremony of 1903 was pledged by an individual by the name of Little-Hawk (see Pl. XVIII.), whose wife [Walking Woman] is one of the medicine-women of the tribe” (Dorsey 1905: 57).

of learning to bead is often taken in steps. A new beadworker would begin small and work their way up in technical complexity. Avril's experience learning how to make moccasins represents a common experience for many young moccasin makers:

She [Imogene] took me and two of my other cousins and at first she just started us off stringing beads. Getting a feel for the needle and beads. So, we did that for a while. We had fun. We like making necklaces and stuff. Then, that grew into...she taught us how to make a pair of earrings. I was maybe in kindergarten or first grade then. So, I started making earrings in my free time after school along with homework and stuff. But in my free time, when I wasn't doing nothing else, I would sit down by my mom at her beadwork table. While she was working on that, I'd start telling her about my day at school. When I got home from school it [all the beadworking materials] was already sitting out, plus it was already set up and by her, so afterschool I would go talk to her and conversate [sic] with her about my day at school and this and that. In the mean time, I would just pick it up and start beading, too. Me and my mom have gotten really close. A lot of it has to do with that.

Later on, I'd say maybe about second grade, she taught me how to make Native American earrings with the peyote stitch. It gradually grew into that. They were quill earrings and then from there I moved into the little small earrings. Those are my favorite. I love making those all the time. All the colors. I love the art of it.

About fifth or sixth grade...well, when I was younger I used to help my mom. I started out with sewing on the tongues of the moccasins for her and putting shoe strings on. And then that grew into helping her sew up the bottoms of them. She would ask me, "Do you want to help?" And I would be like, "Sure." Because I didn't have any other projects. So I started helping her and she would show me how to do it a little at a time. We would start with bottoms...sewing the uppers to the soles. After I got the hang of that, then I started sewing up the backs. I thought that was

but a deeper connection to how they fit within a larger Cheyenne specific value system.

The Impact of Religious Orthodoxy on Material Culture

In her 1996 book, *Art and Religion in Africa*, Rosalind Hackett presented a review of, what she considered, the sparse literature related to the intersection of art and religion, noting that “few monographic studies exist which explore [the relationship between art and religion] in any systematic or meaningful way” (Hackett 1996: 1, 19). Hackett seemed to have missed a massive literature on religious art from North and South America, art in Christianity (icons, saint sculptures, etc.), Papua New Guinea, etc. She seemed to have missed Gary Weatherspoon’s (1977) book, *Language and Art in the Navajo Universe*, or Nancy Parezo’s (1983) book, *Navajo Sandpainting: From Religious Act to Commercial Art*, in her literature review, for example. Within recent years, the literature has exploded in the study of Native American art’s connection to religion. One particular book by Nancy M’Closkey (2008), *Swept Under the Rug: A Hidden History of Navajo Weaving*, clearly illustrated the connection between weaving and religion among Navajo weavers. Daniel C. Swan’s (1999) study of Native American Church art also demonstrated a connection of art and religion among various Native groups, especially those in Oklahoma.

Hackett did, however, argue correctly that the utility of such an approach “reveals that what is small, hidden, unelaborated or even unattractive may be the most spiritually empowering.” Here she recognized that “everyday objects and more personal items may be laden with mythological and symbolic significance” (Hackett 1996: 2). Hackett argued for the more unified study of religion and art to get at deeper layers of meaning. With this goal in mind, this study on Cheyenne orthodoxy reveals the most spiritually empowering aspects and significance of moccasins.

Rosalind Hackett (1996: 12) noted that the knowledge associated with particular (empowered) religious objects is “frequently more subject to secrecy and concealment, and [has] to be studied more ‘obliquely’ (also see Blier 1995: 20f). To some degree I agree that this type of information proves difficult to acquire when addressed directly; however, this statement seems to possess an air of deception. Protected and guarded knowledge is the property of those who have it, and while inquiries may approach the subject, I argue that the revelation of such knowledge should come from the owners’ desires to share, rather than from “oblique” probing.³⁵

³⁵ See Graham Jones (2011) ethnography, “Trade of the Tricks,” which studied the circuits of sharing secret/expert knowledge among Magicians in Paris. This study demonstrated how sharing of secret knowledge can enhance social ties.

Graham Howes' (2007) study of religious art presented four dimensions of religious art: 1) the iconographic, 2) the didactic, 3) the institutional, and 4) the aesthetic. To Howes, "The icon is a symbol which so participates in the reality it symbolizes that it is itself worthy of reverence. It is an agent of the Real Presence. In this sense the icon is not a picture to be looked at, but a window through which the unseen world looks onto ours" (Howes 2007: 6). He noted how many forms of religious art serve as an educational tool for the young who use images as a reference to greater abstractions. The institutional dimension of religious art addresses the "lightly Platonised aesthetic" which serves the religion as a whole. He suggested that "Sometimes such images have a dual function, in serving as vehicles for national identity as well as personal devotion," e.g. Mexico's 'Our Lady of Guadalupe' and Peru's 'Lord of the Miracles' (Howes 2007: 25). The specific didactic and institutional dimensions of moccasins are discussed in Chapters Three and Four, respectively.

The Agency of Moccasins

When I first met the Arrow Keeper, Bill Red Hat, and before I discussed my research with him in any depth, he started to tell me an old Cheyenne story. Of course he started the story before I had my recorder out of my pocket, so I had to write it down immediately after leaving his home in Longdale, OK. Luckily,

David Ramos was with me at the time to help piece together the details of the story. This is the story as we remembered it:

Long ago a young Cheyenne was hunting far from camp and was all alone. This hunter was very vain and would use the oils on his hands after eating to slick his hair and keep it well conditioned. The leather of his moccasins was drying out and in terrible repair. One day, while walking, one of his moccasins busted through and left him bare on one foot. The hunter cried to his moccasin, “Why have you done this to me? You are supposed to protect me from harm! Why have you left me in this way?” The moccasin replied, “You should have taken care of me. Instead of greasing your hair, you should have greased me and taken care of me. I am the one who was to protect you, but you have neglected me. Why don’t you now stand on your head and walk home on your hair? (Lukavic 2011)

This story reveals a simple, yet profound message that gets to the core of orthodox views related to moccasins: moccasins have agency. From a Western perspective, the moral of this story is to take care of your belongings because they are there to protect you; however, from an orthodox Cheyenne perspective, the spirit within the moccasin—that *is* the moccasin—can protect you both physically and spiritually, but has the ability to be vengeful when not respected. The hunter took his moccasins for granted and paid the price. The surface message may be the same from both a Western and orthodox Cheyenne perspective; however, the orthodox Cheyenne perspective does not dismiss the possibility that this event actually took place.

The orthodox Cheyenne cosmology consists of a hierarchical structure that recognizes an ‘above world’ and a ‘below world.’ At the zenith is the “home of the Creator...while the nadir, at the center of the earth, embodied the female principle. At the same time, the zenith was spiritual while the nadir was material” (Moore, Liberty and Straus 2001: 873). This notion of Above World/male/spiritual v. Below World/female/material is nuanced, and I explain it in more detail throughout this study.

Maheo, the “All Father,” or Creator, is the “most powerful and most general spirit in the universe, the one who encompasses all other spirits” (Moore 1974a: 149), and who is the “source of ‘energy’ ...which he transmit[s] to the other anthropomorphic spirits, including the sun, moon, and four directions, and to birds, animals, and plants.” Moore (1999: 211-212) explained in more detail the concept of ‘energy’ used by orthodox Cheyennes:

All the life-force in the universe originates in Maheo, and is transmitted down the hierarchy of spirits, birds, animals, humans, and plants by means of *exhastoz*, which I translate as “cosmic energy.” The present keeper of the sacred arrows, William Red Hat, Jr., refers to *exhastoz* as “Cheyenne electricity,” explaining further that it only travels in one direction, downward, from the more sacred entities to the less sacred.

Like electricity, [Red Hat says], *Exhastoz* can be dangerous, and must be used only by people who know how to channel the energy properly.

Human beings can plug into the system of cosmic energy at any level and, although there is more energy to be gained by plugging in at higher levels, it is more difficult, and more dangerous.

Moore also noted “that the material world is inert and lifeless, and that all power, energy, and life come from the blessings emanating from Maheo” (Moore 1999: 245). This does not mean that objects within the material world, such as moccasins, are lifeless, but rather they require the energy from Maheo to live, and that energy comes into the material objects through prayer, fasting, and participation in religious ceremonies (Moore, Liberty and Straus 2001: 873). Thus, the religious view of moccasins is crucial to demonstrate how material objects fit within an orthodox ideology.

Karl Schlesier, an anthropologist who has published on Cheyenne religion and spirituality, presented the concept of spiritual energy as potential energy that is not bound by “time or space” or physical form. This energy possesses the ability to enter and leave “human cognition,” while it may also “execute tasks that can be measured physically” (Schlesier 1987: 190). Schlesier noted that this energy is both causal and noncausal, meaning it can be triggered by human action or appear of its own volition. He also suggested that energy is “fissionable: they may be local at a number of places at the same time. [They are] outside, or outside *and* within the construct of time and therefore represents universal ‘information’” (Schlesier 1987: 190). These ideas of potential energy that is fissionable without being bound by time and place presents an important area of inquiry for materiality within an orthodox context. This view allows for both action and inaction in the past, present and future, leading to the unlimited

potentiality of an object. In this case, those objects are moccasins. Even though moccasins have this potential energy, not all energy is viewed the same within they Cheyenne cosmology.

Moore highlighted this important aspect of Cheyenne cosmology: it is hierarchical. Not all spirits (or energy) are equal. Power emanates from Maheo at the zenith downward. The farther a spirit resides from Maheo, or the farther energy travels from Maheo, the less autonomous a spirit becomes. Moore noted that “they are, in fact, the actual manifestations and oblique expressions of the spirits to whom they are inferior” (Moore 1974a: 149). For example:

A tornado...demands a great deal of respect because it originates in *Otatavoom* (Blue Sky-Space) [the spiritual domain of Maheo] and is nearly all energy and very little substance. A stone, by contrast, is not prayed to for spiritual power because it exhibits very little life, by Cheyenne standards, and it is mostly substance. (Moore 1984: 296)

While I agree with Moore that a stone is not prayed to due to its low level of spiritual energy, praying over a stone can increase that energy through the act of prayer.

In the early morning of 28 February 2010, I met David Ramos in the parking lot of the Cherokee Trading Post at Exit 108 along Interstate 40 in western Oklahoma. David and I then got in my car to drive to the Washita Battlefield site in Cheyenne, OK. While in the car, we made use of our time by recording additional material David had wanted to share. In our discussion, he

told me about how he has had visions of moccasin designs, but that he has never brought any of them to life. I asked him to explain what he meant. By creating something, by actively beading a design like that, does that give life to the design?

Correct. Because you're telling a story or you're creating a presence, and that's why they always say, "nobody's perfect, so no beadwork should be perfect." You have to let a spirit out, because when you start a project, you're supposed to pray upon it. You're supposed to say, "I want to do this," or "I have to do this for this person," and you pray upon it and you may sleep on it that night and see what comes to you, and at that point, when you pray about it...ultimately, you're creating a spirit, and this spirit is going to be with this person. Some of you and some of them are going to be together. That's why you never want to be perfect, because nobody is perfect, so you always want to let it out. You always want that one odd bead, or something somewhere hidden on there, that only maybe you know, or if that person is real intuitive to beadwork, then can really search for it and find it. A lot of people DO do that. They do, they won't accept moccasins, or they won't accept beadwork, not unless it has a flaw in it, because you have to let that spirit out. That's just like if someone put you in a box, and there was no way for you to get out, you'd be trapped. You're always first. You always have to pray, and you always have to have a flaw. Even those where everyone wants to have BEAUTIFUL, perfect beadwork, and not a flaw. You're not a machine. You should always have a flaw...[which makes the spirit] free to help the individual. (Ramos 2010)

When David said that the moccasin maker 'creates a spirit,' what he meant is that the prayers channel the energy, or *exhastoz* from Maheo into the moccasins, and that energy stays with those moccasins and those who wear them. The imperfection in the beadwork he noted is the path by which the energy travels—in this case, from the moccasin to the wearer. This notion of a pathway for the

transfer of spiritual energy was noted by Moore (1999: 218), who explained how tipi and camp circle arrangements among the Cheyenne were oriented to point the opening towards Bear Butte. This arrangement allowed for the transfer of energy from Bear Butte to the Sacred Arrows.

Another example Moore provided on the spirit/energy that resides within the material world, and one highly applicable to the study of moccasins, is that of a stone: “Stones are animate and often move from place to place. At night they can be heard moving about. A hill, a mountain, or any high and sacred place is called a stone, hohona” Moore 1974a: 175). I have discussed the orthodox Cheyenne belief that moccasins and beaded designs have spirits; however, as I learned more about these spirits, I questioned whether these were gendered spirits. Were these spirits female due to the historic tradition of female moccasin makers and because of their material status within the Cheyenne cosmology, or were moccasin spirits either male or female depending on their association to male or female moccasins or moccasin designs? When I asked these questions to orthodox Cheyennes I was told that the spirits that occupy moccasins are the same that occupy rocks and mountains; while they are addressed, linguistically, as a

male ancestral form, they actually occupy a third gender which is neither male nor female.³⁶

This section has illustrated the place of moccasins within an orthodox Cheyenne cosmology, highlighted by the agentive spirit; although, it is important to bring the discussion back to the level of individuals. I must point out that the beliefs described here are not part of the present for many Cheyennes, including some orthodox Cheyennes. For those not guided by an orthodox Cheyenne ideology, the connection of moccasins to an agentive spirit does not exist. For those orthodox Cheyennes that do not recognize the connection between moccasins and the Cheyenne cosmology, the issue is more access to knowledge than a disbelief. These connections, while once common/general knowledge, have become isolated. As I illustrate in Chapter Three, moccasins relate to storytelling and the teaching of religious tenets and cultural lessons. The importance of storytelling, and the transmission of knowledge through generations is well founded in Cheyenne practices.

“Let me talk about the past...” – Dr. Henrietta Mann, 2

December 2009

³⁶ See: Brian Gilley (2006) who emphatically states that the strict imposition of gender by Western ideologies obliterated broader views of gender once found in many Native cultures.

The following section consists of Dr. Henrietta Mann's words on the past and some of the challenges Cheyennes face today:

Let me talk about the past and how they were done. The past is me. I've lived on this earth for seventy-five years and don't mind telling people that. I hope I've gotten wiser, but when I was growing up, we still had a rich, a very rich storytelling tradition, and we have teaching stories, and we find our own meaning in some of those stories. Sometimes it's how NOT to be, in terms of our *Veho* [spider/whiteman] stories, but in the creation story, which is the most sacred of our accounts, telling us to always make sure that we think, not just with the mind, but always with the heart. That you keep that balance kind of thinking. That you also realize that as you walk through life, that you walk...that you live in a very interdependent, relational universe. So, that those stories, those values that make us the people that we are, could be found in teaching stories, or stories that were told in our lodges, around our campfires, but were modeled by everyone in the particular camp.

Everyone was a role model. Everyone was expected to always model the best of what it is to be Cheyenne to the young people around. And, mothers and fathers would also tell their children, 'be like so and so. Look how white her tipis are. Look how white her buckskins are and how soft they are. Look how kind she is to the elders. See how she feeds everyone when they come to her house or to her lodge. Be like her.' To the little boy, 'look how brave this man is. Look how he's always got a good supply of arrows. See how he always goes out hunting and goes back to provide for the elders. Be like him.' So, that in that way you've got an entire camp, and my extension, and entire tribe...every individual there modeling good behavior.

Stories being told within the safety and security of one's lodge...more formal lessons, maybe with a storyteller sitting and discussing and teaching certain knowledge or skill areas. And those stories, more often than not in earlier times, were told in our own language. So, now you have our stories that are primarily told in the English language. They're not...and storytelling time is in the dark. You don't tell stories in the

daytime, and so, now we just live in a different time and in a different place. Many of our parents are working out of the household, and not just one, but both, because of the kind of economy and times in which we live. So, there is not that luxury of time anymore where you can stop and tell stories. There's not this luxury of remembering to be that good role model that sets the standard or adheres to the standard of the tribe in terms of the values that I have outlined for you. Learning how to be patient. Learning how to listen. I think that is something that a lot of people have forgotten. Maybe they do listen, but they listen to little headphones in their ears and their iPods and they're glued to the television set and they're playing with their Nintendo games. They don't listen to the human voice anymore. That voice of the heart that tells them these are the ways in which we live. To be happy.

As Cheyennes, we believe that...we don't believe in reincarnation. We believe that we walk around this earth but onetime and we have better do the best that we possibly can on this onetime journey around earth, because we don't have a second time. You're told you need to be positive...to always look for the good in a situation, and be happy for the day. You don't know how many more you have to be joyful. We were placed in a compassionate universe and we were created as human beings and we were placed on earth to be happy and we were placed on earth to keep our grandmother, the earth, happy. And so, you can see that time has eroded the way that we talk traditionally, as has the public school system. As has the society around us. So, you have to stop and think it's not really the children's fault. They're into wearing gangster type clothing and listening to rap, and all of those things. They're doing nothing but wanting to try to fit in with their peers. They'd rather not...we could just say, 'we have our own heroes. You don't have to go to a different culture to emulate them, because we have very good, good heroes that you need to learn about.' So, that makes it very important, then, that the tribal college is here, to begin to at least pass on those stories. To talk about the values that we share.

We're going to have an American Indian belief systems course [here at the Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribal College] that is going to look at some of the values. Going to look at spirituality of American Indians, because we are

very spiritual people. We think back when we were created we were created as part spiritual and part matter, and so, even though we're just part spiritual, we're still spiritual beings and we should act accordingly. So, there has been that erosion of our culture, of our languages, our value systems. Some of it very deliberately in the early schools in terms of these assimilationist [*sic*] orientation. Of the early boarding schools on reservations, to off reservation boarding schools, to far flung places like Carlisle, Pennsylvania and on and on and, so, there was a great deal. "A very harsh impact on American Indian cultures and upon Cheyennes brought by those that came to live with us, who operate by a totally different set of values. Consumer oriented, very inquisitive, materialistic oriented and so forth. That's not to say that we're not, but you need to really balance what it is that a dollar can buy. If that's what it is, Christmas, some people say has gotten very commercialized and, yeah, it has. But, these values, some of them have...at least living by them has slipped away from us, but it's certainly not the fault of the younger generations, because the school system certainly has helped it. And, a society at large has helped that, too, especially since we're minorities. And so, I would like to think there are still grandparents out there, and parents in general, that still tell stories to their children. And that they still pass on. It's what has helped us sustain for all time, in terms of our values. (Mann 2009)

Facing Challenges in the Transmission of Knowledge

Dr. Mann described a range of challenges Cheyennes have faced to the transmission of cultural knowledge in recent history into the present. She recognizes that the youth are not to blame. She suggests the problem exists within the Cheyenne system of education and that people are not telling stories and there are active government policies that work against the community. These

challenges highlight how education is important to the transmission of cultural knowledge. Because moccasins are agentive spirits, the lack of this knowledge has cosmological implications.

The challenges Cheyennes have faced range from the impact of allotment in Oklahoma, to the impact of boarding schools on Native youth. Access to information and practical experience proved to be the undoing of formal and informal forms of education societies, and remains a problem to this day.

Moore, Liberty, and Straus (2001: 865) provided a historic synthesis of issues faced by the Cheyenne beginning in the mid-nineteenth century. They noted issues such as relocation to a reservation in Oklahoma, “increased Anglo-American emigration, warfare, and diseases like cholera and small pox” that put pressure on Cheyenne communities.

During the period beginning in the late nineteenth century, and continuing to this day, Indian boarding schools have played a considerable role in the shaping of generations of American Indian people. The history of these institutions and the experiences of the students that attended these schools range from horrific to somewhat positive, though few would have called the experience wonderful. From their start, and lasting into the mid-1930s, the primary goal of Indian boarding schools was to assimilate Indian people into white, American society. Captain Richard Henry Pratt, founder of the Carlisle school, was famous for his

statement, “kill the Indian, save the man” (Hoerig 2002). This philosophy permeated much of boarding school practice.

Margret Connell Szasz (1999) provided a thorough analysis of the policy development regarding boarding schools throughout the twentieth century. What became a common theme was that, contrary to the expectations of government officials, boarding school administrators, and even the general public, the Indian children who attended boarding schools often left with a greater sense of cultural awareness and tribal/‘Indian’ identity than when they began the school.

Clyde Ellis (1996) presented a case study of the experiences of Indian students at the Rainy Mountain Boarding School in Oklahoma—a boarding school located on the former Kiowa-Comanche-Apache reservation. I mention this case in order to provide a point of comparison for off-reservation boarding schools. Ellis, through interviews with past students, argued that despite the terrible conditions found at this boarding school, the Kiowa community embraced it as their own. While students were forced to cut their hair, wear Western clothing, learn labor and domestic skills, and refrain from using their Native language, the boarding schools were unable to transform their tribal identity. What the boarding school did accomplish was to provide Kiowa students with the ability to navigate two worlds: the Kiowa world from which they came, as well as

the outside, 'white' world in which they could find employment with their newly learned skills. Their identity was not destroyed—only expanded.

Tsisianna Lomawaima (1993 and 1994) presented a similar, though very different set of experiences in her study of Chilocco Indian School in Oklahoma. Chilocco was an off-reservation boarding school that took in students from various tribal backgrounds. Again, the goal of these boarding schools was to 'destroy' the Indian; however, as Lomawaima argues, not only were tribal identities maintained, but a broader sense of an 'Indian' identity began to emerge.

Lomawaima, through the presentation of different perspectives from 61 former students, demonstrated that the 'Indian' did not die in these students; in fact, it often reinforced the children's' distinct identities. The formation of social boundaries is natural among people along lines that are self-constructed. At Chilocco, divisions occurred between students along lines of tribal origin, Native language, and skin color. While children of the same tribe often spent the most time together, cross-cultural ties were forged in these off-reservation boarding schools. These ties led to shared experiences and helped to develop a broad 'Indian' identity based on these shared experiences, which was certainly not a desired outcome of governmental officials or boarding school proponents.

Karl Hoerig (2002), in his review of a museum exhibition at the Heard Museum in Phoenix, AZ, titled, "Remembering Boarding School Experience,"

listed a series of cooperative efforts and shared experiences between individuals of diverse tribal backgrounds within boarding schools, e.g. the development of “pan”-Indian identities, intertribal organizations, and intertribal political activism. These new-formed identities provided challenges to Cheyenne identity in general and orthodox Cheyenne beliefs in particular. Orthodox Cheyennes argue that one should follow a particular road in life and they view the practices of other tribes, guided by other cosmologies, incongruent with their own.

Boarding schools proved a challenge to the transmission of cultural knowledge in many Native communities around the United States; however, the level of interference is debatable in the case of the Cheyenne because most who attended boarding schools did so within the confines of the reservation. This close proximity allowed for much more access to Cheyenne culture than if they had been sent to boarding schools away from the Cheyenne communities.

Santina (2001: 306) in her study of the Cheyenne Quilling Society noted that

As [Cheyenne women] encouraged girls to resume Cheyenne ways [after returning from Boarding Schools] and ornamented their dwellings with Cheyenne forms of beadwork, they maintained aspects of their physical environment as distinctly Cheyenne. Children and adults alike, then, would see on a daily basis the sacred beadwork made by the women even as their cultures were threatened by assimilation.

This does not suggest that boarding schools had no lasting negative effects on the transmission of Cheyenne cultural knowledge. On the contrary, numerous effects were felt from health problems to maintenance of language.

For orthodox Cheyennes, the ability to speak Cheyenne is a rather touchy subject. Few speak Cheyenne fluently; however, most recognize its importance to the maintenance of the Cheyenne religion. The “ability to speak Cheyenne was a large part of attaining high status among traditional people (Moore, Liberty and Straus 2001: 879). I have heard numerous stories of individuals using their ability to speak Cheyenne to provide legitimacy to themselves, while on the other hand, others have challenged the authority of non-speakers among orthodox Cheyennes. Imogene Blackbear (2010) discussed this issue that is a common point mentioned by orthodox Cheyennes:

My mom...she didn't teach us Cheyenne and she said when she was growing up she was humiliated by the white people that made fun of her because she couldn't speak English, and she thought that her kids would be treated the same way, so she said, "I'm not going to teach them English because I don't want them to feel that humiliation." Well, now we get humiliated because we CAN'T speak it. "What kind of Indian are you? You can't speak!" Yeah, I just can't. I know a few words.

While the issue of language shift is beyond the focus of this study, I suggest future research is needed on the use of language among the Cheyenne, especially the role of language in religious pursuits.

Ed Red Hat, former Keeper of the Sacred Arrows and grandfather of the current Keeper, Bill Red Hat, told Dr. Henrietta Mann on 5 May 1977 that the purpose of Western education was “to bleach our kids white,” and he hoped that one day Cheyenne youth could attend a school that “allows our children to grow up Cheyenne and happy, but that also teaches them to move well into the *Veho* world” (Mann 1997: 183).³⁷ Similar to the issues involved with an expanded intertribal identity, the ideology taught by non-Natives also challenge Cheyenne orthodoxy.

John Moore wrote extensively on the place of Christianity within Cheyenne communities (Moore 1974a; Moore 1999; Moore, Liberty and Straus 2001), outlining the challenges Christianity posed to Cheyenne religion, but also how many Cheyennes have integrated Christianity into the Cheyenne cosmology. While some Christian groups have spoken against traditional Cheyenne practices, many Cheyennes have incorporated Christianity into their practice of Cheyenne orthodoxy, or at least switch freely between the two without issue—a practice Moore described as ‘serial’ (Moore 1974a: 10-11).³⁸ Moore suggested that

Cheyennes in general have never felt that religious belief should be exclusive, and while many have been ready to embrace Christianity, they have not wanted to give up their traditional beliefs or ceremonies. That is,

³⁷ *Veho* = whiteman

³⁸ Moore’s (1974: 10-11) suggestion that Cheyenne religious practice is serial focused on how an individual may “participate in several native and Christian religions...emphasiz[ing] one at a time.”

Christianity has been perceived as merely an additional source of power from Maheo, with Jesus serving in the role of an anthropomorphic spirit. (Moore 1999: 273-274)

I argue, however, that while many Cheyennes practice syncretism of Cheyenne religion and Christianity, this expanded religious view led away from the one-time clear connections between moccasins and orthodox Cheyenne beliefs. When faced with the symbolism of multiple religious traditions, the core symbols of the orthodox Cheyenne religion, lost their primacy to the point that they are often not recognized for what they are today within the Cheyenne community. The designs of the moccasins, as I will illustrate in Chapter Three, often represent specific religious and cultural themes for orthodox Cheyennes that bare no resemblance to Christian symbolism.

Decreases in population at various points in Cheyenne history also provided challenges for the transmission of cultural knowledge. Moore (1999: 258-259) argued that

In early reservation times, several factors conspired to undermine the structure of these extended families, whether polygynous or monogamous. First of all, there was rampant deadly disease and a lowered birth rate, which diminished the size of the population and therefore the sizes of all the families, so that the remains of different families were forced together to form new living units. Second, missionaries and Indian agents in the reservation period used various means to outlaw and discourage polygyny, so that the large chiefs' bunches began to disappear. And last, after individual ownership of land was assigned in 1881, the Cheyennes were encouraged to split up the extended families so that each nuclear family

would occupy a small house on their own land. To this end, the government withheld rations and used the military to break up the extended families.

In the 1930s, under New Deal policies, and continuing after World War II, many Cheyenne people relocated from small camps to larger towns and often to distant cities, such as “Seattle, Chicago, Dallas, Denver and Los Angeles to work in war industries or BIA relocation programs” (Moore, Liberty and Straus 2001: 866). Moore, Liberty and Straus (2001: 879) provided statistics on the pre-reservation population, that of the 1930s, which proved the lowest for both the Northern and Southern Cheyenne:

From a total prereservation population of about 3,500, the Cheyenne declined to a nadir of about 2,500 in 1930, the total for both [Northern and Southern] reservations. This was largely the result of neglect, malnutrition, and poor housing. Infectious diseases such as cholera, tuberculosis, and influenza took the lives of many people.

These authors cite statistics that suggest enrollment in 2000 for the Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma was 11,800 members with at least ¼ blood. Of these, “Approximately two-thirds consider themselves Cheyenne” (Moore, Liberty and Straus 2001: 879). These figures, on one hand, are staggering and provide a perspective on how population issues affected the larger community’s ability to transmit knowledge in the face of such devastating forces. On the other hand, they show the potential and hope for the future spread of knowledge to a wide

Cheyenne-specific audience. With the increase in Cheyenne population from the years 1930 to 2000, I would have expected to find wide-spread transmission of cultural practices among the Cheyenne, albeit, the population of moccasin makers has continued to dwindle. This point led me to inquire with consultants why so few Cheyennes bead moccasins today.

When speaking with various orthodox moccasin makers about the challenges they face passing on their knowledge, the issue of *time* was commonly cited. Charlotte Lumpmouth, when asked if she had passed down her knowledge to her daughters, told me, “No, my daughters...they know what it's about, but they won't...they don't have time to sit around and do it in this day and age” (Lumpmouth 2010). On one occasion when David Ramos and I discussed the meanings associated with various moccasin designs, I asked him why much of this knowledge was lost with the exception of a few families. David identified how perceptions of time have changed due to influences from outside Cheyenne communities:

Because of our integration with our white role. A lot of people, a lot of youngsters, they don't want to learn the old ways. If you don't have nobody to pass it on to, you just take it with you [in death]. We're experiencing that all the time. A lot of people that always come to me [looking for moccasins], I try to encourage, "why don't you do your own?" "Oh, I can't do that," or "oh, I can't sit for hours at a time to do something," or "I don't have the patience." This and that and the other. "Oh, my life's too busy." You hear all kinds of stories. You can't force anyone to learn your path. You've got to have someone willing to want to

take it on. What to learn it. Cause, you can't say, "damn it, you're gonna sit here and learn this!" [laughs] "You're not gettin' up 'til you get a full beaded, you know" [laughs]. You can't force anyone to do that. (Ramos 2010).

Later that day I sat down with Minoma Littlehawk (2010) at the Washita Battlefield Historic Site in Cheyenne, OK, and one topic of discussion focused on how she was raised by her grandparents and her perceptions of why other Cheyenne people view being Cheyenne differently:

Minoma: "They have issues."

John: "They have issues? What kind of issues do you think they have?"

Mimona: "Like, it's no big deal to be Cheyenne. Like, it's no big deal to be Native. They're too busy focusing on being, I guess this is a harsh word to say, but being assimilated. And I'm guilty of that, too. I was the same way, and I'm trying to get everything back that they [Minoma's grandparents] intended to leave me. Which has been very hard, because a lot of that I've forgotten. I'm learning it all over again. It's kinda funny how I'll be doing things, like, we were looking at that moccasin a while ago and I remembered how she would go from left to right. And I hadn't thought about that in a while. So, little things like that are coming back."

Avril Prairie Chief is of the generation referenced by elder moccasin makers as containing too many distractions and threats to the transmission of cultural knowledge. To Avril, the problems go much deeper than the issue of time:

They've become urbanized. I think a few of the parents or role models...I think a lot of our Native American's have drinking problems. I don't think the kids... There're kids out there that I've met that are...a lot...common

among my tribe, where they don't even know Native Americans...Cheyennes had Indian names. They didn't know Cheyenne peoples still made moccasins. There's a bunch of stuff they don't know. When I came into contact with them, I was like, "WHOA! Are you serious?!" I grew up knowing these ways and peyote ways. You know, my tribal ways. But the only thing I don't know is my language where I can have a full conversation. I know words and stuff, but... I was amazed...I was sad, really sad when I first found out that not all Native American kids know about it. It made me sad for like a straight week, but I think another way to have that is to... Well, more of our elders are not into drugs as much anymore. More people are getting more involved in powwows and Native American ways, so I think, maybe with the [moccasins-making] workshops we can keep it alive out there amongst the tribe. With our tribal peoples. (Prairie Chief 2009)

The views of Minoma and Avril illustrate how these obstacles have distracted many Cheyennes, including some orthodox Cheyennes, from an orthodox way of life, but they also demonstrate a desire to share their knowledge with others. One challenge they face, however, is that the knowledge associated with moccasin making and its ties to an orthodox ideology requires considerable training and/or informal learning experiences with the Cheyenne religion and value system.

Chapter II The Value(s) of Moccasins

As argued by Webb Keane (2006), studies in materiality should focus on all aspects of an object, from production to representation, subjective meaning to the extension of the subject. Following this line of thought, the study of moccasin values is without limits, meaning the value of moccasins is limitless. Moccasins are produced, bought and sold, used, and exchanged as are most objects, but as I will demonstrate, their symbolic value is increased by their connection to all who come in contact with them. It is precisely the connection between humans and moccasins that provide moccasins with limitless value. An orthodox perspective on moccasin use and symbolic values is presented within this chapter in order to highlight the depth of value.

Moccasins have a place within the orthodox Cheyenne community and provide a point of departure to discuss symbolic value, issues of prestige, aesthetic value, social value, cultural value, traditional value, and the value of knowledge, among other forms as well. As I conducted my study, I saw clearly how the understanding of these various forms of value are audience specific, i.e. the value of moccasins to one person from one viewpoint does not always match that of another. Another key concept I recognized was the fluid nature of values. Values serve, essentially, as storage vessels for various forms of capital, and the presentation of the value of moccasins demonstrates how interpretations of values

are constructed continually from one form of value to another based on need or circumstance.

When you start to look in depth at orthodox ideology, values prove an integral part of the equation. Values take many forms and work in various ways within a community, and certainly at the individual level. Eiss and Pedersen (2002: 283) argued that "Value is about measure or meaning; it is material or symbolic, secular or sacred, abstract or concrete, individual or collective, qualitative or quantitative, global or local. Its origins and content can be found in either production or in exchange, in structure or in process." Elizabeth Ferry (2005: 18), in her study of heritage, patrimony, and values in a Mexican mining community, presented values as languages that can be called upon by "different actors" in different circumstances for different purposes "without constraint." "This perspective avoids reifying the categories of 'gift,' 'commodity,' and so on, and helps us understand how multiple or hybrid forms of value occur simultaneously, something which is not explained by phases or situations of exchange" (Ferry 2005: 18). Other scholars share similar and equally broad views of values. Robert Foster built on the work of David Graeber (2005) and suggested three main types of value(s): 1) "'values' in the sociological sense: conceptions of what is ultimately good, proper, or desirable in human life," 2) "'value' in the economic sense: the degree to which objects are desired, particularly, as measured by how much others are willing to give up to get them,"

and 3) “‘value’ in the linguistic sense, which goes back to the structural linguistics of Ferdinand de Saussure (1966), and might be most simply glossed as ‘meaningful difference’” (Foster 2007: 1-2). These definitions of value(s) focus on behavior and communication, which highlights the social nature of values.

Foster emphasized this social nature of values and provided a strong connection to values and ideology. Citing Kluckhohn’s definition of ‘values,’ Foster stated:

The central assumption...was that values are "conceptions of the desirable"--conceptions which play some sort of role in influencing the choices people make between different possible courses of action (1951a:395). The key term here is "desirable." The desirable refers not simply to what people actually want--in practice, people want all sorts of things. Values are ideas about what they ought to want. They are the criteria by which people judge which desires they consider legitimate and worthwhile and which they do not. Values, then, are ideas if not necessarily about the meaning of life, then at least about what one could justifiably want from it. The problem though comes with the second half of the definition: Kluckhohn also insisted that these were not just abstract philosophies of life but ideas that had direct effects on people's actual behavior." How was the problem. (Foster 2007: 3)

Desires, wants, and judgments are rooted in ideology. Within an orthodox Cheyenne context, these ideological concepts are intrinsically tied to those values expressed by Dr. Mann in Chapter One and transmitted amongst orthodox Cheyennes through social networks by ways of formal and informal learning. The knowledge shared and the ideology formed within an orthodox context

differs from the knowledge shared and the ideology formed outside such a context. That much should be obvious, but this idea highlights a key concept presented by Pierre Bourdieu (1984) (and clarified by others) in his study of ‘distinction.’ That concept was ‘field theory.’

As I have stated in Chapter One, Bourdieu’s works have been the subject of criticism by many scholars; however, much of this criticism was due to misunderstanding of his key concepts. Bridget Fowler (1997) addressed many scholars’ criticisms, which noted Bourdieu’s “labyrinthine theory of practice.” Bourdieu was notorious for not defining his terms, which was even more problematic because his theory was developed over time and throughout no less than five publications (1977, 1984, 1991, 1993, 1996). Fowler synthesized the key points of Bourdieu’s various publications, but it was Douglas Holt (1997) who most clearly defined the key concepts needed to understand what is meant by distinction and how it is created and operates.

Douglas Holt contended that cultural capital occurs in two distinct yet related forms: 1) as “a single abstracted form” [for the purpose of this dissertation: knowledge and an understanding of the place of moccasins within an orthodox Cheyenne ideology] and 2) as “many different realized particular forms” [the moccasins themselves]. He argued that “in its abstracted (virtual) form, cultural capital is a set of generic transposable characteristics—dispositions,

skills, sensibilities, embodied knowledges concerning the body, beauty, creativity, individuality, achievement, and so on—that together compose the habitus of cultural elites.”³⁹ It is this habitus that influences the ideology, and by extension, the behavior of orthodox Cheyennes. The virtual form is then

fostered systematically through upbringing in families with well-educated parents whose occupations require cultural skills, interaction with peers from similar families, high levels of formal education at challenging elite institutions studying areas that emphasize critical, abstracted, metaphoric thinking over the acquisition of particularized trade skills and knowledges, and then the refinement and reinforcement of this habitus in occupations that emphasize symbolic production. In this form, cultural capital exists as a universal, fungible, and transposable resource. (Holt 1997:96)

The realized particular forms, such as moccasins, refer to the physical material to which the abstract form of cultural capital is applied. Holt’s presentation of two forms of cultural capital is integral to an understanding of how and where the abstract form is transmitted and applied to material forms.

Bourdieu argued that cultural capital in its abstract form is also produced within particular fields:

It is the specific logic of the field of what is at stake and of the type of capital needed to play for it, which governs those properties through which the relationship between class and practice is established...Capital is an

³⁹ While Bourdieu and Holt refer to Western elites in this explanation of the virtual form of cultural capital, there has always existed a Cheyenne social hierarchy. As discussed in my section on women’s societies and accessing knowledge, families/individuals were required to provide some form of payment in order to access certain information. Those without the means to do so were excluded from accessing certain right and knowledge.

energy which only exists and only produces its effects in the field in which it is produced and reproduced, each of the properties attached to class is given value and efficacy by the specific laws of each field. (Bourdieu 1984:112-113, in Holt 1996)

This explanation of 'fields' was not clearly defined, which led to much confusion among scholars. For example, Erickson argued that Bourdieu neglected "social networks and class relations at *work*" (Erickson 1996: 217 [emphasis added]).

She noted that in the workplace, other factors are at play beyond class, suggesting that while class does factor into workplace domination, these other factors [social networks and class relations] affect coordination, which, she argued, Bourdieu overlooked. Erickson did not view High-status culture as having an impact in the "competitive private sector." Instead, she suggested that "social network variety is a better source of cultural variety than is class itself" (Erickson 1996: 217).

Similarly, David Halle's (1992) study of class in relation to residence misinterprets location as a field in which to test Bourdieu's theory. While Erickson is correct in her identification of cultural variety within workplace 'fields' and Halle is correct in his demonstration of the lack of relationship between formal aesthetic and residence, both studies are clouded by the impact of economic capital and neither recognize that transmission of abstract cultural capital does not begin in the workplace or residence, but rather within specific fields of consumption of material cultural capital. In the case of Cheyenne orthodoxy, the field of consumption centers around ceremonial life and Cheyenne

specific values; therefore, the transmission of orthodox views of moccasins occurs *within* the field of orthodoxy.

David Holt noted that abstract forms of cultural capital are meaningless to individuals on their own. Elites must “transform this asset into various particularized forms, which require accumulating . . . *field specific cultural capital*” (Holt 1997:97). The concept of ‘fields’ was not clear in Bourdieu’s writings, which led to the confusion found in Erickson and Halle’s works. Holt clarified the meaning of ‘fields’ by suggesting an alternate phrase: “fields of consumption.” In this sense, fields then refer to genres such as “art, sports, food, décor, hobbies, vacations,” et cetera (Holt 1997:98). It is this field specific cultural capital, in the material form of moccasins, that is used by orthodox Cheyennes for a variety of purposes. While the material form is easily transmitted (through inheritance, gift, or sale), the abstract form of cultural capital does not usually follow intact because it often occurs outside a field of consumption, i.e. moccasins often find their way outside the confines of the field of orthodoxy, which changes/adds to the life of the object.

Transmission of abstract cultural capital requires communication within fields. While communication of knowledge does occur in the form of stories through families, or in the interactions between a gallery or antique store owner and a patron, transmission of abstract cultural capital requires more time, or more

precisely, more contact and exposure. Education passed from parents, elders, or ceremonial advisors over time can yield an accumulation of cultural capital in the child/student. Holt noted

Consumption fields are extremely diffuse: they are enacted not only when consuming a particular good or engaging in a particular leisure activity, but also when communicating about such cultural objects which is a routine aspect of conversation at home, parties, the workplace, schools, churches, and so on. (Holt 1997:99)

As Bourdieu and Holt suggested, the routine transmission of knowledge within a field of consumption leads to the accumulation of abstract cultural capital. Values are essentially how this accumulation is stored.

It somewhat goes without saying that those individuals that do not share an orthodox ideology of the connections between humans and nature also have differing opinions on the 'road' that one must follow in life. Where one person may feel an obligation to take care in their actions for fear of repercussions by a disrespected spirit, those with non-orthodox views may not share such a position. For example, if an orthodox Cheyenne saw children playing with a water pump and splashing water into the air, the orthodox among the group might become angered and complain that the action of the children will bring rain. The non-orthodox may be less inclined to share this view due to the fact that their ideology is not shaped by the connections of actions to nature. Authors such as Herzfeld (2004) and Reno (2009) argued that use, value, and potential of an object is

audience specific. Likewise, an individual's interest in moccasins is related to the value they recognize. Cheyenne moccasin makers (particularly orthodox moccasins makers), for example, find themselves associated with more forms of value than those on the periphery, e.g. non-Cheyennes, Indian art dealers, or tourists.

History also plays a part in the value of moccasins but does not bind moccasins to the past. In fact, Eiss and Pedersen (2002: 287), in their analysis of literature on values, noted that the study of value can “move across temporal boundaries, showing history to be critical to an understanding of the present and its possible futures.” They concluded that “the significance of value does not reside solely in its theoretical ‘worth’ in a ‘marketplace of ideas.’ Ultimately, value’s significance lies in its capacity to interpret—and perhaps to change—the world in which it circulates.” Eiss and Peterson’s view seems to suggest agency in value; while I think their claim is unfounded, I recognize value’s capacity to guide the interpretation of those who live within an associated ideological system. The study of moccasin value(s) I present here is intended as a tool to illuminate and interpret aspects of Cheyenne orthodoxy and ideology.

I present within this chapter separate narratives related to the various forms of values that moccasins have for orthodox Cheyennes. Each form of value is treated independently from other forms. I stress this point for one main reason:

some values may have connections to other forms of value, but they are not permanently bound to one another. Within the field of Cheyenne orthodoxy, the social value of moccasins may lead to the production of a pair of moccasins, and that pair may then have use value and/or exchange value and may increase the prestige value of the maker; however, values are not fixed, nor are they bound by time. During the life of a moccasin, any number of values may find expression in any order. Because of the limitless potential of moccasin values, and because there exists no set path for the conversion of values, I discuss each value separately and allow the reader to form their own connections. Value is not bound by a reciprocal exchange. It is so much more. Value can transform through intent and use. It is at its core the storage mechanism for capital, and this is what makes value so valuable.

This chapter is meant to highlight values related to Cheyenne moccasins. In the various sections that follow I address multiple areas of interest to anthropology, but I do not fully ‘unpack’ the literature related to each particular area. I am aware of the extensive literature on classic anthropology on exchange, grounded in multiple works, such as Marcell Mauss (2000), Claude Levi Strauss (1961), Annette Weiner (1992), Maurice Godelier (1999), and Paula Rubel and Amraham Rosman (1971), to name a few. Discussions of exchange have also influenced more recent work on consumption (Miller 1997, 2009). Each of these

areas require substantial study as they relate to the materiality of Cheyenne moccasins; however, that proved beyond the scope of this dissertation.

Economic Value

Economic value has generally been the most common form of value discussed by scholars when addressing material objects, especially objects of art.⁴⁰ On a daily basis, people buy and sell goods. Money is exchanged either through cash or credit, and people either have money or they do not. An object is worth something, or it is worthless. The question, however, is what does ‘worth’ mean? Does it suggest that an object has a potential? Can one convert an object to something else? Within a symbolic system of values this is certainly possible, which is why a focus on values, and more importantly, the conversion of values is of such importance.

From an economic perspective, capital comes in two main forms: abstract and realized. As they relate to economic value, we must focus on the realized forms, i.e. the physical material on which the abstract form of cultural capital is applied. As Holt (1997) argued in his explication of Bourdieu, within the realized form are two sub forms: 1) economic capital and 2) Cultural capital. Economic

⁴⁰ See: R. Towse (2006) and Hutter and Shusterman (2006) for overviews of the history of art economics, including issues of human capital and artists’ labor markets.

capital relates to an object's potential to convert from its object form, through an exchange network, to a monetary form (real or future) based on their extrinsic value. Cultural capital—with a big 'C'—relates to objects that have potential for conversion to an increased monetary form as a result of their connection to abstract forms of capital (Holt 1997). The expression of both forms of realized capital exists as they relate to the creation and distribution of Southern Cheyenne moccasins.

The economic value of moccasins is a complicated issue for most orthodox Cheyenne moccasin makers. The common theme presented within interviews regarding the creation of moccasins from this perspective is that economic value dilutes the symbolic values of moccasin creation. As I will explore throughout this chapter (through the lens of Cheyenne orthodoxy), other forms of value (prestige, exchange, social, etc.) are diminished when moccasins are sold for profit, which challenges the notion that items of Cultural capital have more monetary value. In an orthodox Cheyenne context, moccasins are often sold at a bare minimum cost that only covers materials or made free of charge. That said, no moccasin maker denies the utility, and often safety net, of moccasin making for profit.

As I began my graduate studies at the University of Oklahoma in 2004, the economics of the Indian art market in Oklahoma grabbed my attention. At that

time, and even as I began the early phases of my dissertation research, I was interested in the forces at play in producer/consumer decision making. Those interests led me to western Oklahoma where one can find a series of “Indian stores,” or trading posts, that follow the Interstate 40/Old Route 66 corridor. These stretches of road pass through the borders of the Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma. With increased road traffic after World War II came new consumers. Various entrepreneurs opened stores that purchased Native made items from Cheyenne and Arapahos for sale in their shops, and moccasins proved the most consistent item sold. John Moore (1999: 296) estimated that as of the early 1990s, Cheyenne-made craftwork accounted for approximately \$200,000 in sales.

Having made beaded moccasins myself, I know the amount of time it takes to finish a fully-beaded pair. I also know the material costs involved in their creation. With that in mind, I was shocked at the retail prices for beaded moccasins for sale in these Indian stores. As I spent more time in these stores and after witnessing the sale of various moccasins between moccasin makers and retail outlets, the weight of the situation came to the surface. John Moore (1999: 296) noted that moccasin makers generally “receive about \$20 or \$30 a day” for their work. Moore further argued that “Cheyenne people are forced to work for these low wages because they have no other options, unless they travel away from their families to Oklahoma City or Dallas. But to do so takes them away from the

free health clinics, subsidized housing, and other benefits which many families desperately need.” Within the Hammon, OK Cheyenne community, Kay Schweinfurth (2009) noted the lack of employment opportunities, forcing many Cheyenne people to sell beadwork to support their families. She identified that “Today the production of beaded items comprises almost the entire economy of the Hammon Cheyennes. Engaged in primarily by women,⁴¹ Cheyenne beadwork is a critical resource of income for many Indian families, and it often means the difference between eating and not eating” (Schweinfurth 2009: 87). This notion of beadwork as a critical resource ties in with the economy of values, especially symbolic value and the value of knowledge—points also addressed in the work of Jennifer Kramer (2006) and Tressa Berman (2003). Despite the poor wages, Moccasin making remains a skill that can serve as a safety net in times of need.

When speaking with Cheyenne moccasin makers (both orthodox and non-orthodox), I learned that moccasins have helped families get through some very tough circumstances during a time of economic need. One moccasin maker told me a story of how at one point in her life she was diagnosed with a non-cancerous tumor that required surgery to her head, leaving permanent damage to nerves in one eye and one side of her face, as well as hearing loss in one ear. This trauma

⁴¹ Note: at the time Schweinfurth conducted her original research with elder Cheyenne women, her claim that women comprised the majority of moccasin makers was true, but I argue that is no longer the case. I contend that Cheyenne moccasin makers, as of 2011, are nearly equally women and men.

left her unable to work and support her family in the ‘white world.’ This situation caused her to fall back on beading for financial support. When I asked if she was able to successfully support her entire family she said, “I DID make a living. I DID make a living. That's how I supported myself. And then when I finally turned 62 I slowed down thinking that Social Security would help me, but they just only allowed me to...I took Social Security early, so it wasn't enough, so I had to keep beading” (Anonymous 2010a). The ability to make moccasins has helped many Cheyenne families through tough times, even if the maker does not receive a fair wage. That said, while many feel blessed for having the ability to support their families during times of need, the feeling of exploitation persists.

Kay Schweinfurth recounted an experience of Anna Hawk, from Hammon, OK, that explained the economics involved with the making and sale of a pair of moccasins:

One day when Anna Hawk’s family was desperate for money, she made the decision to sell a pair of her own fully beaded moccasins. She knew that she had a better chance than anyone in the family to produce the money needed. She used public transportation to travel to a store that would pay cash for her fully beaded moccasins. Her travel cost was twenty-five dollars for a round-trip bus fare and ten dollars for two taxi fares (the nearest bus station was eighteen miles away). Considering the cost of materials, a seventy-five dollar sale price for the moccasins left her only forty dollars as compensation for the many hours she had spent beading. But, at the time, she had no choice in the matter because no other family member had the means to help. (Schweinfurth 2009: 89)

Anna Hawk was noted for the speed and quality of her beaded moccasins, but even if it only took her two days to complete a pair (working long hours with few breaks), that left her with only \$20 per day. Very few moccasin makers come close to her speed, meaning their pay/day is less.

During an interview with Minoma Littlehawk (2010), she told me of an experience she had many years ago while attempting to sell a pair of beaded women's leggings to one of the Indian stores along I-40. Minoma and her husband at the time desperately needed gas money to drive from Oklahoma to Kansas so her husband could return to work building power lines. She had a pair of beaded women's leggings she had just completed and told her husband to take her to the Indian store to see if they would purchase them. She said the store employee would only offer her \$15 for the leggings, even though similar leggings would retail for \$200-300. Having no other choice, Minoma said she "swallowed my pride. I walked in there, took the \$15 and walked out. And I never went back." The exploitation of moccasin makers in times of need leads to a feeling of disrespect and embarrassment, which is only tempered by the knowledge that they are doing something to help their family.

Today, it is common to see Cheyenne people selling beaded items, other than moccasins, at the Indian stores along I-40. Imogene Blackbear told me how she and her children make beaded key chains, earrings, and occasionally baby

moccasins in large quantities and bring them to the Indian stores to sell, but she rarely sells adult-sized moccasins. Imogene (Blackbear 2010) told me how her grandmother once told her that “you can always get more money out of moccasins than the small stuff.” While Imogene knows that is true, she does try to avoid such sales because selling moccasins for retail sale is looked down upon by many orthodox Cheyennes, specifically other orthodox Cheyenne moccasin makers.

I once asked David Ramos if he sells his work to the Indian stores and was told emphatically, “NO!” Even within the Cheyenne community, when he is commissioned to make a pair of moccasins for another Cheyenne, he avoids compensation when possible:

When I charge for moccasins I only charge for materials. Cost of buckskin, beads, rawhide, things of that nature. I don't ask for my time because, depending on partials and depending on full bead, it could take anywhere from a couple of days to three weeks, and it's hard to put a value on your culture. Like, the whiteman can put a value on a job and say for this job I'll pay you \$5.00 per hour, for this job I'll pay you \$2.00 per hour. You can't do that in our culture because that is just our ways and that was a gift that was given to us and it's an art. You wear them out and when people wear these things, people always say, "Oh, where did you get those moccasins," or "Who made those moccasins," "Where did you get that pattern?" Just different things like that and they're just like, "Who are your people?" "Who do you belong to?" They always have the same basic questions. They always want to know where you came from. They always want to know who made your stuff. It's just, I don't want people thinking that "David's charging \$10 an hour" and that I want \$600, \$700 for these moccasins and things of that nature. I'm not like that. I work to

be able to live in this world and so I don't sell my beadwork to live. I know there are people out there that do, but I don't. (Ramos 2010)

This statement highlights how orthodox Cheyenne values guide the actions of those that follow this ideology. David is unwilling to put himself in a situation where others judge him harshly for exploiting his culture for monetary gain, a feeling expressed by many Native artists who create art in 'traditional' media (Kramer 2006). This does not mean David goes uncompensated for his efforts. On the contrary, David is rewarded handsomely in other forms of value that better fit an orthodox Cheyenne ideology.

Ironically, while an orthodox Cheyenne set of values dissuades David from selling his moccasins to the Indian stores, that same set of values often leads orthodox Cheyennes to purchase moccasins from those same stores. One orthodox Cheyenne elder told me how she lived away from Oklahoma for many years and when she returned, she needed a new pair of moccasins. After she inquired around to find a moccasin maker, a friend connected her with a moccasin maker in a neighboring Cheyenne community to have a custom-fit pair made. The moccasin maker took measurements of the elder's feet and collected a monetary deposit of half the agreed upon price. The moccasin maker missed a series of deadlines to complete the pair, but eventually delivered the moccasins to the elder.

The elder explained to me that the moccasins were undeniably beautiful, except there was one major problem: the moccasins did not fit her feet even though the moccasin maker took custom measurements. This elder faced two problems: 1) she needed a pair of moccasins immediately for an important event and did not have time to commission another pair and 2) she did not want to embarrass the moccasin maker by pointing out the measurement issue, nor did she want to cause tension by complaining. She told me, “I was reluctant to go back to the moccasin maker to say, ‘you made an error here.’ And that, to me, to my way of looking at it, seems so un-Cheyenne, to go back [and] do that, even though they were too big. And I paid several hundred dollars.” This elder recognized how the moccasin maker helped to support her family by making moccasins and she did not want to create additional stress—and notably put more value in her own humility; consequently, she paid the balance on the custom moccasins and then drove down to one of the Indian stores along I-40 and purchased another pair that fit, even though the new pair cost considerably more than her custom pair. Interestingly, the original custom pair of moccasins were put to use in another way that highlights Cheyenne values when they were given as a gift to this elder’s friend. As I will demonstrate in more detail in the discussion of exchange value, orthodox Cheyennes make use of Indian stores to maintain Cheyenne specific values, and the future value of moccasins is not bound by the original intent of the maker or the first owner/user. The Indian Stores provide an outlet for purchasing

moccasins needed immediately for use by Cheyennes who take a pragmatic approach to the acquisition of moccasins.

Anyone can walk into the various road-side trading posts along Interstate 40 in western Oklahoma and find fully- and partially-beaded moccasins for sale. These moccasins, some of which are labeled with the maker's name, though most are unidentified, are available for purchase by anyone, e.g. tourists, collectors, non-Cheyenne Native people, and Cheyenne people. If you have the money/credit, or are willing to put a pair on layaway, you can purchase a pair of moccasins. To the few tourists who purchase them, these moccasins mostly serve as commodities—another, albeit expensive, trinket from their trip through Indian Country. Local Native people, the main consumers of these moccasins for sale,⁴² purchase them as commodities, as well; however, their motive for the purchase is quite different from that of tourists. The economic value of moccasins at any given time is influenced by *intended* use, not actual use. When a consumer judges the value of a pair of moccasins they consider whether it is 'worth' the price for how they intend it to be used, rather than its potential use, even though its potential is limitless.

⁴² During the first stage of my dissertation research I spent a considerable amount of time visiting stores along Interstate-40 in western Oklahoma that sell Cheyenne-made moccasins. From my own observations, and through interviews with various staff members at these locations, I learned that the vast majority of moccasins for sale at these locations were sold to Native people from various tribes within the state of Oklahoma. Non-Native consumers formed the minority consumer.

Production Value

From a production standpoint, moccasins are essentially the product of an individual's labor. Moccasin makers utilize skill sets and cultural/technical knowledge to create pairs of moccasins, but these skills and knowledge vary considerably among Cheyenne moccasin makers. Bonnie Urciuoli argued that, "In skills discourses, social acts are recast in a transactional or entrepreneurial frame and actors' segmented selves are recast as assemblages of productive elements, as bundles of skills" (Urciuoli 2008: 224). This idea highlights the notion that the production of moccasins is valued situationally, i.e. based on the frame within which it is judged. The criteria used to judge production value differs by audience largely because of the level of knowledge available to the different parties making such judgments. For example, an orthodox moccasin maker from a moccasin-making family has a whole different understanding of moccasin construction and design than a lay tourist passing through Oklahoma on vacation. Both recognize that a level of skill was involved in the production of a given pair of moccasins, but the value placed on that skill may differ depending on differing factors. An orthodox Cheyenne may use an evaluation of the moccasin maker's skill in negotiating an orthodox Cheyenne value system (within their personal life) in his/her assessment of the overall production value; whereas,

a tourist would doubtfully have an understanding of Cheyenne values to make such a judgment.

Moccasin makers possess the ability to convert their knowledge and skills into material objects, and those objects have the potential for conversion into other forms of capital. In addition, the objects produced would be assigned different forms of value by others, while instilled with additional forms of value by the maker. How an object is used physically and emotionally will differ, but all these potential values are present as a direct result of production.

Any discussion of production requires an inquiry into Marxist ideas, and this study is no exception. Some authors, such as Appaduri (1986), Baudrillard (1988), and Ferguson (1988) criticized Marx for his focus on value creation within a labor process with little attention paid to how values transform and change as objects of production circulate—a critique countered by Eiss and Pedersen (2002: 284). Eiss and Pedersen argued that Marx accounted for such transformation and change in his evaluation of value abstraction and ‘acts of exchange.’ From this view, value is created through production, but transformed and changed through exchange.

Eiss and Pedersen (2002: 286) further highlighted three features of Marx’s views on value that illuminate the efficacy of values in this study of orthodoxy:

1) through the notion of collective social labor and what Marx called the “social worker,” the concept and assumed locus of production is widened beyond the labor process to encompass a potentially infinite ensemble of forms, categories, practices, and social relations;

2) the determination of value can only be understood through the conjoined analysis of spatially and temporally distinct episodes of production and exchange; [i.e.] value must be understood from a *circulatory* perspective; [and]

3) to consider value in circulation is to realize the power and critical importance of a perspective on human life as an *open* totality—in social, geographical, historical, and moral terms (See: Bhaskar 1994, Lefebvre in Castree 1996-97).

These three features note the social forces involved in the transformation and circulation of values that occurs after the initial production. It is within a study of these social forces where Cheyenne orthodoxy becomes most clear.

Use Value

How an individual intends to use an object affects its use value. A tourist purchasing a pair of moccasins for the purpose of a keep-sake, or even as a pair of slippers for around the house, differs from a local Native person who purchases a similar pair for personal use at a powwow or ceremonial dance (see: traditional value), or even as a gift or for the burial of a loved one (see: exchange value).

Authors David Graeber (2001: 100) and Bonnie Urciuoli (2008: 221) discussed how different audiences may see objects quantifiably equal in value, but

the form of value each sees is based on the desires and intent of each party involved in an exchange. Both authors view use- and exchange-value as “socially constituted, each depending on the perspective of the person involved” (Urciuoli 2008: 221). Urciuoli further argued that, “if use-value is socially constructed, it can take on social meaning.” Much of use-value was neglected by early Marxist scholars and Marx himself; however, as Urciuoli pointed out, the early work on exchange-value provided the foundation upon which anthropologists could build. As previously noted in this chapter, the literature on exchange theory is certainly applicable here, but my intent was to demonstrate how moccasins relate to exchange. Additional analysis of their connections to broader issue of exchange proves an area for further inquiry.

The social construct of use-value requires more inquiry in order to understand the guiding principles at play in influencing consumer behavior and value perceptions. Daniel Kahneman and Amos Tversky (2000) argued for the use of ‘prospect theory’ to frame exchanges. Prospect theory suggests that individuals make decisions [in this case, regarding the sale/purchase/gift of a pair of moccasins] based on the perceived risk/benefit posed by such an exchange. The authors argued that these decisions occur within frames and are situational based on intended use; therefore, in order to understand the socially constructed value of moccasins one must frame such inquiry within certain parameters, or frames, based on how an individual intends to use the moccasins. For example, a

tourist who considers a purchase of a pair of beaded moccasins in an Indian store in western Oklahoma may balk at the sale price (\$300-800) if they intend to use the moccasins simply as slippers, but if their intent includes the use of the moccasins as a memory generator of their trip, the use-value may equal or exceed the economic value of the moccasins in the tourist's mind. Orthodox Cheyennes are often guided by considerably different use scenarios, so the potential for a high use-value is great.

Within ceremonial contexts, the use of moccasins is nuanced. Without exception, all Cheyennes with whom I spoke during my research put a premium on using Cheyenne moccasins during ceremonial events, such as Sun Dance, Arrow worship, naming ceremonies, peyote meetings, etc. The symbolic meaning of moccasins is connected to the image and public perceptions of an individual and their support system (family and extended social network).

Marriott and Rachlin (1977) and Nancy Peterson (2006: 208) recounted a story of the naming ceremony of Mary Little Bear Inkanish. In this story, the one-year-old Mary was dressed in fine Cheyenne clothes and moccasins with their soles completely beaded to "show that this little girl's family would not let her feet touch the ground if they could help it" (Marriott and Rachlin 1977: 5). This story demonstrates how moccasins were used by Mary's family to symbolically make a public statement about how they expected her to be raised in an honored

and 'traditional' way, supported by her family. The fact that the soles of the moccasins were completely beaded was a strong statement to further their position, because the physical act of walking on beaded soles would leave the beads broken. The unbroken beads on the soles, consequently, increased the use-value of the moccasins in this ceremonial context.

The use-value of moccasins proves situational but unlimited in their application. Elizabeth Ferry (2005) discussed how individual actors transform value forms for political purposes and to exert aspects of social power. The very ability to transform the value of moccasins within a given situation increases its potential use-value and provides orthodox Cheyennes with the ability to tap other forms of value.

In his review of exchange theory literature, Fred Myers (2001) outlined the development of object based values (see: Appadurai 1986; Fajans 1993; Miller 1987; Myers 1993; Thomas 1991; Turner 1989; Weiner 1992) . Through this review, Myers identified one problem with object based value: slippage. Myers argued that value "must be sustained or reproduced through the complex work of production. Indeed, the contrast between value as produced in organizations of difference ('qualitative' value) and value as a measure of relative price in transaction ('quantitative' value) may underlie significant dynamics within structures of social action" (Myers 2001: 6). This view, however, goes

against the unlimited potential of an object embedded in its materiality. While I agree that certain values may cease to function in an object at a given point in time, those values may regenerate through use. I argue that production is not required to prevent slippage. Slippage is expected. The key is the use-value of an object because how an object is used affects its ever changing value.

Exchange Value

Fred Myers (2001: 3-4) argued that “the traditional oppositions between ‘gift’ and ‘commodity’ has been displaced, in part, by approaches emphasizing the materiality of exchange values rather than their social function in reciprocity or their purely symbolic meanings.” He suggested that this increasing attention to the materiality of objects helps “to make the classic topic of exchange more relevant to other discussions in anthropology,” particularly seen in the works of Webb Keane (1997), Daniel Miller (2001), and Annie Coombes (2001). How an object circulates in a network of exchange adds to the potential use-value of the object and opens it to unlimited value-related possibilities.

At its most simple level, exchange value involves a transaction between at least two individuals, not only in some form of payment—monetary, as in economic value, or some type of symbolic value—but also in material form. For example, a pair of moccasins is transferred from its maker to its new owner, but

from an orthodox Cheyenne perspective, much more symbolic value is involved in such a transaction. An orthodox Cheyenne view of moccasin exchange proves contrary to the example described by Inge Daniels (2009) in his study of gifts in contemporary Japan. He explained that gifts often exist without any connection to the ‘donor,’ arguing that the ‘spirit of the recipient’ fills the void left by the lack of donor connection. This view is not generally applicable here because, within an orthodox context, a premium is placed on the historicity of the object, i.e. who made it, where/who it came from, et cetera. Even if much of this information is unknown, the little that is known through intrinsic observation serves this purpose. Unlike Daniel’s example, moccasins are not just found, stripped of connection to others. They are part of something greater, especially their initial creation. Similarly, in her study of patrimony in a mining community in contemporary Mexico, Elizabeth Ferry (2005) argued that the concept of *patrimonio*—patrimony—is used by locals to identify material and knowledge that is passed down through generations with the intent to maintain such transmission into the future. This view of patrimony is useful to understanding part of how moccasins are viewed and used as they enter an exchange network, but does not encapsulate an orthodox Cheyenne value system. Moccasins are, in a sense, patrimony, but they are not limited by such heritage values, as I will soon discuss.

Buying and selling of moccasins certainly relates to exchange value as objects *are* exchanged in the process; however, the act of giving (or ‘gifting’) moccasins, proves an important part of orthodox Cheyenne culture. Families often commission moccasin makers to make pairs of moccasins for gifts to others, either within or outside their family. It is common for grandparents to ‘gift’ infants and children their first pair of moccasins. It is also common for families to present a family member with a pair of moccasins if that individual is to serve as a head dancer at a powwow or complete a vow in Sun Dance. Bestowing moccasins upon individuals outside a family is much less common; however, this practice does occasionally occur as a way to honor an individual who has made an impact on another person’s life. This example of gift giving contributes to the established literature related to Plains Native people by scholars such as Moore (1993) and Albers and Medicine (2005), as well as Mauss’s (2000) important study on exchange.

Sharing is an important orthodox Cheyenne value that plays a key role in the exchange of material goods. John Moore (1974a: 104) noted that among “respectable Cheyennes” sharing is expected to help “anyone who needs help,” especially among an individual’s ‘local extended family.’ Moore (1974a: 276) suggested that “Indians in sharing groups are also, in general, the most conservative of all Cheyenne people. That is, they not only maintain pre-reservation familial and sharing patterns, but they also maintain traditional

religious and political life.” His description, excluding a line that added a blood quantum qualification, applies to orthodox Cheyennes.⁴³ Moore suggested that these “respectable Cheyennes” were full-blood; however, most today are mixed, but choose to walk an orthodox Cheyenne road.

In an interview with Kay Schweinfurth conducted in the mid-1970s, Martha Fingernail, a moccasin maker from Hammon, OK stated that, “We Cheyennes help each other out. We share our things. That’s the Indian way. An Indian cares for everybody. If he sees another Cheyenne who needs help, then he give it to him. He doesn’t want to be paid back. That’s not the Indian way, bein’ selfish and greedy, always wantin’ to be paid back” (Schweinfurth 2009: 173). Minoma Littlehawk shared with me how she had a difficult time growing up thinking she was poor. She explained how her house was always bare, even though people constantly gave her grandmother, Leah, things. It was not until later in life that she realized that her grandmother was sharing everything they had with others who were in need, including many of the moccasins that Leah had made. Minoma told me that her grandmother taught her that it is “an honor when someone asks you for something and if you can provide it, you do it” (Littlehawk 2010). This notion of sharing that she learned from her grandmother guides Minoma’s actions to this day.

⁴³ Moore (1974: 276), in his description of ‘conservative Cheyennes,’ included that they are “full blood Indians,” which is not the case today. Not all Cheyennes that may be called ‘orthodox,’ or even ‘traditional’ are full blood Cheyenne; in fact, I argue that most, today, are not.

The acquisition of moccasins among orthodox Cheyennes occasionally requires an element of immediacy. When discussing the sale of moccasins with various owners of Indian trading posts in western Oklahoma, I learned that the two main reasons local Native people purchase moccasins from their stores are for emergency use at a powwow (because, for example, their old moccasins ripped at the seams or their children's feet grew faster than expected), or for use at a burial. Both of these reasons share the element of time. Having a ready supply of moccasins at local stores decreases the time needed to get a pair of moccasins and removes the element of uncertainty that exists when ordering a custom-made pair from a moccasin maker. Most people in the Cheyenne community I spoke with during my research have at least one story of placing an order for something (moccasins or some other form of beadwork) and waiting months or years for the completed item. Some never see a finished product, even if they supplied the necessary materials or even a deposit. This common experience demonstrates the issues associated with ordering a custom-made pair of moccasins and highlights why individuals would prefer purchasing moccasins from a retail outlet.

It is customary, historically speaking, for Southern Cheyenne people to bury deceased family members with moccasins on their feet.⁴⁴ Ideally, these

⁴⁴ David Ramos (2009) explained to me that "Basically, most people have a Sun Dance pair. But you can never wear those again, once you've completed your vow, you don't wear those to powwows. You put them up because those are sacred items now that has gone with you

moccasins are the favored pair of the deceased, but many tribal elders do not have moccasins that are fit for wearing at their time of death. Some may not have had moccasins since they stopped dancing in their youth; others may not have a pair that fit them anymore after experiencing the effects of diabetes on their feet.⁴⁵ When faced with the sudden need for moccasins, family members often make a trip to the Indian stores along the Interstate to look for a quick pair of moccasins. While they may spend more to purchase the moccasins at these locations, they take possession of the moccasins immediately, which proves vital when pressed for time.

David Ramos (2010) once told me that when a Cheyenne person dies, the family should ‘put them away’ wearing their best moccasins.⁴⁶ He explained,

You just want to honor them. Even though they've gone on to be with the spirit world, you have a physical connection with the appearance of that body. In order to show your honor and your gratitude, you want to put them away, you want to know in your heart that you took care of somebody when they passed on, so you hope that someone would take care of you when you pass on.

through the Sun Dance and so they need to be set home [buried] with you when you die or they need to be buried with your medicine.”

⁴⁵ David Ramos (2009), in a discussion on how the shape of Cheyenne moccasin soles has changed over the past 100+ years, stated “we're a lot heavier [now]. That changes your feet. Indians back then lived on dried meat and berries. How fat could you get? [laughs].”

⁴⁶ Note: ‘best’ moccasins does not always equate to ‘most aesthetically pleasing’ among orthodox Cheyennes. Other factors may apply, such as if the moccasins were used during Sun Dance and received a blessing. This highlights how use-value affects other forms of value, such as aesthetics.

Honor and gratitude are two values exchanged through the use of moccasins to dress the dead, as David described, but are also among the main values exchanged among the living.

In the earlier discussion of economic value, I told a story of an orthodox Cheyenne elder who commissioned a pair of moccasins only to receive a pair that didn't fit. I then mentioned that she gave this pair to one of her friends, which is an important part of the story that relates to exchange value among orthodox Cheyennes. When the elder gave her friend the moccasins, she was offered money, but refused. "I'll just give them to you," she told her friend. When she recounted this story to me she added that this action was "more or less in the spirit of the Cheyenne give-away. I think that those moccasins went on and I feel good and I see this person wearing them." I asked her if she truly received nothing in exchange for the moccasins, to which she replied, "Honor." She added, "There's always honor involved in any give-away. And I just wanted someone that appreciates...also to have the joy of wearing them as well. And I think that's what these Cheyenne give-aways are all about anyway" (Anonymous 2009)

From an orthodox Cheyenne perspective, the exchange that occurs when a pair of moccasins is given away is mutually beneficial. The maker/giver receives a form of 'payment,' as does the person who receives the moccasins. David Ramos explained to me that,

When you make [moccasins], it come from [your] soul and your heart and these people must touch you in such a way that you've at least taken them in as family, or you've taken them in as a friend, or you appreciate them in such a way that they become a part of you. You care for them, deeply, if you're going to take the time to make them something—something that you're going to dedicate your own life to take the time out of your life, your family's life, everything, because there's other things you could be doing that this person means so much to you, or that touched you in such a way that you want to honor them by making them something. That's the gift, that you know, that they say, 'it's better to give than to receive,' but you get more of a blessing by doing something good for someone, someone that has touched you in a way--that you appreciate them, or that you consider a really good friend, or a brother, or anything like that in Native American culture, you can do something for them, because it just makes you feel good inside. (Ramos 2010)

David's words illustrate how the Cheyenne economy of values 'pays' the moccasin maker in ways that are much more spiritually rewarding than mere money, but also highlights how the individual that receives the moccasin gains honor from the gift itself. The elder who gave her moccasins to her friend believes that you pass on good blessings when you give an object, which further highlights the exchange of value that accompanies the exchange in the material object.

Minoma Littlehawk (2010) echoed David's sentiments when I asked her what she receives as payment when she gives away a pair of moccasins that she's made. She feels like she receives, "A big hug. You know. Excitement. Happiness. Joy. And that in itself, it fills your heart." The payment in this exchange is much more rewarding to her. She added, "Money is the root of all

evil. I mean, I like money, too, but there's only so much that you should do or take. And I honestly don't think [moccasin makers who sell moccasins to Indian stores] are getting what they deserve. I honestly don't." This notion goes both ways. An orthodox Cheyenne individual that receives a pair of moccasins as a gift often expresses his/her appreciation publically for receiving such an honor. One Cheyenne ceremonial man, after receiving a pair of full-beaded moccasins as a gift during a powwow give-away, told me it was "very meaningful. Very touching." He explained to me,

And that's why I went and I held [the moccasins] up in all four directions to praise. I didn't do a war cry because it was a high honor and...used to, years ago after you gave a gift, women would lulu, men would holler, but they used to...at the end, they would play a song and you would dance with whatever you were given and you would dance to show appreciation. They don't do that anymore. (Anonymous 2009)

This description of what he did and what he knew *used to* occur after receiving an honor such as this is interesting because it shows how these orthodox practices are no longer practiced by the larger Cheyenne population, even though it is recognized as proper protocol among orthodox Cheyennes. The honor received has not changed, but the public recognition has. This further underscores how the limited transmission of knowledge and beliefs associated with moccasins has changed the actions of Cheyennes in general.

Symbolic Value

Historic Southern Cheyenne customs dictate that family members must bury, burn, or set adrift (in a river) all of a deceased individual's most cherished belongings, because part of the deceased's spirit is believed to reside within that material. Moore, Liberty, and Straus (2001: 872) noted that, among the Cheyenne, "all possessions of the deceased person were given away, leaving the mourners impoverished. After a year or so the household was refurbished with gifts of necessary items from other families." Because of this practice, little remains to remind descendants of the deceased; however, whether because the deceased had multiple pairs of moccasins, or because the family did not fully dispose of the deceased's possessions, some families still own old pairs of moccasins—some dating back over 120 years. Unlike most old moccasins in museums, if a family has an old pair, they generally know with certainty its provenance. They know who owned it, who wore it, and on occasion, who made it. These old pairs of moccasins become family heirlooms, not simply because of their age and economic value, but because of their symbolic value, i.e. what they stand for culturally as part of their Cheyenne identity and symbolically as part of their ideology.

Eiss and Pedersen (2002: 283) noted the connection between exchange/circulation of commodities and the establishment of 'communal'

structures of memory and identity. These structures find their roots in symbolic values. Koch and Elmore (2006) illustrated how Jean Baudrillard's augmentation of Marx's Theory of Value added an emphasis on the symbolic value of commodities. The authors argued that, to Baudrillard, some objects are created or consumed with the expressed purpose of generating symbolic value, i.e. items that reflect social dynamics of power—and to which I would add honor and prestige.

Using moccasins, exchanging moccasins, and remembering moccasins are important activities among Southern Cheyenne individuals. Because of the importance of moccasins to so many, and for so many purposes, the makers of moccasins tend to develop a level of prestige.

Prestige Value

Bourdieu approached social relationships as modes of production. He recognized the place of individuals with control and/or authority over modes through the use of 'capital,' and their relation to power and symbolic or physical violence. To Bourdieu, symbolic capital influences 'image,' and is directly influential in understanding action in the presence of honor. Image, as a form of symbolic capital (along with networks of alliances, relationships, commitments, and debts of honor) is convertible to economic capital, and is, as Bourdieu

suggested (1977: 179), potentially the “most valuable form of accumulation in a society.” His presentation of various forms of capital, specifically symbolic capital, was useful for understanding actions that do not appear to work toward the accumulation of economic capital.

Historically, issues of honor and prestige played substantial roles in Cheyenne societies (Carlson 1998: 27; Santina 2001: 141; Schneider 1983: 111; Schweinfurth 2009: 88). Janet Berlo noted that

Among the Cheyenne of the nineteenth century, men and women had parallel systems by which they earned prestige. In artist guilds, women proved their artistry, diligence, and power. George Bird Grinnell, who lived among the Cheyenne in the 1890s, observed of quill- and beadwork, “This work women consider of high importance, and, when properly performed, quite as credible as were bravery and success in war among men” (1962: 159-61). Grinnell goes on to relate that in the meetings of the quillwork society the assembled women recalled and described their previous fine works, “telling of the robes and other things that they had ornamented.” This recital was formal in character, and among women closely paralleled the counting of coup by men. (Berlo 1993a: 36)

This notion of social prestige among Cheyenne women was echoed by Santina.

She noted that

Members of the quilling guilds...enjoyed a higher degree of social prestige than non-members. Although any woman could aspire to participate, only select individuals were granted the opportunity to join. Not only did a prospective member have to demonstrate superior technical ability in the art of quilling or beading, but she also had to exhibit the personal disposition and character necessary to perform the work. Because the work was sacred in nature, undertaking a project was a

serious matter. Individuals who failed to show the appropriate personal qualities were not allowed to begin a project. Membership was also limited by one's wealth; knowledge of the processes of making the objects was purchased with a feast and gifts for the members. Those women with fewer material resources, then, were less likely to become members. (Santina 2001: 141)

Social positioning is an integral part of orthodox Cheyenne society. While humility often prohibits orthodox Cheyennes from boasting about their exploits in most situations, such declarations of past success is accepted within certain ceremonial contexts. That said, with the demise of the women's societies, few places remain for women to demonstrate such public displays of power. Men, specifically veterans, maintain this ability to publically tell of their past deeds, but few opportunities exist for women. While at one time women could tell of their accomplishments in beadwork, that is no longer the case.⁴⁷ Women must rely on the orthodox Cheyenne recognition of their prestige value in symbolic form that more often goes unstated. By extension, male moccasin makers must rely on this non-communicated prestige value as well, because their moccasin making is viewed on the same plane as that of women. This issue of power is important because, while men have a variety of sources of power within an orthodox Cheyenne context, women's access proves more limited. With the decline in the

⁴⁷ As discussed in Chapter One, members of the women's Sewing Societies would 'count coup' by recounting stories of their past beadwork projects in a similar way as how men retold war stories. This provided women with a formal, and culturally appropriate, platform to publically tell of her actions. These formal, culturally appropriate platforms are no longer available to women.

recognition of moccasin makers' prestige value, the source of power for orthodox women becomes limited.

Making moccasins takes time, patience, dedication, and cultural knowledge that few possess in contemporary Southern Cheyenne society. There exist many individuals who, at one point or another in their lives, have made a pair of moccasins or two; however, very few have devoted their lives to the role of moccasin maker. A small number of moccasin makers (approximately 15-20 or so), as noted in the discussion of economic value, make moccasins for money, but that is rarely the motivating factor of why they continue to make moccasins. I can think of only four moccasin makers who can bead fast enough to make a living wage from their craft; yet, many continue to make them year after year for little compensation, if any. Moccasin makers are often awarded a certain level of respect or prestige within Cheyenne communities—most especially from those orthodox Cheyenne individuals that recognize the importance of all these acts based on several conditions: 1) moccasin makers are dedicated to making moccasins, 2) these moccasin makers actively maintain cultural traditions passed down through generations, 3) they fulfill an obligation to maintain cultural knowledge, and 4) they keep alive the spirit that resides within the moccasin designs they own.

Some moccasin makers have a difficult time dealing with the prestige associated with moccasin making because they feel it actively works against their value of humility. An elder who at one time made moccasins, but has since given it up due to arthritis, told me that the prestige made her uncomfortable. “I don’t like it,” she said, “because I feel like [others in the community] think I hold myself different than them, and I don’t like that. They’re my relatives and my friends. I don’t like to be put on a pedestal for anything like that” (Anonymous 2010a). Another moccasin maker told me that he doesn’t like to tell others when he makes someone a pair of moccasins. He prefers that others do not know his role as a moccasin maker because he is afraid people would get jealous of his ability and his knowledge. These feelings illustrate the often competing forms of value operating at a given time. Similarly, aesthetic value for orthodox Cheyennes at times competes with other forms of value, rather than enhancing them.

Aesthetic Value

Pierre Bourdieu’s (1984) book, *Distinction*, attempted to create a theory of human tastes and how these tastes were related to an individual’s place within a class. This theory of taste viewed the actions of humans as part of a holistic system, which involves learning, transmitting, and expressing certain values.

Taking this idea further, Howard Morphy argued that “context influences perception, and cultural context no less than any other.” He went on to argue, “people are socialized into aesthetic systems just as they are into other aspects of culture. Relativity lies in the interpretation but also in the emotional affects that are engendered” (Morphy 2007: 92). This socialization leads to culture-specific views of aesthetics.

Distinction, as used by Bourdieu, holds two meanings. The first is in relation to a material object (an object of Culture), and the other is in relation to positioning of a human (a person with a particular taste that is expressed within a particular place in a social hierarchy). Bourdieu (1984) argued that class based taste is an unconscious, naturalized disposition created during the life of an individual. This taste is developed generally through two forms of learning: 1) upbringing (family life) and 2) formal schooling; although, he argued the latter was of less importance. The experiences and learning that individuals accumulate throughout their lives form their habitus, and this habitus is most similar to those who have had similar learning and experiences. A habitus is said to contain all possible views/actions that a person might express. Habitus, as discussed in Chapter One is then broken down further into doxa, heterodoxy, and orthodoxy. Doxa comprises all that is unconsciously known about a culture—what is naturalized—while heterodoxy and orthodoxy are consciously known (with varying levels of understanding). Bourdieu’s theory of taste is really a theory of

doxa, and orthodox ideology is guided by an active interpretation of doxa. As I learned more about orthodox Cheyenne values that are taught in an orthodox upbringing and as I saw more moccasins in use within Cheyenne ceremonies, I became more focused on Cheyenne aesthetics.

Harry Broudy, in his book *Enlightened Cherishing*, argued that,

Although a work of art is designed to trigger our imaginative perception, any object whatever can under appropriate circumstances be perceived aesthetically; that is, its appearance may be attended to as conveying some intimation of value. Aesthetic experience, although is not disconnected from our intellectual life and our practical endeavors, has some features which make it distinctive: 1) the sensory dimension and 2) the formal properties. (Broudy 1972: 28-29)

Broudy's understanding that, depending on the situation, any object can 'be perceived aesthetically' applies to orthodox Cheyenne moccasin perception.

While museums around the country represent full-beaded moccasins as a historic Cheyenne aesthetic, I argue that this is misleading to museum visitors. Certainly orthodox Cheyenne people see the beauty of such moccasins, but quite often these full-beaded moccasin are viewed on a lesser level than partially or unbeaded moccasins.⁴⁸ Dr. Mann explained to me that,

Cheyenne people have a great eye for beauty...have always had. We were given our colors in the form of the rainbow by Sweet Medicine. We love

⁴⁸ David Ramos (2009) explained to me a practical reason why un- or partially-beaded moccasins are often used in Sun Dance, which adds to the issue of humility: "Partials are OK or no beadwork at all and because you're out there washing the paint off of you your moccasins would be getting wet."

beautiful things. I love beautiful things, but I also try to keep that in a balanced perspective and I don't think museums have that kind of balanced perspective that they really should have to give a true, across the board view of Cheyenne moccasins...that range from no designs to elaborate ornamentation...But then I would sit there and say, "OH! They have a pair of ceremonial moccasins out there they shouldn't have them on display!" So... (Mann 2009)

This reality underscores how culturally-specific values can be tied to views on aesthetics. Aesthetic value, in the Western sense, proves a less powerful influence on orthodox Cheyenne people than other groups of people, such as dealers of Indian art and collectors. While a collector may focus on the shape of a moccasin sole, color contrast in the beadwork, design layout, or decorative embellishments, many orthodox Cheyennes judge moccasins by other criteria.

During my interview with Dr. Mann we discussed the differences in aesthetics between collectors/museums and orthodox Cheyenne people. She explained,

As much as I love these beautiful, beautiful, elaborately beaded Cheyenne moccasins, I have another view that the most valuable to me are the plain ones that I wear in ceremony.⁴⁹ They've got paint all over them. People look at them and say, "Pbth." They don't have any beauty, but it's what's inside. The meaning inherent in them that makes them as beautiful as an elaborate pair. When my son dances in plain moccasins and he's danced two years in the Sun Dance, and I want him to dance in a full beaded pair his last year, so I've already looked at someone else and asked her to make

⁴⁹ Plain, unbeaded moccasins are called *po-bi-kins*[sp?], which is a different word than other forms of moccasins. In Northern Cheyenne the word is: pó'o'kèhanòtse. Petter (1915) did not record this word in his English-Cheyenne dictionary as far as I have found.

him...and given her two years notice to make him his beaded pair, just because he will be completing that vow. But, it's a part of what it is when you become one of the ceremonial people of the tribe. You become a teacher. You become, I guess, an exemplar of what the Cheyenne personality is all about. And, it's not about the kind of outward beauty; although, we love outward beauty, too. We love beautiful things. Mother earth is just absolutely a beautiful creation, but there's also the other part where you place the beauty within...and, a different value system. (Mann 2009)

This view of simplicity as beauty was echoed by various orthodox Cheyennes with whom I discussed aesthetics, and it was a point discussed by Faye Ginsburg (1994) in her essay on 'embedded aesthetics' in Aboriginal media. Ginsburg noted that "for many Aboriginal producers, the quality of work is judged by its capacity to embody, sustain, and even revive or create certain social relations" (Ginsburg 1994: 368). Within an orthodox Cheyenne religious context, outward beauty often conflicts with inner beauty as associated with individual values, e.g. humility.

Janet Berlo, a noted art historian, stated that "often in Africa, Oceania, and native North America, aesthetics do not simply concern the artistically beautiful. They reach into moral and spiritual realms as well" (1993b: 1). She provided the example of how, "to the Navajo, and to a number of other ethnic groups as well, it is the *process* of making art that is aesthetically significant" (see: Witherspoon 1977). Unlike Western notions of 'aesthetic' or 'beauty' in the object, Native artists often place more emphasis on the *process* itself rather than fetishizing the

object. In Barbara Tedlock's (1993) study of Zuni aesthetics, the author suggested that Zuni aesthetics ties directly to human experience and culture. This point was further supported in Kathy M'Closkey's (2002) study of Navajo weaving. All of these examples support the connection of aesthetics and culture. Sally Price (1989: 32), in her monograph on the acceptance of 'Primitive Art' in Western society, noted that, from a Western perspective, "Primitive artists are imagined to express their feelings free from the intrusive overlay of learned behavior and conscious constraints that mold the work of the Civilized artists. And it is this quality that is most often cited as the catalyst for understanding between Western and Primitive artists." The point is, Western value systems are insufficient to the study of Native arts primarily because they do not recognize the values of Native cultures.

I had organized a conference session for the 2009 Native American Art Studies Association in Norman, OK that addressed value(s) in art and invited Chief Gordon Yellowman to present as a panelist in this session. Chief Yellowman, a Cheyenne Chief and Sun Dance priest, brought an orthodox Cheyenne perspective to our discussion. During a break in the program session, Chief Yellowman and I visited together, and he shared with me an experience he had when he became a Sun Dance priest. He explained how he intended to wear a pair of full-beaded moccasins into the Sun Dance lodge, but was told by an elder family member that to do so would not be appropriate for a person of his position.

This family member made Chief Yellowman a pair of unbeaded, buffalo-hide moccasins to wear as a Sun Dance priest, because this shows humility. This pair of moccasins, similar to those described by Dr. Mann, became his cherished pair, and he saw the beauty in their simplicity. These examples illustrate how social position and humility affect the aesthetic value of moccasins among orthodox Cheyennes (Lukavic 2009)

Heritage Value

The transmission of cultural knowledge and the training involved in the establishment of an individual's habitus requires social networks, which certainly play into the concept of social values and has been discussed in detail in Chapter One. Although, an understanding of the social value of heritage and obligations is required to help illuminate how social forces influence the lives of orthodox moccasin makers.

In Elizabeth Ferry's study on patrimony and heritage values, she argued that patrimony "denotes collective, exclusive ownership by a social group" (2005: 13). In the case of her research, patrimony—unlike heritage—also denotes a gender-based system of ownership along patrilineal family lines, which "places limits on its exchange by classifying it as inalienable." She argued that these

inalienable possessions [tangible or not] “are meant to remain within the control of the social group that lays claim to them and usually to be passed down intact from generation to generation.” In order to maintain control within a particular social group, those involved often establish rules for use and obligations to act in such a way to perpetuate both the system and tangible/intangible patrimony to future generations. In Ferry’s case, she argued that [Santa Fe] “Cooperative members assert that they have received patrimonial possessions from past generations and that they have an obligation to pass them down to their [family]” (Ferry 2005:12). The case presented by Ferry proves similar to this study of Cheyenne orthodoxy related to moccasins in that ‘rules’ and obligations were created surrounding the making of moccasins; however, in the Cheyenne case, the transmission of such ‘patrimony’ followed matrilineal lines. Rather than call moccasins (and their associated knowledge) ‘patrimony,’ I should call it ‘matrimony;’ alas, that term is already in use.

I suppose it is for the best that I do not bind the transmission, rules, and obligations related to moccasin making to female lines. While that was once accurate, today half those in the role to perpetuate the institution of moccasin making are men. That said, every one of the men who actively make moccasins were taught by women in their families, and everyone recognizes the role of women moccasin makers, historically.

John Moore (1974a) noted that in Cheyenne society, social divisions were most strongly established between men and women, arguing that this division is codified in their cosmology. Within the cosmology he presented, “men are spiritual and women are material, men are sacred and women are profane” (Moore 1974a: 272). Moore stated that, “according to modern priests, men should look after the spiritual well-being of their families, while women should see to their material needs. That is, the role of women in the cosmology serves to rationalize a division of labor, which I would characterize as exploitive, between men and women” (1974a: 272). This view of the Cheyenne cosmology certainly explains why the making of moccasins was within the domain of women, but does not encapsulate the reality of the situation, especially due to the gender shift in moccasin making today. Moore (1974a: 276-277) questioned why certain values, such as sharing, are not codified within the Cheyenne cosmology and symbolic system, and he ultimately argued that “religious symbols are the social idiom of men.” He noted that “Cheyenne women do not have access to religious symbols and so cannot use them to express their own primary concerns such as familism, domesticity, and sharing” (Moore 1974a: 277). This realization led Moore to conclude that “what has been called traditional Cheyenne religion is mostly Cheyenne men’s religion” (1974a: 277-278). I do not agree with this idea at all. While men occupy the primary performative roles within orthodox Cheyenne religion, women, through the practice and institution of moccasin making, have

played an enormous social role in the establishment of orthodox ideology in each generation, codified through the use of religious symbolism in moccasin designs. How this was/is done is the focus of Chapter Three. Moccasin making, therefore is a prime example where women enacted religious ideology in everyday life.

Cultural Value

As noted in the discussion of heritage value, moccasin making for orthodox Cheyenne moccasin makers is full of social obligations, especially obligations to make moccasins, obligations to perpetuate the knowledge associated with moccasin designs, and obligations to follow certain protocols surrounding moccasin making. These obligations are essentially influenced by duty to family and culture.⁵⁰

While not a prolific moccasin maker at this time, Minoma Littlehawk knows she has an obligation. She was taught to make moccasins from her grandmother and was passed all of her grandmother's designs. Having possession of those designs, from an orthodox perspective, makes her feel the *need* to make moccasins. Minoma (Littlehawk 2010) told me, "It's expected to the point where I feel I need to do it, because I'm expected to do it. Because, if I don't do it what

⁵⁰ See Fuligni and Pederson's (2002) article, *Family Obligations and the Transition to Young Adulthood*, for an analysis of family obligations along ethnic lines and its association with 'positive emotional well-being.'

she [grandma Leah] left me will be what I lost. So, that's another reason I want to teach my daughter how to do this.” She added,

I think people put value on the moccasin maker, like the tipi maker. I think everyone has their value. Everyone is given their respect for whatever it is they do. Or where they come from, because, see, myself, I tell them I'm from the Littlehawk family and ‘oh, yeah. We know them.’ They automatically know what family you come from. (Littlehawk 2010)

Minoma’s recognition of her community’s expectations of her directly tied back to both her descent from a moccasin making family and because she is now the owner of her grandmother’s designs.

Minoma told me how others in her family have asked about the designs she has and if she intends to put them to use. She realizes that having possession of those designs puts her under a microscope, because with those designs come cultural obligations to fulfill. Those cultural obligations include keeping the spirit within those designs in circulation, maintaining proper protocol in the use and distribution of the designs, and sharing her time and ability with those in need (Littlehawk 2010). Kay Schweinfurth (2009: 175) noted that “Cheyenne women, especially older ones, constantly put pressure on all their neighbors to share, thereby perpetuating Indian values.” This is certainly true for orthodox moccasin makers who feel not only the pressure from others in the community but also feel a spiritual obligation to make moccasins. Certainly these moccasin makers have the *ability* to deny these obligations, but they often deliver on their obligations

because they choose not to subject themselves to scorn from either their community or spirits.

Cheyennes have historically used moccasins to fulfill cultural obligations. For example, Marriott and Rachlin (1977: 70) and Peterson (2006: 215-216) described how Little Bear Women, the mother of Mary Little Bear Inkanish, maintained the cultural taboo of avoiding direct communication with her son-in-law, Jim Inkanish. They explained how, in order to break the taboo, Little Bear Woman had to first make her son-in-law a pair of moccasins, tipi furnishings, and a saddle blanket, which followed the rules set forth by the women's sewing society. The moccasins and other materials served as the capital needed for such a cultural transaction.

The use of moccasin designs is also tied to cultural value. Many of the designs, as I will discuss in Chapter Three, are used as teaching tools for cultural lessons. These lessons fall into a number of categories, but the most common design elements relate to Cheyenne religious stories. Kenyon (1996: 25) argued that "Narratives and stories are the way the world is for us; they represent human reality, reality as it is for a situated, embodied, and self-creating being." For orthodox Cheyennes, moccasin designs *are* the narratives and stories that represent a Cheyenne reality. The purpose of decorative moccasins is not simply for aesthetic value, but even more importantly, for cultural value. The wearer of a

pair of beaded moccasins, if taught their meanings, uses the designs as reminders of a variety of cultural/religious lessons. This aspect of moccasins is, however, little known even among orthodox Cheyennes and was among the main issues certain orthodox Cheyennes wanted me to highlight in my study.

Traditional Value

Tradition, as discussed in the introduction, is a loaded term. Most Cheyennes associate tradition with the past, but feel slight unease with the static connotations it contains. Dr. Mann (2009) explained to me that, “ Our values, if you want to call them coming from the past, then would be traditional, but they're not locked into the past. We are a very resilient group of people who live in concert with the time and space in which we live.” To her, Cheyenne values “are values that are timeless...so that we continue to evolve our culture and bring our past with us. Our past is a living one.” Dr. Mann considers the term ‘traditional’ poorly defined. “I think maybe the term, tradition, may not be as clear as it should be. Well, it's [English] a foreign language.” She continued,

We, as a people, know that we have to live in balance and harmony with time in which we live in and where we live, and of course, we want our traditions to live on. And traditions include the kind of clothing that we wear, and on our feet. And so, my grandmother, I am sure, or my mother even in her time...and she made my father's moccasins for his name

change when he came home from the war...used buckskin and rawhide for the soles. I guess that is what her mother did, probably her mother's mother before on back. When she made my dance moccasins, knowing that I wore them in a different way and danced more often than she did and my dad, definitely, and so she would use what would be called the 'Cheyenne designs.' There was the tipi door design...the Medicine Wheel design...the butterfly design. Whatever it is that we used...did them...used those designs on my moccasins, but she used commercial hide for the sole, because in her estimation, it just lasted longer for what I was using them for, to go out and powwow dance and the like. (Mann 2009)

Dr. Mann notes how, even within her lifetime, the construction of moccasins is changing to meet particular needs of those who wear them, which also highlights the connection to use-value. Additionally, she questioned what exactly *are* traditional moccasins:

I believe [moccasins] advance through the time. I mean, can we say that the use of beads to make our moccasins is traditional? Before, I guess, they did quillwork. And when those non-Indian strangers came to live with us and brought their beads, then it started a whole different kind of...provided a whole different set of materials to use in their moccasins. We never had the [beaded] moccasins before, but today, do we call those traditional, too? They weren't if you want to start looking at it. So that to me, what is more important is the kind of emphasis that we place upon resiliency. That is important to us. You make use of what is available in the time in which you live. There is, even now, different kinds of beads that I have become aware of. Some that are faceted, that have a different kind of design on them...a different look to them. Are those going to be called contemporary? Are beaded moccasins really contemporary?

I asked one moccasin maker (Anonymous 2010a) about traditional versus contemporary moccasins and was met with a confused look. She said to me,

“What do you mean by contemporary?” I told her that was a term I’ve heard people use when discussing moccasins. She replied,

I think you're kinda getting into the artistic type of world where they use that word 'contemporary,' but when you're doing a pair of moccasins, it's traditional. There's no contemporary about it and I don't know what they mean by contemporary, unless it's a simple moccasin. How do you make a simple moccasin? You have to go through the same thing. It has to be beaded. It has to be sewn together. I don't see what you mean by contemporary. (Anonymous 2010a)

I told her how “some people say that if it's an old design then that can be considered traditional, but if it's new and bright and flashy, you know, something that just matches their powwow clothes...” She cut me off, “Well, they're using a design. How do you know it's new and contemporary?” To her I say, “touché,” and point well taken.

When most collectors talk about Cheyenne moccasins, what they usually mention are the styles of moccasins that were made from about 1880 to the 1930s. That is probably the most prolific time period for moccasin making, and you can make a lot of generalizations about those moccasins because many shared similar elements and construction detail. I asked Dr. Mann if she thinks it is fair for collectors to limit their understanding of Cheyenne moccasins to just that time period—the stance of many collectors is that if moccasins are not made today the way they were in the past, then they are not traditional. Dr. Mann disagrees with this static view collectors often express regarding ‘traditional’ Cheyenne

moccasins. She rejects how people put Cheyennes in “another time warp where we're lock into something in the past with no contemporary cultural relevance.”

Dr. Mann (2009) takes the position that

if they make *their* rules of what is traditional and so forth as collectors, that's a *collector's* view. I would not agree with them, because so long as there is one moccasin maker left to make Cheyenne moccasins then there's still going to be Cheyenne moccasins, even though they're made in the year 2050. They're going to be, I would say, traditional.

Views of ‘traditional’ moccasins, without a doubt, differ between most Cheyennes and non-Cheyennes.

Imogene Blackbear (2010) told me how she was once contacted by a museum in Denver, asking her to “do an old pair...oldtime traditional pair [of moccasins].” They wanted her to make a pair of full-beaded moccasins for their collection using sinew and an awl. Imogene declined to make them, not because she lacked the skill or knowledge to make them using that old method, but because she simply prefers modern methods: “I think it's a little better today, because, I don't know...I make them quicker when I need to. Otherwise, it would be something like this [motioning as if she was beaded slowly]...taking your time on them.” When I asked why the museum would want her to use the old method to make moccasins she told me that they must have wanted “the real authentic thing: [made by] Cheyenne blood. That’s the only thing I can think of.” From Imogene’s perspective, the museum was looking for something that she *could*

provide, but chose not to because their purpose held no value to her. She was willing to make a pair of moccasins in the same manner she makes all her moccasins, but she said the museum was not interested.

The traditional value of moccasins is that they are adaptable to meet the needs of the Cheyenne community and are not dictated by outside perspectives. This view does not change much from an orthodox perspective. While most orthodox moccasin makers prefer to make moccasins using the designs that have been passed down to them from their ancestors, they continue to create new designs that have meaning to a wider-audience today, thus, maintaining their ‘traditional’ value. As I discuss in Chapter Three, orthodox Cheyenne moccasin makers use designs to transmit particular lessons. Even though certain lessons remain intact related to the Cheyenne religion, new lessons can and have found their way into moccasin designs.

The Value of Knowledge

To say knowledge is important to culture is banal; although, to say knowledge of cultural values is important to an understanding of how orthodox Cheyenne beliefs relates to the production, use, and exchange of moccasins is much more nuanced. In Christopher Hookway’s (2003) discussion of

epistemology and human behavior, he argued that virtue theory, i.e. the focus on human action, rather than the rules and consequences guiding such behavior, provides insight into how individuals acquire knowledge and how such knowledge leads to felt, and occasionally unconscious, responses. To Hookway, knowledge of cultural values provides justification for human action. In the case of orthodox Cheyennes, knowledge of a Cheyenne specific value system not only explains why people do certain things, but also validates (or challenges) certain behaviors, leading to praise or critique by people in the larger Cheyenne community. As in the example given above about orthodox Cheyenne preference for unbeaded moccasins, knowledge of orthodox Cheyenne values provides guidance for proper action, and also justifies why that action was enacted.

Rolf Reber (2008), in his article on art value and experience, argued that psychologists can measure artistic value through observed experiences using criteria for such experience established by art theory, but the question remains: whose art theory? For this purpose, I argue there exists a need for Native art theory—one that is culturally specific, i.e. one that considers the values at play in the formation of an experience. In order to create such a theory, one must start with an inquiry into cultural knowledge and value systems. This is a view I proposed at the 2011 Native American Art Studies Association conference in Ottawa, ON, that seemed to resonate with scholars of both art history and anthropology.

Beyond the theoretical implications, knowledge value also has practical applications in regard to moccasin making. Donita Carlson (1998: 28) argued that among Cheyennes, individuals that possessed talent and knowledge “might be thought to have supernatural power or guidance,” providing those individuals with a sort of ‘remunerative power.’ She argued that “this type of power enables one person to influence the behavior of another.” To illustrate this power, she stated, “Among the Cheyenne if a man wanted quillwork done, he would have found it necessary to ask a woman to do it. Appropriate behavior on his part would have been essential to ensure her cooperation. She was able to command deference and respect from anyone seeking her services.” While this may be true to a minor extent today, I argue that an analysis of orthodox Cheyenne behaviors regarding moccasins reveals that the power exists within the system of values, not in individuals. Individuals may act in a particular manner, but that action is guided by embodied knowledge and respect, not fear.

In an even more practical example of the value of knowledge, John Moore (1974a: 93) argued how “chiefships and priesthoods,” among men, “comprise a very comprehensive system of ‘old age insurance.’” He argued that male elders who ascended to such positions were well taken care of by the Cheyenne general population. Similarly, moccasin making has been, and continues to be, a source of ‘old age insurance’ for elder women and some elder men. The younger generation of both women and men who make moccasins will have this insurance

available to them as they get older, as well. Knowledge of culture and values can pay dividends to those who possess it in the form of respect, support, prestige, and honor.

Values are always at play with one another and moccasin makers are aware of the negotiation of these values. Both moccasins and their associated knowledge circulate within this Cheyenne specific value system. Understanding this system leads to a deeper understanding of moccasins and those individuals involved in their creation, exchange, and use.

Chapter III Telling a Story

I received a phone call just before noon on December 17, 2009 from an elder moccasin maker, Mr. Shirt,⁵¹ asking that I meet him for lunch in Norman, OK at a local Mexican restaurant. About an hour later, I arrived at the restaurant and found Mr. Shirt sitting at a table towards the back with another elder man I had never met. I soon learned that this other man was an Arrow Priest among the Cheyenne who had heard about my research and wanted us to meet. Not having a clue why I was asked to lunch, I just sat back and listened.

The Arrow Priest began by telling me how when he was young and learning about the Cheyenne religion he was asked by his elders not to ‘write down’ what he had learned . Mr. Shirt echoed the same restriction placed on him as a youth. They both went on to explain how, due to a variety of reasons (most of which were discussed in Chapter One), few Cheyennes remain that have a broad knowledge of symbolism and its relation to Cheyenne history, values, and cosmology. These two elders saw a need to have their knowledge of Cheyenne spirituality and moccasin designs written down for use by future generations, but due to the restrictions placed on them, *they* could not complete the task. Since no restriction was placed on me, and because I fall outside the role of a ceremonialist, they saw my work as an avenue to transmit such knowledge. Mr.

⁵¹ Mr. Shirt is a pseudonym chosen by this particular consultant for use in this study.

Shirt noted that “most people today don’t even know about moccasin designs!” (Lukavic 2009). He explained that all the ‘old’ designs “ have meaning and lessons behind them, but most people don’t know these lessons anymore.” The Arrow Priest told me that people [Cheyennes] need to look at history, memory, and knowledge in order to have understanding of their culture and religion. He stated that “understanding is the value people should strive for” (Lukavic 2009), and both elders agreed that this lack of understanding is problematic for the perpetuation of Cheyenne orthodoxy.

The Arrow Priest spoke to me of the Sun Dance, saying how some people do not know the old ways and want to water the Sun Dance down: “The old ways are spiritual and have power. When you don’t do things properly, bad things can happen to you” (Lukavic 2009). Their orthodox Cheyenne beliefs lead them to fear what could happen if the knowledge related to moccasin making and designs is lost.

Mr. Shirt and the Arrow Priest had a few dilemmas with which to contend:

1) Cheyennes are not learning the ‘old ways’ like they once did, i.e. they are not “growing up with it;” 2) Cheyennes are taught not to write things down, such as stories and cultural knowledge—they were taught that the transmission of knowledge should only occur orally; 3) They see the *need* to have this material written, not for preservation, but to have the knowledge available for *use*; and 4)

because of the restrictions placed on them, *they* cannot record this information in written form themselves. Their solution to these dilemmas was to invite me to lunch and charge me with the task of collecting and recording the connections between moccasin designs and orthodox Cheyenne religion. As the Arrow Priest said to me, “*You* are not bound by these restrictions, *we* are” (Lukavic 2009). Needless to say, this charge, coming from an Arrow Priest and an orthodox moccasin maker led me down roads I never expected to walk.⁵²

For the next two hours, Mr. Shirt and the Arrow Priest launched me into a world of symbolism, tribal stories, cultural lessons, behavior traits, and tribal history. Ultimately, what I learned that afternoon was that, for orthodox Cheyennes, moccasin designs are used as a medium of communication—teaching tools—which provides daily reminders to their wearers of the lessons and meanings they hold, and the moccasins are the canvas where these lessons are recorded.

This chapter focuses on storytelling through material means. I discuss the communicative aspects of moccasins and moccasin design that relate to Cheyenne

⁵² This experience is not uncommon. Various anthropologists have been used by Native people to document cultural information individuals in the Native community want preserved. While anthropologists developed a reputation for ‘taking’ knowledge from communities, this was not always the case. John Moore (1974a) noted how he did not ask for much of the information he received on the Cheyenne cosmology, but the information was passed to him to record, nonetheless. Many aspects of Cheyenne culture were documented in this way, and my research serves to document the institution of moccasin making among orthodox Cheyennes.

history, cosmology, and mythology. Through a discussion of icons, indexes, and symbols I demonstrate the discursive nature of moccasins.

Stories: Past, Present, and Future

Moccasin designs are tied to cultural values and are *intended* to serve as teaching tools for cultural lessons among groups of orthodox Cheyennes today, and their use as tools was once considered general knowledge among Cheyennes. These lessons fall into a number of categories, but the most common design elements relate to Cheyenne religious stories. Of Graham Howes' (2007) four dimensions of religious art, which were discussed in Chapter One, the didactic dimension proves the most applicable to Cheyenne moccasin designs. Howes noted how through the didactic dimension, many forms of religious art serve as educational tools for the young who use images as a reference to greater abstractions. The function of the designs is intended, by orthodox Cheyennes, to record and transmit stories, cultural lessons, and religious tenets within the Cheyenne community; however, due to breaks in transmission, the meanings associated with various designs are not widely known.

As noted in Chapter Two, Kenyon (1996: 25) argued that "Narratives and stories are the way the world is for us; they represent human reality, reality as it is

for a situated, embodied, and self-creating being.” For orthodox Cheyennes with whom I worked, moccasin designs *are* the narratives and stories that represent a Cheyenne reality.

The Value of Storytelling

Collective memory is important for storytelling. The more generalized the knowledge, the broader the reach and emotional impact. Langellier and Peterson argued that "transmission of culture is facilitated by the generality of knowledge that diffuses content among multiple participants, those who take their own experience or that of others to create significant stories" (Langellier and Peterson 2004: 47). While the authors' study related to family stories, their arguments highlight important concepts related to the transmission of stories through moccasin designs. They also argued that "generality of knowledge provides some safeguard against both loss and distortion. 'It takes a lot of people to bring those memories back' suggests the collective but dispersed memory that supports the ordering of content" (2004: 47). Knowledge and memory of the stories, lessons, and tenets recorded in moccasin designs come from the collective. But for Cheyennes the dispersion of memory has become too extreme, leading to fragmented and isolated bastions of knowledge.

Individuals, or occasionally small family units, that come from ceremonial families and a long line of descent from a family of moccasin makers possess this knowledge, but their knowledge is often fragmented, i.e. they admittedly do not know all the connections that exist between designs and meaning. From talking with these orthodox moccasin makers, tribal elders, traditional peace chiefs, and religious leaders, I was able to find those trends of knowledge most widely distributed with little to no variation in interpretation. The examples of designs and meaning I present in this chapter represent those that are the most common knowledge among orthodox Cheyennes. Knowledge of design meaning that I was unable to verify from at least three unrelated sources are not discussed. This omission does not suggest those meanings are inaccurate, but rather I chose to focus on those with broad acceptance to highlight the most common themes in design meaning.

Rules of Storytelling

Karl Kroeber (1992: 4), a folklorist and the son of Alfred Kroeber, suggested that “genuine storytelling is inherently antiauthoritarian. Even a true believer in an official dogma cannot help articulating a received truth in his own fashion—for stories are told only by individuals, not groups.” While this statement proves true—individuals tell stories in their own way, even if the stories

are sacred in nature—for Cheyennes, a fear of telling a story wrong in the presence of others often leads to a general unwillingness to tell a story in public.

I once asked David Ramos about the Cheyenne creation story—which relates to a particular moccasin design—and if there are any restrictions on when and where it is told. He explained to me that other Cheyenne stories are supposed to be told at night and in the winter, a point corroborated by various consultants and published sources,⁵³ but that particular story proves difficult to get anyone to tell. David recounted a particular time when a local Protestant priest asked his congregation of Cheyenne people to tell him the Cheyenne creation story. No one spoke up. The priest asked if the Cheyenne *had* a creation story, to which the congregation responded, ‘Yes,’ followed by silence. When the priest pressed further for the story, David turned to his aunt and said, “Go ahead.” She said, “No, you go ahead.” David pointed out that she was an elder, to which she responded that he was a ceremonial man. David explained to me that no one wanted to tell it wrong, so they left the story untold. He told me, “You don’t just want to create our creation story. You’ve heard about it, but maybe, you know, nobody’s been given the ‘right’ to tell it. When you take on something like [the retelling of the creation story] it’s a big responsibility to get it right” (Lukavic 2010). This general unwillingness to tell stories relates to the problems associated

⁵³ See: Big Horse 1968; Grinnell 1907: 173; Mann 1997: 1; Moore 1999.

with the transmission of knowledge that links moccasin designs and stories, both sacred and secular.

Kroeber (1992: 9) argued that “all significant narratives are retold and are meant to be retold—even though every retelling is making anew. Story can thus preserve ideas, beliefs, and convictions without permitting them to harden into abstract dogma;” however, for many Cheyennes, the fear of changing a story prevents the story from retelling, and ultimately impedes its transmission. An additional problem is that of ‘timing.’ Langellier and Peterson (2004: 60-61) suggested that ‘timing’ is important to the communication practice of storytelling, i.e. “to the processes of social memory and excluded or privileged talk, the consideration of timing contributes to the changing tellability of...stories. Temporal relations internal and external to the [group] shape the communication conditions under which content is created, remembered, and performed.” As fewer and fewer Cheyennes learn tribal stories, and even fewer learn to make moccasins, the element of ‘timing’ with an engaged audience becomes a barrier to the transmission of the connection between the two.

Discourse in Designs: Past, Present, and Future

When discussing stories and orthodoxy, the past plays an important role in the present and future. Kroeber (1992: 61) noted that

Stories sustain a cultural continuity through natural time, in fact, as the basis of history, they are a principle creator of cultural time. All narratives, whether fictional, legendary, historical, or mythical, create a past simply by being narratives. And what that past is for the present moment of the storytelling establishes the basis for a future.

Kroeber also argued that past tense in a narrative “serves for its audience as a present. This dialectical situation in which past is present facilitates narrative's capacity simultaneously to preserve and transform, even as story itself persists by being modified in every retelling” (1992: 61). Gary Kenyon (1996) noted that a story becomes ‘authentic’ when an individual makes it part of them. To Kenyon, “Lifestories are a storehouse of experience and become very important because, in one sense, the past exists only as it is remembered and created and re-created in the interaction with present and future experiences” (1996: 30). This concept of ‘lifestories’ associates well to moccasin designs, because, as I will illustrate, many of these designs represent stories, lessons, and tenets that are intended to guide an individual through life.

Kroeber (1992) presented narrative as a form of discourse that is constantly retold—preserved detail, but also adaptive. He used Bakhtin’s concept

of ‘speech experience’ to argue for the ‘referentiality’ of “discourse as a historical speech act” (Kroeber 1992: 40). Kroeber contrasted spoken and written discourse, noting

Spoken discourse is normally addressed to another person or persons literally present, but written discourse addresses a more dispersed audience, unknown to readers, potentially any future reader. Writing is speech liberated from the physical constraints of oral communication. The price of that liberation is a dependence on some material support, clay, stone, paper, film, computer memory. But inscription makes discourse more self-contained, and, thereby, powerful beyond the here and now. (Kroeber 1992: 42)

Moccasin designs are inscribed symbolic discourse. But without the knowledge of their connection to Cheyenne stories, the discourse falls on deaf ears. Julie Cruikshank (1991) would argue that there is a lack of cultural scaffolding or shared knowledge in this context. For transmission of meaning to occur, an individual receiving the message must possess some underlying structure for interpretation.

Kroeber (1992: 48) highlighted one of Bakhtin’s (1985) ‘fundamental premise:’ “all humans live in...an ‘ideological environment’” Kroeber argued that “we do not exist as human beings except in and through the culture of our societies, so human reality is ideological reality or symbolically saturated reality.” Kroeber (1992:50-51), synthesizing Bakhtin’s arguments, stated that “for all the importance of expressive intonation—no utterance can be attributed exclusively

to its speaker, because every utterance is produced by interactions between speakers. Utterance is the articulation of a social interaction...understanding a narrative utterance is an evaluative process.” Similarly, moccasin designs are a material utterance that requires an evaluative process for understanding. This symbolic conversation between moccasin makers and those who ultimately possess the moccasins becomes confused when one or more individuals are separated from the ideological and/or social system that provides a foundation for the formation of meaning among many possible meanings. For an effective transmission of orthodox Cheyenne meanings, as they relate to moccasins, some sort of formal or informal education is required.

Cheyenne Stories

John Moore (1974a: 188-194) identified three categories of Cheyenne stories: those told to white people, those told to children, and sacred stories. The stories told to white people are generally ghost stories meant to “keep whites in awe of Indian religion” (Moore 1974a: 189). The stories told to children generally reflect social values. Moore argued that the focus on values in children’s stories relates to the fact that “children rather than adults...are being intensively socialized, and one would expect to find clear normative statements as part of the socialization process” (Moore 1974a: 188). Sacred stories, then,

“provide the mythic charters for Cheyenne political institutions in the same way that Trobriand myths legitimize Trobriand institutions (Malinowski 1922: 326-28)” (Moore 1974a: 188-189). Of these three categories, the vast majority of stories represented by moccasin designs fall within that of children’s stories; although, sacred stories are represented as well.

Moore (1974a: 196) noted that the values expressed in Cheyenne stories, in general, “are nearly exclusively those of males.” He argued that, while girls often heard these stories, the lessons taught focused on male-specific values, i.e. “attitudes to religions, war, kin, and the natural world.” Moore suggested that the reason for this is that the storytellers were men; but that is not accurate. Cheyenne elders Birdie Burns (1967) and Laura Big Horse (1968), during their interviews with the Doris Duke Oral History Project, noted the role of women in telling stories. Similarly, David Ramos’ grandmother, Daisy Littlehawk was a storyteller. Women did, and continue to, play a crucial role in the transmission of stories orally,⁵⁴ and the connection between moccasin designs and stories I present within this chapter highlight how this role was magnified. While Moore is correct in recognizing the emphasis of male values in sacred stories, the role of women was and is much more prominent than he suggested.

⁵⁴ See: Cruikshank (1991) for a parallel example of the role of women in the transmission of oral stories.

Storytelling among the Cheyenne was largely conducted by elders, both men and women, in the past, as well as today; however, some stories were restricted. There were stories that only men could tell boys, stories that only women could tell girls, and stories that any could hear (Lukavic 2010). Barwell (1995), in a paper on gendered point of view, suggested that it is often possible to tell the gender of a storyteller based on the emphasis the teller puts on aspects of a story; however, the stories told through moccasin designs are generally those that any could hear; although, some designs relate to lessons that boys can learn through experience but most girls can only learn about through stories represented by designs, such as the tipi design. The stories that men can tell boys are, as far as I have been able to ascertain, not found represented in moccasin designs, but rather in designs on war shirts—objects that men often made for other men (Lukavic 2010).⁵⁵ This is likely explained by the fact that, historically, women predominantly beaded moccasins. With this in mind, the stories/lessons beaded on moccasins would have likely been limited to those available to women. The stories/lessons that women only told girls are mostly found in beaded dress designs (Lukavic 2010); however, a few consultants suggested that some of the ‘old’ designs found on women’s moccasins may have related to female-only stories/lessons, but their meanings are no longer remembered, at least among

⁵⁵ While women also made war shirts for men, two consultants, at different times, expressed to me that specific designs on war shirts related to stories unknown to women and were only used when a shirt was created by a man.

those with whom I worked during my research (Lukavic 2010). I should also point out that while men now account for half the active moccasin makers, beaded designs associated with male-specific stories/lessons have not found their way on to moccasins.

Ousseina Alidou (2002), in her study on gender and narrative in Hausa culture in Africa, noted how modernity has made gender-based narratives interdependent. She suggested that changes in tradition, such as the shared responsibility of storytelling among men and women, do not ‘break with tradition’ and that these changes should not be reduced to a precolonial/post-colonial dichotomy. Rather, modern culture becomes tradition based on its active use within a living culture. Similarly, the increased role of men as moccasin makers does not break with tradition, because, they are helping to maintain the dynamic tradition of moccasin making, but the decreased reliance on women as the ‘tellers’ of the stories/lessons associated with moccasin designs does highlight a process that requires additional study.

While having lunch with Mr. Shirt in the afternoon on 23 March 2011, three months after our meeting with the Arrow Priest, we discussed the roles of women and men in the creation of Cheyenne moccasins. The popular understanding of gender roles and the creation of beaded arts—and one emphasized within this study—suggests that making moccasins was women’s

work and that the current situation, in which men represent approximately half of all active moccasins makers, reflects a shift in gender roles; however, Mr. Shirt provided a different perspective. He suggested that men have always made moccasins, albeit most were of the unbeaded variety⁵⁶—a point corroborated by a number of other Cheyenne moccasin makers and elders—and the ‘shift’ recognized today is actually due to the diminished role of Western sexism in contemporary Cheyenne society (Lukavic 2011).⁵⁷ Moccasin designs today, and largely in the past, generally focus on the broadest themes associated with Cheyenne ideology and culture.

Dr. Mann noted how “culture was maintained through these teaching stories, some of which had been transmitted to many generations of Cheyennes since time immemorial” (Mann 1997: 178). Moore, Liberty, and Straus (2001: 875) highlighted the importance of stories to the instruction of children. Many aspects of Cheyenne culture are laden with symbolism and are intended to teach lessons to make meaningful the world and culture in which Cheyennes live. Garcia (1994: 22) noted how “the Massaum ceremony [defunct among the

⁵⁶ Various Cheyennes with whom I spoke noted how, in the past, men need the know how to make and repair moccasins in case of need when away from camp. This point, however, contrasts the story told by Bill Redhat in Chapter One that highlighted the agency of moccasins.

⁵⁷ Mr. Shirt suggested that Western views of women caused more of a division between men and women that was not always as defined in historic Cheyenne culture. He feels the ‘shift’ actually represents a return to less defined gender roles; although, the literature on Cheyenne culture does not support his views of the past. Again, see Brian Gilley (2006) for an expanded discussion of the influence of Western ideologies on Native views of gender.

Southern Cheyenne since 1927 and the Northern Cheyenne since 1911] was a way of passing on the symbolic history and the values of the Cheyenne.” This point was also noted by Moore, Liberty, and Straus (2001: 874) by noting how the Massaum ceremony “acted out the story of Yellow-Haired Girl (*heóvEstséáhé?e*), who taught the Cheyenne how to obtain the animals they needed for food, clothing, and religious purposes.” These examples demonstrate how stories, and ceremonies have been and continue to be used to teach cultural and religious lessons, but Cheyenne symbolism goes much deeper.

On an unseasonably warm day in February, 2011, David Ramos and I drove to Longdale, Oklahoma, to visit with Bill Red Hat, who is the Keeper of the Cheyenne Sacred Arrows. After many twists and turns, we arrived at Red Hat’s home, tucked up in the woods down a dirt road filled with mud from the melting snow. During our visit, Red Hat described how many aspects of Cheyenne history and knowledge are encoded in the human body, e.g. the distribution of the original Cheyenne bands is symbolically represented by a splayed body with limbs extended: the Aorta Band is located at the center of the chest and represents how things circulate throughout the bands/body to limbs and back to the heart. Red Hat recognized the important role symbolic meaning has played in the perpetuation of Cheyenne religious life. The use of such symbolic recording of cultural lessons in physical forms proves a common practice in various aspects of Cheyenne culture, and moccasin designs are no exception.

Karl Schlesier (1987: 111), in his study on Cheyenne religion and the Massaum Ceremony, argued that Cheyenne ceremonialists are much more accurate in the preservation of stories than the published reports of early ethnologists. He found the work of these early scholars “oftentimes woefully inept and erroneous,” and blamed the practice of perpetuating errors “from each other’s work instead of asking their informants directly” (Schlesier 1987: 111). An example of one of these errors that relates to moccasin designs was discovered by John Moore:

The status of the Thunderbird in Cheyenne ethnography has been greatly exaggerated by some ethnographers. The “Thunderbird” was first elevated cosmologically, as best I can determine, by Grinnell, who mistakenly applied the word *Nonoma*, the anthropomorphic thunder spirit, and also to the Bird-Father, *Maheonevecess*, who has nothing at all to do with thunder. In fact, he equated these two deities. The Southern Cheyennes have been impressed by the Thunderbird when they visited Taos Pueblo, but it was not and still is not a prominent part of the formal cosmology. The so-called “Thunderbird’s Nest” in the Sun Dance is more properly the All-Bird’s Nest, or the Bird-Father’s Nest. (Moore 1974a: 157, footnote 13)

Non-Cheyenne authors have published descriptions of a ‘thunderbird’ design used in Cheyenne beadwork, who based their identification on the work of Grinnell, as well as Ruth Phillips (1986) and through inference.⁵⁸ Supporters of this interpretation argue that because Cheyennes are linguistically related to other

⁵⁸ For references to a “thunderbird” in Cheyenne beadwork, primarily see: Kostelnik (2004a, 2004b, 2005, 2006, 2009a, 2009b, 2009c, 2009d, 2010a, 2010b, 2011). Kostelnik is joined in perpetuating this idea of a ‘thunderbird’ motif by contributors to a variety of auction catalogs.

Algonquian groups, and other Algonquian groups have used thunderbird imagery in their arts, the design *must* be a thunderbird. Without exception, every orthodox Cheyenne I spoke to referred to this design as an eagle, which has extensive cosmological meaning in the Cheyenne religion (Moore 1974a: 237, 1984: 298; Nagy 1994: 369).

Stories are a means to transmit cultural lessons and religious tenets, but in order to accept what is taught into one's ideology and, ultimately, action, these stories must be retold over and over. Moccasin designs serve this purpose by symbolically representing the larger stories, lessons and tenets that related to Cheyenne orthodoxy.

Moccasin Designs: Teaching Orthodoxy

Karl Kroeber (1992: 66) defined 'minimalizing' as the act of reducing a larger story to its most basic form: "The teller uses the least possible detail to carry forward his story." This he contrasts with 'selectivity,' which "draws our attention to what is left in a story, rather than emphasizing sufficiently what is left out, the deliberate 'gaps' crucial to the creation of reception of narrative by its addressees" (1992: 66). The concept of minimalizing is utilized by Cheyenne moccasin makers in the creation of moccasin designs. These designs are the 'least

possible detail' needed to tell a story. Candace Greene (1985: 11), in her study of Cheyenne representational art, noted how "symbolism transforms the logical concept of analogy as identified in structure into the semantic concept of metaphor as actively used in society." In her discussion on the Chunky Finger Nail calendar, located at the Oklahoma Historical Society, Greene illustrated how Cheyennes use mnemonic images to represent particular events (1985: 21). As she suggested, Cheyennes use art as "a medium of communication" (1985: 53). Greene, citing Layton (1981: 30), defined iconography as "specific motifs whose imagery is evoked and instantly understood by members of our culture as referents to particular, consciously-held ideas." She added that "iconology is taken up with assessing the underlying cultural premises from out of which the artist's work was drawn, and which he may quite unconsciously express in what he produces" (1981: 31). Similar to the work of Greene, symbolism in Cheyenne stories and arts has been demonstrated in the work of various scholars.

Moore (1974a: 189) noted that "the vast majority of the symbolic elements in Cheyenne stories, even the old ones, can be interpreted with the cosmology." He went on to argue that "many aspects of Cheyenne traditionalism are presented symbolically in Cheyenne myth and cosmology. Specifically, the attitudes which men should have are expressed as religious values" (1974a: 302). This symbolic representation communicates the cultural premise, such as attitudes and values, and is illustrated in moccasin designs, as well.

A photograph of Fred Last Bull was included in the Handbook of the American Indian article on the Cheyenne by Moore, Liberty, and Straus (2001: 874, figure 10), in which Last Bull held a “marked leather roll of arrow mnemonics that was part of the Arrow bundle.” Similarly, Moore included an illustration of an educational drawing by a Cheyenne priest that included “most of the symbols important for understanding Cheyenne religion” (1999: 243). Of the designs included, at least six⁵⁹ associate with moccasin designs, and one is even listed as a “tribal symbol used on moccasins” (1999: 224).

Imre Nagy (1994: 370), in his study on Cheyenne shield designs and heraldic objects, argued that

Circular shield designs can be seen as overhead maps of sacred space, while other Cheyenne heraldic objects are equally intended as reflections of the cosmos. Certainly they serve not only as indicators of social status for the individual, but also fulfill a mnemonic and tutorial function, reflecting cosmological traditions for the entire community.

Additionally, the missionary, Rodolphe Petter (1915: 98), noted that “the designs [used by Cheyennes in beadwork] were always symbolic and talismanic, representing concrete organic objects where as the colors were more emblematic of the abstract in creatures and creation.” All these examples I provide help demonstrate how Cheyennes use icons, indexes, and symbolism to stand for

⁵⁹ D- morning star; J – whirlwind; K – Sweet Medicine’s cave in Bear Butte; EE – buffalo tracks; HH – colored disk representing four directions; SS – tribal symbol used on moccasins [Bear Butte design]

greater wholes and are intended as tools to encode and transmit cultural and religious information.

Among those that study the materiality of objects, the work of Charles Sanders Peirce (1978 [1931]) proves most influential in the analysis of sign meaning. Peirce presented three elements of signification: sign/representation, interpretant, and object. Of these three elements, “the sign or representament [*sic*] stands for something; the interpretant is the mental image evoked by the sign; the object is that which the sign stands for, including an abstract idea” (Santina 2001: 34). Santina further explained how

Peirce’s division of the sign into three types—icon, index, symbol—has been readily adopted by art historians. The first type of sign, the icon, has qualities that make it similar to the object signified, even if the actual object does not physically exist. It is in this resemblance that the sign takes on the element of iconicity. An indexical sign, unlike the icon, depends on the physical existence of the object itself; the index does not necessarily have any resemblance to the object...The third type of sign, the symbol, is dependent on the existence of the interpretant, the image created in the mind of the individual interpreting the sign. It is, in fact, the act of interpretation that creates the symbol. Deciphering the symbol is contingent upon convention or established precedents within a culture. (Santina 2001: 345)

While Santina and Peirce present these types of signs as separate, the current view of indexicality suggests that the status of a sign is not concrete, i.e. it is fluid, context specific, and exists in the moment.

These connections of signs and meanings were developed even further by scholars, such as Webb Keane. Keane (2005: 185) argued that “certain semiotic concepts can help clarify the relationships between causal and logical dimensions of material things in society, between contingency and meaning.” Keane noted Gell’s (1999) work, *Art and Agency*, in which Gell argued against the use of semiotics for the study of material culture (arguing semiotics is a linguistic term and should stay in the realm of linguistics). Gell favored Charles Sanders Peirce’s use of ‘indexical sign,’ arguing that objects do not encode information as language does; however, as in the case of Cheyenne moccasins, they do in fact encode information. Keane argued that “we need to recognize how the materiality of signification is not just a factor for the sign *interpreter* but gives rise to and transforms modalities of action and subjectivity *regardless* of whether they are interpreted” (Keane 2005: 186). He viewed this ‘openness’ as a key component of any study of the dynamic nature of ‘material things.’

Keane (2005: 186), detailing the work of Peirce, identified two features of signs. The first states that “signs give rise to new signs, in an unending process of signification.” Keane noted how “this point is important because it entails sociability, struggle, historicity, and contingency.” He viewed this feature as a counter to the argument that “to take things as signs is to reduce the world to discourse and its interpretation, to give in to the totalizing imperative to render all things meaningful” (2005: 186). The second feature of signs is that they engage

in a “complex range of possible relationships” with other “signs, interpretations, and objects.” Keane focused his attention, specifically, on “relations between signs and their possible objects of signification, which can be one of resemblance (iconicity), actual connection (indexicality), or rule (symbolism)” (2005: 186). These three aspects of signs are key to orthodox views of Cheyenne moccasins. A wearer of a pair of beaded moccasins with a Bear Butte design, for example, may see the design and remember a particular experience they had on the actual mountain (memory of place)—a trip with his/her family as a child, or a time when he/she fasted on the mountain. Alternately, the design could remind the wearer of the story of Sweet Medicine and all that Sweet Medicine received from *Maheo*. The designs, ultimately, serve as an index of meaning.

A focus on communication through clothing, specifically, is prominent in the academic literature. Margot Blum Schevill, in her review of literature on the communicative power of cloth, noted a scholarly “interest in looking at the material culture of indigenous peoples,” with specific focus on “clothing, body adornment, textiles, and cloth production as powerful indicators of social structure, ritual patterns, economic networks, and a commitment to the traditional life” (1996: 3). Numerous scholars have published within these areas of study. For example, Walter F. Morris (1996) illustrated a connection between Mayan cosmology and clothing designs, arguing that cloth serves as a connection to memory for Mayan people in Highland Chiapas. Lee Anne Wilson (1996)

explained the symbolism in Andean weavings and their connection to views of masculinity and femininity. Elayne Zorn (1987) argued that Peruvian cloth tells a story and serves as a communicative text that relates to a variety of cultural functions, including Peruvian economics and political systems. As Margot Blum Schevill (1996: 5) argued, “the study of cloth, clothing, and the creation of cloth can be an important index for understanding human culture and history.” As noted by Schevill (1996: 12), Barbara and Dennis Tedlock (1985) argued that “the key to understanding Quiché Maya symbolic modes may be through intertextuality. By relating the arts of weaving, writing, oratory, architecture, and agriculture, it is possible to achieve a holistic perception of this symbolic system from the distant past.” Similarly, understanding of Cheyenne moccasin designs is rooted in an holistic understanding of Cheyenne orthodoxy.

The anthropological focus on the connections between art and meaning has expanded in recent years. Howard Morphy’s (2007: 88) study of Yolngu art, for example, addressed “the relationship between how the Yolngu see the world and how they represent it, and the way in which Yolngu use visual effects to convey meanings and evoke feelings,” drawing parallels between Yolngu art and modernist movements in the broader field of art. Ultimately, through his detailed explanation of Yolngu art, Morphy (2007: 91) intended to “draw attention to the cultural context of viewing and to the possible nature of the relationship between the conceptual and the perceptual.” This study aims to support the importance of

cultural context when viewing Cheyenne religious art, such as moccasins, because it strongly illustrates orthodox conceptual and perceptual relationships.

An understanding of how art fits within a culture is crucial for an understanding of meaning. While Keane (2005: 196) did argue “against language- or text-based approaches toward material things,” he did note that “*under some circumstances,*” these things can “be treated as meaningful in textlike ways.” I argue that Cheyenne moccasin designs, when viewed through the lens of Cheyenne orthodoxy, fit these circumstances. In these circumstances, Keane (2005: 201) argued that

iconism and indexicality function by virtue of meta-level semiosis. First, the very existence of a sign as such, for an interpreter, depends on a mode of proto-objectification. That is, before an object of signification can be specified, something must first be specified as a sign. And in the process, its objects must be determined to be objects. It is a historically specific semiotic ideology that determines what will count for the interpreter and actor as objects and in contrast to what subjects.

Keane ultimately argued that “A semiotic analysis of the social power of things would...demand an account of the semiotic ideologies and their discursive regimentation that enter into or are excluded from the process by which things become objects, for these are the same processes that configure the borders and the possibilities of subjects” (2005: 201). This concept of semiotic ideologies is rooted in individual experience.

The act of having an experience can have a substantial influence on an individual. Van Hell et al. (2003) argued, in their study on the role of children's cultural background knowledge and storytelling performance, that story coherence is directly tied to the cultural context in which children are raised. Greater understanding of a story is achieved when an individual has developed a level of familiarity (or 'cultural scaffolding') with the cultural context associated with the story. This idea underscores the importance of the development of orthodox Cheyenne habitus to eventual emotional reaction generated when a wearer sees particular moccasin designs. Taking this argument further, Samira Alayan and Gad Yair (2010), in their study on gender differences in Palestinian Israeli student education, highlighted the importance of 'key experiences' in the development of habitus. They defined 'key experiences' as "short and intense instructional episodes that students remember to have had a decisive effect on their lives and are usually equated with a sense of self-direction and empowerment" (Alayan and Yair 2010: 831). These key experiences are the foundation for Keane's focus on *semantic ideology*.

To Keane, an individual's background, e.g. past experiences, formal and informal education, form their *semiotic ideology*. He defined this as "people's background assumptions about what signs are and how they function in the world" (Keane 2005: 191). He argued that *semiotic ideology* provides indexicality with 'instructions,' i.e. it gives people the information they need to

make things meaningful and coherent. Keane suggested that without the guidance of semiotic ideologies, ‘material signs’ “assert nothing” (2005: 193). Those that come in contact with a sign must have some knowledge of its connection to “culture, discipline, episteme, and hegemony” to make it meaningful (Keane 2005: 193). That said, Keane argued that meaning is never set in stone. He argued that “it is not simply that their meanings are undetermined, but also that their semiotic orientation is, in part, toward unrealized futures” (2005: 193). This statement gets to the root of the materiality of moccasins and their designs. While they are used in particular ways with particular meanings by orthodox Cheyennes, they are not bound by these ways or meanings. Keane refers to this as the ‘futuraity’ of an object (2005: 194). Daniel Miller (1987) offered a perhaps even more fitting term that relates to Cheyenne values: ‘the humility of objects.’ These authors argued that these key experiences play an important role in the development of an individual’s habitus and they way an individual interprets the world in which they live. I, personally, had one of these key experiences during my first trip to Bear Butte.

On the morning of 4 July 2010, David Ramos, Michelin Whiteshield, Michelin’s youngest daughter, and I headed from the Custer Battlefield in Montana, to Bear Butte in South Dakota. The purpose of our trip to the Mountain was to pray, leave offerings, and to collect medicine and cedar. We stopped by a store in Lame Deer, MT to purchase some supplies we needed for our trip,

including a small gardening kit that contained two trowels to dig into the earth to find different colors of medicine, as well as a few small containers to hold what we collected.

When we arrived at the Mountain we parked in the lot next to the Native camp grounds where the families of a number of individuals who were up on the Mountain for ceremonial purposes waited for their return. We slowly hiked up a thin, winding trail before heading straight up a steep incline towards the main trail. While we walked, we continued to search for outcroppings of different shades of earth from which we would then collect the medicine. Our search found nothing. We hiked all the way to the very top of the Mountain and found no medicine and no cedar trees. Michelin and her daughter carried all of our digging and collecting equipment all the way to the top without allowing David or me to touch them, claiming it was their responsibility to do so, but it seemed our search was in vain.

After saying some prayers and leaving offerings at the peak of the Mountain, we descended and lost faith that we would find the material we sought. As we neared the very bottom of the mountain, in sight of the lower ranger's station, we finally came across the only cluster of cedar trees on the mountain. We had already accepted the fact that we were about to leave empty handed, so this find was quite exciting. After leaving an offering, we filled a few containers

with the cedar and glanced through a clearing in the trees to the very field where we began our hike earlier that afternoon. In clear sight was an exposed section of earth containing red medicine! The very thing we sought didn't reveal itself to us until we had completed our journey. We quickly hiked back over to that area and found not only red medicine, but veins of yellow and white as well.

David and I shared this story with the Keeper of the Sacred Arrows, Bill Redhat, and he did not seem surprised. The Keeper told us that Bear Butte is a teaching mountain and that the Mountain only reveals its secrets when it is ready. He asked me what I learned from my experience, and I lightheartedly told him, "Well, that the medicine is at the bottom!" He responded, "Of course it is! And you'll never forget that lesson, will you!" No, I will not. Another lesson I learned, on a serious note, relates directly to moccasin designs: *The medicine is IN the mountain* (Lukavic 2010). Such a simple lesson is actually quite important to orthodox Cheyennes, which explains why moccasin designs that symbolize this fact are so ubiquitous.

I share this story for two purposes. The first is to demonstrate how orthodox Cheyennes view Bear Butte as a teacher of the unknown, and second to show how key experiences, specifically experiences that occur on the Mountain, can have a lasting impact on people's lives. Experiences such as mine are common, and the stories generated from these experiences are shared through

generations. The simple Bear Butte designs found on moccasins encode these experiences. They serve as a reminder of all that has come from the Mountain beginning with Sweet Medicine. The Mountain teaches, moccasin makers record, and the moccasins serve as the visual expression of that record. This variety of meaning associated with a particular design leads to a need to distinguish between icons, indexes, and symbols, and the way these concepts build on one another, more thoroughly.

Matt Rossano (2010: S89) explained how Peirce limited his definition of symbols “for only those occasions where the relationship between the signifier and the signified is purely arbitrary,” without any resemblance to its associated meaning. Peirce argued that “to interpret symbols, one must understand icons. To interpret symbols, one must understand indexes” (Rossano 2010: S90). This led to the idea that signs develop within a hierarchy, i.e. “higher levels of reference (symbols, indexes) are built up from lower levels (indexes, icons)” (Rossano 2010: S90). For moccasin designs, one must first understand the iconic connection of a design element to that it resembles (for example, a triangular design iconically represents the Sacred mountain, Bear Butte). Once that iconic connection is understood, the design may then be abstracted to indexically represent those stories, tenets, and lessons related to Bear Butte.

Rossano also noted how “symbolic relationships are built on indexical ones.” He argued that “The temporal/spatial relationships that form the basis of indexes provide the scaffolding or foundation on which purely conventional associations can be constructed” (Rossano 2010: S90). For this process to take hold, education and experience are integral to the development of such indexes. Rossano argued that “while...learning may get started indexically...it does not really take off until it switches to a symbols-symbol-based reference system” (2010: S90). This idea is supported by the *intended* use of moccasin designs by orthodox Cheyennes, i.e. the didactic dimension of moccasins that teaches abstracted ideas once an index of meaning is generated.

Rossano presented two challenges to the acquisition of symbolic meaning:

1) unlike icons or indexes, symbol learning has little to no contextual support. An icon, by virtue of its appearance, cues its referent. An index also cues its referent by virtue of repeated temporal or spatial co-occurrence. Symbols, however, neither look like nor are temporally or spatially associated with their referent...thus, unlike icons, or indexes, symbols provide little or no cuing support for their referents.

2) What a symbol refers to is only partially based on the (already arbitrary and uncued) symbol-referent connection. Often, an even more important determinant for a symbol’s referent is the complex relationship the symbol has to other symbols in the context of its use. With symbols, it is often how the symbol relates to other symbols that determines its referent. (Rossano 2010: S90, numbering added by author)

While Rossano suggested these challenges inhibit the symbolic learning for adults, he argued that children “may actually have an advantage in acquiring

symbols by virtue of their inability to keep track of the many possible object-to-symbol indexical relationships.” He argued that

this capacity limitation produces a strong preference for processing more global, higher-order, symbol-to-symbol relations at the expense of gaining a complete grasp of the symbol’s external referent. In this way, very young children may naturally fall into a learning strategy advantageous for acquiring symbol systems. (Rossano 2010: S90)

I argue that, in lieu of a formal writing system, Cheyennes used indexical symbols to record cultural lessons, stories, and religious tenets on material objects, including moccasins. These symbols were used on children’s moccasins and were used to teach young children about Cheyenne culture. As these children grew older these symbols served as cues to both tangible and abstract referents that helped the individual follow a road guided by Cheyenne orthodoxy.

As I noted in Chapter One and again throughout this chapter, Graham Howes’ (2007) description of the didactic dimension of religious art emphasized how images serve as a reference to greater abstractions. It is this didactic function of moccasin designs that has become marginalized among Cheyennes, and this marginalization was the impetus for Mr. Shirt, the Arrow Priest, and others to share their knowledge. Their hope is that the material presented here will make others aware of designs and meaning so that their intended use may spread in the Cheyenne community.

Orthodox moccasin makers suggest that moccasin designs serve the same purpose as Red Hat described using the human body. The abstracted meanings on moccasins were intended to serve both as a reminder of these lessons by the wearer, as well as demarcating the wearer as someone who had learned these lessons; however, today, few individuals keep this knowledge and even fewer share what they know. As my research progressed, this type of information started to surface—not because I asked, but because those with whom I worked recognized my research as an opportunity to share what they know and to return parts of knowledge once widespread in the Cheyenne community, back to the Cheyenne people. The lessons and tenets recorded in moccasin designs generally fall within five⁶⁰ categories: 1) expected behavior, 2) valued personal traits, 3) cultural lessons, 4) origin stories, and 5) religious reminders within the designs they produce. These five categories are interrelated and all are associated with walking an orthodox Cheyenne road.

Behavioral Traits

Figure 07 shows a V-shaped design—a common design beaded on the ‘vamp’ of a moccasin—which signifies a flock of birds in flight; however, this

⁶⁰ A sixth category possibly involves lessons of the female body and reproduction (both physical and spiritual), but I was unable to collect enough data to verify this last category.

flock of birds, at a deeper level of abstraction, refers to how Cheyenne people are expected to behave. The lesson is that all Cheyennes should stay organized and follow the orders given by their Society leaders. Additionally, they should not step away from accepted cultural norms and beliefs.



(Fig. 07 – ‘V’ shaped design on the vamp of a pair of moccasins. Photo taken by author of a pair of moccasins on exhibition at the Thomas Gilcrease Museum of Art in Tulsa, OK.)

Moore (1974a: 209-210) argued that Cheyenne sacred stories are “in fact political in nature.” Moore (1974b: 331-332) also provided several examples of individual groups of Cheyennes and Societies acting independently, rather than as

one unit; however, while these did occur, I argue that the ideal of tribal cohesion was a goal, and the lesson of staying in line found in the ‘V’ shaped moccasin design helped towards that goal. The general shape of this design, found on both men and women’s moccasins, cues this meaning, but the design may vary in overall detail. Moccasin makers often improvise on a specific theme, which results in a variety of expressions of a single design element, but the meaning remains the same.

Valued Personal Traits



(Fig. 08 – Deer design. Detail photo of a woman’s legging, taken by author at the Oklahoma History Center, Oklahoma City, OK. No. 02436.001-.002)

There exist certain designs used to remind the wearer of a pair of moccasins how they should keep their body and mind. The deer design (Fig. 08) represents the need to keep yourself physically fit and always alert (tail is always raised). Deer are edgy animals and prepared to act swiftly. I have heard people refer to moccasins that bear this deer design as ‘warrior moccasins;’ however, others argue that the use of the deer was not exclusively for use on moccasins worn by warriors, but rather anyone who needed a reminder of the traits of a deer.

This deer design has been interpreted in the past by non-Cheyennes as a dog, panther, and/or antelope design (Kostelnik 2006: 37; Steward 1971: 5, 8); however, these assumptions are based off the importance of dogs to Cheyenne culture, the use of panther designs in other Algonquian cultures, and the markings on some of the beaded animal designs that resemble those found on antelope. Moccasin makers from moccasin making and ceremonial families laugh at these interpretations. Each time I suggested these alternate interpretations, moccasin makers continually reminded me that 1) dogs are not important...puppies are, but have only been important since the late 1800s⁶¹; 2) it is wrong to assume these are

⁶¹ Moore (1974: 175-177) discussed dogs in Cheyenne society, noting, “Wolves have religious meaning...dogs do not. Schlesier (1987: 99) discussed the use of puppy meat for the Hohnuhka Society, referring to it as “unnatural meat” that “served as a substitute for the flesh of the *ax-xea* [“the great horned water serpent hunted by Nonoma”] because it was “contrary” to other animal flesh.” Schlesier does, however, note the importance of dogs, historically among the Cheyenne, as burden carriers (1987: 147-148).

something other than deer because they lack antlers. Most moccasin makers that own design hides passed down through generations have multiple deer designs, and only those added more recently (since around 1950 or so) have antlers; 3) the Cheyenne religion is old enough that elements of shared Algonquian religion have been supplanted by their own religious iconography. While these reasons work to dispel the idea that this design represents a dog or panther, none of my consultants necessarily argued against antelope because the 'true' meaning of the design would not change the valued personal trait if you used either interpretation.

Cultural Lessons

Moccasin designs also record cultural lessons and are used widely by Cheyenne people; however, the meaning of the most common designs are not well known today. At an indexical level, the ubiquitous design in Figure 09 is essentially a map used on women's moccasins. Moccasin makers simply call this design the 'tipi,' and Cheyennes, historically, used this design to explain to young girls aspects of ceremonial life in which they were not permitted to participate until later in life, if at all. More specifically, this design is used as a seating chart

to teach young girls about society tipis, to which few women are permitted entrance.^{62,63}



⁶² Birdie Burns (1968), in describing Society tipis, stated, “[a society] have a tipi. They have to come out from a tipi. I don’t know that they do in there. No woman is allowed. Just members—men members.”

⁶³ I must emphasize that this design is a woman’s design. David Ramos (2009), while visiting my home in Norman, OK, told me that he once saw a non-Indian man wearing a pair of moccasins with this ‘tipi’ design at a Cheyenne powwow: “Like these rosettes on the toes...they are common as womens' in my culture, but I actually saw a man [laughing] wearing moccasins with a rosette on there! I didn't say anything to him, but apparently when he bought moccasins nobody told him they were women moccasins.” David went on to say that “To a person that don't live this way or know the difference and they go somewhere and buy something like that, they would never know that it was men vs. women as long as they fit. Him, being a man, if he knew they were a women's pattern, he wouldn't want to wear them. It'd be like him wearing women's clothing. Maybe he likes women's clothing! [laughs].”

(Fig. 09 – Woman’s tipi design on the vamp of the moccasins. Photo taken by author of moccasins make by the author.)

Depending on the particular tipi addressed in the lesson, the elements of the design take on different meaning. Santana (2001: 166-67) explained that “Tipis appear in two major types of occasions that predominantly involved Cheyenne men: military society meetings and Chiefs’ Council gatherings.” She argued that “ In both instances, tipis were the selected meeting place. However, the roles they play and the use of the space they create differ from those of the women’s gatherings and the instances of recognition of aging described earlier.” Because of the differences in tipi use, this design proves useful for conveying cultural knowledge related to these differences.

In the center of the tipi design is a fire. White sections represent empty space. The door to the tipi is closest to the foot opening of the moccasin and the empty white space closest to the toe is sacred space.⁶⁴ The red arc closest to the fire on the right represents the men of the Elk and Bowstring Societies. The red arc to the left of the fire represents the men of the Dog Soldier and Kit Fox Societies. The second red arc to the right represents the society sisters⁶⁵ of the

⁶⁴ Campbell (1915: 691) noted that “The place of honor is opposite the door. It is least subject to drafts, and no one needs pass between that place and the fire. Here is the couch of the head of the family, unless guests are installed there, when he sleeps on the south side. Weapons and medicine bundles usually hang at the head of his bed.”

⁶⁵ Birdie Burns (1967: 2) stated, “young girls...are elected to [become society] ‘sisters’...They call them ‘sisters.’ They don’t call them ‘the girls.’ They call them ‘Bowstring Clan sisters’ [for example].”

Elk and Bowstring Societies, and the second red arc to the left represents the society sisters of the Dog Soldier and Kit Fox Societies.^{66,67}

David Ramos is a member of the Kit Fox Society and explained the seating within various tipis to me:

I was seated as Dog Soldier, but then I was turned around and reseated. The medicine sits on the right side of the tipi and I'm first...I guess the way that somebody would understand, first chair. I sit right next to...because you have the Dog Soldiers sit on the left side of the tipi and they have their police officer, and he sits next to the Kit Fox. And the Kit Fox sits next to the Dog Soldiers, and they're the 'peace makers'. You can't go in or out of the tipi without them knowing. And you have two representatives and then the medicine belongs to Kit Fox. Then the Kit Fox sit here, and our two clan sisters, and then the Dog Soldiers.

Now, in the Arrow Tipi, it's [starting to the left of the door] Bowstring, Elk, Priests, Arrow Keeper, Priests, Dog Soldier, and Kit Foxes. And the reason why the Dog Soldiers sits on the left side of the Arrow Keeper is because when they tied the tipi up and they tie that pole, that's to represent when the Dog Soldiers, when they go to fight, they stick their stake down and tie themselves to it. That's how they got seated there in the Arrow Tipi.

David's description of the seating in two different tipis and why groups are placed in particular locations illustrates the utility of this design in transmitting this knowledge.

⁶⁶ This description of 'left' and 'right' is oriented as shown in the photo. If the wearer were to look down at their moccasins, the sides would be reversed, which is the intended way to view this design.

⁶⁷ I should point out that Cheyenne Societies are not static. The number of societies has varied over time, but today, only the Elk Soldiers, Bowstring, Dog Soldier, and Kit Fox remain among the Southern Cheyenne; however, this design is adaptable to fit any changes in the future.

Beyond the interior seating, this design contains additional meaning. Surrounding the interior of the tipi is generally a series of triangular or stepped designs, which, as I will describe below, represents *Nowatus*, or Bear Butte. The door of the tipi faces east, and above it, closest to the foot hole, is the morning star design. Both the morning star^{68,69} and the ‘uterus’ design,⁷⁰ also described below, represent new birth, and the morning star is a key symbol for various aspects of Cheyenne religion. This design comes in two main forms: its ‘pure’ form as described here, considered by orthodox Cheyenne as a sacred design, and its abstract form, which contains connected arcs and no sacred space. Colors used are not as important as the layout of the design elements. Other tribes (Arapaho, Lakota, etc.) use similar or exact copies of this design; however, the interpretation I provide here is widely accepted among the Cheyenne I worked with and confirmed by the Arrow Keeper and members of the four societies.

Specific Cheyenne tipis often have rules and prohibitions associated with them. For example, Dorsey (1905: 69) discussed some of the rules associated with Lone Tipi:

⁶⁸ Renate Schukies (1993: 198) noted how the Cheyenne possess “a very distinct ancient belief system centered on the Morning Star, Venus.”

⁶⁹ Bill Red Hat in (Schukies 1993: 43) stated that “When Motseyoef left the Cheyennes, he turned into the Mourning Star. But Motseyoef told his people that he would come back one day. When a child is born with long gray hair and teeth, which looks like an old man, that’s the end for Cheyennes.”

⁷⁰ The ‘uterus’ design falls into the sixth category mentioned earlier, but I was not able to verify this meaning with my consultants. Everyone agreed it was a very old design element, but few even offered a suggestion as to what it means.

No one may pass in front of it, for if he did he would become blind. No menstruating women may pass by the tipi on the windward side; to do so would cause her own death and the occupants of the tipi would be poisoned. The meaning of the name given the tipi of secret rites is Tipi-by-itself. Another name is Tipi-from-which-th-Rebirth-lodge-comes. It is also given the name of the morning-star and is said to be symbolic of the hill from which according to the myth, the buffalo came.

Moore (1974a: 255) similarly noted how “Women, for example, can be killed by contact with or even catching sight of some important ceremonial object.”

Knowing where such a ceremonial object was located could prevent a woman from looking in that direction. The meanings I describe here are all associated with active practices among Cheyenne ceremonialists and Society members, so these designs have meaning and a purpose for Cheyennes today.

I have heard non-Cheyennes refer to this design as a ‘sacred pound’ or ‘buffalo pound’ but that meaning is lost on Cheyennes today. The concept of a buffalo pound refers to the Cheyenne Massaum ceremony.⁷¹ Schlesier (1987: 147) noted

vohaenohonistoz means the impounding of buffalo. *Vohaéátoz* is the word for the chute leading to the corral. These are ceremonial terms. The arrangement of structures at the Ruby bison pound reveals the features of the classic Tsistsistas medicine hunt as prescribed in the Massaum ceremony. I know of no other Plains people where the impounding of game *and* the pound structure itself were integral parts of a major tribal religious ceremony. The sacred hunt of the Massaum was the model for all Tsistsistas medicine hunts.

⁷¹ See: Schlesier (1987: 100, 101-2, 104-5, 147), Garcia (1994: 20-1)

Garcia (1994: 20) also noted how the Massaum ceremony “commemorated the relationship of the Cheyennes to the spirit world of the grasslands, the sacred relationship with animals, and taught the proper approach to hunting plains herd animals by calling them into camps and pounds.” Garcia went on to describe the symbolism of the camp circle and its role as a teaching tool for Cheyennes. While the Massaum ceremony was exceedingly important to Cheyennes of the past, it no longer plays a role in orthodox Cheyenne religious life. One could speculate that this moccasin design, at one time, referred to the lessons of the Massaum ceremony, but even if that were true, the design has no connection to it today. Orthodox Cheyenne indexes are dynamic, which allows for change in meaning when necessary.

Origin Stories

The ‘Turtle Story’ is the Cheyenne Creation story. Marriott and Rachlin (1977:86-87) published a version of this story as recounted by Little Bear Woman, mother of Mary Little Bear Inkanish:

Little Bear Woman began at the beginning, when Maheo created the world. At first, there was nothing but darkness and water. She told how Maheo sent the ducks diving into the water for mud from which he would fashion the world, and how the ducks failed. At last Maheo was forced to send Turtle, who brought up mud from the bottom of the waters. With it,

Maheo made rivers and mountains, and all living things, and finally he made men and women.

Marriott and Rachlin (1977:87) noted that “there are lots of other Cheyenne stories about turtles, but not all of them are sacred. The turtle carries the world and his house on his back.”⁷² The moccasin design that relates to this story is well known among the Southern Cheyenne and I will discuss its creation and distribution in detail in Chapter Four when I discuss design ownership.



(Fig. 10 – Turtle Design. Photo taken by author of a pair of moccasin in the collection of the Sam Noble Oklahoma Museum of Natural History in Norman, OK. No. NAM 9-6-136, E/47-8/1/41)

The hexagonal design featured in Figure 10, known as the ‘turtle,’ comes in two forms: male and female. This design originated in the Hammon community in western Oklahoma and represents, obviously, a turtle, but

⁷² For another version of the Turtle Story also see: Santina 2001: 44-5.

indexically relates to the Cheyenne creation story and ‘Turtle Island’ (a.k.a. North America) (Lukavic 2010). The female version of this design, used on women’s moccasins, has short legs extending from a central hexagonal element, which is generally absent in the male versions used on men’s moccasins. Again, this design is intended to remind the wearer of the moccasins where they came from and how the world was created.

Religious Reminders

Of all Cheyenne stories, the single most important that relates to moccasin designs is the story of Sweet Medicine, the Cheyenne prophet, and his connection to the Sacred Mountain, Bear Butte, and the Sacred Arrows. Versions of this story are found in many published sources, with minor variations (Burns 1968a, 1968b; Dorsey 1905a: 1-11, 1905b: 185-6; Grinnell 1907: 171; Mann 2011; Moore 1974a; Ottaway 1969: 2; Powell 1969). The Keeper of the Sacred Arrows, Bill Red Hat (in Renate Schukies 1993: 28), summarized this most succinctly: “When Motseyoef⁷³ returned to his people from the Sacred Mountain, he organized the soldiers and the chiefs and taught them about the Sacred Arrows and the laws of the tribe. These things were all thought of together, one could not exist without the others.” Dr. Mann recently published her version of this story in

⁷³ Sweet Medicine

the Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribal Tribune (2011: 2), which highlights not only the life of their prophet, but also how this affects Cheyennes today:

As Sweet Medicine instructed them, to this day, Tsistsistas⁷⁴ remember their great Cheyenne prophet and his teachings. He was an extraordinary child and powerful in things sacred. It is said that long ago he entered Bear Butte “the place where the people are taught,” and brought from there many good and wonderful things. Among the many gifts that Maheo’o, “The Great One,” sent through him are the Tsistsistas covenant, traditional leadership of peace chiefs, the warrior societies or clans, and the tribal law ways. Sweet Medicine’s teachings and values have guided the minds and hearts of the people and sustained them on their Road of Life, a road that is very old and which stretches far into an unknown future.

It is said that Sweet Medicine lived with the people for four long lives of a person, and during that time taught them all he had learned in that “teaching mountain” that stands as a sentinel in the north direction. It is a reference point for the Cheyenne and is their spiritual home. From a distance Bear Butte resembles a large reclining bear called No voss so in the Tsistsistas language.

No voss⁷⁵ so is a holy female mountain, and is an acknowledged American Indian sacred site. Sacred sites have spiritual significance, and are places where American Indians make pilgrimages to pray, fast, make offerings, do ceremony, seek spiritual guidance and direction, and sometimes visit to just give thanks. Bear Butte is one such place and a part of the American sacred landscape.

Bear Butte is the birthplace of the Cheyenne covenant and culture and it is therefore the spiritual equivalent of the Mount of Olives, Mount Moriah, and Mount Sinai. After spending four years inside the mountain, Sweet Medicine came forth to establish the Cheyenne way. Extraordinary as a child, he matured to become the greatest of Cheyenne teachers.

⁷⁴ Cheyenne proper

⁷⁵ This was Dr. Mann’s spelling of the Cheyenne word for Bear Butte.

One day, however, he determined that it was time for him to leave the people to let them travel the road without him. He was saddened, however, by what he saw in their future and told them what they faced in terms of the strangers they would meet in the direction from where the sun rises.

Sweet Medicine also gave the people his prophecies, which have been handed down from generation to generation, family to family. Some of them are:

- The people will no longer get up early to greet the rising sun.
- People will become lazy and lie in bed all day.
- The people will get the diseases carried by the strangers and die suddenly.
- Young people will turn prematurely grey.
- People will not know their relations and relatives will marry relatives.
- Women will have multiple births, like those born in a litter of puppies.
- A baby will be born with a full set of teeth, and will eat all the people.
- There will be much fighting between the leaders and the people.
- The people will tear up the earth and disturb its balance.
- The earth will burn and ice will flow from the north [global warming].

Sweet Medicine told Tsistsistas they had to be vigilant and watch the weather from the doors and windows of their homes and take appropriate action to protect themselves.

Furthermore, Cheyennes have experienced or are experiencing some of those predictions and are prophecies come true. Sweet Medicine

emphasized, however, that they would endure as a people so long as they remembered him and his teachings.

Thus, Tsistsistas revere Sweet Medicine and his teachings, which have been handed down through the ages and are remembered to this day. He has assured the survival of the Cheyenne people and spirit if they continue to follow his good and wonderful ways he brought from No voss so.

These ideas are important to guiding the lives of orthodox Cheyennes and are generally encapsulated symbolically in moccasins designs that stand for the larger whole.

The single most important design found in Cheyenne beadwork of any kind, as well as other forms of traditional Cheyenne arts, is that of Bear Butte—the Sacred Mountain. Bear Butte was where Sweet Medicine, the Cheyenne prophet, received the Sacred Arrows and received the message from *Maheo*, the Creator, on how Cheyenne people should live their lives. It is the site of Sweet Medicine's cave). It is where Cheyenne people go to pray and fast. It is where Cheyenne people go to collect their medicines, both plant and earth, used in ceremonies. According to the Arrow Keeper, Bill Red Hat, the Cheyenne word for Bear Butte, *Nowatus*, literally means, “where you go to learn” (Lukavic 2011). It is central to nearly everything related to Cheyenne religion. For this reason, Bear Butte is the most common design element used in Cheyenne beadwork and other forms of material culture.

David Ramos explained to me that “there's several different designs that tell our stories. Bear Butte, you know. There's a lot of pretty mountain designs and stuff that we use on our moccasins, and they're usually, you know, like the difference...the men's patterns are usually open, with a gap of some kind and the woman's patterns are solid patterns.” I asked David if knowledge of this design was widespread among the Cheyenne. He told me, “Yeah. People also refer to it as the mountain design, but there really is only one mountain [Bear Butte]” (Ramos 2010) (Fig. 11). I have heard a few Cheyenne refer to this design as a tipi, but when pressed, they clarified their meaning to a particular tipi given to Sweet Medicine’s wife. Schlesier (1987: 78) noted: “The *maheonox*, lodge of the *maiyun*, where Ehyophstah was given to Motseyoef’s companion, is Nowah’wus—Bear Butte.” In the longer story of Sweet Medicine, this tipi is located *within* Bear Butte, which allows Bear Butte to represent this tipi, as well as its other associations. Renate Schukies (1993: 288) noted that

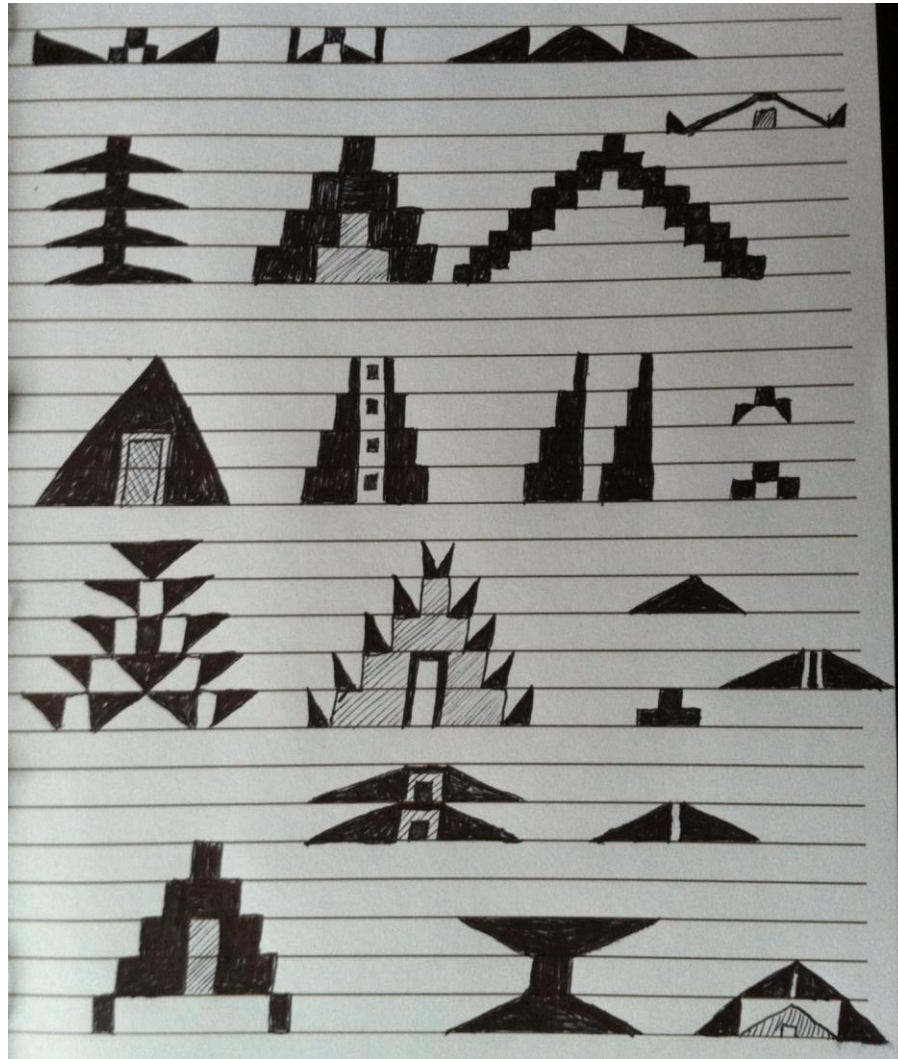
Of all the tribes [that hold Bear Butte sacred], the Cheyenne attach the most importance to the mountain. They call him Nowah’wus—‘Where the people are taught, or simply, Bear Tipi. Inside the giant bear stands the Tipi of Instructions where Maheo, the Allfather, the Maheyuno, the four keepers of the corners of the universe, and the Maiyun, the spirits who live above and below the earth, teach human seekers of learning.

This connection of Bear Butte and the Tipi of Instruction to learning is important because it highlights the indexical and symbolic dimension of designs, geographic locations, and the transmission of cultural knowledge.



(Fig. 11 – Bear Butte represented by a split triangular design. Photo taken by author of a pair of moccasins in a private collection.)

With few exceptions, any triangular shape or tiered design represents Bear Butte (Fig. 12). This design is the most abstracted and comes in the most number of permutations. Sometimes the design is an equilateral triangle. Sometimes it is sharper at the top. Sometimes it is flat on top. Sometimes the triangle is split in two, often revealing squares that represent the medicine in the mountain. It can come in a single row design, or take up two, three, four or five rows of beadwork. These elements are sometimes stacked and other times mirrored to create new visual designs, but *at their core*, they are still Bear Butte designs.



(Fig. 12 – Sample variations of the Bear Butte design. Sketches made by author.)

These designs are beaded and quilled on men's and women's moccasins, legging strips, shirts, dresses, pipe bags, and painted on parfleche (Fig. 13) and basically anything else you can imagine. Non-Cheyennes often misinterpret these abstract designs when stacked and mirrored (Fig. 14), but Cheyenne beadwork is

not intentionally complicated. It is quite simple, but powerful in its meaning. I think people who see Alfred Kroeber's (1983 [1902, 1904, 1907] book on the Arapaho expect thousands of different designs with each variation leading to a new interpretation; however, that is not the case with Cheyenne beadwork. Those thousands of variations relate to a very powerful message—Bear Butte is the center of Cheyenne religious life, while they also speak to the individuality and creativity of each moccasin maker.



(Fig. 13 – Painted Parfleche with mirrored Bear Butte designs. Photo taken by author of a parfleche ‘envelope’ in the collection of the Oklahoma History Center in Oklahoma City, OK. No. 07937)



(Fig. 14 – Stacked Bear Butte designs with square ‘medicine’ designs. Photo taken by author of the detail on a pair of moccasins in the collection of the Oklahoma History Center in Oklahoma City, OK. No. 00375.001-.002)

Medicine designs (Fig. 14) relate to *Nowatus* as well. Within the mountain are the earth pigments Cheyenne people use in ceremonies and for healing. Most square boxes used in Cheyenne beadwork represent the medicine found in the mountain, and the interior color of the square represents a particular type of medicine (Cheyenne dig for many different colors of clay in the mountain and each color has a different purpose).⁷⁶ Often a split *Nowatus* design has three

⁷⁶ The Buffalo Racetrack story does not specifically relate to a particular moccasin design, but does provide an explanation, to some degree, on color choice in Cheyenne beadwork. Versions of the Buffalo Racetrack story were recorded by Kroeber (1900: 161-2), Marriott and Rachlin (1977: 87), Moore (1984: 296-7, 1999: 189-90), and Randolph (1937). In a very short form, Bill Red Hat(in Renate Schukies 1993: 283) shared this version of the story: “Long ago a race was

or more small squares dividing the two sides of the triangle, and this represents the medicine in the mountain (as if the mountain was split open so you can see the medicine within)—a lesson I learned during my key experience at Bear Butte, i.e. the medicine is *in* the mountain.

When a small *Nowatus* design is tiered, the space formed under the upper tip of the triangle represents Sweet Medicine’s cave—the most sacred site upon the most sacred mountain.⁷⁷ This cave is also represented by large, color-filled squares within a *Nowatus* design, or (often) by a white rectangle at the base of a *Nowatus* (Bear Butte) design (Fig. 15).⁷⁸

held between the Cheyenne and the buffalo in order to determine who would be the hunter and who the hunted. One the race the buffalo’s lung hemorrhaged, leaving a red residue on the soil that can still be seen around the Black Hills.” I include this short version to provide an basic understanding of how color is representative of particular events of sacrifice in Cheyenne stories. Longer versions of this story include more animals and the creation of other colors of earth, which become the sacred medicines found on and around Bear Butte. While this story is not directly represented in a moccasin design, it *is* fully encoded in a very specific Cheyenne dress design which is well known among Cheyenne dress makers (Lukavic 2010).

⁷⁷ Note the small, yellow squares within the Bear Butte designs in the upper-most row in Figure 14. This location represents Sweet Medicine’s cave in smaller Bear Butte variations such as this.

⁷⁸ See Dorsey (1905a: pl XIV) to see a colored illustration of Bear Butte which depicts Sweet Medicine’s cave at the base of the mountain. The title of the plate reads: “ They Discover the Sacred Mountain.”



(Fig. 15 – Sweet Medicine’s Cave depicted by the white space at the base of the triangular Bear Butte design. – Photo take by author of a pair of moccasins at the Cheyenne Cultural Center in Clinton, OK.)

Embodying the Story

Karl Kroeber (1992: 55) recognized the truism, “one cannot understand a story until one has heard all of it.” He argued that “the ability to grasp complex

wholes is the foundation of all successful critical interpretations.” If moccasin designs are the indexical and symbolic manifestations of Cheyenne stories, religious tenets, and lessons, as I argue, knowledge of their connection to Cheyenne religion and cultural values is crucial for their intended interpretation, and by extension, for recognizing and understanding a variety of their use-values for Cheyenne people, orthodox or not.

As Kroeber suggested,

It goes without saying that we bring *to* any story telling a preestablished system of moral and metaphysical beliefs and a range of commonsense ‘prejudices’ ... which form the basis for how we assess [a] story. But in the process of receiving the telling, including our retrospective comprehension when it has been completed, these preestablished systems and prejudices are aroused—sometimes by being reinforced, sometimes by being challenged. Since our systems of ordering and moral belief are fortified by entrenched emotional commitments, story-telling/story receiving solicits powerfully our sympathies and antipathies to activate those systems so that we may participate in a transformative realization of what binds us as emotional individuals to our community. (Kroeber 1992: 58)

Kroeber’s arguments highlighted the role of both habitus, as it relates to Cheyenne specific values, and education in a cultural system within the interpretive process of stories, which ultimately leads to an emotional, and I would add, behavioral, reaction. In the end, after the stories have been told and lessons taught, the generation of an emotional response is the goal. The wearer of a beaded pair of moccasins is intended to look down and receive an immediate

reminder of the stories and lessons the designs represent. For example, if a Cheyenne man were to look down at his moccasins and see a Bear Butte design, from an orthodox perspective, he should be reminded of the importance of Bear Butte and Sweet Medicine, Cheyenne laws that orthodox Cheyennes are expected to follow, the Sacred Arrows to Cheyenne people, and most generally, *who he is* as a Cheyenne. John Moore (1974a: 181) noted how “the priests, in particular, would go so far as to say that an understanding of the central religious symbols...is what differentiates a Cheyenne man from any other person.”⁷⁹ Again, that is the *intent* argued by orthodox moccasin makers, but today it is rarely the practice among Cheyennes in general.

More commonly, Cheyennes associate designs with their identity—a visual symbol of their tribal identity separate from a broader intertribal, racial identity. A feeling of closeness to tribal designs are often strong, but *why* they are strong is not always clear or easily articulated among Cheyennes. This function of moccasin designs could serve as the ‘institutional’ dimension of religious art, as defined in Chapter One by Howes, but for many Cheyennes, these designs have taken on an abstract association with Cheyennesness separate from their orthodox religious meanings. For those orthodox Cheyennes with knowledge of moccasin

⁷⁹ Moore (1974: 181) went on to say, “The vernix with which he is born is Maheo’s sign that the baby is capable of enlightenment.”

designs, the meanings, and religious functions remain clear and largely didactic without taking on the institutional dimension.

The designs and associated lessons I presented within this chapter represent a sample of those available to Cheyennes. These connections of the lessons and associated designs, while no longer widely known, persist in certain orthodox families and help to explain the ubiquitous nature of specific design elements in their various forms. To orthodox Cheyennes, these designs are valued at multiple levels and provide for emotional connections between individuals and their culture and religion.

When discussing my research with non-Cheyennes who study Native American art, I am often asked, “Why hasn’t this connection of moccasin designs to Cheyenne religion ever been discovered before?” I have a variety of answers to this question: 1) Studies of Cheyenne arts in the past have found these connections, but focused on more sacred forms of art, or those more representational; 2) Early scholars neglected to speak to women, especially about something as ‘mundane’ as moccasin making; 3) Few Cheyenne consultants were willing to speak of these things until relatively recently; and/or 4) Possibly, no one bothered to ask. It was not until the mid-1970s when Moore completed his dissertation that the Cheyenne cosmology was largely available to scholars outside the Cheyenne religious system. Winfield Coleman (1980: 61), in his

study on Cheyenne sacred beadwork, argued many of these same points:

“Cheyennes do appear to have a consistent symbolic system for their sacred designs and colors.” Coleman speculated as to why this was not discovered sooner:

- 1) Cheyenne beadwork was not studied. Had it been, useful comparisons between Cheyenne and Arapaho designs might have emerged.
- 2) No distinction was made between sacred (i.e. Sewing Societies) and other beadwork. This is an important distinction.
- 3) The society was (and to a degree, still is) secret. The meanings of the designs and colors were kept secret not only from non-Cheyennes and all men, but also from other Cheyenne women who were not members. This knowledge was transferred only after a proper initiation and with the greatest care for precision. The author was told on several occasions that yes, the meaning of a certain design was known, but that knowledge could not be revealed.
- 4) The same symbol could be given several interpretations. These associations are usually linked in ways that may not be apparent to an outsider, but which are perfectly obvious to an informed Cheyenne. Such an informant, if asked the meaning of a particular symbol or color, might give one answer one time and another answer another time. The apparent contradiction is only apparent. In the same manner, to informants might emphasize different aspects of the same symbol without really disagreeing. (Coleman 1980: 61, numbering added by author)

Coleman also suggested that “evidence [exists] that knowledge of this symbolic system has declined in recent years. Older women are more likely to be aware of it than middle-aged women, while young women are usually quite ignorant of it” (1980: 61). As it was explained to me by various orthodox Cheyennes, this

knowledge associated with moccasin designs has never been in question within their families, but they increasingly have realized how isolated this knowledge has become.

The meanings of designs found on Cheyenne moccasins are not meant to be secretive. These artistic expressions are intended to serve as tools to teach orthodox Cheyennes about their religion and culture. Mr. Shirt and the Arrow Priest approached me specifically because they recognized the isolated nature of this knowledge and understood the need to make these connections broadly known once again.

Candace Greene (1985: 117) suggested that “an understanding of...art may provide insight into the culture by revealing patterns of association that are not systematically expressed elsewhere.” In the case of Cheyenne moccasins, however, I argue that an understanding of Cheyenne moccasin designs provides insight into religious ideology that is expressed in the daily lives of orthodox Cheyennes. Greene (1985: 126) argued that “through this linkage between images, a powerful symbol system was generated that members of society could use to communicate central concerns and to appropriately channel action.” This symbol system, however, only works when individuals possess the indexical knowledge associated with the symbols. The transmission of this knowledge has

faced challenged over time within the Cheyenne community, but bastions of knowledge remain.

Chapter IV Cheyenne by Design

Objects are bound to humans in a variety of ways, but the most visible is their association to social identities. According to Fred Myers (2001: 3), in an increasingly transnational world, “objects come to convey and condense value and, in doing so, are used to construct social identities and communicate cultural differences between individuals and groups.” With this in mind, is it possible for an object to ‘represent’ an individual or group’s identity? More specifically, can moccasin designs represent orthodox Cheyennes, or all Cheyennes in general? The answer is technically yes, but as I will argue, the issue of representation highlights a diverging road for Cheyenne identities.

In Chapter Three, I discussed Webb Keane’s use of *semiotic ideology*, which refers to people’s ability to draw meaning from signs based on their past experiences; however, Keane did not suggest that *semiotic ideologies* had the ability to make the whole world meaningful. On the contrary, he went as far as to suggest, “The openness of things to further consequences perpetually threatens to destabilize existing semiotic ideologies” (Keane 2005: 191). Essentially, the semiotic ideologies associated with a non-orthodox road led to the destabilization of the semiotic ideologies associated with an orthodox Cheyenne way of life. Due to the ‘bundling’ of attributes associated with material objects, i.e. their

connection to production, representation, agency, etc., Keane (2005: 194) noted the vulnerability of semiotic ideologies. When you have multiple roads from which to choose in life, some will inevitably lead to the development of competing semiotic ideologies that either conflict or possibly challenge a particular hierarchy of meaning associated with an object. This is expected due to the unlimited potential of moccasins and moccasin designs, but certainly poses a challenge to the maintenance of an orthodox Cheyenne point-of-view.

In his (2001: 24) study of art and knowledge, James Young defined ‘representation’ in the following way: “R is a representation of an object O if and only if R is intended by a subject S to stand for O and an audience A (where A is not identical to S) can recognize that R stands for O.” Young noted three conditions related to this definition:

for a start, if something is a representation of some object, it must stand for the object. Next, representation must be intended to stand for something. This may be called the *intentionality condition*. The third condition may be called the *recognition condition*. According to this condition, nothing is a representation unless it can be recognised as standing for an object by someone other than the person (or persons) who intend that it represent the object. (Young 2001: 24)

Following this definition, if the transmission of knowledge related to the connection of moccasin designs to an orthodox Cheyenne ideology ceases to occur, condition three, the *recognition condition*, will not be met. Rather, the non-orthodox view of moccasin designs as a mark of Cheyennesness will continue

to grow. I do not mean to suggest that these two views cannot operate simultaneously, but the potential exists for one to dominate the other. Regardless of the intent of orthodox Cheyenne moccasin makers, if their audience does not recognize the connection between moccasins and the Cheyenne religion, the designs cease to meet the definition presented here. I believe Mr. Shirt and the Arrow Priest who invited me to lunch that day recognized this fact and sought to spread their knowledge of such connections.

The issue of recognition is an important connection between objects and representation. Arguing that both represent “a recognizable type of intercultural transaction,” Fred Myers (2002: 257) drew parallels between Australian Aboriginal sand paintings and gallery exhibitions. He went on to state

for both indigenous performers and their audience-participants, this kind of ‘culture making’—in which neither the rules of production nor the rules of reception are established—is fraught with difficulties. Generally, such spectacles of cultural difference are scrutinized critically by anthropologists and other cultural analysts on questions of both authenticity and of inequalities in the representation of difference (e.g. Fry and Willis 1989). This makes them, in my view, all the more worthy of sustained attention. (Myers 2002: 257)

When an intercultural transaction is performed without established rules for interpretation, i.e. without a shared semiotic ideology, the transmission of uniform meaning is impossible. This leads to different interpretations. As these

interpretations are shared, they lead to different uses, specifically in the representation of identities.

Clothing, being the most visible sign of identity expression, serves as a form of intercultural transaction. Various scholars have studied cultural change in clothing as it relates to issues of tradition and identity (Davis 1996; Hendrickson 1996; Medlin 1996; Miller 1996; Morris 1996; Scheinman 1996), as well as the objectification of cultural identity, specifically in the arts (see: Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1995; Lippard 1991; Myers 2002). Blenda Femenías (1996), a cultural anthropologist who has studied Peruvian expressions of gender and representation through dress, argued against the view that those who choose 'traditional' forms of clothing are the most culturally conservative. Femenías, rather, argued that a variety of individuals in Peru, specifically the most wealthy, consciously choose to wear 'traditional' clothing in specific circumstances to demonstrate the multiple roles they have in their community. Mary Anne Medlin (1996), in her study on Calcha identity in Bolivia, argued that the production and use of 'traditional' dress is central to the expression of a distinct ethnic identity during times of fiesta. Conversely, Carol Henderickson (1996) explained how, in Tecpán, Guatemala, the winner of the 'Indian Queen' competition generally wears the 'traditional' clothing of a neighboring village to demonstrate her 'pan-Indian' identity. Cheyenne moccasins are used in both ways, i.e. to mark distinct tribal

identities by Cheyennes, as well as to mark a broader intertribal identity, but both go beyond the primary didactic intent that orthodox Cheyennes possess.

In John Harvey's (2008) book, *Clothes*, the author argued that "we expect clothes to have something standard about them, to be recognizable as belonging to a known type or style of dress. In this way clothes help us to join with other people, however, 'personal' our choice...may be" (Harvey 2008: 71). He continued,

if clothes group us, it is because we want to be grouped. For when we wear clothes, we are no longer alone: we have put on a *membership*, we conjure a shadow force at our back. It may be an ethnic force, a race; or a social class or an income-bracket; or a religious faith, with a further, supernatural force hovering on slow sings overhear, to guarantee protection in the next world as in this. In clothes we escape the vulnerability of the totally lone individual." (Harvey 2008: 72)

Harvey's views illustrate how clothing takes on meaning of group membership when taken in the context of inter-group contact; however, it does not take into account intra-group meanings. For example, Harvey's views consider Cheyenne/non-Cheyenne membership boundaries, but do no account for orthodox Cheyenne/non-orthodox distinctions.

The issue of a broad versus specific identity, especially identities that draw on the past, highlights the dynamic nature of representation and its connection to material objects. In his study of decorative banners used by Ulster Protestants in

Northern Ireland, Neil Jarman demonstrated “how the banners have become the visible and material repository of the Orange tradition.” Jarman noted how Protestants evoke ‘tradition’ “to signify the historical and unchanging basis for their status and customs, traditional practices are assumed to have greater validity than non-traditional practices, and tradition is assumed to bestow rights and obligations” (Jarman 1998: 121). The use of banners in this way function as a key symbol that is used to represent a group of people, while legitimizing those who associate with it through its connection to the past.

Debra Blake (2008: 13), in her study of sexuality and gender, noted three concepts that permeate Chicana feminist writing: 1) “the precolonial indigenous past has meaning in the present whether understood through history, memory, or both;” 2) “the manner in which the past has been represented by others fails to speak to or for Chicana or U.S. Mexicana experiences and desires and often excludes them altogether;” and 3) “the past must be re-membered and refigured by Chicanas and U.S. Mexicanas from their own perspectives and experiences.” These concepts illustrate how indigenous people use the past to make meaningful their present—a point at the core of Cheyenne orthodoxy. Ultimately, the use of the past in developing identities, as found in the Ulster Protestant and Chicana examples, highlight how representation should focus on how individuals negotiate with the past.

According to Blake (2008: 23), “not only is memory an important source of history; it is also crucial in defining identity, whether individual or collective.” She argued that “Collective identities reproduce and are nourished by recognizable cultural identifiers and received traditions manifested in images, gestures, rituals, and festivals rather than in texts.” To illustrate this point, Blake noted how Mexican-Americans use oral traditions, “reinforced by visual representations,” i.e. objects and images, to maintain “historical narratives and cultural practices” (2008: 23). Similarly, many Cheyennes, orthodox or not, use moccasin designs to maintain a connection to their past through symbolic representation. One female moccasin maker once told me that the tipi design on women’s moccasins is like the Nike Swoosh. Anyone who sees it knows those are Cheyenne moccasins and that the wearer is a Cheyenne woman.^{80,81} As Blake (2008: 24) demonstrated in her work, “the reproduction of images (symbolic and material) of...cultural symbols plays an important role in the identification of self

⁸⁰ As previously noted, artists from other tribes use similar designs in their own work, even though Cheyennes claim them as their own.

⁸¹ David Ramos (2010) explained how bead colors play a part in representation by noting a Cheyenne-specific color pallet: “if you want to stay traditional, you should use that teal, or that sky blue, or that white as a background color, and then you always need to incorporate your red, your navy blues, your yellows, your greens, oranges. Depending on what patterns you're using. Nowadays, you'll see a lot of background colors that aren't traditional and I don't particularly like that, because to me that doesn't scream 'Cheyenne.' I mean, the patterns you're using on there are Cheyenne, but you can just naturally look at a Cheyenne pair of moccasins and know immediately by looking at the background color that you're using, know right then they're Cheyenne...without even having to really examine and looking at the detail work, or if they are a white pair of moccasins, that may draw your attention to see if they're Cheyenne or not. If you see a green pair of moccasins you're going to have to study it to see if those are truly a Cheyenne pattern, or if that's a Cheyenne moccasin. [Black is] used a lot to represent life, and as an accent color. But it was never used as a main [focus]. It makes [designs] pop.”

and culture.” She noted that the use of representational images does not bind an individual’s identity to a static past. She argued that “each re-presentation anticipates a future one even as it relies on foundational images from the past that perpetuates a recognizable, if permutational, culture” (Blake 2008: 25). This focus on the future is important to emphasize the dynamic nature of culture, ‘tradition,’ orthodoxy, and identity.

There certainly exists discourse among Cheyennes on the use of moccasins for this same purpose; however, I argue that it is the moccasin designs as key symbols, rather than their *intended* use (from an orthodox perspective) that serves as a didactic dimension of religious art, is the result of an increased Indian racial identity (or rather the reaction against such a broad identity) that challenges a tribal specific identity. Cheyennes have actively worked to maintain a tribal identity separate from others in the post-reservation era—a sort of *strategic essentialism* (see: Spivak, In: McRobbie 1985). As noted by Julie Jordan (1972: 16) who interviewed various elder Cheyennes for the Dorris Duke Oral History Project, “the Cheyenne interact in many ways with the Arapaho [to whom they are politically tied], and work closely with them to achieve mutual ends, but neither tribe wishes to lose its distinct identity.”⁸² Designs and their placement on

⁸² Candace Greene (1985: 94) explained a Cheyenne view of themselves v. others more pointedly: “Like many ethnic groups the Cheyenne view themselves as not only separate from all other people but also superior. This superiority is due to spiritual enlightenment, which can be drawn upon to dominate others.”

moccasins do set them apart from those used by other tribes and do mark a connection to the past, but that function is secondary to their didactic use for orthodox Cheyennes.

For orthodox individuals, moccasin designs index Cheyenne religion and culture, which is different from other tribal religions and cultures. John Moore (1974a: 181) noted that

Cheyenne priests maintain that their own world-view is not shared by any other tribe. While some Cheyenne symbols are found in Sioux, Taos, Crow or other ceremonies, it is said that other tribes do not fully understand why these particular birds, animals, and other phenomena revered by the Cheyenne should be so sacred. That is, the other tribes have merely copied the Cheyenne symbols blindly, without comprehending the associated symbolic meanings.

I am quite sure other tribes would contest this view; nevertheless, it is one shared and believed by orthodox Cheyennes.

This issue of 'us' and 'them' is central to a broad view of moccasin designs. Schmid et al (2010: 455) argued that

Central to social-psychological explanations of [ethno-political] conflict is the notion that people characterize their social world into 'us' and 'them' and that these group identities may afford specific meaning to individuals. Social identification processes contribute uniquely to ethno-political conflicts, in that the intractability of such conflict is often mirrored in the contested group identities, which may become as important as contested territory, power or resources.

While the designs have come to mark Cheyennes as ‘Cheyennes,’ this is a direct result of their connection to everything else that marks Cheyennes as different from others, not only religion. As Schmid et al. (2010: 467) also suggested, “Individuals typically have available a wide range of social identities, some of which may be considered more important than others, yet all of which are subject to situational, psychological activation.” These authors argued that social capital creates ties between people, such as those found in social networks, and that “bridging [rather than binding] social capital is inclusive [and] can generate broader identities and reciprocity;” however, orthodox Cheyennes do not actively seek (or want) inclusion in dominant society, with other Native groups, or even within mainstream Cheyenne society. As I have noted, they embrace exclusion.

The intent of Barth’s (1969) work was to discuss the establishment and maintenance of boundaries as they relate to ethnic groups; however, his descriptions prove applicable to a broader consideration of tribal nationalism. Barth (1969: 14) stated that “The emphasis of ascription as the critical feature of ethnic groups also solves the two conceptual difficulties... signs and values. When defined as an ascriptive and exclusive group, the nature of continuity of ethnic units is clear: it depends on the maintenance of boundaries.” Similar to the ethnic boundaries, maintenance of tribal (national) boundaries are important to a continuing sense of difference from ‘others.’ Barth (1969: 15-16) noted that when in “contact [with] persons of different cultures... ethnic groups only persist

as significant units if they imply marked difference in behavior, i.e. persisting cultural differences.” These same cultural differences become instrumental in the maintenance of boundaries between different tribal groups.

Edward Spicer (1994) provided a useful analysis of the boundaries of a people, which again proves directly applicable to an analysis of tribal nationalism and nation-ness. He offered a definition of nation as consisting “of people who have in common a historical experience that they symbolize in ways giving them a common image of themselves” (Spicer 1994: 32). The concept of symbol and image are central to the arguments of this paper because they are the basis for the cultural property issues, which will be addressed later. Spicer noted that ‘meanings’ are a key factor in maintenance of the boundaries of a people. These meanings can include beliefs, values, and actions, but also the meanings of symbols and images: “Ethnic symbols...stand for something besides their own concrete forms...[and] individuals associate them with events in their historical experience that give rise to emotions, feelings of pride, or a desire to emulate” (Spicer 1994: 33). He stated that “boundaries of peoples are at the limits of the domains of meaning of symbols” (Spicer 1994: 33). By providing a useful example of tribal names, Spicer illustrated how names become a mark of tribal boundaries. The tribal name *Cheyenne*, for example, is a sign that differentiates Cheyennes from Arapahoes or Kiowas. *Cheyenne* becomes a verbal mark that distinguishes members of one group from those of another. Similarly, the

moccasin designs that have taken on representational roles prove a visual mark that distinguishes members as well.

While design elements, themselves, were never intended (from an orthodox perspective) to represent Cheyennes as a whole, due to long-standing social networks centered along family/clan lines, certain designs prove more popular within specific communities; however, a few moccasin makers claim that bead color choice is a better signifier of community membership. David Ramos's family is from Watonga, OK, which was the area where the Sioux-Cheyenne (a band of the Cheyenne) settled.⁸³ David claims that the historic, higher-than-average use of the color orange in beadwork from Watonga Cheyennes is due to a lingering Sioux aesthetic.⁸⁴ Although, he admits color is no longer a sure way to identify community connections due to changes in localized aesthetics:

it used to be, but now I see a lot of orange being used in a lot of different things, so it's kinda lost its meaning, but usually different communities you could recognize by the pattern. We may have shared the same pattern, but the colors that were used in the pattern you could tell by which different communities they came from. (Ramos 2010)

I asked David if other colors were historically associated with any other Cheyenne communities, and he responded,

⁸³ Other Cheyennes often refer to Cheyennes from Watonga, OK as 'scabs,' which refers to their mixed ancestry.

⁸⁴ David claims that orange beads are used much less frequently by Cheyennes whose families did not come from Watonga.

[The Cheyennes from Hammon, OK], their use of green. They have, what we call ‘Cheyenne green.’ ‘Cheyenne pink.’ They kinda [use] more of [the] traditional patterns...Hammon is kinda what we all refer to as the "end of the earth."⁸⁵ Where it's the last reservation, and still they have their old traditional ways, and they still produce a lot of those old-timey patterns using the same colors. (Ramos 2010)

While David recognizes how color has served as a marker of community membership, maintenance of those boundaries is challenging for any long duration of time due to intermarrying, migration, and the reality that few moccasin makers remain in these communities. Even if existing social networks based on clan lines were maintained, migration and intermarrying would inevitably distribute localized aesthetics leading to a diminished ability to identify community connections based on bead colors. While color was once a better indicator of specific Cheyenne community ties, clothing in general is often associated with broader representational connections.

Representational clothing and its connection to identity is not a simple matter. Webb Keane (2005: 192) argued that clothing choice is not simply about “expressions of ‘identities,’” but rather it is about feelings of “comfort and discomfort.” Noting the work of Banerjee and Miller (2003), as well as Elias (1994), Keane argued that clothing choice ultimately relates to either what

⁸⁵ Similar to the not-so-polite name given to Sioux-Cheyennes, scabs, other Cheyennes often refer to those from Hammon, OK as ‘Hammon-no-socks,’ which refers to the days of government wagons delivering rations and supplies to various Cheyenne communities. Cheyennes say that Hammon was the last stop since it was so far away from the Agency. By the time the wagon reached Hammon, they were usually out of socks. Hence, the name, Hammon-no-socks.

physically feels comfortable, or what socially feels comfortable. For non-orthodox Cheyennes, the connections to identity and social comfort seem to play a central role in their choice to wear ‘Cheyenne-style’ moccasins.

On the other hand, for orthodox Cheyennes, the issue of comfort is secondary to the issue of knowledge transmission. Moccasin designs are primarily intended to serve as tools for teaching, not to represent a people; although, even orthodox Cheyenne recognize they do serve that purpose in contemporary times. In the Cheyenne religion, that material representation is fulfilled by the Sacred Arrows. Birdie Burns, in an interview for the Doris Duke Oral History Project, spoke of the responsibilities of the Arrow Keeper: “see, he’s supposed to be the Keeper of the people. That’s what his name is, the title he’s carrying—Keeper of the People. Because when they tie these arrows together, see, those arrows—they represent the people and he keeps them. So he’s the Keeper of the People.” Burns’ words highlight the representational role of the Sacred Arrows and their importance to orthodox Cheyenne beliefs. Moccasin designs, however, are intended to provide an indexical reference to those arrows, not serve as their proxy.

Understanding the differences in use of moccasin designs by orthodox and non-orthodox Cheyennes is important to understanding the dynamic nature of material objects and the unlimited potential of materiality. In her study on gender

and clothing in contemporary Peru, Blenda Femenías (2005: 151) noted that “clothing the body serves as a subject of history and a means to elicit history.”

Within the context of my study, I argue that one must understand the lenses used to view history to understand how clothing is used by those individuals.

Ultimately, I suggest that a view of moccasin designs through a non-orthodox lens elicits Cheyenne history of a general nature, whereas, a view of these same designs through an orthodox lens elicits a very specific Cheyenne history rooted in religion.

I offer no value judgment on these different viewpoints. As Fred Myers (2002: 258) suggested in his study of Aboriginal Australian art,

cultural forms emerging in contemporary intercultural practice should not be segregated from the indigenous forms produced in other conditions: although, they may be *new* demonstrations of spirituality and authenticity—that is, redefinitions and rediscoveries of identity worked out in the face of challenging interrogations from an Other—they are no less sincere or genuine as cultural expressions in this response to history.

While Myers’ words offer legitimacy to new ways of viewing objects, the reality that moccasin design use changes does not resolve the issues orthodox Cheyennes face in maintaining the transmission of knowledge related to an orthodox-specific use of designs; in fact, it complicates the situation. Dr. Mann (1997: 176) noted that, “Continuity as the Cheyenne people, however, was assured so long as they kept their sacred symbols, observed their ceremonies, revered their prophets, and

remembered their teachings. The sacred symbols thus form the foundation for the Cheyennes' highly developed spiritual life." The alternate uses of designs, beyond those established by orthodox Cheyennes, demonstrate additional challenges faced in the maintenance of orthodox knowledge. This affects not only different views on representation, but also issues of intellectual property and indigenous knowledge.

Non-Cheyenne Use of Cheyenne Designs

While many orthodox Cheyennes possess strong views on design ownership, they have few ways to protect their heritage from use by others, including Native people from other tribes who have adopted Cheyenne moccasins as their footwear of choice. Cheyenne moccasins have been used by individuals from neighboring and distant tribes. For nearly 100 years, members of the Osage Nation have been purchasing Cheyenne moccasins for use in their own tribal ceremonies (Bailey and Swan 2004). Most male powwow dancers in Oklahoma also wear Cheyenne moccasins as well, regardless of the dancer's own tribal affiliation (Smith and Kroha 1972).⁸⁶

⁸⁶ Also see: Howard (1955) on 'pan-Indian' culture of Oklahoma. The term 'pan-Indian' has largely been replaced in recent usage by the term 'inter-tribal.'

Most orthodox moccasin makers have little problem with non-Cheyennes wearing Cheyenne designs on their moccasins, unless they are made by a non-Cheyenne that has not gone through the proper steps to acquire the designs. As an act of resistance to the wide-spread dissemination of knowledge related to the manufacture of Cheyenne moccasins, one moccasin maker told me the following story:

This guy called up from Tulsa some years back and he wanted me to make a video of those [moccasins]. He said, "I'll furnish everything. We'll give you \$200." And I said, "You know, that's not just my way. It belongs to all our people." I said, "So, go ask every full blood if it's alright to put it down on film." I said, "Then I'll do it." I said, "You can give part of that money back to all of us." That was the last I heard of him. I said, "I can go make my own video.

Another challenge that orthodox Cheyenne moccasin makers face is the debate over the designs' tribal origin, as I noted earlier in this Chapter. Imogene Blackbear (2010) claims she often debates with an Arapaho moccasin maker over designs. She told me, "This one Arapaho lady would always say, 'These are Arapaho designs!' I said, 'Baloney! Those are Cheyenne designs.' My cousin, his wife always wants stuff for their daughter and she's pro-Arapaho and I say, 'Go see that lady in Geary. You're Arapaho. Go see her.'" While most moccasin makers do not have a problem with non-Cheyennes using Cheyenne moccasins in general, they do express frustration when non-Cheyennes lack basic knowledge of moccasin designs, e.g. male versus female designs.

Cheyenne moccasin makers often complain about how Native people from other tribes cannot tell the difference between men and women's moccasins. One moccasin maker told me the following story (Anonymous 2010a):

And the craziest thing to ever happen to me was there's a style for women and a style for a man, and my son used to live out west in Arizona and would sell my beadwork out there. Well, this one Navajo, she ordered moccasins for her husband. Well, when the moccasins were delivered out there she decided she liked them, so SHE put them on. And then me, not knowing, I understood that she wanted a pair for herself, so I didn't do the same kind of design. I did an Indian women's design on her moccasins. Well, THOSE moccasins went to her husband! [laughs hysterically]

I then asked her, "They didn't know the difference?" She told me, "I don't know if they know the difference. They may, now-a-days! She wanted HIS moccasins. She liked the way they were beaded. Oh, gosh. Crazy things happen, but I have no control once they leave my house. That's it" (Anonymous 2010a).

I then asked her if it is becoming more difficult to identify someone as being Cheyenne if they wear Cheyenne moccasins. She replied, "Yeah. Because it could be a totally different tribe that's wearing those moccasins. Now-a-days, because you've got your trading posts over there with our beadwork in it. And even...that colored woman's name...that's on TV [Whoopi Goldberg]? Well, anyway, she bought three pair of moccasins from over here [at The Indian Trading Post located at exit 108 along I-40]...She bought moccasins from trading

posts. So who's to say? She may have one of my pair of moccasins”

(Anonymous 2010a).

The use of Cheyenne moccasins by Native people from other tribes further adds to the materiality of moccasins and expands the indexes of meaning but also complicates the transmission of orthodox Cheyenne knowledge by providing additional interpretations and uses for Native people that diverts from the orthodox intent. Imogene Blackbear (2010) explained to me that

People from other tribes seem to have adopted Cheyenne style moccasins as the 'common' moccasin you see around powwows, or even around their own ceremonials and all. For some of them, they aren't even identifying them as Cheyenne anymore, they're just saying, "Oh, these are just what we wear." If you go...to those Osage dances up there, they're all wearing Cheyenne style moccasins, but if you ask people, they'll say, 'Oh, these are Osage moccasins” [laughs]...Mmmhmm. Yeah. They're Osage because they've got them on [their feet]! They just all want to be Cheyenne! [laughs]

I could go on and on listing attributes that diagnostically make a pair of moccasins ‘Cheyenne,’ beyond design and color use, such as a beaded instep row, a beaded heal seam, seven perimeter designs, or use of a welt,⁸⁷ but all those attributes are merely construction norms of the past and do not necessarily reflect the practices today. Cheyenne moccasin makers, both orthodox and non-orthodox, recognize

⁸⁷ During an interview with Imogene Blackbear (2010), she told me that she considers the use of a welt (a thin strip of leather placed between the moccasin sole and upper before sewing it together) a Cheyenne-specific attribute: “I've always know that...right here...this is our logo [the split tails coming off the heal from the welt]. You know, NIKE. They've got their logo. That's our logo right there. If you see those, they're Cheyenne. They used to call that, ‘intestines.’”

that their current techniques vary from those of past generations; but to them, it does not matter. What makes a pair of moccasins ‘Cheyenne’ is that it was made by a Cheyenne. While some orthodox moccasin makers favor historic color pallets and design use for didactic purposes, materials used and sole shapes vary considerably. Winfield Coleman, in his study of Cheyenne sacred beadwork, recognized how natural these changes are in situations where art meets religion: “The substitution of modern materials does not, however, conceal the fact that this is an ancient, indigenous art form. The organization is unique among Plains Indian groups, and perhaps north of Mexico. The work is an expression of a profound religious and esthetic sensibility” (Coleman 1980: 62). Coleman concluded his article by stating, “Materials change for they are of the world, and the way of the world is flux. But the old sacred patterns of the Cheyenne remain, mysterious and beautiful as the turning seasons, for they are of the earth, and the earth does not change. It only repeats itself in a vast and meaningful cycle” (1980: 63).

Given the dynamic nature of culture, one should expect that moccasin construction has changed over time. This point was demonstrated to me when Mr. Shirt invited me over to his home in Norman, OK to show me a pair of fully beaded moccasins he completed for a friend to whom he was indebted. Mr. Shirt had promised to make this pair of moccasins a few years earlier, and I watched him over a period of time put on the finishing touches. Now complete, Mr. Shirt

wanted to show me the finished product. We visited and discussed construction techniques, color usage, design layout, and other elements associated with the construction of Cheyenne moccasins. Some moccasin makers always bead the tongues on moccasins, arguing that is part of what makes a pair of moccasins have a Cheyenne look to them, but this pair had unbeaded tongues. He told me:

I tried different ways of making fully beaded tongues and it looks fancy, but man, it just don't ever work. It just never really works right. And it's just not worth the work. You know, you know how it is, you need to be able to put your moccasins on and get dressed in a hurry. Put your foot right through your leggings with your moccasins on. (Shirt 2010)

Mr. Shirt's techniques when beading moccasins tended to follow a more historical form similar to those constructed around the early post-reservation period; however, he recognizes that a Cheyenne person need not follow these 'rules' to make a pair of Cheyenne moccasins.

When speaking about the vertical row of beads often found covering the heal seam, Mr. Shirt illustrated his point:

You know, that instep row and the row up the back. I mean, there are people who make moccasins that *don't* do that, and they *are* Cheyenne people, and are those Cheyenne moccasins? Yeah, they're Cheyenne moccasins. A Cheyenne made them. Do they look the way they did 100 years ago? No, they don't look like they did. (Shirt 2010)

Who made a pair of moccasins proves the primary factor in determining what is a Cheyenne moccasin—at least, for Cheyenne people (my early interviews with

collectors, dealers, and hobbyists suggested this view is not shared outside the Cheyenne community). Minoma Littlehawk (2010) explained to me that she often strays from 'classic' Cheyenne designs by incorporating new designs of her own creation. She still uses cultural and religious influences in her own, unique way but still considers her work 'Cheyenne.' She offered the following analogy: "It's kinda like an Indian Taco. You can't have one unless an Indian makes it! [laughs]."

While many moccasin makers do things different than the ways of their ancestors, there is often a breaking point for orthodox Cheyennes that they will not cross, or do so begrudgingly. Avril Prairechief told me that she is often asked to make moccasins with a variety of designs that have no basis in Cheyenne culture:

A lot of people, when they're in the service, they ask for [American flag designs]. Some people like the common 'OU' moccasin with the Sooner logo. Some people have wanted weird things on them, like black with yellow stripes [on one side] and the other side would be like yellow with black polka-dots, or something. I'm not really sure [about making moccasins like that]. I'm like, "That's not really our tribe" and my mom don't really like doing anything outside of our own tribe. She'll be like, "That's a Kiowa way. You should go to a Kiowa. This is Cheyenne way." I agree with that. I don't know how to do [other tribe's] work. I'm not going to mimic their work, because it's not my place to do that. (Prairie Chief 2010)

To orthodox moccasin makers, straying too far from their orthodox beliefs and the connection of these beliefs to moccasin making is a sensitive issue and one they struggle with when asked to make a pair of moccasins that ‘crosses’ their self-imposed line. That said, even orthodox Cheyenne moccasin makers like to have fun. Imogene Blackbear, with a smirk on her face, showed me a pair of moccasins that her young son recently wore at Sun Dance. She said, “When we went up to Sun Dance, my little boy, he was so into Superman, so I got him a Superman hat and my sister made him these...Superman moccasins. And this was some buffalo soles. My other one...he’s got a Batman pair” (Blackbear 2010). This illustrates the classic Jazz adage: ‘you have to know the rules before you can break them.’

I have alluded throughout this study that many orthodox Cheyenne lack the knowledge that links moccasins and orthodox ideology. That lack of knowledge surfaced for me while attending the Cheyenne Sun Dance in Seiling, OK, during the summer of 2010. While walking by a camp at the Seiling Sun Dance that year, a friend of mine and I were called over to visit with a few orthodox Cheyennes. A man who had heard of my research wanted to show me a pair of moccasins that his wife had just made for him even though his wife had never made a pair of moccasins before and he grew up in a family with no moccasin makers. To my surprise, the pair of men’s moccasins he showed me were decorated with a woman’s design on the vamp—not an obvious woman’s

design, but a woman's design all the same. He was proud of his new moccasins, continually referring to the 'classic' Cheyenne designs and the work his wife created. I politely acknowledged the effort that she must have put into making the moccasins; and my friend and I walked away from their camp.

When we walked out of ear-shot, I looked over at my friend who was near tears laughing under his breath. I asked him how it was possible that neither the woman nor the man knew that the design was a woman's design. He told me, simply, that no one ever taught them. He even admitted to having seen the man's wife working on them before they were complete, and yet he never said anything to her. I was told that if someone does not know something, it is their responsibility to ask for the knowledge, not the other way around. This brings us back to the Cheyenne value of understanding described by Dr. Mann in Chapter One. Again, it is an individual's duty to seek knowledge to understand. Orthodox Cheyennes will not embarrass someone outside of a ceremonial context for doing something wrong—at least to their face; however, events such as this provide for much laughter when the involved parties are not present. One may take the examples I provided here regarding the 'misuse' of men and women's designs lightly, but at other times, the lack of understanding has greater consequences.

Moccasin ‘Rules’ and Orthodox Cheyenne Ideology

After visiting with one of the rare, young moccasin makers from an orthodox Cheyenne family in late 2009, this woman suggested I speak with her mother about my research. After setting up a meeting, I sat down with this older moccasin maker, and she began to tell me a story of an experience she once had. She had been asked to make a few pairs of matching moccasins by another Cheyenne family and enlisted her sister to help with the order.

While she and her sister were beading, one of their mother-in-laws stopped by and noticed they were using a design that was not their own. The mother-in-law asked where they received that design and was told who ordered the moccasins. The two moccasin makers were told that the other woman had no right to that design and they must stop beading. After the mother-in-law left, the two sisters continued to bead and disregarded the instructions of the mother-in-law.

The following day, both sisters fell ill. They had a deadline to meet for the moccasins, so they continued on. As they beaded, they fell even sicker. Finally, the sisters agreed that the moccasins were punishing them for some reason, so they stopped beading, told the family that ordered them that they could not fill the order, and the next day were back to full health.

The woman who told this story to me suggested that the moccasins punished her and her sister for using a design to which they did not have the rights; however, another orthodox moccasin maker who was familiar with this story suggested the moccasins did not act because the sisters used a particular design, but rather because the spirit in the moccasins knew the sisters disregarded the instructions of the mother-in-law. While the first explanation provides a commonly cited reason for only using designs to which you have the rights, both explanations highlight the ideological foundation for why one must be careful when dealing with an agentive spirit (Lukavic 2009).

Fear of breaking religious rules is enough to keep many orthodox Cheyennes in line. John Moore (1974a: 255-57; 1999) discussed ritual ‘malpractice,’ i.e. negative experiences due to breaking rules/protocols among orthodox Cheyennes. He noted that “Bad things happen, by Cheyenne standards, when the legitimate channels of Maheo’s power are not respected, and the power and energy created by Maheo get out of control” (Moore 1999: 245). This power transfer, from Maheo down the ‘hierarchical chain’ (as discussed in Chapter One), has the potential for mishap due to improper behavior. Moore noted,

If all goes well in this transfer of power down the hierarchical chain, then all the families are healthy, sheltered, happy, and well fed. But many things can go wrong, because this transfer is subject to human foibles which can cause energy to be lost or misdirected, causing sickness and death. The network of human relationships for transferring power is very

fragile, and depends on every person behaving in a selfless and ritually perfect manner. If they did, then no one would be sick or unhappy. But as it happens, people frequently behave selfishly or misunderstand their roles and duties, and hence human existence is full of problems, danger, illness, and death. (Moore 1999: 247)

From an orthodox Cheyenne perspective, if protocols are followed correctly then the power transfer will succeed and no harm will come.

So, this leads to the question: How does one receive the right to particular moccasin designs? In the first and only dictionary of the Southern Cheyenne language, within the annotated description of the word ‘bead,’ Rodolphe Petter (1915: 98) explained that “the *Moneneheo*⁸⁸ had strict rule in their designs and they kept secret the meaning and arrangement of the colors, as well as the relation of the designs to each other.” During the time of the women’s societies, access to designs was controlled largely by those in positions of authority; however, as noted in Chapter One, that authority transferred to women within families once the women’s society began to decline. That said, the protocol for requesting access to particular designs remained intact in many orthodox families for the next few generations. Today, however, the protocol for obtaining permission to use a design is only employed by those orthodox moccasin makers who have maintained or re-embraced their understanding of the connection between moccasins and the Cheyenne religion. Those without an understanding of the

⁸⁸ Woman’s society

ideological foundation to these protocols may ask permission to use a design, but this is generally motivated more by the Cheyenne value of respect than ideological motivations.

David Ramos explained to me that if an individual wants access to a design owned by another individual, they need to ask for permission to use that design and follow a certain protocol when asking:

You know, you've got to ask them for that right to be able to reproduce that pattern. Because it belongs to them. You know, they're the only ones that have that right, that was given to wear that pattern, so if you want that pattern and you want to use those colors in that way then you need to ask them. You know, you can come to them humble and in a good way. You need to offer them something. You need to feed them. You need to [be] upfront and honest and say, you know, "I want to ask you if I can use this design over here." You shouldn't just assume and take, because that's like taking someone's identity. (Ramos 2010)

David mentioned four things one must do to get access to a design: 1) ask for permission to use it, 2) approach the individual in a humble way, 3) offer them something (a gift), e.g. tobacco or money, and 4) feed them, either by bringing them a cooked meal, inviting them over to eat, or bringing them a food basket.

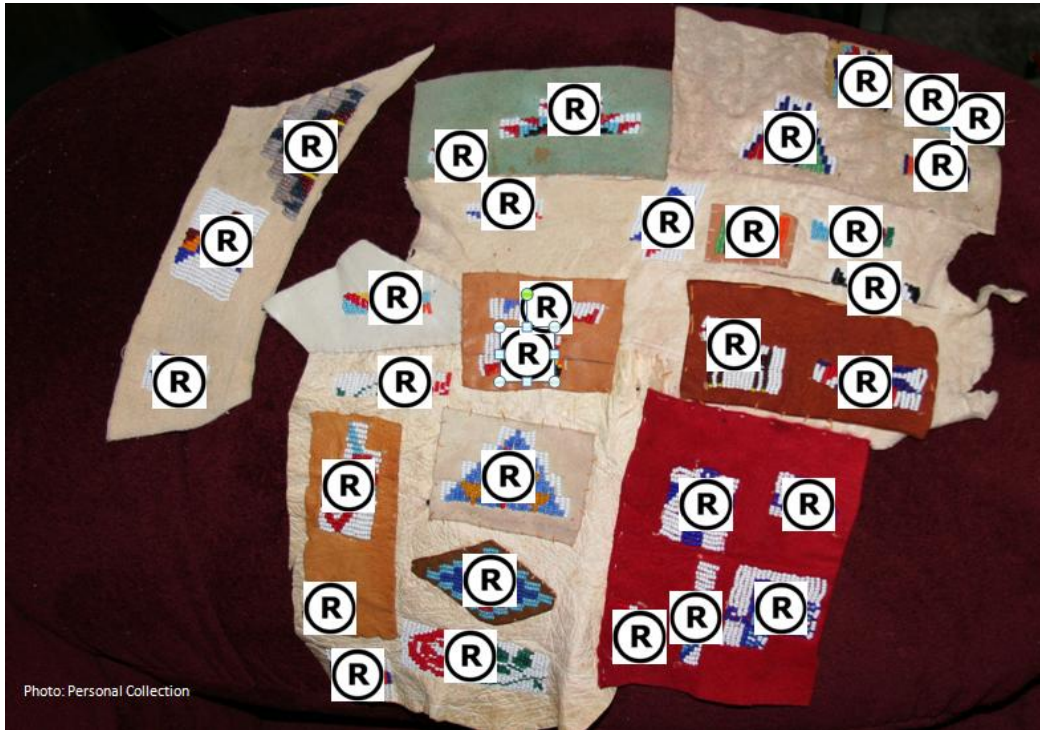
This protocol was followed by Imogene Blackbear twenty-odd years ago when she asked a friend of hers for access to a design:

I said, "Well, before we get started the way I know and was told was that I have to cook for you. So, we're going to eat. Then, after we're done, I'm going to cook for you again and give you these gifts." And she said,

"Well, I'm glad someone's still got traditional ways, 'cause all my life I've been waiting to see my daughters, granddaughters, daughter-in-laws say, "Hey, teach me how. Teach me how." She said, "No one. You're the first one that's come up and asked me." (Blackbear 2010)

For moccasin makers, however, this extended protocol is not always necessary.

Two moccasin makers may trade designs, one for one, without going through the whole process of gift giving and feeding one another. Once a moccasin maker has established a collection of designs, it proves much easier to gain access to others through trade. The use of this extended protocol is intended when a new moccasin maker is trying to build their design collection (Fig. 16), or when an individual who does not bead requests the use of a design for their personal use. When this occurs, the individual requests access to the design and then brings the design to a moccasin maker for use on their moccasins. Interestingly, when an individual asks a moccasin maker to use a design to which the individual has been granted access, the rights to that design also transfer to the moccasin maker (assuming the moccasin maker did not already have access to that particular design). For this reason, due to the small number of moccasin makers remaining among the Cheyenne, most of the moccasin makers have enormous collections of designs from which to choose. Some moccasin makers have in excess of 100-200 design elements in their collections.



(Fig. 16 – Design Hide in a private collection. Photo taken by author.)⁸⁹

Occasionally, designs are given to an individual to honor them. Daisy Littlehawk, David Ramos’s maternal grandmother, was given access to the Turtle design when she was chosen as a Light Woman:⁹⁰

⁸⁹ This image shows part of a moccasin maker’s design collection. Each element is beaded onto scraps of leather. Some of the designs were beaded onto the leather four generations ago, while others were applied as recently as the early 1980s. Generally, when a moccasin maker trades designs with another moccasin maker, the two sit together and bead their new designs on a piece of scrap leather. These scraps are then sewn together to form these ‘design hides.’ Please note that the purpose of showing this image is to illustrate how these small scraps of leather are joined to form larger collections. I covered each design element to protect the rights of its owner.

⁹⁰ In the early to mid-twentieth century, a society of young girls were hand chosen to pray for men going off to war overseas to make sure they came back safe. This society had consisted of six girls from each of seven Cheyenne communities: Watonga, Seiling, Fonda, Weatherford,

My grandma's design, that she has...she had one when she was a little girl and she when she grew up, because she was a Light Woman. It was a military society that was chosen...each community chose six girls that represented each community, and they were called Light Women, and their main job...they each had a tipi, 'cause there's seven tipis that women are supposed to sit in, and their main job was to pray for the warriors that were going overseas and stuff. I don't know what her pattern was when she was growing up, because my grandma never talked about that, but her pattern as an adult was that turtle, and that was given to her by an old lady from Hammon. So, that pattern came from that clan and was adopted into our family. So, if I was to ever use that pattern and someone from that clan may say, "Hey, that belongs to my family." I have that RIGHT, because I can say, "No, it was given to my grandma." (Ramos 2010)

The examples I have provided illustrate a Cheyenne-specific form of design ownership and process of accessing new designs. The issue of ownership is complicated to a degree because individual designs are rarely owned by only one individual, but from an orthodox perspective, they are not open for just anyone to use. This highlights the issues associated with the concepts of intellectual property and indigenous knowledge.

Clinton, Elk City, and Longdale, OK. Each group was ranked one (the leader) through six. The leader was the only woman permitted to wear an eagle bonnet. The second light woman wore a full double trailer bonnet; the third carried a straight whip; the fourth carried a curved whip; the fifth carried a straight staff; the sixth carried a curved staff. This society lasted through two generations of women and had their own songs (similar to a fast round dance) and they danced using the motions associated with their badge of office. Daisy Littlehawk was the leader from Watonga, and was the leader of the six girls. (Lukavic 2011)

Individual Versus Collective Ownership

Spencer Lilley (1999) presented a paper on indigenous intellectual and cultural property rights, and outlined the differences in these two terms. He defined 'intellectual property' as

the rights that people (individuals or institutions) have over their intellectual creations (ie. the creations of their minds). This ownership can exist over new inventions, trademarks, music, literature, designs and plant varieties. Intellectual property ownership rights are normally controlled by legislation, and international conventions and agreements that relate to this area. (Lilley 1999: 1)

Noting the emphasis on law and the focus on individuals, Daniel Gervais, a Professor of Law at Vanderbilt Law School, noted how "intellectual property rights are seen as 'children of Enlightenment'" (2008-2009: 553). Gervais went on to argue that

the conflation of the Enlightenment's focus on individual authorship, inventorship, and in goods Lockean tradition, ownership of intellectual property, on the one hand, and the belief that industrial progress through the protection (by providing exclusivity of commercially relevant uses) of innovation was essential, on the other hand, were the pillars on which modern intellectual property rules were built. (Gervais 2008-2009: 554)

I have argued throughout this dissertation that Western views are generally insufficient for the study of Native arts, and this argument holds true in a discussion of intellectual property versus cultural property and indigenous knowledge.

In contrast to intellectual property, Lilley defined ‘cultural property’ as “the physical evidence of a particular culture’s development, such as works of art or archaeological and historical objects.” He suggested that this term is generally connected “with items that can be seen and touched as opposed to intellectual property which can be described as intangible (cannot be seen or touched)” (1999: 1). Similar to the views of Gervais, Lilley argued that Western views keep these concepts separate; however, he suggested that for indigenous peoples, these concepts are “inextricably intertwined and one influences the other” (Lilley 1999: 1)—a point further explored by Marinova and Raven (2006).

Dora Marinova and Margaret Raven, in their article on indigenous knowledge and intellectual property, highlighted some of the finer distinctions between these two concepts, which they argued focus on utility. The authors suggested “intellectual property, as a utilitarian and instrumentalist construct, guarantees private ownership over creations of the human mind while encouraging inventiveness and innovation” (2006: 587). Marinova and Raven (2006: 589) argued that “the current intellectual property system and its underlying assumptions are limited in scope in their application to indigenous knowledge.” To the authors, indigenous knowledge does not derive from Western concepts of ‘private ownership;’ rather, they argued that indigenous knowledge is “holistic and community-owned” (2006: 589). A focus on

indigenous knowledge and its ‘holistic’ nature proves useful for an understanding of orthodox Cheyenne views of ownership related to moccasin designs.

‘Motifs’ and ‘designs’ are recognized forms of indigenous knowledge. Citing the World Intellectual Property Organization’s (WIPO) definition of indigenous (or traditional)⁹¹ knowledge that “encompasses the content or substance of traditional know-how, innovations, information, practices, skills and learning of traditional knowledge systems,” Marinova and Raven noted that traditional knowledge may “also be expressed in folklore, such as songs, chants, dances, narratives, motifs and designs” (2006: 590). Citing the work of Blakeney (1999), Marinova and Raven added that indigenous knowledge “is intimately connected to dreaming, ceremonies, sacred sites and objects. In its wholeness, [indigenous knowledge] is inseparable from spiritual values, beliefs and the notion of country” (2006: 592). As I have argued throughout this study, Cheyenne moccasins, moccasin designs, and Cheyenne values are rooted in an orthodox Cheyenne ideological system—at least for orthodox Cheyennes.

In his recent study on Kiowa descendant organizations, Michael P. Jordan (2011) discussed the use of terms such as intellectual property, incorporeal property (see: Lowie 1928), and intangible cultural heritage (see: Brown 1998, 2004). Jordan (2011: 9-10) noted that incorporeal property makes a distinction

⁹¹ For more on ‘traditional knowledge’ see: Arora 1995; Brahy 2008; Brush and Stabinsky 1996; Carlaw 2006; Emmett 2007; Gupta 2000; Kartal 2006; Oguamanam 2008; Young-Ing 2006).

between immaterial and material forms of property, while intangible cultural heritage generally is used to address “indigenous groups’ struggles over the appropriation of their knowledge or expressive culture by non-indigenous actors.” He further noted that “the term [intangible cultural heritage] is inextricably linked to notions of group rights and intergroup conflict” (Jordan 2011: 10). The case of the use of immaterial and material property by Kiowa descendants of historic tribal leaders is, to a degree, similar to the immaterial and material property of moccasin designs among the Cheyenne. In both cases, the ownership of such property began with an individual (a Kiowa leader or a single moccasin maker), but through time and the reality that the materiality of things change over time, ownership issues became more complicated.

Jordan argued that due to multiple claims of ownership to tangible and intangible property by lineal descendants of nineteenth-century Kiowa leaders, individual ownership has been broadened to a more “corporate or collective ownership of their ancestors’ intellectual property” (Jordan 2011: 10). Where this Kiowa example diverges from the Cheyenne moccasin example I present here, Jordan (2011: 10) argued that “the rights to these historical figures’ intellectual property are seen as being vested in their descendants, not the Kiowa nation as a whole.” This restricted access is based on lineage; however, such forms of intellectual property among the Kiowa are not employed to demarcate tribal boundaries or represent a tribal identity, but rather serves to honor a shared

ancestor while demarcating intragroup divisions. Cheyenne moccasin designs, from an orthodox perspective, are not *intended* to mark any boundaries; although, their use by Cheyennes in general serve to reinforce intergroup divisions, i.e. they mark Cheyennes as ‘Cheyennes.’

Jordan (2011: 10-11) recognized the Western form of intellectual property and its association to law (copyrights, patent, and trademark) but argued that employing the term intellectual property in his study was strategic to offer “an alternative legal framework, the Kiowa intellectual property system, which community members refer to as the ‘Indian legal way’ or ‘Kiowa legal way.’” The cost of using ‘indigenous intellectual property’ (IIP) is, as Marinova and Raven (2006: 591) suggested, “it defines indigenous knowledge in terms of the ‘utility’ perceived through market-based approaches.” The authors went on to argue that IIP “is limited in scope for recognizing utility, which is not economic or does not have a market, such as social , cultural or spiritual” (2006: 591). They argued that “in its wholeness, [indigenous knowledge] is inseparable from spiritual values, beliefs and the notion of country” (2006: 592). The example of a ‘Kiowa legal way,’ as described by Jordan (2011) does not seem to fit this broad definition of indigenous knowledge even though his use of the term intellectual property in a Kiowa context broadened the limited market-based approaches of a Western understanding of the term. In the case of Cheyenne moccasin designs, on the other hand, their wide use by both orthodox and non-orthodox Cheyennes

requires the broad definition of indigenous knowledge to account for their materiality.

Marinova and Raven noted that, while the ‘holistic’ nature of indigenous knowledge does suggest collective ownership, “some indigenous knowledge is also individually ‘owned’ or for which individuals...have more knowledge of and responsibility for” (2006: 592). The WIPO definition of indigenous knowledge recognized this fluid aspect of collective versus individual ownership by noting that “originator(s) [of indigenous knowledge] and their descendants may [keep indigenous knowledge] confidential...and [it] may be accessed only with restrictions.” WIPO further stated that “some [indigenous knowledge] may be disseminated locally, but may nonetheless, be restricted in scope or in terms of accessibility, and some of this knowledge may be shared widely within the community and with outsiders” (Gupta 2002: 11). Marinova and Raven push this idea further when they argued that

The notion of ‘holistic’ does seem to provide some kind of basic understanding of the collective systems of ownership and governance of indigenous knowledge; however, some indigenous knowledge is also individually ‘owned’ or for which individuals have special totemic connections, and thus have more knowledge of and responsibility for. (Marinova and Raven 2006: 592)

The claim of some Cheyennes regarding ‘family designs’ illustrates this ‘fluid aspect’ of ownership related to moccasin designs.⁹²

The concept of designs owned by a family are not really ‘family designs,’ *per se*. A moccasin maker may have created a design that has stayed within a family, but those designs are generally more obscure. More likely, one type of design is used on moccasins owned by a large portion of a family, and they create their own connections to that design. But if the design is widely used, others may not recognize a family’s claim to it. The widening access to a design among the Cheyenne further distinguishes this case from the Kiowa example offered by Jordan. He (Jordan 2011: 215-16) noted that

Unlike shield designs, tipi designs did not circulate outside of families. John Ewers (1978:8) notes that, “Among these tribes the ownership of tipis could only be transferred to a relative by blood or marriage. The tipi medicine, if any, was thought to be family property and members were reluctant to let it be given outside the family for fear that death or some other misfortune would be visited upon them.” However, it is important to note that tipi designs were not considered family property. Each design was owned by an individual who held the exclusive right to use of the design. For example, when an individual transferred the rights to a tipi design to a new recipient, he or she relinquished the right to use that design thereafter, even when the individuals involved were close relatives (Ewers 1978:8; Greene 2001:187). Mooney was certainly aware of this. He attempted to reconstruct the chain of ownership for each design,

⁹² Jennifer Kramer provided an analysis of the shift of Nuxalk intellectual property from lineage to national property. Kramer’s noted how “art represents identity, both individual and national” (Kramer 2006: 5).

recording the names of the individuals who had owned the design throughout its history (Ewers 1978:10).

This example of individual ownership and the relinquishment of ownership through the transfer of rights does not apply to the Cheyenne system of ownership, nor do the Cheyenne share the Kiowa view that an individual must be a descendant of a property's original owner to claim access to a moccasin design. Rights are never relinquished when a moccasin design is shared, given, or traded to another individual, which leads to a wide distribution of designs. While Jordan (2011: 231-32, 289-90) noted competing views of individual versus collective ownership in contemporary Kiowa society, the widening use of Cheyenne moccasin designs does not diminish the use of these designs for individual or family purposes.

For example, in 2007 I visited the Cheyenne Cultural Center in Clinton, OK, where they had on display three pair of moccasins owned by three generations of men from the same family. One pair of moccasins on display was a pair made by Walking Woman, wife of Magpie, for the wedding of Henry Whiteshield and Blanch Hart in 1931. The next was a pair made for Mark Whiteshield, Henry Whiteshield's son, by his mother, Blanch Hart Whiteshield. The final, child-sized moccasins were made for Michael Holloman, by Blanche Hart Whitesheid and then passed down through the family to Nathan Hart, son of Chief Lawrence Hart. While each of these moccasins varied in color and design

detail, they all shared the use of the eagle and Bear Butte designs. Similarly, women in the Hart family all utilize the circular tipi design. These designs, of course, are commonly found on Cheyenne moccasins and are not the sole property of the Hart family; however, it is important to note that this fact does not stop members of the Hart family from finding a sense of solidarity by continuing to use these particular types of designs in combination with one another.

The anthropologist Fred Myers (2005) has claimed that in order to maintain copyrights on images, and deny the use of such images to others, a system of authority must be established and laws accepted broadly. Ultimately, the Cheyenne form of indigenous knowledge that protects designs is based on an ideological foundation, not a legal one as you should expect when dealing with intellectual property.

In his description of design use among the Cheyenne, John Moore (1999: 169) noted that

While the most traditional sector of Cheyenne society still respects the proprietary interest of certain women in certain designs, there is nowadays some “poaching” of designs and skills. Some women, often criticized by their peers, even take their designs from books and museum specimens. But more properly, a woman should present gifts to her mistress in respect of the skills she is being taught.

The issue of ‘poaching’ designs is widely discussed among Cheyennes, but few, other than the orthodox moccasin makers, understand the spiritual consequences for breaking the protocol.

An elder moccasin maker, who is not from an orthodox family, views the issue of design ownership as a rooted in families, but suggests that there exists no way to preserve a family’s claim to designs:

Well, there's always a great argument. “This is *my* family design...that is *my* family design.” But once they make a design and send it out [i.e. use it in public] it's nobody's design. They can't own it. Once you get it out in public, someone else is gonna copy it and it's gonna go. There's no way to say, “This is my family design...that's my family design.” I actually seen a young man very irate ‘cause he seen a design that this grandmother did on something of his. “That's *my* family's design!” But I always tell my children, there's no such thing. You know, once it's shared, it's like...in my family bead group, they all shared the designs together, so no tellin' where those designs went out. It's a very touchy situation with some families.
(Anonymous 2010b)

If an individual is not ideologically orthodox, nothing exists to dissuade them from using any design they choose. Some non-orthodox moccasin makers consider the system of design ownership defunct, but that is likely because they do not believe in the agentive spirit in the moccasins, or they do not realize that the historic ‘rules’/protocols of design ownership are rooted in ideology. Others follow the rules/protocols, but do not know why. Bill Red Hat, the Keeper of the Sacred Arrows, when speaking about people doing religious/cultural things

without really knowing why they are doing them or the specifics involved, stated “[Cheyennes] are doing a lot of things without know[ing] anymore” (Schukies 1993: 40) This lack of knowledge relates back to the challenges Cheyennes face in the transmission of cultural/religious knowledge and the maintenance of material and immaterial forms of indigenous knowledge as they relate to moccasins.

John Moore recognized how outside influences have affected Cheyenne behaviors. He noted that “Although they live with and among thousands of white people, [orthodox] Southern Cheyennes march to a different drummer; they hear a different voice advising them how to conduct their daily affairs. When they interact with whites, they maintain a totally different mindset, different motivations, different goals” (Moore 1999: 303). This interaction with non-Indians has led to challenges to an orthodox Cheyenne view of indigenous knowledge.

Challenges to an Orthodox Cheyenne Indigenous Knowledge System

Throughout this study I have argued that Cheyenne moccasins and moccasin designs circulate within an orthodox Cheyenne value system and

religious ideology. Their connections to such values and ideology are often marginalized or misunderstood by non-orthodox individuals, especially non-Native people. Three specific challenges faced by orthodox Cheyennes within the past century include economic ventures by Indian traders, the dissemination of Cheyenne moccasin related information by non-Indian hobbyists, and exhibition practices of museums. While these examples demonstrate additional levels of the materiality of moccasins, I argue that materiality, itself, poses a challenge to the maintenance of indigenous knowledge.

Reese Kincaide and the Mohonk Lodge

At the 2001 Native American Art Studies Association conference held in Portland, Oregon, Dr. Barbara Hail presented a paper on the history of the Mohonk Lodge Indian Trading Post in Colony, Oklahoma, which was moved to Clinton, OK in the early 1940s. She noted that this trading post was founded by Dutch Reformed missionaries, Dr. and Mrs. Roe, in an attempt to fulfill the mission of the Friends of the Indian Conference held at Lake Mohonk in New Paltz, NY, the same conference which developed and lobbied for the allotment of land to Indian people.⁹³ The original purpose of this trading post was to teach

⁹³ This lobbying effort ultimately led to the passage of the Dawes Act of 1887, which allotted land to individual American Indian people.

local native women housekeeping skills, and over time, to also sell their beadwork to tourists and through mail-order catalogs. The management of Mohonk Lodge passed to a man named Reese Kincaid and his wife, who then managed it from about 1900 until about 1949 or 1950 (Hail 2001).

Kincaide was very methodological in his management of the store and the material it sold. While Cheyenne women's societies continued to exert some influence in the 1920s, it was Kincaide that seemed to take on a role of power and influence over Cheyenne beadworkers and the designs they used. Marriott and Rachlin (1977), as well as Stewart (1971b), noted that

Mr. Kincaid would start the Indian women out doing edgework, then simple projects like coin purses and baby moccasins until they were ready for full sized moccasins. Then they were given the material and beads necessary to complete the work. Kincaid seemed to be extremely fussy and demanded good workmanship. He was referred to as being a fair man, and all indications were that he was well respected by the beadworkers. (Stewart 1971b: 2)

This statement illustrates how Kincaide took on the role of teacher and granted himself the authority to determine 'good workmanship.'

The 1939 edition of the Mohonk Lodge Indian Trading Post catalog states that

We have endeavored to keep all designs as purely old time Indian as possible, and we still insist that the old style seed beads are used. We have at all times and still discourage the use of such designs as the five

pointed star, the United States Flag, the cross and all lettering. Originally designs grew out of efforts to picture events, and in time came to have something of the nature of picture writing. We find it difficult, however, to get the significations of these designs and therefore shall not attempt to interpret any of them. (1939: 5)

So, how was it that such control over designs was maintained by Kincaide?

In her book on the history of the Indian Arts and Crafts Board, Susan Meyn (2001: 21) stated that, “In truth, the Kincaides masterminded the beadworkers’ financial success by encouraging designs and shapes that appealed to white tastes. Mrs. Kincaide showed the women [beadworkers] bag designs in a magazine and encouraged them to make similar shapes.” Jim Cooley (1976: 6) explained how “as each beadworker brought Kincaide her moccasins, he would sketch their design in a larger ledger book with colored pencils noting the name of the maker and name of the design for future reference.” Meyn further noted that in this ledger that

Kincaide kept a careful record of bead patterns and colors, together with the craftworker’s name and date. He wanted to record the specifics about each piece of beadwork in order to determine which designs were popular and to facilitate duplicating them in the future. These he designated as Mohonk Lodge designs. (Meyn 2001: 21)⁹⁴

⁹⁴ The books that contain these recorded designs, as well as the tin moccasin templates Kincaide used to cut-out the leather the Cheyenne women used to make moccasins, remain in the possession of the current owners of the Mohawk Lodge Indian Trading Post. Note: the name of the store changed from Mohonk Lodge to Mohawk Lodge after the store was purchased by Nellie Stephens, the mother of the current owner, Patricia Henry. (Lukavic 2010)

The impact of Kincaide's tactics was most thoroughly illustrated in the 1977 book, *Dance Around the Sun*, by Alice Marriott and Carol Rachlin. Here, they described a story told to them by Mary Little Bear Inkanish when she and other women first met Kincaide and their reaction to his copying down their moccasin designs (Marriott and Rachlin 1977: 59). Peterson recounted the reaction of the Cheyenne women present when Kincaide told them his plans:

But when the preacher pulled out a ledger and began measuring and copying each design in color, the room fell quiet. When Mary [Littlebear Inkanish] asked for an explanation, she was afraid to pass the information on to the women. Kincaide intended to keep a record and track sales of each design, so they could all work to reproduce the best-selling items and thus make more money... Years later, Mary could relate how the idea had shocked them all. Each woman's creation had been her own property: no one wanted others copying her work. Symbolic, sacred designs must be exactly repeated, but in other work the color scheme was each woman's own. (Peterson 2006: 213)

Peterson went on to explain how Kincaide argued that this practice of recording designs, monitoring sales, and then prioritizing popular designs was necessary to increase sales and give each Cheyenne woman a fair opportunity to make money.

Susan Meyn explained that "Kincaide persisted [in his insistence on copying designs and demanding that these designs be used], stating that the craftworkers would only be given beads and other supplies for Mohonk designs. When a worker wanted beads for another project, she would have to purchase them just as she would at a trading post" (2001: 21). Meyn concluded that "the

Indian's difficult economic situation led women to support Kincaide's plan" (2001: 21). Kincaide attempted to bolster the economic situation for Cheyennes by creating a market for moccasin and other forms of beadwork. In the process, he did not only levy influence over designs, he actively fought off competition.

Meyn (2001: 108) described how Kincaide "threatened to boycott any Indians who dealt with" the Indian Arts and Crafts Board when they were attempting to encourage beadwork production for economic purposes among native groups in Oklahoma. Cheyenne moccasin makers that chose to sell their moccasins did find other outlets to sell their creations, especially those that Kincaide rejected. Jake Tingley, a trader in Anadarko, OK often bought these surplus moccasins (Marriott and Rachlin 1977: 130). Additionally, in a direct reaction against Kincaide and his business practices, Mary Littlebear Inkanish worked with Susie Peters in Anadarko to form the 'Women's Heart Club'—a new beading society (Marriott and Rachlin 1977: 130).

With the decline in power of women's societies on the practices of Cheyenne beadworkers, and the economic incentives offered by the Kincaides at the Mohonk Lodge Indian Trading Post, the concept of ownership of designs gradually moved to the realm of uncertainty and the protocol for accessing the rights to designs was directly challenged. Kincaide's schema of indigenous knowledge was built on an economic framework, but he either did not realize or

did not care about the ideological connections of design ownership among the Cheyenne. His motives were entirely market driven, as were others seeking to profit from Native art in tourist markets.

Kincaide's business practices directly challenged an orthodox system of indigenous knowledge and came at a time in history when Cheyenne society was in flux (see Chapter One). These practices influenced the way designs were accessed, their frequency of use, and even the shape of moccasin soles (Cooley 1976). Kincaide's lack of understanding of Cheyenne religion and values, as well as his financial motives, ultimately over shadowed Cheyenne claims to indigenous knowledge.

Hobbyist Publications

Another challenge to orthodox Cheyenne indigenous knowledge comes from the dissemination of Cheyenne related knowledge by non-Indian hobbyists.⁹⁵ As previously noted, Cheyenne moccasins prove popular among many non-Cheyennes. Large groups of non-Indian hobbyists from California to New England, as well as groups in Great Britain, Germany, France, the Czech

⁹⁵ For a detailed history of the hobbyist movement, see Clyde Ellis's forthcoming book, "More Indian Than the Indians Themselves: A History of the Indian Hobbyist Movement in the United States, which is scheduled to be published by the University Press of Kansas in the fall of 2013. Also see the work of Phillip Deloria and Shan Huhndorf for a critique of cultural appropriation by non-Native people.

Republic, and Russia (to name a few) have embraced aspects of American Indian cultures, including dances, songs, clothing, and yes, moccasins. Cheyenne moccasins once again prove a popular focus for many hobbyists. Similar to what Adrienne Santina described in her dissertation on Cheyenne tipis, much of the literature on moccasins was written (or filmed) by non-Indian, hobbyists. Santina (2001: 11) noted, in the case of tipis, that “these texts, essentially ‘how-to’ books, are aimed at other hobbyists who wish to create and camp in a Plains Indian lodge.” The literature and videos produced by hobbyists serve much the same purpose; however, they also provide useful analysis on historic Cheyenne moccasins and provide generalized diagnostic suggestions for readers to use when seeking to identify tribal styles.

The challenges hobbyists pose to orthodox indigenous knowledge differs from those of Kincaide at the Mohonk Lodge because hobbyists are not motivated by economics. Hobbyist motives are based on a desire to preserve technical and stylistic knowledge related to Cheyenne moccasins. What hobbyists often miss is that from an orthodox Cheyenne perspective, technique and style are not nearly as important as the preservation of indigenous knowledge, including design access, ideological connections, the didactic dimension of religious art, and how moccasins circulate within an orthodox Cheyenne system of values.

The first of these hobbyist articles on Cheyenne moccasins was written by Tyrone Stewart (1971a, 1971b) in the magazine, *American Indian Crafts and Culture*. Since then, dozens of articles on Cheyenne moccasins have been published in hobbyist magazines, such as *Moccasin Tracks* and *Whispering Wind*. At least eight videos have been produced since the early 1990s—three featuring Cheyenne moccasin makers (DuBois 1994a, 1994b [featuring Vicki Little Coyote and Chief Charles Little Coyote]; Swearingen and Rhoades 2007 [featuring Annabelle Medicine Chips]) and four featuring hobbyists (Carver 1990, 1993a, 1993b [all featuring Michael Kostelnik] and Carver 2008 [featuring Gary Scholl]).

The information disseminated through these articles and videos serves to assist interested individuals (Native and non-Native craftworkers, collectors, etc.) in the construction and decoration of Cheyenne-style moccasins. The wide distribution of this information further adds to the materiality of moccasins and moccasin designs, but also produces problems for the maintenance of indigenous knowledge for orthodox Cheyennes. Access to an orthodox view of moccasins and moccasin designs has been limited for a variety of reasons discussed throughout this dissertation. While these hobbyist attempts to analyze moccasins reach a wide (albeit mostly non-Native) audience, the knowledge they disseminate often contradicts the views of contemporary orthodox Cheyennes. An in-depth discussion on the discrepancies between the hobbyist literature and

the views found within the Cheyenne community deserves considerably more attention than I can provide at this time, but hope to address in another study.

Museum Collections

I previously mentioned the view of a non-orthodox Cheyenne moccasin maker who suggested that once a design is used in public there exists no way to prevent its use by others. This view is certainly not shared by orthodox moccasin makers that understand the spiritual consequences for using designs without owning their rights. That said, the photos published in non-Native publications and the prevalence of finding historic Cheyenne moccasins in museums proves tempting for moccasins makers, orthodox or not.

One elder orthodox Cheyenne moccasin maker explained how she has felt temptation to use old designs on moccasins and other Cheyenne material in museums: “I went up there to...what’s that museum? Sam Noble?⁹⁶ I got some of these [photos]. I was looking for a design for my cradleboard and my aunt said, ‘You know, when I can’t find designs...’ That’s where her husband took her to get the designs” (Anonymous 2010b). Another orthodox moccasin maker, when asked if she ever gets designs from museums stated, “I’ve been guilty of that, too. If it’s something really nice that I like. ‘Oh, wow. Look at that.’ And

⁹⁶ Sam Noble Oklahoma Museum of Natural History, Norman, OK.

I'll either keep it in my memory, or if I have a piece of paper, I'll put a quick, rough sketch. But I don't do it exactly. I'll change it" (Anonymous 2010c).

When I asked if she felt any conflict she noted that she did and understands that those designs belonged to other people who are no longer living. Her words, "I've been guilty of that," highlight an emotional feeling that prevents some from using designs that they do not own, but do not go as far as those shared by other orthodox moccasin makers who honestly fear what would happen to them if they 'poached' designs in this way. The temptation generated from museum collections proves an area of museums' power not previously articulated.

Ivan Karp (1991) argued to be aware of the power museums have. The 'museum effect' is a force, or tool, that museums use to guide their audience towards understanding within an exhibition. Karp identifies this as an instrument of power due to the fact that museums are viewed by the public as 'morally neutral;' however, that is not usually the case. This 'innate neutrality' serves as an instrument of power. The reasons for why museums have been afforded this power range from their early connection to the academy and cultural elite, to the fact that they have the authorial control to invest exhibitions with hidden meaning—hidden transcripts. The connections that people make with the material culture presented in the context of a museum is shaped by the way it is presented and how it is interpreted for public consumption. Museums engage

materiality through the interaction of objects with visitors, which makes the issues of representation and the handling of indigenous knowledge rather important.

Vackimes (2001) and Thomas (2002) both presented cases of how museums, as an apparatus of the state, use material culture to purposefully affect the identities, ideologies, and perceptions of their visitors. Vackimes (2001) provided a case of the National Museum of Mexico and how it is actively implementing a plan to shape the national identity of the nation. They are working as part of a larger government effort to work towards a national consolidation of identity.⁹⁷ Vackimes (2001) suggested that they are working towards, what Benedict Anderson called, creating an ‘imagined community.’⁹⁸ The National Museum is contributing to this goal through the ‘conscious manipulation of symbols’ which strives to create a shared understanding of heritage for all Mexican people. Thomas presents a similar case in the Dominican Republic, where the National Museum has become a ‘symbolic battleground’ in the fight over ideologies. Thomas argues that the presentation used to reinforce ideology construction is tied to the political bodies in power. As the power

⁹⁷ Also see Bordi (2006) for a study on how taco vendors are being used by the government to create a sense of diverse individual identities, which is part of the process leading to a national consolidated identity

⁹⁸ In his 1983 publication (revised in 1991), *Imagined Communities*, Benedict Anderson proposed an interpretation of the formation and world-wide spread of the concept of nation, nation-ness, and nationalism. He suggested that the nation is “imagined as limited” (with set boundaries), sovereign, and is a form of community—an “imagined reality [that] was overwhelmingly visual and aural” (Anderson 1991: 23).

changes, so does the focus and presentation of the material in the museum. By and large, the one constant seems to be the marginalization of African American heritage within the effort for heritage management.

The power of museums to influence identity and views of nationalism proves applicable to this study of orthodox Cheyenne views of design ownership, indigenous knowledge, and broader Cheyenne views of representation. The material objects presented by museums are open to interpretation from a broad audience. Without guidance from an orthodox Cheyenne perspective, non-Native audiences have been intrigued by designs and consciously or not adopted them as symbols of representation. Even among those who fear breaking protocols, museums have provided temptation to do so.

Bourdieu (1993) argued that museums have the power to consecrate cultural and symbolic capital to others. Museums, here in the United States, are still often viewed in a negative light by American Indian people due to past practices of collection, representation, and handling of their past material culture and human remains. I argue that museums must either attempt to divest the power they have been afforded through the dispersal of power to others, or at the least attempt to be transparent. Museums can choose to continue to act as an apparatus of the state in the Foucaultian sense, creating and perpetuating a sort of hegemony, or they can reject the innate authority that they have been afforded and

challenge their visitors to create meaning free of influence—if this is even possible. If this is possible, it will only come about through dialogue, collaboration, created new forms of presentation, and most importantly, recognition of the impact of materiality within a museum context. Museums must be critical of their own work and that of others when issues of identity are present.

Collaboration is an important activity in the creation of multivocal museum exhibitions, but we must recognize that it does not address the critiques of museums and representation alone. Kahn (2000) clearly illustrated how polyphony of voices does not necessarily equal a harmonious tone. The collaborative process can reveal deep layers of disagreement within communities, which emphasizes the problems of presenting the heterogeneity of cultures. To Kahn, collaboration is simply just a compromise; however, I argue it remains an important tool. Harrison (2005) argued that collaboration is important to help museums move away from the meta-narratives of the past, but citing Ruth Phillips, warns against ‘singularly privileging’ the Native voice. Both Harrison and Phillips argue that visitors must be included in the development of exhibitions, and their voice must be recognized in the multivocality of exhibitions. This tactic will not stem the tide of materiality but may provide an avenue where orthodox views of indigenous knowledge may find expression. Cheyenne moccasins prove a useful catalyst for discussion on non-Western views of indigenous knowledge and Native aesthetics rooted in an orthodox ideology.

Cheyenne By Design?

The issues of identity, representation, and inter- and intra-group boundaries that I have discussed directly tie to the expanding expression of the materiality of Cheyenne moccasins. A general lack of understanding of orthodox Cheyenne views of indigenous knowledge by non-orthodox Cheyennes, Indian trading post owners, hobbyists, and museums have led to a further broadening of this materiality. Orthodox Cheyennes cannot stop the ever-increasing use of Cheyenne moccasins and moccasin designs, but through the views of orthodox Cheyennes expressed throughout this study, I hope I have provided a tool to assist in the transmission of indigenous knowledge. I was charged by Mr. Shirt and the Arrow Priest to collect and transmit the knowledge found within this study, but as Dr. Mann explained in Chapter One: “it's not your job to be understood as much as it is to understand. You understand others.”

Conclusion

The study of materiality teaches us that objects are not just objects and subjects are not just subjects. Objects and subjects interact in various ways and are changed by these interactions. Webb Keane (2006) argued that studies of materiality should bundle the various functions of objects to present a diverse picture of use and meaning. Geismar and Horst (2004) further argued that clearly tying subjects and objects together leads to the formation of a ‘whole.’ This does not suggest that people are bound to objects, nor are objects bound to people; however, people and objects do share links, and materiality allows us to explore those links and access aspects of a culture that are hidden when objects and subjects are studied independently.

Studying the materiality of objects led me to a deeper understanding of Cheyenne orthodoxy, especially Cheyenne values and the values associated with moccasins. How moccasins and meanings are created, distributed, used, exchanged, and transformed illustrates aspects of Cheyenne values and ideologies. This study allowed me to *see* ideology at work within regimes of value. It also clearly demonstrated *how* ideology manifests itself in material form, which further supports the formation of a ‘whole’ (object + subject).

One consequence of materiality is that it leads to an excess of meanings. From an anthropological position, this proves fascinating because for each

meaning there exists an area for future research. But from an orthodox perspective, whether a person is an orthodox Cheyenne or practitioner of any other orthodox religion, the materiality of objects (and people) proves a challenge for the maintenance of cultural knowledge. When people recognize new meanings and uses of objects once associated squarely with an orthodox ideology, the perceived authority over the objects by the orthodox religion is challenged. As I presented in the discussion of the value(s) of moccasins, as well as the representational aspects of moccasin designs, moccasins and designs have broad use outside of an orthodox Cheyenne context, and orthodox Cheyennes have limited control over their use. One could argue that control in the past was never absolute, but the ideological connections between moccasins and orthodox Cheyenne religion did serve to maintain more strictly constricted uses in the past.

Recognizing the challenges orthodox religions face in the maintenance of cultural knowledge related to material objects does not mean the religions themselves are in any danger. The main challenge lies with the methods of communication and transmission, which ultimately roots itself in social networks. While no one can control materiality and limit future uses of objects, maintaining social networks for the dissemination of cultural knowledge is crucial for maintaining aspects of materiality important to different audiences, including orthodox Cheyennes. When a religious ideology is no longer dominant in a culture or when it competes directly with other ideologies, religious adherents

need to play an active role in the maintenance of social networks if they want to maintain culture transmission. Clear transmission of cultural knowledge leads to clear understandings of how objects fit within larger social and ideological spheres, such as the didactic function of religious art and issues of intellectual property and indigenous knowledge.

All cultures, including those that draw on orthodox beliefs, are dynamic, so presenting actions and views rooted in the past as ‘tradition’ is too simplistic and problematic. ‘Tradition’ carries a lot of assumptions and proves a divisive term—there exist too many definitions of tradition, and the term is entirely too politicized, while providing little descriptive power. In situations that are rooted in religion, such as the one I present in this study, I argue the terms ‘orthodox’ and ‘orthodoxy,’ rather than ‘tradition,’ shed assumptions and political ties and provide a way to discuss the past, present, and future of a religion. Certainly not all things that individuals deem ‘traditional’ fall within the realm of orthodoxy, but when they do, discussing them on these grounds proves useful.

I was careful throughout this study to address views of my consultants as *an* orthodox perspective, rather than *the* orthodox perspective. Orthodoxy is diversified to some degree, but as I discussed in the Introduction, I consulted with a ‘sub-sub-group’ of orthodox Cheyennes who possess very specific knowledge. Do to their extensive knowledge and the way it guides their behaviors, you might

even consider them ultra-orthodox. Recognizing sub-sub-groups within a small population proves useful for a greater understanding of a culture, because these small units can often share knowledge that illuminates larger concepts of a culture not always apparent. Ultra-orthodox religious groups, or rather sub-sub-groups of a population, play important roles in the maintenance and transmission of cultural and religious knowledge, and understanding their views can often provide greater insight into the actions and behaviors of others. As I argued in this study, these sub-sub-groups often know not only *what* to do, but *why* it is done. They also often want to inspire, at a minimum, a discourse regarding these concepts and ideas, or to another extreme, to return to the days of stricter control related to secular beliefs.

This study, at its broadest level, is not about moccasins, and it is not about Cheyennes. It is about knowledge transmission and how the study of material objects leads to a greater understanding of human nature and ideologies. Moccasins serve here as a metaphor for life's realities. No one can control the materiality of objects, so in order to maintain particular views and uses of such objects, communication and cultural transmission through social networks prove important.

Within this study I identified certain aspects of the materiality of moccasins of significance to orthodox Cheyennes. Moccasins serve as a material

manifestation of ideology and actively participate in the circulation of cultural values. Their varied uses highlight and stimulate Cheyenne values , such as humility, love, and respect, while also generating prestige and honor within the Cheyenne community.

I also highlighted both historic and contemporary challenges to the transmission of this knowledge. From forced settlement, illness, and boarding schools, to the younger generation embracing alternate forms of identity expression (social media, hip hop culture, et cetera) and the reclusive tendencies of some moccasin makers, the transmission of cultural knowledge related to moccasins and their ties to orthodox Cheyenne ideology has faced, and continues to face, challenges.

This study explored the didactic function of religious art and demonstrated how meanings and relationships, such as the connections of icons, indexes, and symbols, need maintenance for future transmission. Bear Butte's importance to Cheyenne religion is unquestioned, but this study emphasized how invoking Bear Butte iconically, indexically, and symbolically through moccasin designs is *intended* to assist in the transmission of cultural and religious knowledge. Certainly new meanings are possible and old meanings may experience revitalization, but if individuals desire continuity of these meanings, then

transmission must occur. As Keane (2005: 201) noted, “a historically specific semiotic ideology” is what gives things meaning.

As I present in this study, desire alone proves insufficient for the transmission of knowledge. You need opportunities for transmission and receptive audiences. Additionally, when knowledge becomes fragmented, that is, when no single individual possesses all the information required to transmit cultural knowledge, collaboration proves a necessity. The reclamation of fragmented knowledge has long been a topic of discussion in the study of language, and such discussion may help in cases such as this.⁹⁹

Linguists argue that words are active constructions. They are living and in dialogue with other words, thoughts, and judgments. In order to understand meaning from an utterance, one must analyze it in relation to its background, or context in which it was transmitted, as well as in relation to the heteroglot ‘consciousness’ of those who interpret the word and construct meaning (Bakhtin 1981).

Mikhail Bakhtin (1981) noted that there often exist contradictions between the ideologies of people who had lived in the past and those in the contemporary world. Utterances and material objects that reflected the ideology of the past do

⁹⁹ Also see (Choy 2008; Ellis and West 2004; Gervais 2009; Iske-Barnes and Danard 2007) for additional discussion on fragmented knowledge.

not necessarily correspond to the ideologies of that same originating community today. All messages from the past are interpreted in the present and filtered, not through the lens of the originating ideologies, but through the contemporary ideologies of the receivers. This poses a challenge for the maintenance of orthodox ideologies as they relate to material objects.

David Lee (1992) discussed the role of 'competing discourses' in his work on pidgin languages. He presented a case of a colonial situation where issues of authority are contentious between that of a standard language and other forms. The idea is that with multiple languages come multiple ideologies, which cause problems for developing nation-states that are attempting to create a national consciousness and form of national ideology. On the other hand, attempts to form a national identity pose challenges to the maintenance of diverse ideologies. Recognizing where these differences lay and embracing the difference proves the first step to reclaiming fragmented knowledge. Once a community identifies where boundaries of ideas exist and also identifies those individuals with specialized knowledge related to areas on one side or another of these boundaries, groups may find new methods to transmit the knowledge. This study has broad implications to anthropological themes, such as the study of language shift. Many of the challenges faced in the transmission of knowledge related to moccasins and moccasin designs are also faced in the transmission of language. They both face uncertain futures.

Due to the economics of the moccasin market, the physical act of making moccasins is not endangered, but the cultural (and linguistic) knowledge that makes them broadly meaningful in an orthodox Cheyenne context does face challenges. Moccasins fit into orthodox Cheyenne life much the same way as the Cheyenne language. Both have links to the culture and ideology of orthodox Cheyenne people, but without knowledge transmission, the future is unknown. Cheyenne culture is not endangered; it will continue to thrive. However, for orthodox Cheyennes who put a premium on language use, biological blood quantum, and the maintenance of knowledge, this realization may energize advocacy for preservation. Jason Baird Jackson referred to scenarios such as this as “the paradoxical power of endangerment” (Jackson 2007). Jackson noted that

Describing something as endangered is a way of both highlighting its special value (perhaps as yet not widely recognized) and of mobilizing people to intervene to prevent loss—the disappearance—that is being evoked. More powerful in some ways than its conceptual neighbors tradition and heritage, endangerment can galvanize people to action, even as all these ways of thinking about culture significantly change the very phenomena they seek to celebrate. (Jackson 2007: 38)

Not until an aspect of culture is perceived as endangered do people demonstrate their willingness to adjust their actions to current circumstances.

For the Cheyenne, maintenance of cultural knowledge must come from within. As John Moore noted, most programs implemented by outsiders have

failed for one reason or another. He noted inter-family issues as a leading problem:

Time after time, the plans of intelligent young leaders, progressive tribal officials, and well-meaning outsiders founder on the rocks of inter-familial rivalry and jealousy. An organization is no sooner introduced among the people than the families begin to fight over who will control it, especially if there is any money at stake. Health programs, language programs, and education programs of all kinds have suffered over the years from these internecine struggles. Consistently, more energy is devoted to the inter-familial struggle than to the successful completion of the project. (Moore 1999: 252)

Moore (1999: 252-253) added: “Naively, government and other organizations continue to try to organize new projects by calling meetings to which all are invited.” Similarly, in her study on Nuxalk culture and art, Jennifer Kramer (2006: 73) noted how formalized attempts to share cultural knowledge in classrooms and through ‘play potlatches’ proved problematic because these methods of learning did not match ‘traditional’ protocols. Meetings do not work well in an orthodox Cheyenne context. There exists too much hierarchy of authority and positioning of power among some, and unwillingness to talk due to humility by others, to have a successful meeting. Throwing money at programs and workshops will only work if done strategically to reinforce existing or emerging social networks. The revitalization of women’s societies could serve the maintenance of cultural knowledge transmission but would marginalize male moccasin makers. As I noted in Chapter One, the circumstances in which an

individual is raised or taught about their culture plays an integral role in that individual's cultural knowledge and ideology. This, again, ties back to the importance of social networks for the transmission of cultural knowledge. I could offer a variety of suggestions beyond these few, but I was charged by my consultants to document what I could learn and to seek a level of understanding, not solve problems. The knowledge is there and is accessible, but if it is to spread (as is the wish of the orthodox moccasin makers with whom I worked), new methods of transmission are required or old methods need to be restored.

This study, when paired with the work of John Moore (1974a, 1999) and Kay Schweinfurth (2009), provides a longitudinal perspective of culture transmission and culture change. From the late 1960s when John Moore began his research with the Cheyenne, to the present (2012), Cheyenne culture has changed. Different views on topics recorded over this time are merely symptoms of the largest issue Cheyennes face: opportunities for the transmission of cultural knowledge. Cheyenne culture, as a whole, is at no risk, but the changes experienced over the past 40 years can ultimately be attributed to breaks in long-established modes of communication and social networks.

Future Research

In the course of writing this dissertation, a number of topics broadly related to this study were not included but do require future research. In the spirit of collegial research collaboration, I hope to inspire others to incorporate the information I presented on Cheyenne orthodoxy and the related issue of materiality into explorations of related topics. I offer the following topics and literature to serve as a catalyst for future research.

Moccasins play a role in the maintenance of individual memory¹⁰⁰ and collective memory.¹⁰¹ Through the association of moccasins and geographic locations, as well as the environments in which they are created, research on place and landscape could expand their materiality.¹⁰² For example, where people bead and the connections of designs and colors to different Cheyenne communities are areas of study that could expand the understanding of the materiality of moccasins. Additionally, the tools moccasin makers use to create moccasins (including design hides and other inherited tools) have a story of their own worth exploring.

¹⁰⁰ See: Assmann 2006; Bouissac 2007; Cisneros 2006; Fabian 2007; Georgiadis and Gallou 2009; Harris 2007; van Hell et al 2003.

¹⁰¹ See: Dessi 2008; Fine and Beim 2007; Harris et al 2008; Henry 2007; Irwin-Zaracka 2007; Kansteiner 2002; Savelsber and King 2007; Wertsch and Roediger 2008.

¹⁰² See: Cosgrove 2006; Hirsch 2006; Low and Lawrence-Zunigais 2003; Tilley 2006a.

The market for Cheyenne moccasins requires intensive study, including research on consumer decision making and issues of authenticity.¹⁰³ Another area of economics that deserves more study relates to gender and entrepreneurship.¹⁰⁴ The development of Cheyenne beadwork beginning in the late nineteenth century was the result of women's activities and their role in entering a market beyond the confines of their local communities. Many woman supported their families through tough circumstances with beadwork, and their contributions deserve a greater scholarly emphasis. Due to issues of prestige and limited access to cultural knowledge, another area of future research may address knowledge economies.¹⁰⁵

The analysis of indigenous knowledge and design ownership, and its broader association with representation, ties to emerging scholarly interest in cultural branding.¹⁰⁶ Cultural branding addresses a variety of areas, including cultural copyright infringement, piracy, counterfeits, and indigenous rights to material and immaterial manifestations of culture. I fully expected to address cultural branding within this study, but it ultimately proved tangential to my focused narrative on orthodox perspectives. From a broader, 'Cheyenne'

¹⁰³ See: Betsch and Haberstroh 2005; Clouse 2009; Lehrer 2009; Saether 2007; Yu 2008.

¹⁰⁴ See: Berlo 1993a, Bruni et al. 2005, Ellis 2007, Fracchia 2006, Frink and Weedman 2005, Jacobsen 2007, Rubinstein 1982.

¹⁰⁵ See: Chi-ang Lin 2007; Sikknik 2009.

¹⁰⁶ See: Foster 2007; Jamieson 1999; Lin 2008; Nia and Zaichkowsky 2000; Notar 2006; Pinheiro-Machado 2010; Rutter and Bryce 2008; Sylvanus 2007; Vann 2006; Wilke and Zaichkiwsky 1999; Yaganisako 2007.

perspective, issues of cultural branding would apply, and such a study related to Cheyenne moccasins would add to this emerging literature.

Digitization and technology play important roles in the maintenance of cultural knowledge for many societies, especially American culture. The potential of online social networks and video to maintain and expand cultural social networks provides an area to watch for future study. The use of digital photography by moccasin makers to record and remember design detail further justifies the importance of technology to cultural maintenance.

During the course of my research I collected a list of over 100 Cheyenne words related to moccasin making and its connection to Cheyenne cosmology; however, I did not have time to devote to exploring the connections of language to orthodox actions. This is an area I hope to explore in greater detail in the future and will demonstrate how language, culture, and the material world intersect.

Final Thoughts

This study provided me with an opportunity to produce something useful for the Southern Cheyenne community, while also making a contribution to the field of anthropology. My initial inquiry into the market economics of Cheyenne moccasins led instead to an understanding of symbolic economics, rooted in the cultural values of orthodox Cheyennes. My research was guided by members of

the Cheyenne community, and I took seriously the trust and guidance they provided. My future career lies in the museum profession, and I will continue to utilize the lessons I learned in my anthropological training and from my Cheyenne family, friends, and consultants in my exploration of Native arts.

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APPENDIX A

Cheyenne Orthography

The following orthography was developed by Rodolphe Petter (1915:vi) and used by both John Moore (1974a: iv) and Karl Schlesier (1987: xvii):

a, as in *papa*; -*â*- = *a* + *o*, pronounced like *ou* in *house*; -*ä*- = *a* + *e*, pronounced like *I*; -*ā*- is a long *a*; -*á*- (hiatus) is *a* followed by a short gasp; -*â*- is *a* with whispered or evanescent sound.

b, as in *babe*. The average Ch. makes no difference between *b* and *p*. Sometimes *b* turns to *m* or *v*.

c, pronounced like *tié* in the French word *moitié*, similar to *teou* in the English word *plenteous*.

d, as in *dad*; but used only by some members of the *Hevešksenx-pâess* band (see organization).

e, as in *prey*; -*ē* is long *e*, similar to *a* in *ate* or the French *ê*; -*é*- is *e* followed by a short gasp (hiatus); -*è*- is *e* followed by expired breath. The ring over *e* would indicate an evanescent *e*, but it is rarely needed.

g, as in *go*; many Ch. pronounce it as hard *k*.

h, as in *hate*, with strong aspirate sound.

i, as in *pit*; -*ì*- is *i* with expired breath.

k, as in *key*.

m, as in *moment*.

n, as in *none*.

o, as in *obey*; -*ō*- is long like *o* in *home*; -*ö*- = *o* + *e*, pronounced like *oy* in *decoy*; -*ó*- is *o* with hiatus; -*ò*- is *o* with expired breath; -*o*°- is evanescent or whispered *o*. In very rapid speech *o* is pronounced like *u* in *nut*.

p, as in *paper*.

q, similar to *coo* in *coop*, but expired.

s, as in *sense*; -*s'* - like *ss* but separated by a hiatus; -*ŝ*- as *sh* in *she*.

t, as in *table*.

v, like the latin in *amavi*, or similar to the French *ue* in *tue*, *hue*, or like *f* in *of*.

x, as *ch* in the German *ach*.

y, as in *year*.

z, as *ts* or Ger. *z*; -*z'* - similar to *ds* or *d's*.