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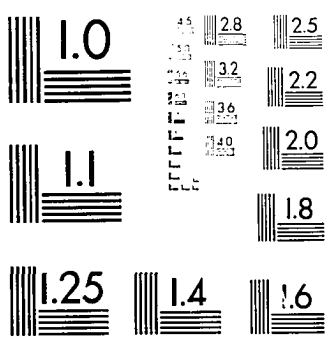

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WOMEN, BISON, AND COUP: A STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS OF CHEYENNE PICTOGRAPHIC ART

The University of Oklahoma PH.D. 1985

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GRADUATE COLLEGE

WOMEN, BISON, AND COUP: A STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS OF CHEYENNE PICTOGRAPHIC ART

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

By

CANDACE SCHOBER GREENE

Norman, Oklahoma

1985

WOMEN, BISON, AND COUP: A STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS OF CHEYENNE PICTOGRAPHIC ART

A DISSERTATION

APPROVED FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

By

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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE TEXT

ACM	Amon Carter Museum of Western Art, Ft. Worth
AMNH	American Museum of Natural History, New York
CBNM	Custer Battlefield National Monument, Crow Agency, Mont.
CHS	Colorado Historical Society, Denver
DAM	Denver Art Museum, Denver
DMNH	Denver Museum of Natural History, Denver
FMNH	Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago
FPAIAC	Foundation for the Preservation of American Indian Art and Culture, Chicago
GI	Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art, Tulsa
JAM	Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha
KSHS	Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka
MAI	Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York
MHS	Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston
MTHS	Montana Historical Society, Helena
NAA	National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution
NMNH	National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institutior
NYPL	New York Public Library, New York
NYSL	New York State Library, Albany
OHS	Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City
OHS-IA	Oklahoma Historical Society, Indian Archives
OUSM	University of Oklahoma, Stovall Museum, Norman
SPB	Sotheby-Parke Bernet, New York
USMA	United States Military Academy Library, West Point
YBL	Yale University, Beinicke Library, New Haven

ABSTRACT

Cheyenne pictographic art of the 19th century was a complex medium of communication that expressed cultural perceptions and functioned to reinforce and mold social values. In addition to the explicit narrative content of pictures, implicit messages were conveyed through the underlying structure of the images. The structure of pictographic art was built upon a limited number of compositional types. Figure placement within each type was regularly patterned and reflected cultural concepts about the relationship between the figures in regard to dominance or spiritual power. By virtue of shared structure, pictures of a variety of subjects were brought into parallel and could be read as transformations of the same message. In this way metaphoric connections were established between warfare, hunting, and courtship. Pictographic art was produced by warriors and evidence suggests that the counting of coup was the central metaphor that motivated the compositional structure. Analysis of the art form reveals aspects of ideology not as clearly expressed in other media and demonstrates that these ideological patterns were connected to social concerns of the time. The unique potential of material culture items to serve as a source of historical data is discussed and problems in establishing reliable documentation are considered.

WOMEN, BISON, AND COUP: A STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS OF CHEYENNE PICTOGRAPHIC ART

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to explore the relationship between Cheyenne pictographic art and non-material aspects of Cheyenne society. It is designed as a case study relating to the larger question of the nature of material culture, more specifically to what extent artifacts are reflective of the people who produced them and how information about these people can be derived from study of their material products.

The study will first define pictographic art and establish the boundaries of the data on which analysis is based. Next the data will be placed within a historical and cultural context. This includes providing ethnographic information about pictographic art in general, establishing specific documentation for the specimens included, and drawing inferences about their use from direct examination of these documented specimens. Once this preliminary information has been established,

the pictures will be subjected to structural analysis and internal patterns identified and classified. The significance of these patterns will then be discussed and their connection to Cheyenne ideology and behavior considered.

THE STUDY OF MATERIAL CULTURE

While the material I have selected to study is conventionally referred to as "art" and I have continued this usage for the sake of convenience, I have made no attempt to define the term or set it off as distinct from other instances of material culture. Anthropological approaches to the study of art have recently been summarized as focusing on either of two criteria, aesthetics or communication through symbolism (Layton 1981:4-5). While Cheyenne pictography can be seriously considered from an aesthetic point of view (Szabo 1983), that perspective is not taken here and is irrelevant to the method of analysis I have used. The concept of communication is central to this study, but I would argue that it is not unique to art. It has been demonstrated that certain areas of cultural activity such as myth and ritual are steeped in symbolic meaning. This does not, however, mean that others are devoid of it. Edmund Leach (1976), for example, has shown that there is a symbolic component in many seemingly purely instrumental behaviors.

Similarly, many forms of material culture may carry meaning at various levels and it may be difficult to define art on this basis alone. For my purposes, I have been satisfied with considering Cheyenne pictography under the general rubric of material culture without further qualification.

Anthropology strives to be a holistic discipline concerned with the totality of human endeavor, but not all aspects of cultural activity have received equal attention through time. The field of material culture has varied widely in the amount of attention that it has received within the discipline over the years. The general trend has been a decline in interest in material culture as anthropologists seem to have found little in this data to contribute to their current theoretical interests.

The study of material culture was an integral part of the development of anthropology in both America and Europe. Descriptive ethnography of the 19th and early 20th centuries always included extensive information on material objects as one of the most readily accessible parts of the culture for an outside observer, and field workers routinely collected specimens to accompany their notes on non-material aspects of the society. The early departments of anthropology in America were associated with museums and leading figures such as Franz Boas, Alfred Kroeber, and Robert Lowie all produced material

culture studies. In addition to collecting basic descriptions of non-Western societies, an early concern of anthropology was explaining the development of culture utilizing either of two opposing paradigms, evolution and diffusion. Both of these theoretical perspectives marshalled data from material culture to support their positions. Analysis based on technological sophistication or trait comparison was firmly established as the methodology for the study of artifacts.

By the middle decades of the 20th century the focus of anthropology shifted from an interest in these historical questions to concern with the structure of society, influenced by the British structural-functionalist school. Traditional analyses of material culture, which focused on trait comparison and the development of technology, could not contribute to these new interests. Additionally, as the field of anthropology grew, the majority of ethnologists were no longer associated with museums but with departments within universities. Being physically separated from collections, they were largely unfamiliar with material culture objects and had no reason to focus attention on them as a potential data base. With a few notable exceptions, the studies that continued to be produced on material culture were concerned with the old problems that were no longer fashionable within the discipline and it

came to be assumed that they represented the limits of the data base.

The limited use of museum specimens for basic research has been a subject of concern to museum curators and articles have appeared periodically in the literature seeking to explain this shift in interest and suggest ways in which material culture studies could once again be integrated into anthropological research. Major contributions in this area are J. Alden Mason (1960), William Fenton (1960, 1974), Donald Collier (1962), Philip J.C. Dark (1969), Stuart Scott and Patricia K. Segmen (1970), John L. Mori and Joycelyn Mori (1972), William Sturtevant (1973), and most recently a major volume edited by Cantwell, Griffin, and Rothschild (1981).

These studies consistently comment on the poor documentation of museum collections but nevertheless suggest several areas to which they feel material culture studies of existing collections could contribute. It is generally agreed that historical studies may be profitable and it is suggested that material culture is a sensitive indicator of such processes as acculturation, diffusion, and internal cultural change. The field of native aesthetics and general art history of so-called "tribal" art is another area that would involve reference to specimen collections. It is also noted that basic descriptive and historical information on technology and

craft production is far from complete and further studies in this area are greatly needed. There are other tentative suggestions that exploratory work should be done on "symbolism and patterning" (Collier 1962:323) and the structure of style (Sturtevant 1973:47), by which these authors seem to be suggesting a new descriptive approach rather than a change in direction.

These suggestions for future direction in the study of material culture do not really open new areas for investigation but are a reiteration of the basic historical and descriptive problems that were being addressed in the classic material culture studies of the beginning of the century. The suggestion is merely that they were in fact never answered or answered in ways that are satisfactory to present-day scholars and that a great deal of basic descriptive work still remains to be done.

A number of authors suggest that a distinction must be made between material culture studies based on museum specimens alone and those which are based on or supplemented by field studies. This distinction is described by William Sturtevant (1973) as "formal" studies as opposed to "contextual" studies. He believes that the limitations of documentation accompanying museum specimens restrict their use to purely "formal" studies that concentrate on objects in and of themselves and do not attempt to tie them into the wider cultural realm.

"Contextual" studies that locate objects within the cultural context would require field work in which informants' opinions and values about the objects could be recorded.

The assumption made by all these scholars is that material culture can only tell us about material culture. The most that we can hope for is to understand it as a system unto itself, and even that level of understanding is limited by the amount of external information that is available about the objects. The only problems that objects can be expected to shed light on are those directly concerned with material culture, such as how it is used, how it changes over time, and how it is perceived by those who produce and use it.

While this pessimistic view about the potential of material culture research is widespread and has done much to discourage investigation in the area, it is far from universal. Material culture studies have never disappeared from anthropology and indeed seem to be enjoying increased popularity at the present time. Many of these studies have focused on the topics suggested. Basic descriptive studies such as Navajo Material Culture by Kluckhohn, Hill and Kluckhohn (1971) occasionally appear and numerous historical studies such as Ewers' work on Plains Indian clothing (1980) are produced. Studies of technology have grown in sophistication (see for example

Lechtman and Merrill [1975] and Cantwell et al [1981]) and demonstrated that this old field has much to contribute to current interests in economics and systems of exchange. The anthropological study of art has undergone phenomenal growth and a number of volumes have been produced in just the past few years.

Material culture study has not been limited to these "classic" fields, however. Some study using artifactual data can be found for aïmost every theoretical interest that has occurred in anthropology in the past decades. There are for example psychological studies (Wallace 1971), ethnoscience approaches (Sturtevant 1966), and structuralist analyses (Riviere 1969).

Most recently studies have appeared that attempt to tie material culture into basic social or ideological systems of the people who produced them. These studies have made pioneering attempts to demonstrate a connection between patterns that can be observed in artifactual materials and the belief system of the people who produced them. Some have worked with materials from contemporary peoples and have combined the study of artifacts with field work in the type of contextual study that Sturtevant suggested, for example Munn (1973) and Kaplan and Levine (1981). Others have worked with materials from the recent or distant past for which contemporary informants are not available and inference must be drawn from ethnographies,

surviving texts, or archeological resources. Such studies include Hoffman (1977), Jonaitis (1981) and Lewis-Williams (1981). These latter studies have proven no less rich than the former.

All of these studies address the basic question put forth by Scott and Segmen as to "whether artifacts are truly explanatory of the culture to which they are related and therefore of value as social documents" (1970:1005). This study is designed to address the same issue.

THEORETICAL ORIENTATION

This analysis of Cheyenne pictographic art builds upon three basic systems of anthropological theory: functionalism, structuralism, and symbolism.

Functionalism is based on the proposition that all aspects of culture are interrelated and that changes in one part of the system will result in changes in other parts as well. Applying a functionalist perspective to material culture requires that Cheyenne pictography be viewed as an integral part of the wider cultural domain and further assumes that there is a logical and necessary connection between what is going on in art and what is going on in the wider social context. In this way a knowledge of other aspects of Cheyenne culture is necessary to an understanding of pictographic art.

Conversely, if the art is an integral part of culture, then study of it can potentially contribute to a greater understanding of other aspects of culture. This functionalist proposition is widely accepted in anthropological theory, but its application to material culture has been rather limited and few methods to do so have been developed.

The methodology that I have developed for this study is based on the principles and practices of structuralism, particularly as developed by Claude Levi-Strauss (1963) and further defined by Edmund Leach (1976) and Rodney Needham (1974).

The central premise of structuralism is that meaning is to be found through analysis of the underlying system, not the surface appearance only. Elements gain meaning only in relation to one another. First, the continuum of experience and perception is broken into significant units by the process of classification which defines elements by contrast with each other. Next these elements are combined into structured relationships. The structures are not idiosyncratic but recur in a number of contexts representing superficially different types of relationships. Various subjects are brought together by virtue of a shared structure and are seen to be analogous. The relationship between the elements in one set thus becomes a model for understanding the relationship

expressed in another set that has the same structure. Not only is A defined by juxtaposition with B, but the relationship of A to B is revealed by showing that it is analogous to the relationship of C to D. A is to B as C is to D, or utilizing the conventional notation system of symbolic logic A : B :: C : D.

The method of analysis used in this study is built upon structuralism. Moving beyond interpretation of the surface narrative of pictures, I have sought to identify patterns in the underlying structure. Needham (1979:59) has commented that structuralism organizes data but does not explain or interpret it. For interpretation of the structural patterns identified in this study I have drawn upon certain precepts of symbolism, particularly as developed by Turner (1967, 1969, 1974), Douglas (1966, 1970), and Geertz (1973).

Symbolism transforms the logical concept of analogy as identified in structure into the semantic concept of metaphor as actively used in society. The fundamental nature of symbol systems is their ability to condense meaning and transfer it from one context to another. While the structural principles through which symbolic statements are made may be unconscious, the messages that they convey are not necessarily so and may be manipulated intentionally by social actors to their own ends. An understanding of the symbolic patterns expressed in

Cheyenne pictographic art requires that it be viewed in the context of both normative ideology and individual interaction.

The advantages of material culture for such study are several. First, artifacts are direct products of the culture, not the second-hand recording of an observer or even the artificial distillation of the literate native sometimes available. Second, they are complete in and of themselves whereas field notes are always but a schematic representation of observed behaviors or reductions of native testimony. Next, existing collections of artifacts span a greater range of time and culture than any other source of information available to us. Setting prehistoric materials aside, ethnographic materials still represent a great number of cultures that no longer exist and were studied little or not at all. For the many cultures that still persist, they represent a time period that has past and may be known only from limited or biased ethnographies.

THE USE OF MATERIAL CULTURE DATA

The limited use of material culture data in recent research appears to relate to two types of problems, one practical and one methodological. The practical problem in studying material culture is to establish a good data base. The methodological problem is how to manipulate

that data to shed light on the questions one is concerned to answer.

Establishment of a good data base requires first that the specimens be well-documented. Obviously the amount of documentation that is needed will vary with the study undertaken but a certain minimum must be met in every case. Next any bias in the data base must be considered. It has often been asserted that material collections are unsuited for research purposes because the sample is not representative of the total universe of objects present in the culture and is not a representative sample of what was available, often being weighted toward the more decorative, exotic, or easy to acquire. While this is true, it is equally true of any other collection of data. No ethnographer is able to observe all the behavior that takes place, nor can he/she record all that is observed. Just as old ethnographic accounts are biased in the information they present, established collections of artifacts are a selective representation of what was produced. Scholars working with specimen collections should use the same caution as when evaluating any data. In material culture studies as in all fields of research old collections of data are a good ground against which to test new ideas as it is certain that the current perspective of the researcher has not biased the collection of the data. In Chapter II the data on which

this study is based is discussed together with my steps to establish reliable documentation and evaluate inherent bias.

Past methods for analysis of material culture have been oriented to technological description and trait identification. Structuralism provides an alternative method for the analysis of material culture that facilitates its integration into a wider range of theoretical studies. Through the study of structure the underlying pattern in artifacts can be identified and effectively compared with patterns in other areas of cultural life. In Chapter IV, I have identified the basic underlying structure of Cheyenne pictography and demonstrated how it relates to the structure of interaction in other areas of Cheyenne society.

Once structure in artifacts or other cultural products is identified it must be interpreted before its significance can be understood. Fieldwork has been one basic technique for establishing such interpretation and for many materials direct work with informants or detailed field notes related to particular specimens is essential. In other cases such information may be drawn from other sources. The distinction appears to rest primarily on the extent to which the item is representational and the thing that it represents can be identified clearly. Complex concepts or specific identifications may be associated

with material forms, but unless those forms are fairly realistic depictions the outside observer cannot guess what they might be. An illustration of this distinction is the contrast between Nancy Munn's (1973) work on Walbiri sand drawings and J. David Lewis-Williams' (1981) study of San rock art. Graphic elements of the Walbiri pictures stand for persons, animals, and landscape features, but the artist alone knows which. Extensive work with individual artists was necessary for Munn to identify the referents in the pictures before she could consider what the overall message of any picture was. The art tradition that Lewis-Williams was studying was no longer active and artists could not be consulted. The figures in the pictures and a fair amount of the action could, however, be readily identified without specific cultural knowledge because of their representational style. From that base he was able to consult the ethnographic literature to gain some insight into the cultural perception of those figures and activities.

The Cheyenne pictographic art on which this study is based is similarly representational and figures can be readily identified. There is good literature from a variety of sources both historic and modern on which to draw for interpretation of the cultural significance of the figures that appear. While additional information could undoubtedly be contributed by contemporary Cheyennes

this study has remained a "formal" one in the sense that it is limited to data already existing in the material record and the ethnographic literature.

Several limitations on material culture study have been noted. However, it also has certain unique advantages over other forms of data. Material culture is a first hand source of information comparable to an individual statement. It is not a second hand ethnographic account so nothing is lost in the process of transmission. Like a native text it provides original information even to the scholar who is removed from its producer by time or space. Material objects may survive when cultures change or disappear altogether. They are documents from a past which is no more and the information they carry may not exist in any other form. They may also draw on sources not touched by other scholars. Until recently many ethnographers produced descriptions of whole societies based in information gathered from a handful of individuals. Specimens collected may represent a broader segment of the population.

Not all forms of artifacts will be found to be of value in understanding cultural processes, just as not all types of behavior have been. Conclusions as to what is and is not meaningful must be established on empirical grounds based on analysis with appropriate methods, however. It cannot be assumed in advance that any body of

data is lacking in value because we do not know how to use it.

CHAPTER II

THE PICTOGRAPHIC DATA

Inadequate documentation has been a problem in material culture studies and unsystematic selection of sources has been a weakness of many structural analyses. In the light of these difficulties, a careful examination of the data on which this study is based would appear in order. I have included in this analysis all specimens I was able to examine that are reliably documented as of Cheyenne origin and sufficiently similar to allow effective comparison. The resultant data base was sufficiently small to eliminate the necessity of sampling and yet still large enough to allow meaningful quantification of results.

This chapter will define the type of pictographic art under consideration and differentiate it from other materials so that a clearly defined set of comparable data can be established. It will discuss factors influencing the formation of the data base including the general availability of specimens and the amount of information accompanying them. The standards used to determine

whether a specimen was adequately documented to justify inclusion in the study are discussed as well as critical methods for evaluating the reliability of existing documentation and adding to it. The resultant data base is examined and its limitations and biases considered.

A complete listing of the specimens on which this study is based is given in Appendix A. A summary of the documentation of each is included together with an evaluation of the reliability of the information.

Defining the Data Base

Painting was a prominent art form on the Plains and well-developed among the Cheyennes, with hides a favored medium. In addition to general background color, a variety of figures and designs was produced. These can conveniently be divided into the categories of geometric and representational forms. The former consist of lines, dots, and blocks of color combined to produce designs. There has been long debate as to whether certain decorative designs were abstractions from actual objects and life forms (Boas 1955; Kroeber 1901), but in any event such antecedents cannot be recognized by the uninformed observer. Representational art on the other hand presents images immediately grasped at least superficially by the naive observer. A viewer totally unfamiliar with the art

form or the culture can perceive that the drawing represents for example a person, although detailed identification of tribe, sex, or social role would require specialized knowledge. The rendering of three-dimensional objects in a two-dimensional medium automatically requires abstraction from reality and Cheyenne pictures utilize extreme economy in representation, but the elements chosen communicate effectively cross-culturally.
Representational painting was produced only by men while women produced most geometric forms, suggesting that the distinction between the two was significant in native perception.

Representational art can be further divided into two forms that Christian Feest (1980:51-55) has called pictographic and visionary. As the name implies, visionary art was based on images received in visions or similar extraordinary experiences of contact with the supernatural, while pictographic art was based in ordinary visual experience.

Pictographic art was produced in a broad range of forms utilizing a variety of media and serving various functions, as detailed in the following chapter. Some works are finely detailed while others are so crudely delineated that on the basis of aesthetic criteria alone they might not be considered art at all. Structural analysis is concerned with examining relationships, so the

defining characteristic I am using is not media or function or quality of form but whether a relationship is depicted.

Pictographic works are often described as biographical, historical, or heraldic. These terms all presuppose some knowledge of the purpose or context of production. In establishing an unbiased data base, I considered it preferable to consider only criteria inherent in the objects themselves. Most pictographic drawings are representations of events or activities. Action dominates many scenes, but more significantly interaction is depicted. Even in pictures of single figures, interaction with an unseen other is implied in most cases.

When the corpus of pictographic material is examined with the criteria of depiction of interaction in mind, certain categories are found to differ sufficiently to make comparison unprofitable. Probably the most extensively studied form of Plains pictography is the calendar or "winter count". Best known among the Kiowa, Lakota, and Blackfeet, they were kept by other tribes as well, including the Cheyenne. A single Cheyenne specimen was located for study, the Chunky Finger Nails calendar, available on microfilm at the Indian Archives of the Oklahoma Historical Society (OHS-IA:CAA). The images in calendars were mnemonics calling to mind a particular

event for each year to which other events could be tied. Single figures were generally adequate for this mnemonic purpose and interactions are seldom clearly depicted. The unique compositional demands of producing an individual picture for each year resulted in a collection of unrelated images rather than a compositional whole. Pictographs were also used as a literal form of picture writing for sending messages. Such messages were evidently common among the Cheyenne (Pratt 1964:182) and at least four have survived (see discussion in Chapter III). Such picture letters may include a number of figures, but like the calendars, the individuals do not appear in interaction and are a series of figures in static association. The final category of pictures excluded from this study are illustrations of objects produced at the request of scholars. These include a number of works produced for James Mooney (NAA 2538) by several different artists and two sets of drawings done for Albert S. Gatschet by Daniel Little Chief (NL n.c.; NAA 2016A). These pictures are primarily static representations of single items and not readily amenable to analysis of the type applied in this study.

Visionary art differs from pictographic art in a number of respects including subject matter and compositional form. The subject of visionary art is usually spirit forms whose assistance was claimed or

sought. These commonly appear as animals or anthropomorphic figures with spiritual attributes such as horns or wavy lines representing the emanation of power. At times the images are abstracted beyond recognizability, but unlike geometric art there is no difficulty eliciting from knowledgeable informants precise interpretation as to what the figure represents (Mooney:NAA 2538). Visionary art may include single or multiple figures, but compositionally they maintain their status as independent units even when combined on a single object. They appear as a collection of images rather than an interaction unit. Shields and tipis are the most common items on which visions were represented and the ownership of them and right to reproduce the vision-inspired image could be transferred to those who had not themselves experienced the vision.

The division of cultural material into categories such as pictographic or visionary always holds an element of arbitrariness. The categories that I have established are analytic devices intended to facilitate comparison along a single dimension. No effort has been made to use ethnoscientific methods to identify native categories of classification.

Evaluating Specimen Documentation

The documentation that accompanies museum specimens

varies greatly in quantity and reliability. It may include information on the collection of an object, its production, or its place in the native society. The amount of information constituting adequate documentation for research purposes will vary with each study being done. The critical factor in this project is tribal identification and specimens that are well-documented as being of Cheyenne origin form the data base. The study is enriched by the availability of information on date, artist, and context of production for some objects. Museum record systems consist of three basic parts: the catalog, the accession files, and documentary material such as correspondence, photographs, or field notes. The catalog is the central source of reference for museum research and contains basic information about the objects themselves, including tribal origin. The accession files provide information about the acquisition of objects and form the basis for establishing custodianship of materials entrusted to the museum. Document files may contain a variety of types of information. Scholarly collectors may have made field notes or prepared manuscripts about the collections. Correspondence relating to acquisitions may be placed in the accession files or may exist in a separate document file. There may be photographs of specimens in use or subsequent to collection. Ideally, the museum's catalog includes a summary of the information

in these original sources as well as additional information added by the curatorial staff but this cannot be relied upon. Documentary files are the least consistently organized of museum records and often the least well-kept. If the museum is part of a larger institution such as a university of or historical society, these records may have been distributed to a separate library or archives and some digging is necessary to locate them all.

As in all scholarly research, specimen documentation must be subjected to critical evaluation. Many factors operate to introduce inaccuracy into these records. First, it cannot be assumed that the catalog accurately summarizes all information in the museum's records. Few museums have formal procedures for information handling at present and such procedures were almost certainly lacking at the time old collections were cataloged. Second, information received with collections may not have been subjected to scrutiny and verification at the time of acquisition. Third, the catalog frequently does not distinguish between established provenience based on documentation and attribution based on the personal opinion of the donor or staff. It is essential that the researcher attempt to examine the original documentation, that all records for a specimen be checked for consistency of information, and that the basis for the information

recorded be determined and an assessment made of how convincing it is.

For many items, reliable documentation is lacking or assessment of the reliability of the identification cannot be made on the basis of existing records alone. In these cases it may be possible to generate additional documentation from an examination of new sources, however, making undocumented specimens usable and providing independent verification of existing information.

Specimen identification can be based on three types of information: direct documentation, indirect documentation, and internal characteristics, or a combination of these. Direct documentation is usually in the form of notes from the collector recording where, when, and from whom the item was acquired. The specimens on which this study is based are unique in that the notes are often written directly on the object, particularly on paper items. When the notes occur separately, it is necessary to be certain that the item under study is in fact the one referred to. First-hand information from the original collector is most reliable. Many historic items, however, have been passed down within a family prior to transfer to a museum and the documentation accompanying them is in the form of family tradition. There is the possibility that information that has been orally transmitted prior to recording may have become distorted

or been transferred from one object in a collection to another. When an item has passed through several hands, it is possible that information from a secondary source has been added along the way. For example, a drawing book at the Kansas State Historical Society (KSHS #1) is clearly inscribed as "drawn by Wild Hog and other Cheyenne Indian Cheifs[sic]". A letter from the widow of the collector, however, indicates that the inscription had been added by her son and she was uncertain of its accuracy. Aside from transmission problems, the original reliability of collectors must be assessed. Were they sufficiently familiar with the people from whom they were acquiring material to accurately record the tribe of origin? Is the information they provided plausible and internally consistent as to placement of tribe at the date of collection?

Direct documentation may have been separated from the object. When a collection has been dispersed among several institutions complete records may not have accompanied all items. For example many Cheyenne specimens collected by James Mooney are in the collection of the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago. Mooney's collecting notes relating to these specimens are in the National Anthropological Archives at the Smithsonian Institution. If such dispersed information can be clearly tied to specimens, it is reliable direct documentation.

Indirect documentation is established when a specimen is linked to documentary information that did not originally accompany it. Such information may be about a whole collection rather than individual specimens. If the item can be established to be part of that collection, the general information may be assumed to apply to it as well. Often such general information must be established for the collection through research on the collector.
Biographical research may indicate when and where the collector would have had the opportunity to acquire the items. Many items in this study came from army officers and missionaries who had a limited period of service during which they were in contact with Indians. Military and mission records are available to establish where they were stationed during that time. Scrutiny of entire collections can help to determine whether they appear to have been assembled first hand from people with whom they were in direct contact or are secondary assemblages from a variety of sources. Autobiographical information is sometimes available in published or diary form and may yield direct as well as indirect documentation. Homer Wheeler's acquisition of a ledgerbook now at the Museum of the American Indian (10/8725) is detailed in his book The Frontier Trail (1923) and John G. Bourke describes the acquisition of several specimens in his diaries, which are in the library of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point.

In addition to collectors and collections, it may be possible to identify a specimen by linking it to other well-documented pieces. The difficulties of identification based on internal characteristics are discussed below, and this connection is best relied upon for confirmation of information derived through other means. In some instances, however, the style of a particular artist is distinctive and well-established through clearly documented examples of his work. Several artists who produced works while imprisoned at Ft. Marion fall into this category and works by several are attributed to them on the basis of style. Similarly, the Pope ledger at the USMA Library appears to have been produced by not only the same artist but at the same time as a ledger in the possession of the Foundation for the Preservation of American Indian Art and Culture. In addition to similar artistic style, the two books are of identical form and contain inscriptions in the same hand.

Internal characteristics of specimens are those aspects derived from examination of the item itself, including style, content, and inscriptions. While the style of particular artists may be recognized, a clear definition of a general Cheyenne artistic style has not been formulated and it is not intended to do so here. Clearly there is great variation among Cheyenne artists and much similarity to the work of a number of other

Central and Southern Plains tribes such as the Lakota, Arapaho, and Kiowa, as distinct from the Northern Plains style of the Crow and Blackfeet. While style characteristics can be used to establish that a specimen might be Cheyenne, they are insufficient alone as a basis for identification.

The use of content for identification is based on examination of activities and personal paraphernalia. Among the Plains tribes working in a similar style, many customs were shared and there are few whose depiction is sufficiently distinct to tie the drawing to a specific tribal origin. It is sometimes possible to say that a series of drawings are probably not Cheyenne because a ritual is shown that they did not practice, such as the Elk Dance. The identification of particular historic events is even more difficult in the absence of outside information. Peter J. Powell has been able to establish some such identifications with the help of tribal elders and historians (1975a; 1975b; 1976). Just as customs were widely shared on the Plains, so were styles of clothing and ritual regalia. In the absence of a comprehensive cross-cultural study of soldier society equipment, it can only be said that certain items such as the horned bonnet of the Crazy Dog society and the ring rattle tied to the lance of the Bowstrings seem to be unique to the Cheyenne. Many war shields are carefully drawn in pictures and I had

hoped that these could be identified by reference to Mooney's extensive notes on Cheyenne heraldry. Attempts to match shields in drawings to the Mooney material have been largely unsuccessful, however. While a general sense of Cheyenne shield style can be grasped, this is insufficient for purposes of identifying drawings. Name glyphs have likewise proven unsatisfactory as a key to identification due their extreme simplicity and the likelihood of their being shared by several tribes.

Inscriptions on the other hand have proved to be of considerable value in tying specimens to a tribe. Aside from documentary inscriptions which record the collecting of the object, a variety of inscriptions identifying individuals or events are found. Native language inscriptions, while rare, are conclusive. Names in English translation may require some verification as certain names were common to several tribes. Captions to events may be too general to be of much assistance, such as identifying a scene as a fight with the Crow, but some are much more specific (see NAA 4653) and tie items to unique historical events.

The material included in the data base for this study has been restricted to items with direct documentation or strong indirect documentation. In all cases, an effort has been made to verify the documentation through independent sources, to evaluate it for internal

consistency, and to consider its plausibility through examination of internal characteristics. Careful evaluation of the documentation does not preclude potential error, however. As mentioned previously, reliable documentation may have been mistakenly transferred from one specimen to another. Many specimens are the product of several artists who may have been of different tribes. And in almost all cases, the collection of the specimen is documented, not its production. Many objects were freely traded between tribes and the fact that an item was acquired from the Cheyenne does not in itself establish that a Cheyenne produced it.

In addition to establishing the tribal origin of specimens, I have also sought to identify the individual artist when possible. Such identification may be based on information provided by the collector, on inscriptions, or on attribution by style. Each of these presents particular difficulties. First, the collector's information must be interpreted. Ownership and authorship are not identical and the individual from whom a specimen was acquired may not have been the artist. Second, inscriptions must be interpreted with care. If the inscription is only a name and does not state that this is the author of the picture, it may have been intended to identify the person depicted rather than the artist. The presence of numerous pictures by the same artist bearing

different name inscriptions establishes that this was common practice. Third, attribution by style can only be attempted when there is a body of well-documented works by the artist on which to base comparison. This is feasible for few artists outside those who produced works while imprisoned at Ft. Marion where documentary inscriptions were commonly added. Considerable variation exists even within the work of known artists as their style developed over time or was influenced by the medium in which they were working.

Identification of artists is further complicated by the common practice of several artists placing drawings in a single book. The documentation may establish the name of only one of the artists. In these communal works there may be considerable emulation of style and it is often difficult to distinguish the work of the various artists. For these reasons, it has not proven feasible to analyze the work of individual artists separately. Identification of individuals has been used rather to establish demographic information about artists in general.

Assessing the Data Base

The materials on which this study is based were located through letters of inquiry sent to over 40 museums and libraries known to have substantial American Indian

collections and by reference to lists of Cheyenne art published in Snodgrass (1968), Petersen (1971), and Powell (1981). It was possible to include all major collections that I received response from with the exception of the Southwest Museum, as information on their holdings was not received in time. Some small collections were excluded as their size did not justify travel to examine them in person and adequate information could not be obtained by mail. As indicated in Appendix A the majority were examined in person, with photographs or other reproductions referred to when the actual specimens were not available. No effort was made to examine items unless the institution suggested that they might be Cheyenne and no doubt many poorly documented Cheyenne items that are unidentified or misidentified were overlooked. All materials used are in public repositories or have been published and so are available to other scholars for examination and verification.

The data base consists of 60 specimens comprising 1700 individual pictures. The number of pictures per specimen ranges from one to 137. Guided by the definition of pictography given above, an individual picture was defined as a narrative unit representing a distinct event, regardless of the number of figures involved. For works on paper, the individual page or two facing pages was the usual unit of representation. The division between

pictures on hides and muslins was less obvious and masses of figures had to be examined before the individual compositions could be distinguished. Once a familiarity with basic conventions of representation was developed from examining the simpler works on paper, there was no difficulty in doing this. While the figures and feats depicted on these large scale works often blend into one another visually, careful examination showed them to consist of a series of narratively discrete incidents.

The data base is heavily weighted with works on paper (94%) as opposed to hides (5%) and muslins (1%). This is the result of factors of collection, preservation, documentation, and accessibility. As discussed in the following chapter, works on paper may have been a major mode of pictographic expression during the period when the Cheyenne were in close contact with non-Indians assembling collections of Indian artifacts. Paper works may well have been more available for collection as they were more plentiful than other items or the owners may have been more willing to part with them as the materials could readily be replaced. Paper works particularly in the form of ledger books may have been more attractive to collectors as their small size made them convenient to carry or ship. Once collected, these same factors undoubtedly influenced their continued preservation over the years. Bulky hides and muslins that made exotic

furnishing for the quarters of military officers or traders had no place in the family parlor, while a book of drawings might find a place on the library shelf. Paper works were also less subject to the ravages of time. The notes of a number of collectors refer to painted hides that had to be discarded due to insect damage. Also the preservation of a single ledger may account for a greater number of images than a work in another medium would provide. Ledger books in this study contain an average of 37 pictures as opposed to muslins or hides which average only 6 scenes per specimen. Paper works are also more likely to be documented than other items as collectors often inscribed information on the items themselves, assuring its preservation. Standards of minimum documentation eliminated several muslins and hide paintings from this study. Finally, paper specimens are more accessible in museums. The unwieldy size and poor condition of many painted hides and the potential damage resulting from their handling has led some institutions to restrict access to them pending conservation treatment. The important collection of the Museum of the American Indian could not be included for this reason. Comparison of analytic results based on paper and non-paper specimens reveals no significant differences, however, so it does not appear that this disparity of materials has an affect on the results of this study.

Many of these factors are indicative of the relatively late date of most available specimens, particularly those with adequate documentation. The earliest dated item in the data base was collected in 1869 and the latest was produced in 1930. The majority come from the brief fifteen year period between 1875 and 1890. The conclusions drawn are therefore directly applicable only to this final era of Cheyenne pictographic production and can be applied to earlier years only by inference.

While the time depth of the sample is limited, a good cross-section of the Cheyenne tribe is represented. The middle years of the nineteenth century were a period of great change and upheaval for the tribe. Although a relatively small tribe with a population of 3000-5000, exigencies of trade, warfare, and the reservation system created numerous divisions.

The various bands of the Cheyenne ranged over a wide area of the central Great Plains from the Black Hills in the north to the Arkansas River in the south. With the establishment of Bent's Fort on the Arkansas River in the 1830's, the southern bands made it their primary trading center while the more northerly bands continued to focus their trade activities on the posts of the Upper Missouri River. The two divisions became geographically separate although they still considered themselves one people and individuals moved freely between northern and southern

bands. The area between the northern and southern divisions was inhabited by a group that was a unique merger of a residential band, the Masikota, and a military society, the Dog Soldiers, which developed in response to endemic warfare of the period. With the defeat of the Dog Soldiers by the U.S. Army in 1869 and the destruction of their village, members of the Masikota dispersed, some joining northern bands, most joining southern bands.

Separate reservations for the two divisions were established in the 1870's. The reservation for the Southern Cheyennes was established in Indian Territory by the Medicine Lodge Treaty of 1867 and some bands of the peace faction soon occupied it. Hostile bands and peaceful bands seeking to maintain a nomadic lifestyle were eventually forced onto the reservation as well, as the Southern Cheyenne were brought under complete military subjugation by 1875.

The Northern Cheyenne were originally assigned to the old Red Cloud Agency in 1868, which they were to share with the Sioux. Most of the tribe, however, continued to hunt on land to the west in the Powder River country until their final defeat in 1877. At that time bands were assigned to various locations, with most forced south to the Southern Cheyenne Reservation. Almost all of these eventually returned north, either as part of the unauthorized outbreak of 1878 or in later years with

governmental permission.

The data base contains specimens from all of these divisions. The earliest specimen with 103 pictures was captured when the Dog Soldier village was destroyed in 1869. Seventeen specimens with 622 pictures are from northern sources and 31 specimens with 595 pictures are southern. Seven others comprising 364 pictures were collected among the Southern Cheyennes but are by northern artists or combine the work of northern and southern. It is certainly possible that such mixing of sources has occurred in other specimens as well for which it is not recorded.

There are no Southern Cheyenne drawings for which a pre-reservation date has been clearly established. Nevertheless, materials from both the hostile and peace factions can be identified as well as from individuals imprisoned at Ft. Marion and individuals continuing life on the reservation. Following the Dawes Act of 1887 which provided for allotment in severalty, the Southern Cheyennes were forced to select individual allotments prior to the opening of the reservation for general homesteading. It has been found that patterns in the selection of allotments follow lines of band membership closely and reflect pre-reservation alliances (Moore 1980). For specimens with known artists or associations, it can therefore be determined whether the source represents a

former peace or hostile faction. The recognition of work from the Ft. Marion prisoners is easily accomplished as lists of prisoners are readily available.

Pre-reservation specimens captured in battle are available for the Northern Cheyenne and represent forces resistant to reservation placement. Other specimens were collected from groups forced to remove to Indian Territory and represent the faction that broke out and eventually surrendered at Ft. Robinson or Ft. Keogh, individuals who were eventually allowed to leave Indian Territory, and individuals who chose to remain in the south.

The precise origin of all specimens cannot be determined as collecting data is lacking for many and source of collection and point of origin may be different. As discussed in the following chapter, a numerical analysis of subject matter of northern and southern materials shows some differences, largely reflecting the different contexts of production. Analysis of compositional forms does not, however, reveal any patterns of difference between northern and southern, hostile and peace factions. The only group of material that differs substantially in compositional usage and figure placement is that produced by the artists who were imprisoned at Ft. Marion. Their work will be singled out for comparison at various points. Unless otherwise specified, statements about Cheyenne pictographic conventions apply to all

divisions of the tribe.

Utilization of existing collections of specimens puts the researcher in the position of employing post hoc sampling techniques. Rather than establishing criteria for developing a representative data base in advance, one can only evaluate the data one is presented with to determine what biases may be present in the sample that has been preserved. The present data base appears to be broadly representative of various divisions of the tribe but is limited in the period of time it represents and the media employed.

CHAPTER III

CONTEXT OF THE ART FORM

Cheyenne pictography was over and above all the art of the warrior. This chapter will seek to place this warrior art within a historical and cultural context. To do so information from contemporary descriptions and later ethnography must be drawn upon to supplement observations from surviving specimens. The historical development of the art will be traced and the range of subject matter examined. With that background, the purpose and function of pictography will be considered. Finally individual artists will be identified.

Historical Development

The origins of Cheyenne art are obscure and can probably never be traced precisely because of a general lack of documented specimens and written description. Like other tribes of the Plains interior, the Cheyennes had little direct contact with Whites until the middle of the nineteenth century. The travelers and artists who produced early records of the Plains tribes and secured

the few actual specimens that survive from that time period largely confined their activities to the relatively accessible area along the Missouri River. As the Cheyennes had abandoned their habitations along the river even by the time of Lewis and Clark's 1803-1806 expedition, little information on their representational art forms in these early years can be found. No pre-1850 specimens are known and artists' renderings are few. The early history of Cheyenne pictography must therefore be developed by inference from the art traditions of better recorded Plains tribes. This history has been discussed in some detail by Ewers (1939), Rodee (1965), Petersen (1971), and Szabo (1983). All of these studies have been hampered by the dearth of reliable data, but they present the best reconstruction of the origins of Cheyenne art possible at this time. The following summary of the early history of Cheyenne pictography is based on their findings. For the more recent historical period well-documented specimens are available and discussion of development, function, artists, and subjects can be established by direct examination.

Rock art with pictures of men and animals is worldwide in scope and evidently of great antiquity and similar artworks were probably produced on less durable materials as well. It is assumed that the early immigrants to this hemisphere brought with them traditions

of pictorial art developed in the Old World Paleolithic and many new styles were developed in the New World. Ancestors of the historic Cheyennes may have produced some the petroglyphs found in the eastern Woodlands but none can be clearly linked to them. In fact, the historic connection between rock art and works in other media has been difficult to establish clearly for any group in North America. Petroglyphs and hide paintings are linked on a logical and stylistic basis rather than by actual documentation and focus on individual traits such as frontal versus profile representation, rather than broad-based compositional schema.

Painting on hides was reported by the earliest European explorers to North America. In most areas it consisted of geometric designs, blocks of color, or individual figures. With the exception of some items from the Southwest believed to show either Mesoamerican or Spanish influence (Hotz 1970), pictographic representation of events was found only among tribes of the Plains. From accounts of early explorers as well as the few surviving specimens, it is clear that hide painting on the Plains was concerned with recording events of warfare. Technical style changed over time, but the content of late 19th century hide painting is virtually the same as that of the earliest recorded items dating some 100 years previously.

The earliest Cheyenne hide painting that I have found clear representation of is a bison robe collected by the artist George Catlin in 1832-34. The robe itself was destroyed by vermin, but Catlin produced a drawing of it that is preserved in his 1850 Souvenir of the North American Indian Portfolio (NYPL). Catlin is notorious for inaccuracy in representation of Indian subjects (Ewers 1956), but his sketchy indication of combat scenes is consistent with subject matter appearing on specimens from other Plains tribes of the era. (This robe's unique ithyphallic imagery is discussed in Chapter V.)

During the 19th century, pictographic drawings began to be produced on paper as well as on hides. With the exception of some individuals who were provided with materials and encouraged by White artists, most made use of discarded or captured ledgers, memorandum books, rosters and similar sources of paper available from outside sources. For convenience of reference, these may all be referred to as ledger art. It is not known when the Cheyenne began to use paper for drawings, but Powell (1976:9) has suggested that this innovation probably arose among the Southern Cheyenne who had greater access to such materials after the establishment of Bent's Fort as a trading center in their territory during the 1830's. The earliest record of Cheyenne ledger art dates to 1868 when a book of drawings was captured from Black Kettle's

village following the Battle of the Washita (Keim 1885:223). What became of this book is not known, but Keim described it as containing scenes of warfare, indicating that pictographic art in this new medium continued the subject matter of the hide painting tradition . The earliest surviving documented example of Cheyenne pictographic art is a ledger now preserved at the Colorado Historical Society (CHS 673), which was captured at the Battle of Summit Springs in 1869. It also contains pictures of warfare. About the same time that paper was coming into use as a medium for drawing, other materials obtained from Whites appeared as well. Canvas and muslin were beginning to be used for tipi and tipi liner construction, and the drawings that had formerly appeared on their hide counterparts were transferred to these new materials.

Following the outbreak of Indian hostilities on the Southern Plains in 1874-5, a group of 72 Cheyenne, Arapaho, Kiowa, and Caddo Indians were taken prisoner and transported to the old Spanish bastion of Ft. Marion in St. Augustine, Florida, where they were held from 1875 to 1878. These prisoners were encouraged to engage in various tasks by which they could earn some spending money and 27 of them, including 15 Cheyennes, produced drawings for sale (Petersen 1971; Szabo 1983:202). Many of these drawings have survived and probably represent the best

studied and most widely published aspect of Cheyenne art (Petersen 1968, 1971; Hoebel and Petersen 1964; Dunn 1968, 1969; Supree 1977).

While these individuals were imprisoned and following their release, other artists were actively producing works among both the Northern and Southern Cheyennes. Specimens on paper, canvas, or muslin are plentiful from the 1870's and 1880's but decline for the 1890's and are virtually unknown for the 20th century except for a few commissioned pieces.

In the 1930's easel painting was encouraged among the Cheyennes and with sponsorship of the Indian Arts Board a market for these works was developed outside the native community. These works differed stylistically from traditional pictographic art, reflecting White tutelage and encouragement. Of equal significance, they differed in their approach to subject matter in several ways as we shall see below.

The Fort Marion artists have been called "the first exponents of the Contemporary school of Indian art" (Petersen 1971:ix) and are cited as "leaders in a new renaissance of Plains Indian painting" (Furst and Furst 1982:170), but an examination of the available materials reveals that they had little impact on Cheyenne art of the period. For whatever reason, the Ft. Marion artists did not produce drawings after their return from prison and

schooling in the East. Only a single specimen, a book of drawings by Howling Wolf (JAM 39.1966), can be established to have been produced after their return. Although they did not produce drawings themselves they were in close contact with other artists and might have provided instruction or suggestions, as is documented for the Kiowa (Petersen 1971). Ledger art for use within the tribe shows no change following the return of the prisoners to the Southern Cheyenne reservation, however. As discussed below, works produced for sale do exhibit elaboration of form, but this change appears in items from the Northern Cheyennes who had no contact with the returned prisoners as well as among southern artists. Placed in historic context, the Ft. Marion work can be seen as part of a broad developmental trend rather than as an inspiring catalyst for change.

Subject Matter

As established in Chapter II, pictographic art was primarily concerned with representing scenes of interaction. People are the main actors in these scenarios, either confronting each other or interacting with birds or animals. Plant life is seldom shown in any detail and isolated objects are rare. Most drawings are spare in composition, typically including only two

individuals and a single activity. This simplicity is abandoned in much Ft. Marion and later reservation work, however, in which scenes become increasingly complex. Many participants engaged in a variety of activities may appear in a single drawing.

Plains pictographic art is commonly described as consisting of stereotyped scenes of warfare, horse stealing, and occasionally courting. A detailed examination of Cheyenne drawings presents a surprisingly different picture, however, as shown in Figure 1.

As can be seen, scenes of warfare do not totally dominate the art form, accounting for only slightly over half of the sample. Also, there are remarkably few pictures of horse stealing in spite of the prominence of the activity in Cheyenne life. While some of the fights depicted may have occurred during horse raids, it was nevertheless the combat that the artist chose to commemorate. Drawings of people are difficult to classify with certainty if no specific activity is shown. Rather than draw inferences from clothing and equipage, I have merely grouped these together as portraits or scenes of indeterminate social exchange.

Prior to White introduction of literacy, the Cheyennes relied upon the use of name glyphs or the representation of distinctive shields or other regalia as well as accompanying narrative to identify individuals in

pictures. It is clear, however, from the few cases where native captions or interpretation are available that the drawings are of specific people and events. Traditional pictographic drawing was tied to a specific person and time, while Indian easel art of the 1930's represented a generic individual within an idealized past.

The subject range of pictographic art expanded as the artists encountered new objects and experiences with the increased expansion of Whites into Indian lands and with artists' travel beyond the reservation. The Ft. Marion artists for example included steamships, lighthouses, and butcher shops in their works as well as a wide range of tribal activities. Warfare scenes are reported from early hides and ledgers, but the Summit Springs ledger captured in 1869 establishes that courting was also an established theme of the pre-reservation era.

The Function of Pictographic Art

An examination of the items on which pictographs were produced gives insight into their function in Cheyenne society. Pictographs appear to fall into two basic categories, those produced to convey a specific message and those produced for public display. While few examples have survived, there is clear evidence that pictographs were used as a literal form of picture writing to convey information both within the tribe and between tribes of

the area. A marriage proposal might be presented by producing a drawing of a girl together with the articles that would be given to her family as gifts and sending it to her brother; a similar drawing of a girl and the items that would be given in exchange would be returned to the suitor if he were found acceptable (Grinnell 1972,2:27). If a camp moved while members were away, a drawing could be left to indicate where they could now be located. James Mooney collected such a "travel record" painted on a bison scapula (FMNH 96,825). The use of scapulae as sign boards is also recorded for the Sioux (Hassrick 1964:156). Like the gestural sign language of the Plains, pictographs appear to have been mutually understood by a number of tribes. Grinnell (1926:31-34) recounts a story of a fight that took place in 1838 in which a small war party of Cheyennes was killed by Pawnees. The Pawnees left an account of the engagement in the form of a charcoal drawing on a white log in their camp. The pictographic message was found and interpreted by a party of Sioux who carried the news of the massacre to the main Cheyenne camp. The Cheyenne who traveled to the site to collect the bones of their fallen friends found the log drawing and were able to learn the details of their deaths. The custom of leaving pictographic messages at abandoned camps persisted at least until the late 1870's as John Bourke reported finding drawings upon the inner bark of a number

of large cottonwood trees at the site of an abandoned Sioux or Cheyenne camp. The former inhabitants "had delineated in colors many scenes which were not comprehensible to us" (Bourke 1891:268). These might either have been representations of deeds done while at the camp or information on current location for the benefit of scattered members and allies.

With the advent of reservation life, the production of pictographic messages was not discontinued but rather facilitated by the availability of the U.S. postal service. The family of the Southern Cheyenne chief Minimic maintained a lively correspondence while he and his son Howling Wolf were incarcerated at Ft. Marion between 1875 and 1878 and a few of their and other letters are known (Pratt 1964:182-3; Mallery 1893:364; Petersen 1971:224; Silberman 1985).

Items produced for display are much better represented by surviving specimens. These most often take the form that Garrick Mallery (1886:90) described as "bragging biographies of chiefs and partisan histories of particular wars...on which some aboriginal artist has stained rude signs purporting to represent tribal or personal occurrences". They were drawn on robes, tipi liners, and occasionally tipis. Mallery's derogatory assessment aside, their careful execution, attention to detail, and esthetic merit give proof to Grinnell's

statement that these were often produced by individuals noted for their artistic skill rather than by the warrior depicted (1972,1:225). Robes appear to have primarily represented the accomplishments of the individual owner, but the greater expanse of tipi liners might represent the exploits of a number of individuals, such as the members of a warrior society. Tipi covers depicting events rather than visions or spiritual support were evidently rare among the Cheyenne and no examples are known to have survived. James Mooney was able to acquire a reproduction of a pictographic tipi that had been given to the Kiowa by the Cheyenne in the 1840's, but the drawings on it had been renewed a number of times and represented coups of its recent Kiowa owners rather than its Cheyenne originators (Mooney 1898; Ewers 1978). We can infer from its name, Tipi with Battle Pictures, that the original subject matter was also militaristic.

While these items were used for display, they can also be considered a medium of communication. Robes conveyed a clear message about the owner, validating his status as a warrior. The connection was so clearly recognized that saying one had painted one's robe was equivalent to saying one had gone to war (Grinnell 1972,2:7). Pictures on liners were a compilation of the accomplishments of a group. On a functional level, both gave public recognition to socially approved behavior and

presented graphic models for emulation, encouraging all young men toward similar achievements.

Ledger art is clearly a direct descendant of hide painting although the two coexisted for a period of time. As discussed elsewhere, the same simple scenes of individual interaction occur, although they are easier to pick out on the smaller page than on a crowded hide. Even with the transfer to use of pens and pencils for drawing, the traditional technique of an outlined image filled in with solid blocks of color was continued although more finely detailed drawings could be produced using pen or pencil on the smooth paper surface. Most surviving drawings are of such quality to suggest that skilled artists were in demand for these works as well as those on hide. The subject matter of ledger art was apparently much the same, focusing primarily on coup counting, although there is some expansion of subjects to include the important male activities of hunting, courting, ritual, and occasionally other subjects. The art form continued to represent valued male accomplishments.

Unlike hide paintings, we do not have any clear statements in the ethnographic literature on the place of ledger art in Cheyenne society, how drawings were produced, by whom and for what purpose. These drawings were obviously not suitable for public display in the same way that hide paintings were. Perhaps the information

that John Bourke recorded for the Arapaho applies to the Cheyenne as well. Friday, an Arapaho scout with whom Bourke was traveling, described the use of drawing books to him.

> The 'war-record' books we find, he says, are not necessarily the military history of one person: pretty nearly every boy has one which he keeps as a memento of his own prowess, but it is extremely common for intimate friends to insert in each other's books evidence of mutual esteem by drawing scenes from their past lives (to serve about the same purpose as the interchange of photographs and autographs does with us.)
>
> Bourke unpublished diary (USMA) 5/3/1877:20,pp.1972-3

Petersen (1971:64) attributed the drawings produced at Ft. Marion to nostalgia, "a homesickness sublimated to pictorial representation." The "nostalgia" explanation for Plains drawing is often repeated in the literature (Rodee 1965:225; Furst & Furst 1982:169), with artists described as harkening back to the lost days of coup counting and buffalo hunting through their drawings. While the idea of nostalgia may accurately reflect the feelings of some artists, it does not seem an adequate explanation for the production of ledger art as a whole. In the first place, ledger art was well established in the pre-reservation period when drawings represented recent events or ongoing activities. There was no break in the ledger tradition between pre-reservation and later works. Although the period of time between event and recording

may have lengthened, there is no evidence in the drawings themselves to indicate that the motivation for their production changed. While warfare and horse stealing were largely curtailed by the reservation experience, other activities often shown such as courting, ceremonies, and hunting a variety of game continued to be pursued. Furthermore, it was among those artists most separated from home, namely the artists imprisoned at Ft. Marion, that there was the most innovation in subject matter and the least reliance on the traditional subject of warfare.

An examination of actual ledgers gives a number of clues to their function. With the exception of works produced by men who were in prison, all appear to combine the work of several artists. The intermixing of their drawings from page to page and occasionally even on the same page indicates that the books were communally produced and not the work of sequential owners. Also a single artist often represented the deeds of more than one warrior, identifiable by inscription, name glyph, or distinctive regalia such as shield or war shirt. In all probability, these drawings like hide paintings are the work of skilled artists who were called upon to represent the deeds of others as well as their own. The picture emerges of men sharing their exploits, past or present.

In other cases, the motivation appears to have been historical. Some books contain scenes of events that took

place many years previously. The Evans ledger at the Smithsonian Institution (NAA 4653) contains scenes identified in captions representing a battle against eastern tribes that took place on the Solomon River in 1854, the Beecher Island fight of 1868, and the battle on Sappa Creek in 1875. The Cheyenne heroes shown were dead and the drawings did not so much validate their accomplishments for personal prestige as present them for the admiration of others. In a similar vein, representations of the same famous incident may be found in the work of more than one artist. Thus the rescue of Bear Foot by Last Bull, the Kit Fox chief, is found in both a ledger captured at the sack of Old Bear's village in 1876 (USMA) and in one acquired at Ft. Robinson in 1878 (AMNH 50.2/6618). It appears that ledger art continued the function of hide paintings of publicly acknowledging the accomplishments of individuals, although the emphasis was on establishing a model for emulation rather than the validation of personal prestige alone. Books of drawings did not make as impressive a display as a tipi liner might, but they were undoubtedly still shown and shared among at least the male members of the camp and became well known to them. When George B. Grinnell carried a ledger (MAI 10/8725) captured at the sack of Morning Star's village back to the Northern Cheyenne Reservation 22 years later, it was recognized instantly by Bull Hump

(Grinnell 1956:367).

In addition to hides and ledgers produced for native consumption, two other functional categories of pictographic art can be recognized: items made for sale to Whites and revival works made to illustrate Cheyenne history.

The earliest works documented as made for sale are those produced by the Ft. Marion prisoners. These artists were undoubtedly fully familiar with the pictographic tradition (Petersen 1971:17-18; Szabo 1983:175) and made the transition to producing drawings for sale almost immediately. The journalist Sidney Lanier reported the prisoners producing drawings shortly after their arrival at Ft. Marion. The earliest dated drawings of a Ft. Marion artist are by the Cheyenne Making Medicine (NAA 39A) and were produced in August 1875, when he had been imprisoned for three months. In this book of 22 drawings several changes from the basic pattern of ledger art can already be seen in addition to the obvious use of a formal drawing book. First, there is an expansion in the number of figures in each drawing from the usual two to as many as 29. Second, there is an expansion in the number of activities or interactions within each scene. For example, the picture entitled "A Buffalo in Camp" shows a suitor waiting outside a girl's tipi, a woman handing a hunter an arrow, and a group of men surrounding a bison.

Third, many pictures contain an indication of the background or setting beyond what is necessary for an understanding of the action. A number of tipis are drawn to represent the camp circle surrounding a Medicine Lodge ceremony. Fourth, the range of subject matter is greatly expanded to include drawings of birds, wrestling matches, and humorous incidents of camp life. Last, this book of drawings is the work of a single artist, not the communal production common in ledgers. These changes in representation are trends that were further elaborated in later Ft. Marion works, with the indication of setting evolving to full landscape depiction and the range of subject broadening to include many depictions of the White world these prisoners were encountering. Whether these artists were building upon a background of producing picture letters only as Petersen has argued (1971:23-25) or had more extensive experience as Szabo (1983:361-421) has sought to establish, their work diverged greatly from the mainstream of traditional ledger art.

The detailed documentation of Ft. Marion works is lacking for most Cheyenne specimens, but some others can be identified as also having been produced for sale. There are four muslin paintings at the Denver Art Museum (1958.192-195) and three at the West Point Museum (406-408) that were produced by the Northern Cheyenne scout White Bird for Capt. Richard Livermore in 1894.

Nonfunctional items such as model tipis and paintings on small hides were also probably made for sale. These sale works continued the traditional subjects of male pursuits of warfare and hunting, but several differ in the complexity of the scenes represented. The drawings are no longer a disorganized collection of individual events but an overview of group actions. Rather than a single hunter pursuing a single bison, we find a party of hunters pursuing a herd of animals; rather than a single coup, we see groups of warriors in action. Whether this change in content was dictated by White purchasers or was a native response to White tastes, it represents a distinct change from the Cheyenne view described by Wooden Leg as a system of warfare in which men "fought their battles as a band of individuals" (Marquis 1931:121). These pictures are more in keeping with the White perception of battles as strategic moves of companies.

The third functional category of Cheyenne art which I have called "revival" works were produced some years after pictographic art had been generally abandoned. Those included in this study were collected by James Mooney and Thomas Marquis and evidently were commissioned specifically as illustrations of the historic warfare period they were studying. Although produced in the 20th century, these drawings are consistent with the ledger art tradition of the 19th century and might well be attributed

to that time if not accompanied by documentation to the contrary. These collectors were anxious to capture images of a past era and encouraged artists to draw in the old time way (Bass 1957). These pictures represent the last images of the Cheyenne pictographic tradition.

The Artists

Among the Cheyennes as in many societies, pictographic art was the exclusive province of men. Women are not known to have produced representational drawings until well into the 20th century. While particularly skilled artists were sought after, it is evident that the number of men who engaged in drawing was still large and the role of artist was not specialized or a full time occupation. All divisions of the tribe contained artists and specimens survive from the Northern and the Southern Cheyennes, associated with both war and peace factions.

The usual practice was for groups of men to share books of drawings among them and the literature suggests that this was also common in the production of hide paintings. In contrast, works for sale were usually the product of a single artist. There is not sufficient information to establish the basis on which these artistic cooperatives were regularly formed, but a few specimens for which relevant documentation exists provide an

anecdotal impression. A book at the Museum of the American Indian (10/8725) contains drawings by High Bull and his friend Old Bear as well as other unknown artists. The Gilcrease Institute ledger (4526.11) was produced by at least seven artists who served together as army scouts at Ft. Reno. The Smithsonian ledger NAA 166,032 contains drawings by Yellow Nose, Thomas Bear Robe, Clyde Bear Robe, Man on the Cloud, and White Bird. Thomas and Clyde Bear Robe were brothers and members of the 12 Mile Point band together with Man on the Cloud. Their association with Yellow Nose appears to have been one of friendship. In these three cases there are examples of kinship, band membership, common work group, and friendship as the basis of association in addition to the obviously necessary common residence.

Beyond these general statements it is difficult to establish more specific information about artists. The problems of placing names with works were discussed in Chapter II, but the establishment of a name is just the start of identifying the artist as an individual. Some names were quite common and were shared by a number of Cheyennes. Among the brief list of known artists alone there are two Little Chiefs and two Roman Noses. The same name might also be used for individuals from different tribes. Both a Sioux and a Cheyenne chief were known by the English term American Horse. Independent

documentation was necessary to establish that a ledger at the Gilcrease Institute (GI 4526.19) was obtained from the Cheyenne chief of the name. Additionally, it was customary for men to change their names through the course of a lifetime, perhaps several times. For these reasons, a name found in a ledger might not appear anywhere else in tribal records or conversely, it might appear many times but not necessarily refer to the same person. The Ft. Marion artists are the easiest to establish information about. The Department of Indian Affairs sought to make an example of them, first by punishment for resistance to White authority and later to demonstrate the benefits of White education and training. They are frequently mentioned and clearly identified in agency records and well-remembered by Indian informants. For other artists I have sought to establish corroborative evidence as to their identity whenever possible. This information is presented in Appendix B.

Individual Cheyenne artists known by name are listed in Figure 2. Birth dates are given when this information could be established with fair certainty from the sources cited. Comparing this with the approximate date at which their drawings were produced, a rough estimate of the age at which artists produced works can be determined.

This analysis reveals two things about the artists. First, all were of an age to have taken an active part in

warfare. It was common for a young Cheyenne man to join his first war party at the age of 14 or 15 (Grinnell 1972,1:124; Marquis 1931:58; Stands in Timber 1967:63). The last period of warfare among the Southern Cheyennes ended in 1874 with a few additional incidents in 1875. The warfare period for the Northern Cheyennes ended in the winter of 1876-77 with new outbreaks of fighting in 1878-9 associated with the flight north from Indian Territory. A few individuals who served as scouts saw additional combat against the Sioux and Nez Perce in 1877, 1879, and again in 1891 during the Ghost Dance. Southern Cheyennes born by 1860 and Northern Cheyennes born by 1865 were raised in a climate of warfare. Not all Cheyenne men chose the life of a warrior and other avenues to personal success such as horse stealing and doctoring were available. The role of warrior was nevertheless the cultural ideal. All but a few of the known Cheyenne artists were of an appropriate age to have been warriors and for many corroborative information establishes that they in fact were.

The age chart shows that the artists were for the most part young men at the time they produced drawings. The only exception to this is Wooden Leg who did work for Thomas Marquis in 1930 at the age of 73. The next older artists are those who produced works specifically for sale: White Bird (age 38), Yellow Nose (age 43), and Hubble Big Horse (age 39). As Karen Petersen (1971:15)

asserted, drawing was considered a young man's pursuit and was generally abstained from after the age of 35 or 40. While we have age data only for artists working at a relatively late period of time, this pattern is consistent with Cheyenne values of an earlier period as well. A man was expected to devote the early years of his life to establishing his reputation as a warrior through acts of bravery and in later years to turn his attention to the internal welfare of the tribe, perhaps relinquishing his position as a warrior society chief to serve on the Council of Forty-four (Grinnell 1972,1:340-345; Moore 1974b:339).

These dual criteria of age and warrior status effectively explain the sudden disappearance of Cheyenne pictographic art in the mid-1890's. All the men who had participated in the era of warfare passed the age when it was considered seemly for them to produce drawings and there were no new artists to take their place. Why a background of warfare was necessary for an artist when many subjects other than battle were depicted will be discussed in Chapter V.

CHAPTER IV

THE STRUCTURAL BASIS OF PICTOGRAPHIC ART

This chapter will seek to establish that in addition to the explicit narrative content of each picture, an implicit message was also communicated by way of an underlying structure. Cheyenne pictographic art is built upon a small number of compositional types and regular patterns govern the placement of figures within the compositions. Structural analysis demonstrates that these various compositional types and apparently different subjects are all transformations of the same basic form and were concerned with expressing the same relationship between the figures in the picture.

For purposes of analysis the data base can be divided into a number of compositional types and subtypes based upon the placement of the figures in relation to one another. Unlike an art historical approach that is concerned with how images are placed within the medium, this compositional analysis combines spatial and social relationships of figures. The compositional types that I have distinguished are bilateral, bipolar, single, serial,

tripartite, and vertical.

Bilateral Compositions

The majority of Cheyenne pictures are of two figures in interaction. The placement of these figures side by side generates a simple bilateral pattern that forms the basic structure of Cheyenne art (Plate 1). These figures generally contrast with one another through various distinguishing traits. These may be either inherent characteristics of the figure such as gender or tribal membership, which would be the same if the figure were removed from the picture, or situational status that is only defined by his or her role in the context of the picture. Even with inherent characteristics, reference to the context of the picture is necessary to determine which are relevent. Every figure fills a number of categories simultaneously (male, Cheyenne, warrior, shield bearer, etc.), and our attention is brought to bear upon a particular one only by contrast with the other figure in the picture. Through a combination of inherent status and situational role, the pictures present a series of bilateral oppositions.

An examination of the content within this bilateral structure reveals that the placement of figures is highly patterned in regard to what is placed on the left and the right. This regularity of placement suggests that the

structure is meaningful in organizing content. First, the structure unites various pictures of similar scenes into a consistent pattern so that the basic relationship between the figures is stressed. The common elements stand out among the wealth of differences associated with the particular scene, and the individual event can be placed as part of a socially recognized set. Second, the common structure creates a parallel between pictures with different subjects so that their content is brought into analogic relationship, such that A:B :: C:D. Apparently differing types of relationships are brought together into a consistent pattern and shown to have the same underlying logic, so that an understanding of one gives insight into another.

Let us examine the nature of the relationships expressed in these structured oppositions.

The most frequent subject of pictures is combat between a Cheyenne warrior and an opponent in which a particular feat, or coup, is depicted. The Cheyenne regularly appears on the right and the non-Cheyenne on the left. In addition to the tribal contrast, these pictures can also be seen as representing a winning and a losing party. The former is based on the inherent characteristics of the figures shown; the latter is situationally derived. In pictures where the outcome of the encounter is clear, the relations of victor and

vanquished are also found to be patterned, with the victor on the right (Figure 3).

As might be expected, most pictures are of Cheyenne victories and the figures of vanquished/victor are synonymous with non-Cheyenne/Cheyenne. There are, however, several pictures that clearly show the Cheyenne being vanquished by a foe or fleeing from enemies. In these pictures there is a conflict between the usual patterns of placement based on tribal identity and combat outcome. The Cheyenne cannot be on both the right and the left at once. There are four possible arrangements of figures in bilateral warfare scenes using the two axes of victor-vanquished and Cheyenne-non-Cheyenne. The frequency of each arrangement is charted in Figure 4. The large majority of pictures present no conflict in placement, but in those where conflict does arise, the outcome of the battle appears to carry greater weight than tribal origin in determining placement of figures. In scenes of Cheyenne defeats, the Cheyenne appears on the right only 13 times compared to 66 cases in which he is placed on the left. The relatively large number of pictures that violate both norms of placement and represent a complete reversal or mirror image of the usual pattern of content arrangement is surprising, but an examination of these cases reveals that 14 of them are the work of a single individual, Yellow Nose, indicating that

this variation largely represents individual idiosyncrasy rather than genuine diversity within the artistic community.

Hunting is another activity frequently employing bilateral composition (Plate 2). Of 94 bilateral hunting pictures, the hunter is placed on the right and the prey he is pursuing on the left in 79 cases (84%). The inherent opposition of human and animal is immediately brought to mind by these pictures, but the few pictures in which role reversal is found suggest otherwise (Plate 3). Here the tables are turned with the hunter pursued by his erstwhile prey. The placement of the man on the left and the charging bison on the right indicates that the hunted/hunter relationship is significant as well as that of man and animal.

Courting scenes present the fundamental binary opposition of male and female, readily transferrable into a bilateral pattern (Plate 4). In 157 (72%) of 217 bilateral courting pictures men are placed on the right and women on the left. These are not action scenes and so are difficult to redefine in situational terms as can be done for the subjects of warfare and hunting. In Cheyenne society, the male was expected to be the initiator and aggressor in courting, so the figures may be considered courter and courted as well.

Pictures in which men and women appear cover a range

of situations. Some clearly show the Cheyenne courting custom of a man and woman wrapped in the same blanket. Others imply courting activity with a man having his blanket over his head to conceal his identity or a woman carrying a bucket suggesting that she is on her way to fetch water, a favored time to catch a few moments alone with her. Other pictures show men and women without any indication of their relationship or depict them engaged in non-courting activities such as traveling, cooking, or other camp tasks. The consistent pattern of female left, male right in all of these pictures suggests that patterning in gender relations extends beyond courting and that in these pictures the sex of the individual is the critical organizational factor, not the context.

Pictures of warfare, hunting, and courting account for 88% of bilateral compositions. The remaining 12% are distributed among a variety of subjects so that it is not as easy to assemble groups with comparable content, but some patterns are clear. There are 20 pictures of a Cheyenne driving a horse or horses before him, presumably stealing them. In 18 (90%) of these the Cheyenne is on the right and the horses on the left. There are also a number of scenes of amicable encounters between Cheyennes and non-Cheyennes, either other Indians or Whites, in which the participants are making peace, visiting the camp of another tribe, or simply engaged in converse. Of the

22 pictures of this type, the Cheyenne is on the right in 18 (82%).

Bilateral opposition is found not only in pictures in which there are only two figures, but also in others that are elaborations or modifications of the basic structure. One modification is a simplification of the picture so that only one party is shown and the other implied. This occurs in warfare pictures in which only the Cheyenne is depicted and his enemy is represented in a conventionalized "short hand" method by showing only the head of his horse, the barrel of his gun, or the flight of the bullets or arrows he has discharged. Other pictures elaborate upon the bilateral structure by increasing the number of figures or embedding the bilateral set within a larger, more complex composition. This increase may place groups of figures in opposition or present more than one oppositional pair within a single composition, two or three courting couples in the same picture for example.

Yet others combine reduction and elaboration in the same picture. A group of 118 warfare pictures combine elaboration and reduction in a distinctive pattern to create a doubly bilateral structure (Plate 5). These pictures show sequential coups of a single warrior within one drawing, representing past and present actions side by side. Each action also has internal bilateral structure as in single pictures, but in the completed action scene

the Cheyenne warrior is implied by the presence of his weapon touching the defeated enemy. Superficially these pictures might be interpreted as a single Cheyenne facing a host of foes simultaneously or standing amidst a field of fallen enemies, but the presence of the same weapon touching each enemy reveals that the actions shown are actually consecutive.

The independence of the two parts of these composite pictures is further established by a rare instance in which we have a draft and a final copy of the same picture. While James Mooney was engaged in field work among the Southern Cheyenne in 1903-06, he commissioned the production of two pictographic tipi liners, now at the Field Museum of Natural History (96,796; 96,808). The preliminary drawings on paper made for his approval are preserved at the National Anthropological Archives (NAA 2538.1 & .3) and can be matched to the final hide paintings scene for scene. Most are structurally identical, but two cases involving sequential action show differences. In one the drawing on paper represents two actions, but the earlier one is dropped in the hide painting. In the other both actions are retained, but the earlier one is shifted from the left to the right side of the picture. These examples demonstrate that the two scenes are separate and can be manipulated independently. While the complete scene of action can stand alone, the

scene of implied action cannot. The internal structure of the complete scenes is the same as in simple bilateral compositions, with right left arrangement of non-Cheyenne/Cheyenne and vanquished/victor. The overall composition of the pictures opposes earlier and later actions with the earlier action appearing on the right 74% of the time.

In addition to the figures constituting the primary opposition of a picture, other items may be added that present secondary structuring. Horses and tipis fall into this category. Tipis are somewhat variable in their placement, but there is a tendency for them to be appear on the right. They are found in this position in 39 cases (54%), on the left in 24 cases (33%), and in the center 9 times (13%). This preference for right hand placement appears somewhat stronger when the narrative content of the pictures with left hand placement is considered. In 10 pictures the location of the tipi was necessitated by the action of the scene once the primary figures were positioned. Many of these are courting scenes in which female positions on the left is just emerging from her lodge. Common sense requires that it be placed on the left next to her.

Outside of scenes of horse stealing, horses do not hold independent positions in bilateral compositions but are evidently seen as adjuncts of their owners, present or

implied. Like tipis, horses are additions to scenes and their placement follows from the placement of the primary figures. When not being ridden, horses are shown standing behind their masters to either left or right depending on which way he or she is facing. In many pictures the figures opposed to each other are either both on horseback or both on foot. In pictures in which only one figure has a horse, it is the one on the right. The opposition of unmounted/mounted is thus created. In almost all cases, this attribute is in addition to other contrasts such as female/male or vanquished/victor and so is but a reinforcement of the established opposition, but in three instances it is the single distinguishing element between otherwise undifferentiated individuals.

Whether seen as in independent contrast or a secondary attribute, the unmounted/mounted distinction emphasizes the frequent redundancy of contrasts in pictures. Many scenes represent non-Cheyenne/Cheyenne, vanquished/victor, unmounted/mounted, even sometimes female/male simultaneously (Plate 6). The repetition emphasizes the message and gives it more power.

Several authors have noted that movement from right to left is a characteristic of Cheyenne art as well as that of other Plains groups. A careful analysis of movement as explicitly expressed in the direction figures face or move shows that such directionality is only a

general tendency. Only 44% of all pictures show movement to the left, while 45% show movement toward the center where the figures face each other, and 7% show no clear direction of movement. Only 4% have movement toward the right, however. Clearly, explicit action toward the left does not dominate composition. I suggest that what viewers of the drawings are perceiving is a compositional schema at once more fundamental and more subtle. It is the relationship between the figures as defined by structure. In each of the cases discussed above, the figure on the right can be seen as the author of the action depicted and the figure on the left the receiver, or to use a linguistic analogy, the right hand figure is the subject and the left hand figure the object. They are the actor and the acted upon.

While contrast is the basic theme of bilateral compositions, there are some pictures in which the two figures are undifferentiated by either inherent characteristics or role. Rather than bilateral opposition, these pictures appear to represent bilateral equivalence (Plate 7). Of the 38 compositions of this type, 26 (68%) are of people, 8 (22%) of animals, 3 (8%) of objects, and 1 (3%) of camp life. While these figures may represent a contrast that was apparent to the native viewer but is too subtle for me to perceive, it seems more likely that such contrast is not inherent in the picture

and could only be determined by external knowledge of the particular individuals shown. The significance of bilateral equivalence in composition will be discussed elsewhere.

Bipolar Compositions

Another group of pictures are composed with a vertical rather than horizontal axis of opposition, so that figures appear one above the other instead of side by side. I have entitled this type of composition bipolar (Plate 8). This structure may contain only two individuals or may be elaborated upon to contain a number of figures. In some cases the structure itself is elaborated so that there are upper and lower registers that may have internal bilateral organization.

Recognition of the oppositions expressed in bipolar compositions is more difficult than for bilateral compositions due to the nature of the data. The scenes are often more complex, containing a number of figures and actions so that it is difficult to distinguish the essential opposition expressed. Additionally, the smaller size of the sample and the greater range of subject matter result in fewer examples of any one type, thus making it harder to recognize underlying themes uniting unique representations. An examination of bipolar compositions

using the oppositions already established in bilateral compositions is, however, revealing and suggests that the same subject/object relationship pervades this structural system as well.

There are three bipolar compositions depicting warfare. In each case, the Cheyenne appears above his opponent. In two cases this positioning follows logically from the action shown. The Cheyenne has defeated an enemy who lies at his feet. In the third case, however, placement of the figures is independent of the narrative and could as easily be reversed. Bipolar composition is used for five hunting scenes. In four of these the hunters appear at the top of the page, in two cases within a bilateral upper register so that they occupy the upper right corner of the composition. Men and women appear together in only one bipolar composition, a scene of travel, not of courting. In this picture the men are ranged across the top of the page while the women are shown nearer the bottom. In these examples, the oppositions of Cheyenne/non-Cheyenne, hunter/hunted, and male/female occupy analogous positions within the structure as they did for bilateral compositions, but in this case the items that formerly appeared on the right are shifted to the top of the picture and those from the left to the bottom. Just as bilateral pictures of different subjects such as warfare and hunting may be seen

as transformations of content within a consistent structure, so may bilateral and bipolar compositions be seen as transformations of structure linked by consistent content.

Identification of bipolar compositions as transformations of the bilateral form enables us to recognize the basic theme of a number of pictures that appear to have unique subject matter and to use them to broaden our understanding of the nature of the subject/object relationship expressed. Three bipolar compositions illustrate soldier society gatherings in which a particular individual is being honored. In each case the honoree occupies the upper portion of the picture. A strict reading of the narrative of the picture would place this person as the receiver of either attention or actual gifts, but consideration of the intent of the recognition being depicted suggests an alternative interpretation. Men were singled out for such distinction in order to elevate them and acknowledge them as superior warriors, a superiority based upon the possession of great spiritual power. Another picture is of a social gathering in which a host and a few select guests sit and smoke in the upper portion of the picture while the main body of guests are shown seated below. Here again the honoree is at the top of the scene. A third group of five pictures representing three different aspects of life at Ft. Marion

are connected by compositional form. In each a group of Indian prisoners at the bottom face a single individual drawn above them. In three cases the individual is an officer. In one case it is their school teacher Miss Burt, and in the final instance it is Bishop Whipple, who offered religious and social exhortation to the prisoners while visiting the fort. In all of these we see the individual set off from the group, the leader or director set off from those under direction. The explicit narrative in these pictures is not one of action in which there is an obvious subject/object relationship as determined by the content of the picture. The picture instead establishes a context and comments on the inherent relationship between the figures in that context so that one is recognized as a source of influence or control.

Another group of bipolar compositions continues the same theme. Two books produced by Northern Cheyennes imprisoned at Dodge City (KSHS #1 and #2) contain 18 highly repetitive drawings of adult animals (female where sex can be determined) with young. In each, the young is drawn beneath the adult, suggesting that it is under the care of its mother.

Bipolar compositions do not appear randomly among the sample of Cheyenne drawings. Almost all are from two sources, the artists at Ft. Marion and the artists at Dodge City. The latter used the composition only for

pictures of animals as discussed above, but six different Ft. Marion artists used it for a broad variety of subjects. It is not surprising that a new compositional type should be added to the inventory of artists who produced large numbers of works, primarily for a non-native audience that encouraged elaborations and production of more complex scenes, and a bipolar arrangement is a simple one to hit upon. What is significant is that compositions that appear to be a complete innovation are in fact transformations of existing structures as revealed by the consistent placement of content within them. The development of the same transformation by two groups of artists working independently suggests that it is built upon a structuring principle extant in Cheyenne world view but not previously exploited for artistic organization.

Other Compositionsl Types

A third compositional type (Plate 9) consists of 157 pictures with only a single figure, almost always an animal (42%) or a man (52%). While this category appears numerically large, this may be a false impression. Many of the animals are horses and may be the mount of a warrior shown on foot on the facing page of a ledger rather than actually standing as a separate picture. I have not made this assumption unless the connection

between the two was clear, however. Of the single men shown, most are in war garb and some of these may represent combat scenes in which the enemy is implied as discussed above. Again, unless the action is expressed in some clear way, I have not assumed it. By definition, single compositions do not exhibit structured relations between figures amenable to analysis, but they are not unpatterned. Human and animal figures are usually drawn in profile with 87% of them facing to the left, only 8% to the right. Seven figures (4%) face directly forward or backward. While flow of influence is not relevant in these compositions, they consistently display movement from right to left.

Serial compositions (Plate 10) with groups of undifferentiated figures placed side by side appear in 49 pictures, with the number of figures ranging from 3 to 45. These pictures differ from those with bilateral equivalence only quantitatively, and like their bilateral counterpart are primarily (67%) pictures of Cheyenne men. Again 59% face or move to the left.

Tripartite compositions consist of three figures or groups of figures in which the outer two are equivalent and contrast with the central figure (Plate 11). Comparing these with patterns of figure placement established for the same subjects in bilateral and bipolar compositions reveals their structure. In 30 out of 41

pictures (73%), the central figure corresponds to the right or upper figure in the other compositional types. The left or lower position is now split and occupies the two sides of the picture. Considered in this light, the compositions described above as double bilateral in which the Cheyenne appears in the center between an enemy he is in the act of counting coup on and one he has already dispatched may be seen as a precedent for this type of composition.

Eleven pictures comprise the category of vertical compositions (Plate 12). These consist of a series of three bands (in one case 3 individuals) stacked one above another. In four cases the central band contrasts with the other two. In one case all three bands contrast. In the remaining six pictures the bands are equivalent, merely repeating the same subject. These pictures represent vertical transformations of horizontal tripartite and serial compositions respectively.

After considering the six compositional types enumerated above, 104 pictures representing 6.4% of the data are left as a residuum. Except for a few pictures that appear to be idiosyncratic variants of established compositional types, these pictures defy my attempts at classification. Of these unclassifiable drawings, 56 are by Ft. Marion artists and 25 are scenes of white life rather than native activities. The significance of these

distinctions will be discussed below.

CHAPTER V

METAPHORIC CONNECTIONS

Levi-Strauss (1969:199) devised the terms armature, code, and message to refer to various aspects of mythic structure. This terminology was further elaborated by Eva Hunt in The Transformation of the Hummingbird (1977:248). The armature is the basic pattern or properties that are shared in two or more myths and serve to unite them. The code is the system of associations ascribed to positions in the armature. The message is the subject matter of each individual myth. This terminology can also be effectively applied to graphic representation.

We have seen that Cheyenne pictographic art is built on a bilateral structure. That structure involves two principles, binary opposition and lateral placement. The binary system is the fundamental armature that provides the physical organization of pictures. Lateral placement relies upon a code that invests the right and left positions of the armature with meaning. Together these constitute the structure of the art form within which the content is placed, creating the message.

The Binary Armature

Binary opposition is one of the simplest of ordering principles. Whether or not it is the fundamental mechanism of human thought as Levi-Strauss has suggested, it is still widespread and pervasive and Cheyenne art is but one of many examples of its occurrence. (See Needham 1979 on the universality of binary classification). Binary opposition is found in many aspects of Cheyenne world view, but it is not the only system they use nor even the most prominent.

Cheyenne cosmology has been described in some detail by John Moore (1974a:142-186) and the following summary is drawn from his work. The Cheyenne conception of the universe is built on a vertical axis, with the earth's surface dividing it into an upper world and an underworld. Rather than a purely polar system, however, the emphasis is on a series of levels or gradations each of which is associated with particular phenomena. The highest and most important level is the Blue Sky-Space, which is the region of the sun, the moon, and other celestial bodies. Beneath that is the Nearer Sky-Space, the region in which birds and clouds are found. Next is the atmosphere that is in immediate contact with the earth's surface. This is the air that people breath and within which insects fly. The Surface Dome itself extends down to the area where

there are no longer any living or growing things. At the bottom of the scheme is the Deep Earth associated with caves and burrowing animals, such as the badger. Bears are associated with the Deep Earth because they live in caves, as are buffaloes, which originally emerged from a cave in the mythological past.

Cross-cutting this vertical series in a horizontal plane where the Blue Sky-Space meets the surface of the earth are the spirits of the horizon, or the four directions. These spirits are connected with natural phenomena arising from the various directions - the light of day with the east, the dark of night with the west, summer's warmth from the south, and winter's cold from the north, to name the most obvious of the complex symbolic associations. Reference to the four directions and the number four is a central theme in ceremonial contexts. It is also a primary organizational principle in sacred art such as shields and tipis.

Binary opposition holds an important place in perception of the organization of the world as well. The most pervasive binary contrast is that of male and female. "First in importance, in Cheyenne society as in the cosmology, is the symbolic expression of sexual roles--the special significance of being a man or a woman" (Moore 1974a:144). This contrast set is tied to the vertical aspect of the cosmology as the zenith is generally

considered the principle point of Maheo, the All-Father while the Deep Earth is envisioned as the Earth Mother. The primary religious objects of the Cheyenne follow this same division. The Sacred Arrows are "the supreme symbols and sources of male power" while the Sacred Buffalo Hat is the "symbol and source of female renewing power" (Powell 1969:xxiii).

Selected portions of the graded vertical axis and the quadripartite horizontal plane are regularly abstracted from the larger system and presented as binary contrasts. The vertical continuum may be abbreviated into a contrast between the upper world and the underworld, as when offerings or prayers are addressed to the four directions, up, and down. The four directions themselves are frequently reduced to the binary contrasts of north and south or east and west and these contrast sets are tied to other binary oppositions.

The Lateral Code

In pictographic art binary opposition is transmuted into bilateral composition. The pictures are primarily scenes of interaction and confronting figures are placed side by side, sharing the same ground line. The compositional scheme is horizontal and the opposition expressed has been plotted as an opposition of right and

left. Other compositional arrangements are possible as we have seen, but they are elaborations upon the basic bilateral scheme.

Lateral association is given particular significance in two contexts in Cheyenne culture. The etiquette of tipi usage assigns significance to opposite sides of the lodge. The owner and family occupy the space to the left as one enters while visitors utilize the right. Differing value is also given to the back of the lodge, which is the position of honor, and the space near the door which holds least prestige. These cross-cutting reference points tend to create a quadripartite system, an association that is further reinforced by the strong symbolic association of the tipi with the four directions (Campbell 1915), making the lateral system hard to extract. An understanding of the concepts associated with the left and right of the tipi is further complicated by the shifting point of view. The right when one enters becomes the left once one is seated facing toward the doorway.

The second context in which lateralization is given significance is more rewarding in clarifying the associated concepts. It is the associations of the right and left in body symbolism. As a bilaterally symmetrical organism, the human body is an admirable vehicle for the symbolic expression of binary concepts. Further, the development of differential lateral dexterity provides a

natural contrast to which other oppositions may be connected (Hertz 1960; Needham 1974).

The Cheyenne have a complex conception of the human body. One important contrast is between the corporeal aspect and the soul and personality; another is between the head and the heart. When lateralization is focused on, however, the right side is associated with maleness and the left side with femaleness (Moore 1974a:168). This pattern of association pervades all further associations and provides the motivation for the connection of multiple symbols with each side. The following creation story reported by Grinnell, while showing obvious influence from Christian missionary teaching, reflects the lateral pattern.

> When the creator, Heammawihio, made the man, he formed him from a rib taken from his own right side; and then from the left side of the man he took a rib, from which he created the woman.
>
> Grinnell 1972,2:338

A story of how the Cheyennes received the basic staples of life shows the same lateralization, as "each person took the left hand full of corn and the right hand full of meat" (Grinnell 1972,2:342), reflecting the sexual division of labor during the sedentary horticultural period when women raised crops and men hunted.

Right and left and their gender associations are also tied into the cosmological system described briefly above. The sun and moon as celestial objects may be contrasted

with the earth in some contexts, but when contrasted with each other are seen as male and female respectively (Moore 1974a:153). Symbols of sun and moon are painted on a bison skull in several ceremonies, with the sun disk appearing on the right and the moon crescent on the left (Grinnell 1972,1:33; 1972,2:237,270,304). The four directions are similarly associated with sides of the body, as is made explicit when the body is painted for major ceremonies.

> The person to be painted faces east (Hesenota) when his right arm is painted, faces south (Sovota) when his right leg is painted, faces west (Onxsovota) for the left arm and north (Notamota) for the left leg.
>
> Moore 1974a:167

Ritual procedures continually reinforce this association of the body and the directions as the proper order of procedure in various ceremonial contexts is either east, south, west, north or right arm, right leg, left arm, left leg (Grinnell 1972).

Several stories tie sexual associations into the scheme. Following the creation of man and woman described above by Grinnell, the woman was placed in the north and the man in the south (Grinnell 1972,2:338). George Dorsey (1905:40) reported a story about how the Cheyenne first acquired meat and corn that is similar to the one quoted above from Grinnell. In this case, however, the bison are associated with the south and the corn with the north,

rather than right and left.

These phenomena regularly associated with right and left can be summarized as follows:

right	male	sun	east	south
left	female	moon	west	north

An examination of the nature of the relationships between the units of each pair reveals a consistent underlying pattern and provides a key to the code that invests the bilateral armature with significance. The units are complementary, but not equal. The member associated with the right is in each case possessed of a greater life force. This characteristic is most clearly expressed in the literature for the relationship between male and female. "The difference between them, as expressed in Cheyenne cosmology, is that men are spiritual and women are material" (Moore 1974a:272). This difference is found in the Cheyenne theory of procreation in which the child "is materially the product of its mother's body, but spiritually the offspring of its father" (Moore 1974a:151), with women considered basically sterile and "spiritually inert" (Moore 1974a:162).

The exact nature of the relationship between the sun and moon is not clearly expressed in the literature and concepts relating to these celestial phenomena are somewhat ambiguous or in the process of change. The sun evidently is envisioned as playing a role in plant

procreation similar to the male role in human reproduction as plants are considered products of the Deep Earth activated by the action of the sun (Moore 1974a:164).

Moore (1974a:154) connects a series of contrasts with the directional axes of east-west and south-north, which are themselves considered permutations of each other. East-west in addition to the the male-female association also is placed in parallel with life-death, day-night, and blood-water. South-north relates to summer-winter, growth-decay, and youth-age.

In each case, there is a flow of energy or a natural progression from the member associated with the right to the member associated with the left. Spiritual energy is transmitted from male to female during intercourse and at conception. The sun and other celestial phenomena move through the sky from east to west. There is a natural progression from life to death, youth to age, growth to decay. "All forms of power, life, and energy in the universe...are of the same sort, and are transmutable one from the other" (Moore 1974:178). This relationship between right and left is expressed in a Sweet Medicine story of a gathering in which medicine men met to display their ability.

> In early times the people had the power to do wonderful things. They used to make spiritual dances, to show what power they had and what they could do. When they had one of these spiritual dances, they put up a big lodge where the spiritual men were to dance. All

> around the border of this were drawn small circles, each of which represented the seat of a spiritual man... All the people sitting at his left hand were under his control as far as the next circle, where sat another spiritual man, who ruled the people to his left as far as the next circle....
>
> Grinnell 1972,2:345

The Messages

Having established the associations between right and left in cosmology and ritual, let us return to an examination of pictographic art and see how this coded lateralization creates messages about the content occurring in pictures.

As noted above, the general progression of events in Cheyenne pictographic art as in the art of the Plains in general is from right to left.

The single most common subject is the interaction of Cheyenne and non-Cheyenne. This usually is in the context of combat, but occasional scenes of peaceful interaction occur as well. In either event, the Cheyenne is normally placed on the right and the non-Cheyenne on the left. This reflects the Cheyenne sense of tribal identity. The Cheyenne word for themselves is Tsistsistas, translating "the people". Like many ethnic groups the Cheyennes 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.

"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. The vernix with which he is born is Maheo's sign that the baby is capable of enlightenment" (Moore 1974a:181). The tangible symbol of such spiritual blessing is the Sacred Arrows, which give Cheyenne men power over other men (Powell 1969:xxiii). Thus the Cheyenne position on the right in pictures mirrors the pattern in ideological realms, as the right side is possessed of greater energy or spiritual force, allowing it to dominate the left.

As described by Moore (1984), Cheyenne folk taxonomy divides the animal world into a number of discrete categories operating at several different levels. An important division is into "flying creatures", "ground creatures", "crawling creatures", and "water creatures", each of which may be further subdivided. Distinct from this taxonomic hierarchy is a cross-cutting division into "animals that paint" and animals that do not. This division is made explicit in a story entitled "The Great Race", which details a competition among the creatures to determine who would be predators and who prey. Two teams were formed, the humans siding with the birds and canines, all of whom painted their faces for the competition in which they were eventually victorious. "The paints

applied for the race became permanent. Animals that can be eaten - game animals - have no paint" (Moore 1984:297). As part of the winning team, men gained dominance over prey species. This power is reinforced by the spiritual assistance provided by the Sacred Arrows. Two of the arrows are "man arrows" providing assistance in war; two are "buffalo arrows" giving power over bison and other game (Dorsey 1905:2). In pictures of hunting, the dominant hunter is placed to the right of the prey animal that he is overcoming.

Scenes of horse stealing may be seen as a variant of hunting. As a source of wealth as well as a daily necessity, horses held a position of importance in Cheyenne society. They were not considered a source of spiritual power, however, and were clearly not among the animals that paint. While not hunted for food like other prey, as a domesticated species they naturally fall under human control. Acquired through Indian middlemen in the late 18th century, the horse was named moheno, a variant of the term mohe, elk (Petter 1915). The name suggests not only its physical likeness to a known species, but also its position in the taxonomic scheme.

Aside from warfare, hunting, and horse stealing, courting was another common subject of pictographic art. The perception of male and female as organizing principles of the universe has been discussed above. Males were

possessed of spiritual energy. Females were not but could receive such energy from males through sexual contact. The man's position on the right in courting pictures is reflective of this division and potential transfer.

Identification of the armature, code, and messages of pictures provides explanation for modifications or apparent exceptions to the rules that appeared in the analyses in Chapter IV.

The major modification of the basic pattern is warfare scenes in which the Cheyenne is depicted as being overpowered by his non-Cheyenne enemy. Such pictures present a conflict between the basic ideology of the Cheyenne being possessed of superior spiritual force and the reality of his being physically bested. This conflict of principles is reflected in the variability of pictorial representation, with the Cheyenne sometimes appearing on the right and sometimes on the left as discussed in Chapter IV (Figure 3).

Many other apparent exceptions to the usual patterns of figure placement are revealing of underlying messages encoded in the structure. Plate 3 (NAA 39A) illustrates a reversal in the usual right-left placement of hunter and bison. The positioning is, however, entirely appropriate for the narrative of the picture in which the wounded animal has taken control of the situation. The reversal of positions enhances the humor of this scene. Male-

female placement also appears to be switched in the scene reproduced in Plate 13. This is a picture of a Scalp Dance in which women carrying trophies taken from enemies dance to the accompaniment of drum music. Hoebel (1978:83), however, records that the Scalp Dance was managed by the Halfmen-Halfwomen, transvestite males who were possessed of great power. The figures on the right in this scene are not women as they appear but spiritually powerful men.

Metaphoric Associations

We have seen that the corpus of Cheyenne pictographic art consists of a series of transformations based upon the simple bilateral opposition of left and right, which may be expressed as B<----A. The art form depicts a variety of subjects, and the structure comments upon the content so that a number of categories are brought into analogous relationship. The structural connection creates a chain or circle of meaning so that

A:B
:: ::
C:D :: E:F.

The Transformational System

The common subjects in pictographic art are combat, courting, and hunting. These were primary concerns in

men's lives and it is not surprising to find them in this exclusively male art. Beyond their mutual centrality in men's lives, the three activities were closely connected in that they drew upon the same source of cosmic energy for successful accomplishment (Moore 1974a:179). The prayer one young man offered on undertaking his first quest for supernatural assistance addressed all these concerns.

> Great Medicine Above: You see Wooden Leg. He wants to be a good man. Look upon him and favor him. Make him brave and wise and kind. Make him generous to his people, to all Indians, even to his enemies if they come peaceably and in need. Help him to defeat all enemies who may beset him, and shield him from their efforts to take his life. Guide him so that he may be rich in food and skins and horses. Help him to find a good wife. Give to them many children. Keep them all in good health and make them live a long time.
>
> Marquis 1931:127

Furthermore, these activities were symbolically connected and one might be used as a metaphor for another. Warfare and courtship were particularly closely associated and many instances can be found in which women were likened to the enemy being pursued.

Grinnell noted that love songs were often sung by men on the war path. "Wolf songs... are songs of travel, of roaming about, and were commonly sung by scouts or young men who were out looking for enemies, since a scout was called a 'wolf'." He attributed this association to the fact that such men might feel lonely or depressed and be

heartened by thoughts of their sweethearts at home, but an analysis of the words of the songs suggests that a metaphoric association is being drawn upon. One goes, "Friends, take courage, I see my sweetheart." Another says, "Come out of your lodge, so that I may see you", and another, "My love, come out into the prairie, so that I may come near you and meet you" (Grinnell 1972,2:392-3). These songs are worded as if addressed to a lover, but the implicit metaphor makes them particularly appropriate for a scout in search of an enemy.

The context of war was also considered an appropriate opportunity for a lover to press his suit with a girl's family. A man might ask her brother or cousin for her hand immediately before setting out on a war expedition (Grinnell 1972,2:27) and the scalp dance following a successful war party was a favored occasion for courting (Grinnell 1972,2:41).

The metaphoric connection of warfare and relations between the sexes was acted out at times in mock raids upon groups of women. Grinnell cites two instances of such transference taking place in a playful context, both giving men license to harass women and take food from them. The first relates to women who had been collecting pomme blanche, Indian turnips.

> Now, when the women were returning to camp with the roots, and when they had come within sight of the camp, they sat down in a line, and each woman put her roots a little in front of her on

> the ground. Then some woman shouted the war-cry, and signaled to the camp with a blanket, as if a war party were returning. When the people saw this, some of the young men took the parfleches used under the stone anvils on which meat and berries were pounded, and carried them as shields, while some had already made imitation shields of willow twigs. These young men mounted the oldest, laziest, ugliest horses they could find, and charged out on the women, who were busily gathering sticks and buffalo-chips with which to defend themselves.
>
> When the two parties were close together, the girls pelted the men, who dodged and protected themselves behind their shields, and there was much confusion. Only a man who had been wounded in war, or had had his horse shot under him in real warfare, was permitted to take the roots away from the girls...
>
> Among the Southern Cheyennes it is said that mounted men used to steal upon and surprise the women, and after counting coup to take their roots. If the women discovered the men coming, they sounded an alarm, and all rushed together to defend themselves. With a root-digger they drew on the ground before them a little furrow to represent breastworks. It was understood that no man might pass that furrow to take roots, unless he had counted a coup or killed an enemy within breastworks.... A man who had counted a coup within breastworks, however, dismounted and entered the circle, told of his coup, and took what roots he wished, sometimes loading himself down with them.
>
> Grinnell 1972,1:68-69

Similar attacks were made upon women's quilling society meetings. Men were not allowed to enter the lodge where ceremonial quilling was in progress, but a man with many coups to his name could defy this injunction and take the opportunity to provide himself and his friends with a tasty meal. "When the men contemplated doing this, they were likely to get together in a lodge and select someone who, when on the war-path, had first discovered the enemy,

to go ahead as a scout to see what the women had to eat." Once his report was received, "a very brave man who had counted many coups might go up to the lodge door, strike the lodge, and counting a coup might enter and take a pot of the food standing by the fire, and carry it away with him" (Grinnell 1972,1:165).

The connection between sexual potency and success in war is graphically illustrated on a pictographic robe sketched by George Catlin (Plate 14), referred to in Chapter III above. The lower portion of this specimen contains four scenes of warfare in which a warrior with an exaggerated phallus counts coup on various enemies. The upper half of the robe has a drawing of a pipe with the same figure engraved on the bowl in conjunction with a pair of copulating bison.

Hunting was also metaphorically equated with warfare. Just as the enemy might be referred to as one's sweetheart, game animals might be called ehamehan, "our enemies" (Moore 1974a:180). Coup were sometimes counted during a hunt with the prey animal likened to an enemy struck in war (Grinnell 1972,2:30). This metaphoric association is explicitly expressed in a picture from the Little Wolf ledger (Plate 15) and is implied in several others in which hunters are shown garbed and armed as if for war.

Recognition of the metaphoric connection between

hunting and warfare provides insight into the significance of a Southern Cheyenne shield now in the collection of the Field Museum of Natural History (Plate 16). This shield, purchased from High-Back Wolf in 1878, is painted with four scenes of hunting, with prey ranging from a bison to a turkey. Such mundane subject matter seems anomalous for a war shield until the symbolic connection between conquering prey and conquering enemies is recognized. The metaphor becomes explicit in the the scene of turkey hunting in which the hunter strikes the bird with his bow, a gesture of coup counting.

Hunting and courtship are also connected, making the circle complete. Buffaloes, the primary game animal during the hunting period, were considered female (Moore 1974a:163), while the hunting of them was exclusively a male activity, thus suggesting a general connection between the two pursuits. The association is made explicit in a number of Cheyenne stories in which the animal a hunter is pursuing turns into a woman whom he marries or in which a man discovers that his mysterious wife is really an animal, as in the following version of the well-known story, "The Buffalo Wife."

> Once the tribe was scattered out, camping in small parties in different places. In one of the camps was a very handsome young man... Several girls had wanted to marry him, but he refused them. One day a girl came to his village - a very beautiful girl; she had yellow hair. He liked her and took her to his lodge and married her. Afterward another girl

> came in. She too was very handsome. Her hair was dark. He married her too. The first girl was an elk, and the second a young buffalo cow; but the young man did not know this, for they were human in shape. The young man lived with these two wives. After a time each had a child, and these boys grew up until they were big enough to run about and play together... One day [the two wives] quarreled and the elk girl became angry, and went away from the camp, taking her boy with her. The buffalo girl declared that she would not stay there, and she too went away... [The man followed them] and looked about for the trail. He could see the trail where the lodge poles had dragged along, and he followed it, crying. For a little distance he followed the lodge pole trail, and then it disappeared, and there were only the tracks of a cow and her calf.
>
> Grinnell 1926:87-88

All three themes of warfare, hunting, and courting may be subtly blended. Two pictures are illustrated above in which a hunter is counting coup on an animal. In addition to these explicit depictions, there are five other scenes of hunting in which warfare is suggested as the hunter wears a war bonnet or carries a shield. Of these seven warfare/hunting pictures, the animal being pursued is a bear in five, with a turkey and a pronghorn antelope in one each. Bears are a major symbol of femaleness through their association with the Deep Earth (Moore 1974a:163). The prominence of bears in pictures connecting warfare and hunting suggests that such scenes are in fact a triple allusion to the metaphoric connection of hunting, warfare, and courtship.

The Metaphor of Coup

While concepts regarding courtship, warfare, and hunting were symbolically linked in Cheyenne world view, evidence suggests that the counting of coup was the dominant symbol on which pictographic art was based and remained the root metaphor that gave the art form its vitality. Victor Turner (1969:42) described symbols as evocative devices for arousing and channeling emotion. For the Cheyenne like other Plains tribes, the practical necessity of warfare to maintain adequate hunting grounds for tribal benefit and the personal desire to win glory and honor had been united in an emotionally powerful symbol, the coup.

Warfare was a dominant concern for most Cheyenne men and the counting of coup was considered the ultimate expression of warfare, condensing battles and wars into a series of individual "strokes" or acts. Validation of male status and achievements consisted of the formal recounting of one's coups at public occasions. Technically, counting coup consisted of touching an enemy, "striking the body with something held in the hand - a gun, bow, whip, or stick" (Grinnell 1972,2:30). The greatest prestige came from counting coup on an uninjured man, capable of inflicting harm in return, but up to three coup could be counted upon the body of a slain enemy. In practice, the term has been extended to encompass a number

of other accomplishments and is used to refer to any act of warfare recognized as a specific deed suitable for recounting in ceremonial context. It is in this broader sense that the term is being used here.

The recounting of coup appears in a number of non-warfare contexts in which a warrior who had counted specific types of coups gained special prerogatives. The most well-known instance of this was in connection with the Medicine Lodge, or Sun Dance, in which the assembly of materials for construction of the lodge was built upon the symbolism of coup. First, the tree to be used as the center pole in the construction of the lodge had to be located by a warrior who had scouted and discovered an enemy. The pole was then cut by one who had struck an enemy with a hatchet. Other members of the party collecting the lodge materials decked themselves with leafy branches representing lances, shields, and headdresses and might engage in a mock battle (Grinnell 1972,2:228-233).

The ritual preparation of the hide of a white buffalo presented similar metaphoric connections. The ceremony was directed by a man who had killed an enemy with the same type of weapon that had been used to kill the buffalo. The head of the animal was skinned by a man who had scalped an enemy. The skin was placed on a horse by a man who had carried off a captive, removed by one who

had pulled an enemy from his horse, and carried into the lodge by one who had counted coup within an enemy's lodge. Coups were recounted as holes were cut in the hide for stretching it and again as chips of flesh were scraped off. It was removed from the lodge by a man who had dragged an enemy from his lodge. Further coups were recounted as the hide was staked out for tanning and at subsequent stages in its preparation (Grinnell 1972,2:201-204).

In both these performances, the recounting of coup moved beyond the establishment of personal prestige to validating the efficacy of a ritual. The power embodied in the coup was transferred to the new context by linking the two metaphorically. This connection is explicitly described in the preparation of a feather bundle for use in the Medicine Lodge.

> In bygone years, in a fight with the Snake and Ute Indians, he [White Bull] had worn such a feather bundle on his head, and during the fight had killed and scalped a Snake and a Ute. The counting of this coup over the plume rendered it specially effective.
>
> Grinnell 1972,2:233

Similarly, the recounting of a coup was necessary for the correction of an error in ritual such as the preparation of sacred quillwork.

> When a woman who was quilling a robe made a mistake in her work and put on a line of quills in the wrong place, as sometimes happened, the mistake could be corrected only by the performance of a

> certain ceremony. She must call in some brave man, who counted a coup over the robe, reciting what he had done, where he had done it, and winding up with the statement, 'And when I scalped him, I did it in this way.' As he said this he passed the blade of a knife under the defective work, cutting the threads and so removing the work.
>
> Grinnell 1972,1:166

As Stanley Vestal described it, "a war story narrated by its hero formed the inevitable credentials and prelude to every public action in the tribe" (Grinnell 1956:viii).

In pictographic art as well the coup was a dominant symbol. Warfare was central to the art form. The history of Cheyenne pictography as discussed in Chapter III suggests that the roots of the art form lie in the depiction of scenes of warfare. Combat scenes continued to be the single most common subject with over half of the study sample being scenes of coup counting. It is difficult to trace the origins of a structuring principle as simple as bilateral opposition, but if it did not originate with pictures of combat, it was ideally suited to their depiction. This pervasive compositional type and the ubiquitous subject of warfare were so closely associated that the structure alone would be evocative of the image of coup even in pictures with different content. Scenes of courtship and hunting and warfare were metaphorically linked, but the dominant symbol in that chain was the image of coup.

In the discussion of armature and code it was

established that the placement of content within the structure was not purely arbitrary but was connected to existing attitudes toward right and left. Among the Cheyenne the system of lateralization was not elaborately developed or highly value laden. Once right and left became linked with representations of coup, however, they became highly motivated and the lateral code became a central feature of communication in pictures.

It has been noted in the study of symbolic systems that there is a constant movement from motivation to arbitrariness (Hunt 1977:35), or as Levi-Strauss has described it "there is a constantly repeated battle between synchrony and diachrony from which it seems that diachrony must emerge victorious every time" (1966:155). The loss of motivation of the symbol system goes far toward explaining the decline of Cheyenne pictographic art.

The artists were men in whose lives the concept of coup was of great personal significance. As established in the previous chapter, they were warriors who had been raised during an era of endemic conflict and who recognized the coup as the ultimate expression of male achievement. Feats of bravery brought public recognition and prestige. They were a credential to establish eligibility as a suitor (Stands in Timber 1967:63) and were a natural prelude to later civil or religious office.

With the passing of warriors of artist age, the art form as a whole collapsed. It has been suggested that the art form was abandoned because there were no more coups to record. However, we have seen that almost half of the drawings were of subjects other than war - courting, camp life, ritual, personal display, and the like. A range of subject matter relevant to the young reservation artist was still available without further innovation. It was the emotive significance of the root metaphor that was lost. Without that underlying motivation, the placement of content within the structure became arbitrary and the pictures were reduced to idle doodling, no longer of symbolic significance.

A similar loss of motivation can be seen in the work of the Ft. Marion artists. In this case, however, the metaphor was lost through changes in structure and subject. With the incentives and opportunities of production for sale, this group of artists experimented with a variety of compositional forms and subjects. Some of these compositions were transformations of the basic bilateral form. Others I have been unable to classify and many of these appear to have departed from old cannons of structure completely. During the process of experimentation and elaboration, composition was losing its connection to its bilateral origins in scenes of coup but had not yet generated new structuring principles. The

armature and code were not always used and when they were, they were becoming an arbitrary convention. The connection to the metaphor of coup was lost along with structure.

Many of the unstructured scenes show aspects of White culture that were observed or thrust upon the prisoners. The uncertainty of these pictures has been attributed to the unfamiliar subject matter. In reviewing a series of published drawings by Cohoe, Robert Anderson was led to comment, "the two sketches which do not represent native life are incongruent with the rest, and show neither innovation nor synthesis. It is as though the Plains style collapsed when divorced from its historic content" (1965:801). Howard Rodee made similar remarks about Bears Heart's work: "It only degenerates or perhaps becomes 'civilized' in a child-like way when faced with a wholly new and strange albeit apparently fascinating subject matter" (1965:229). I believe that what these commentators are sensing is the absence of the clear structure that organized most of Cheyenne art and that gave artists confidence in handling new subjects as long as they could be related to the old structural themes. Just as the range of compositions moved beyond those based on the bilateral, so the range of subjects moved beyond those that could readily be related to the ideas associated with counting coup. While the Ft. Marion artists produced a substantial body of work during their

time in the East, only a single book of drawings by Howling Wolf is known to have been done following their return home (Petersen 1968). For these artists like the generation that followed, the symbolic significance of the art form was lost and pictographic art was abandoned.

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

It is now time to return to the basic question posed in the introductory chapter: What is the connection between Cheyenne pictographic art and non-material aspects of Cheyenne culture? The inquiry grew out of the broader question of the nature of the relationship of material culture to ideological and behavioral aspects of society. This research project was designed as a case study to explore that connection by focusing on a single artifact type in a single cultural context, Cheyenne pictographic art. In this concluding chapter I will summarize my methods and findings with regard to Cheyenne art, explore their relationship to Cheyenne ideology and behavior, and consider the applicability of this type of analysis to a wider range of cultural materials.

My procedure was first to establish a data base that was sufficiently large and adequately documented to facilitate statistical rather than impressionistic evaluation of observations and conclusions (Chapter II). Next I sought to place the data within a broad social

context, considering its history, function, subject matter, and production (Chapter III). This information may be considered an ethnography of the art form. Having established this background, I then identified regular patterns within the data in terms of compositional types and figure placement (Chapter IV). This involved determining what constituted significant units and what those units represented in the immediate context. The following chapter (Chapter V) examined the significance of this regular patterning and tied it into the broader context of Cheyenne ideology, moving from description of the art form to analysis of it, or an ethnology of pictographic art. Throughout these chapters the link between art and culture was recognized at a number of levels.

Pictographic Art and Cheyenne Ideology

At one level knowledge of Cheyenne culture is the essential starting point to an interpretation of their art. It is easy to assume that an understanding of pictorial art is readily accessible to any observer without prior knowledge of the culture because, unlike geometric or abstract works, pictures resemble what they represent. However, any movement beyond the basic identification of "this is a person; this is an animal" requires successively greater knowledge of the culture and

its conventions of representation.

Robert Layton in The Anthropology of Art criticizes the assumption "that if carvings or pictures 'look like what they depict' then they can be 'read' by members of alien cultures. In fact there are two separate problems here: identification of the subject-matter of the depiction, and knowledge of its cultural significance" (1981:23). In the case of Cheyenne art, even the relatively simple identification of subject matter may require specialized knowledge of first the realm of items being represented and second the conventions by which they are represented. An example of the error in interpretation possible for the naive observer is recorded in the captions provided by Samuel G. Jones in the ledger that he acquired from the Southern Cheyenne chief Whirlwind (OUSM). His caption, "Two Indian women - gaily apparisoned", has been appended to a courting scene in which a man and a woman are shown. Insufficient knowledge of Cheyenne dress led him to misidentification of the principal figures and hence the action taking place.

While the Whirlwind ledger is quite detailed in representation, it like all graphic art cannot fully translate three dimensional images into a two dimensional medium and does not attempt to do so. Instead, key elements are selected as critical and are used by common convention as representation of the whole. This

"shorthand" method of representation proceeds by metonymic association so that a part of an item comes to stand for the whole item. For example key elements of identification may be added to otherwise generalized figures to distinguish them. A small book of drawings at the Kansas State Historical Society Library for example illustrates this usage. Generalized figures of blanket-wrapped humans are identified as men or women by a single distinguishing element: men have the long tail of the breech cloth projecting beneath their blanket while women have the side tabs of skirts showing. Similarly animal figures are distinguished as to species primarily by horns or antlers. In other cases only a part of a figure is shown. The use of partial figures in place of their complete representation occurs in many images where a series of horse heads indicates a herd, the barrels of guns represents a party of the enemy, or the upper body of individuals is all that is drawn, with the lower portions cut off by a straight line. These and similar conventions of compressing time or space within the confines of the medium are discussed in some detail in the "Pictographic Dictionary" with which Karen Petersen (1971) concludes her book Plains Indian Art from Fort Marion in which she seeks to provide the cultural background necessary to identify the subject matter of pictures.

Beyond the identification of subject matter,

interpretation of the meaning of a picture requires knowledge of the cultural significance of the scene depicted. For example, identification of male and female figures tells us little without knowing something about Cheyenne attitudes toward sexual roles and relationships. Is that knowledge sufficient to fully perceive the meaning of their representation in a drawing, however, or is the picture itself a comment on the relationship? Here we are moving into the distinction that Layton (1981:30) following Panofsky makes between iconography and iconology. Iconography he defines as "specific motifs whose imagery is evoked and instantly understood by members of our culture as referents to particular, consciously-held ideas". Stressing its distinction from iconology he goes on to say, "Iconography is concerned with the identification of the characteristic motifs employed in particular art traditions...; whereas 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).

At the level of iconology the informational relationship between art and culture is reversed. An understanding of the art may provide insight into the culture by revealing patterns of association that are not systematically expressed elsewhere. We have seen that

bilateral opposition is the basic ordering principle of Cheyenne pictographic art. Binary division was not a dominant principle in explicitly stated ordering systems such as the formal cosmology. Lateral coding as a specific type of binary organization likewise received only moderate attention. Analysis of pictographic art has thus revealed a new and largely unexplored structural principle extant in Cheyenne ideology and demonstrated how it was consistently used in a variety of contexts.

Analysis of the message of pictographic art has proven equally rewarding. The association of concepts relating to warfare, hunting, and courtship was strongly expressed in drawings and constituted the central theme of the art form. It was further demonstrated that the counting of coup was the root metaphor used for expressing relations of dominance. These themes were not developed so systematically elsewhere in Cheyenne culture. Once they were identified in the pictures, however, many expressions of parts of the system were found in myth, ritual, language, and custom, confirming their pervasiveness in Cheyenne ideology.

The extensive literature on the Cheyennes including detailed studies of ideology such as Peter Powell's Sweet Medicine (1969) and John Moore's A Study of Religious Symbolism Among the Cheyenne Indians (1974a) captured only allusions to these themes. This disparity raises several

interesting points about the different results obtainable from material culture analysis as opposed to other ethnographic methods of inquiry such as participant observation or interviews with informants.

First, standard field techniques provide direct access only to current ideas and cultural practices. In a culture as vital as the Cheyennes' it is reasonable to expect that there has been much change over the past century. The symbolism revealed in pictography may no longer be functional or meaningful for interpretation by modern Cheyennes. The demonstration that the production of pictures ceased after the root metaphor that motivated the structure lost its significance supports the conclusion that the symbolic system was tied to a particular time period. Dissatisfied with 19th century ethnography and memory culture collected in the 20th century, anthropologists have turned increasingly to ethnohistory as a technique for studying cultural patterns of the past. Material culture analysis can make an important contribution to such studies if methods to decipher the cultural statements of their makers can be developed.

Next, the symbolism of Cheyenne art may not have been recorded by ethnographers because it represented ideas not readily amenable to direct verbalization. Art is a distinct medium of communication. I have demonstrated

that pictography had its own unique system of "grammar", which was used to organize simple representations of figures into complex messages. The messages themselves may have been unique to the distinct medium, reflected only indirectly or vaguely in verbal discourse. Art like other media such as myth and ritual has been shown to carry messages of great cultural significance. Study of this medium should be expected to reveal levels of meaning inaccessible through other methods of inquiry.

Pictographic Art and Cheyenne Society

Having established the connection between pictographic art and ideology in Cheyenne culture, it remains to consider how the the ideology expressed in art relates to actual behavior, the way that such ideology was connected to society.

A Model for Emulation

The most obvious connection between the message of pictographic art and behavior is at the level of the explicit message, use of the pictures as a model for emulation. The constant visual reinforcement of the role of successful warrior, hunter, and suitor encouraged young men to pursue achievement in these areas valued by their friends and comrades. Examination of the iconology of the

pictures suggests that they were effective not only in providing an explicit model for emulation, but also in contributing to the internalization of certain concepts and roles.

Legitimization of Social Change

The 19th century during which pictographic art was produced was a period of tremendous social change for the Cheyenne, as indeed was all of their history as we know it (Mooney 1907; Berthrong 1963; Moore 1974b; Hoebel 1978). Our earliest information on the Cheyenne comes from their 1680 contact with LaSalle at which time they were living in the Northern Woodlands along the headwaters of the Mississippi River. During the early 18th century they moved south and west, presumably under pressure from the Chippewa and Sioux, and established themselves as sedentary horticulturalists in the Prairie region east of the Missouri River. Pressure from the east continued and by 1804 when Lewis and Clark traveled in the area the Cheyenne had abandoned all settlements east of the Missouri and were established in the region of the Black Hills. From this time onward bison hunting grew in importance from a seasonal activity to become the central basis of the economy, displacing the growing of crops entirely in time. In spite of this reorientation of

economy, Moore (1974b) has concluded that the matrilocal residence patterns of the horticultural period were maintained after nomadic bison hunting was established and has further suggested that matrilineal, or more broadly "uterine", patterns of authority continued in effect for a period of years.

By mid-19th century, however, the Cheyenne hunting lifestyle was already being challenged by the regular intrusion of White travelers across their territory, scattering game and disrupting hunting activities. A pattern of antagonism and confrontation between Indian and White was established, rapidly escalating into open warfare between the Cheyenne and the U.S. Army. With the intensification of warfare and the extension of it to a year-round concern, the importance and power of the military societies was proportionately increased and the role of the individual warrior may be presumed to have gained in prestige as well.

The central themes of Cheyenne pictographic art tie in closely with these social changes. John Moore (1974b; 1981) has characterized these changes as triggering a struggle for power within Cheyenne society between "agnatic" and "uterine" forces, a conflict that became critical during the period of warfare and continued on into the reservation setting. Uterine forces were focused on the power of the traditional Council Chiefs who drew

their authority from the matrilineally oriented, matrilocally based residence bands. Agnatic forces were epitomized by the Soldier Chiefs, leaders of the military societies, which were based on agnatic recruitment. With matrilocal or uxorilocal residence, agnates and the military societies to which they belonged tended to be dispersed most of the year, coming together only in summer when tribal ceremonies were held. Under the pressure of year round warfare with White soldiers, however, there was an increasing tendency for military societies to stay together throughout the winter, forming in effect patrilocal residence groups. Summarizing these alterations, Moore sees increasing emphasis on the power of Soldier Chiefs versus Council Chiefs, patrilocality over matrilocality, and men over women. Such a shift of power did not, however, occur without conflict and he cites numerous incidents in which agnatic forces resorted to violence to assert their authority. Moore (1981:265) further interprets the institutionalized gang rape of women by soldier societies as a method of forcing their compliance with the new patrilocal residence mode. While his specific interpretations have been questioned (Hoebel 1980; Conrad 1983), it is still generally agreed that there was a shift of power from civil to military authority during the mid- years of the 19th century and that this shift was accompanied by some turmoil and

conflict in society.

We have seen that the artists who produced pictographic drawings were young warriors. It might well be expected that they were supportive of the militarily related changes taking place in society and concerned to legitimize them. And indeed the underlying message of Cheyenne pictographic art repeatedly expresses the dominant role of the aggressive male asserting his role over other segments of the world, natural and social. This is displayed both in the subjects chosen, emphasizing male activities such as warfare and hunting, and in the metaphoric patterns established such that courtship could be viewed in the same light.

The distinction that Moore (1974b:338) makes between territorial warfare and horse stealing raids is interesting in considering the subjects depicted. Territorial warfare was undertaken during the season of tribal unity by military society parties organized along agnatic lines; horse stealing on the other hand was a winter activity and often engaged in by affinal relatives brought together through matrilocal residence. As noted in Chapter III, scenes of horse stealing are rare although warfare dominates the subject matter of the art. This choice of subject lends further weight to the interpretation that pictographic art was an expression of the agnatic side of Cheyenne culture.

Channeling Emotion to Social Ends

Perspectives on the anthropology of art have generally fallen into two categories, those that emphasize the esthetic motivation and those that emphasize the communicative function of artistic works (Layton 1981:4-5). This distinction runs parallel to the question as to whether symbol systems are merely expressive of attitudes or whether they are instrumental, functioning to mold perception and hence action. To use the distinction as expressed by Clifford Geertz (1973), were Cheyenne drawings a "model of" the agnatic orientation of warrior artists, or were they a "model for" the cultural patterns these individuals wished to legitimize in a changing social order? It is clear that in art as in much of ritual, such motivation, if it existed was on a non-verbal level and hence difficult of access. Suffice it to say, Cheyenne pictographic art both expressed underlying tensions present in society and actively motivated sentiments about such tensions.

The role of sentiment in society and the place of emotion in symbol systems has been a major concern of Victor Turner who has been interested in how symbol systems affect the individual as well as the group. We have seen how the symbol system implicit in Cheyenne pictographic art related to social concerns in the sphere

of political activity. Let us now consider how it related to the social aspects of individual behavior.

Myth has been described as concerned with resolving contradictions within society. Cheyenne pictographic art on the other hand functioned to emphasize and institutionalize oppositions, whether in war or peace, hunting or courtship, barracks or classroom. Resolution between opposed forces was not sought and dynamic tension remained a central focus of the art. The synthesis that occurred was between oppositional sets, which were linked metaphorically, not within individual pictures or subjects. 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. In illustration of this concept let us examine the common subjects of Cheyenne art.

Warfare, courtship, and hunting are all activities potentially evocative of strong emotion, a fact well recognized by the Cheyennes. Despite allusions to Plains warfare as a "glorious game", it was an activity engaged in earnest by men armed with potentially lethal weapons. Injury or death was a not uncommon outcome of encounters although reducing the enemy's number may have been secondary to gaining access to resources such as trade routes, hunting territory, or horses (Jablow 1950). Most older warriors could point to scars they bore as testimony

to the genuine danger of combat. Techniques of equestrian combat brought greatest success to the individual with speed and daring.

Many hunting techniques were also dangerous and could place the hunter in jeopardy. Quarry such as bear and mountain lion were obviously dangerous adversaries, but there was considerable potential for injury associated with bison hunting as well. Mounted hunting with bow and arrow, which remained the favored technique as long as bison were available, required the hunter to ride close beside the animal he pursued. Even with a well-trained pony, the hunter was in danger of being gored or thrown and trampled if the bison swerved into his horse before or after it was shot. Hunting like warfare depended upon courage and a certain impetuosity for success. Achievement was highly valued but the potential for failure was always present, creating an emotionally charged situation.

Courtship was the formalized prelude to sexual relations, which among the Cheyennes were closely linked to marriage. Sexual drives are among the most basic of human needs and are widely recognized as generative of strong emotional response. Extramarital relations were proscribed among the Cheyenne and sexual behavior in general was subject to a number of restrictions to the extent that scholars with a psychological orientation have described the Cheyenne as "sexually repressed" (Hoebel

1978:27). Without resorting to such categorization, it is evident that the Cheyenne fully recognized the emotional burden associated with sex.

The tension of emotion laden activities was clearly felt in Cheyenne society. E. Adamson Hoebel has suggested, "Their attitudes toward sex and war and toward the maintenance of their social order are the outstanding features of their way of life" (1978:1). A lifestyle centered around sporadic warfare and active hunting favored the development of aggressive tendencies in men. Such tendencies were, however, potentially disruptive if directed within the group. Cheyenne political history of the 19th century represents a constant struggle to control in-group aggression and channel it into productive lines (Moore 1974b, 1981; Hoebel 1980). Similarly, the prohibitions surrounding sexual behavior were intended to channel such needs into socially productive lines and avoid the disruption of society associated with wife-stealing and jealousy.

Pictographic art helped to channel these emotional issues into structured lines. Victor Turner describes how "wild impulses, sexual and aggressive" of Ndembu ritual are "channeled toward master symbols representative of structural order" (1969:92-3) and powerful physiological drives are divested of their antisocial quality and attached to normative behavior through their union in a

multivocal symbol (1969:52). Cheyenne art helped to order and institutionalize individual acts into a normative pattern of social behavior.

Expression of Equality

At the same time that there was political tension between the traditional leadership role of the peaceful, accommodating Council Chief and the increasingly valued leadership of the aggressive, often arrogant Soldier Chief, internal solidarity and cooperation among men remained essential for continued tribal survival. Leaders in Cheyenne society were invested with power through their ability to attract followers, not through any inherent right to demand obedience. Such ability was couched in terms of personal capacity, not inherent status and equality of individuals was a valued precept.

The only recognized hierarchy in Cheyenne society was that of men over women, and of older over younger men (Moore 1979:8-9). The role of men as the active controlling force and women as passive receivers has been discussed already. The relationship of older and younger men follows along much the same pattern. Young men lacked knowledge about spiritual matters and had to acquire it from older men through a long period of religious instruction. Older men were valued as wise counselors and Council Chiefs were commonly drawn from the ranks of

senior men who had already retired from war. In fact, it was required that a man resign his position as a Soldier Chief if he were to become a Council Chief. As Soldier Chiefs became elevated in power due to the demands of warfare, the system underwent readjustment so that older men might continue as war leaders. Among the Southern Cheyennes, men remained in that office rather than moving on to join the Chiefs' Council. In the North, the requirement that a man must resign from his position as Soldier Chief to become a Council Chief was dropped. Such considerations of age aside, the equality of Cheyenne men remained a valued ideal.

Moore (1979, 1983) has found this egalitarian pattern reflected in cosmology in the ordering of zoological taxa. Cheyenne men gained power from various animals that served as spiritual helpers. Such power was often revealed through a vision and the exact identity of the spiritual assistant established with the aid of a senior instructor, often a male relative. The instructor tended to interpret the vision in terms of his own spiritual experience, and groups of animal spirits became associated with groups of men. It is to this phenomenon that Moore attributes the hesitancy and circumlocution of informants when asked to set out an explicit hierarchy of animals that might serve as spiritual helpers. "To allege that one spirit is more important than another is to imply that some priest is

also more important, and the people he represents as well. But the point of the tribal ceremonies is to strengthen tribal solidarity, which means that factionalism, competition, and familism are to be discouraged as much as possible... The major spirits remain ambiguous and mysterious, preserving tribal unity..." (Moore 1979:10-11).

This pattern of ambiguity is found in pictographic art as well, expressed in the compositional types I have identified as "bilateral equivalent" and "serial". Bilateral equivalent compositions are those that feature two figures in opposition but do not present features of contrast between them in terms of action or accouterments. These grade smoothly into serial compositions in which more than two figures are present but which likewise present no basis of contrast among them. In a way these may be considered residual categories which are defined primarily by the equivalence of the figures depicted. A frequency analysis of subject matter reveals that 89% (34 of 38) of the bilateral equivalent compositions and 84% (41 of 49) of the serial compositions are pictures of Cheyenne men or of animals. These "exceptions" to patterns of contrast running through Cheyenne art are found to correspond to social situations in which opposition is considered inappropriate.

A striking picture by Making Medicine entitled "Fowls

of Indian Territory" (Plate 17) presents further illustration of this ambiguity in art. The drawing is of 17 different birds spaced fairly evenly throughout the vertical format composition. Such even spacing did not lend itself to compositional categorization, but I nevertheless felt that this picture could be an important key to understanding the significance assigned to various portions of the page in Cheyenne drawings.

Moore has published substantial information on Cheyenne folk ornithology and his understanding of the system was developed in part by using this same drawing to elicit species identification. Birds hold an important position in Cheyenne religious beliefs and are ranked on a broad taxonomic basis related to the tiered vertical structure of Cheyenne cosmology. "Birds occupy the top three zones, with the maheonevekseo in Otatavoom, or the Blue Sky-Space, the maxevekseo in Setovoom, the nearer Sky-Space, and the xamaevekseo in Taxtavoom, the Atmosphere, nearest to the earth" (Moore 1983:8). The maheonevekseo are holy birds, important in tribal ritual, the maxevekseo are the great birds, prominent in personal ceremony, and the xamaevekseo are ordinary birds, including those suitable for food.

Plotting this classificatory system against the position of the 16 species depicted for which rank is known results in a rather ambiguous, nondefinitive pattern

of space utilization (Figure 5). The ordinary birds are indeed clustered and occupy the lower right portion of the picture. The great birds and holy birds do not, however, appear to be positioned with any particular scheme of differentiation in mind. The shorteared owl, a great bird, is found at the very bottom of the page, which may be explained by reference to the inauspicious nature of owls due to their association with ghosts, but the intermixture of other species with one of the holy birds actually placed lower than an ordinary bird cannot so readily be accounted for.

This picture, rather than charting the precise hierarchical relationships among bird species and hence among men who derive their spiritual power from those species, offers a more limited statement on bird taxonomy. The ordinary birds, which are not possessed of spiritual power, are set off from the higher bird orders but internal differentiation within those higher orders is left to the discretion of the observer. Moore's analysis predicted clear discrimination between all three categories although ambiguity within each. Making Medicine's fusion of the two higher orders may represent his perspective as a young warrior rather than a senior priest in that his knowledge extended only to the birds' symbolism in personal war medicine rather than in tribal ritual. Alternatively it may represent an image of basic

equivalence among species and hence among men who base their personal power upon these birds.

Wider Application

Multiple links have been demonstrated between Cheyenne pictographic art and non-material aspects of Cheyenne culture. To establish these it was necessary to start with at least a rudimentary knowledge of the culture. This facilitated identification of the iconography of the drawings and hence interpretation of the explicit message of the pictures, their narrative content. To move from exactly what was going on to what it meant in a cultural context required successively greater knowledge about the culture. With an understanding of the explicit content of the pictures I was able to identify the structure of figure placement and interpret their implicit messages, reflective of cultural premises at a deeper level. These cultural premises could then be related back to broader social patterns and tensions of which the art was both an expression and an instrument.

Can the lesson of this Cheyenne case study be applied to the analysis of pictographic material from other cultures? Let us examine first the methodology established and then consider the type of material susceptible to such analysis.

The structural analysis of drawings is based on the identification of armature, code, and message. The armature is established by purely empirical observation of figure placement. This was facilitated in the Cheyenne case in two ways. Identification of basic units of analysis was made easier in that the small pages of ledgers required the artists to confine themselves to the minimal unit of meaningful interaction. Once this unit was established from study of ledger drawings, it was relatively easy to divide up larger works such as hide paintings into a series of individual scenes. Next, identification of the basic armature within these scenes was facilitated by the preponderance of a single very simple type of composition consisting of two figures side by side, bilateral placement. Other compositional types were also arrived at by empirical observation, but were held as tentative categories and required some revision after the code in the drawings was identified from study of the bilateral compositions.

Establishment of the code once again relied primarily upon empirical observation, in this case of how figures were placed within compositions. Such observations were tested and verified statistically. I was able to identify regular patterns of figure placement within the bilateral armature and compare them with figure placement within other compositional types to establish that these variants

were in fact transformations of the basic bilateral structure. Establishment of the significance of the observed lateral placement required recourse to both the narrative content of the picture and to ethnographic data about the position of the figures depicted in Cheyenne world view. Many of the scenes were explicit action pictures and established that the figure on the right was consistently the author of the action, while the left hand figure was the receiver of action, or B <--- A. For non-action scenes such as courting pictures, the literature confirmed this same relationship as inherent in the interaction of men and women.

Interpretation of the implicit messages of Cheyenne pictographic art moved from empirical observation and ethnographic explication to logical structural analysis. Pictures having the same structure in terms of armature and code but carrying different explicit content were viewed as transformations of the same message. That message was one of comparison, expressing not only A ---> B, but A ---> B :: C ---> D. The relationship between A and B is elaborated upon by linking it metaphorically to the relationship between C and D. The validity of the conclusions drawn from this structural analysis was confirmed by recourse once again to the ethnographic literature which contained many allusions to the metaphoric connections established on logical grounds.

Having identified this synchronic message system, I then attempted to place it within the diachronic context and identify patterns of change in the art corresponding to changes in the context of production. The time depth of the study sample is shallow and my efforts to trace change were of rather limited success. A change in the work of some artists from depiction of individual interactions to representation of larger scenes of group activity was demonstrated to be connected to production for an outside market. Changes in the messages conveyed are evident, particularly for the Ft. Marion artists who sought to interpret the new world in which they were placed in terms of past experience by placing new content within the established pictorial structure. The most significant alteration in the pictographic system in response to societal change was its eventual abandonment. This art form with its structured system of communication and its core of interrelated messages was of significance only to a specific section of the Cheyenne population, young men raised in the warrior tradition. With the passing of this cohort beyond the age of artistic production, the art form as a whole collapsed.

These findings suggest several things about the application of this method of analysis to other bodies of data. First, the procedure involves an interaction of empirical observation and inference from cultural data.

The armature may be deduced from examination of pictures without any additional information and patterns in the placement of figures might even be recognized. At this level the method of analysis could apply equally well to non-representational works as well as pictorial images. Establishment of the code in terms of the cultural significance assigned to figure placement requires information beyond that provided in the images alone, however. This is obvious for non-pictorial works which nevertheless are known to hold representational meaning, such as the Walbiri sand paintings studied by Nancy Munn (1966, 1973). The various circles, dots, and lines hold meaning only within the context of a given picture and it would be impossible to interpret them without cultural commentary. It is, however, possible to travel some distance toward interpretation of the code of pictographic material by studying the narrative content and seeing if it relates consistently to the pattern of figure placement. To gain the fullest understanding of the code, however, and to understand its application in non-action pictures, knowledge of the culture is required. Once armature and code are established, the messages of pictures are revealed and can be read independently of reference to the culture. They cover ground which may or may not be expressed in other places in the culture and like many symbol systems address concerns and make

statements that are seldom verbalized in as effective a fashion. The messages of art can be assumed to relate to the wider concerns of the society, but may do so in so oblique a fashion that the connection can only be established once one has studied the two areas independently.

From the above discussion it can be seen that the structural analysis of pictographic art has the most to contribute at the level of message analysis and can most effectively be applied to material from societies about which we have a reasonable body of ethnographic data. The symbolic systems of present day peoples can be approached through a variety of avenues, although this study suggests that certain themes may be addressed more clearly in art than in other media. Symbolic systems of the past are accessible only through memory, written records, and the material remains people have left behind. Pictographic art is one of the most promising avenues of access to understanding these systems of thought.

In The Transformation of the Hummingbird (1977) Eva Hunt sought to demonstrate that symbolic systems changed in regular ways and that such regular change could be useful for historical reconstruction, such as she herself pursued in an analysis of a Zapotec mythic poem. She postulated that messages changed readily in response to outside factors, codes were more resistant to change, and

armatures quite stable over time. As indicated above, this study of Cheyenne pictography with its brief time basis is not an effective test of this model of change. The messages did indeed appear to change quite readily, as for example the incorporation of new experiences by the Ft. Marion prisoners, but the rapid decline of the art form makes it impossible to comment on the relative stability of code and armature. Hunt's hypothesis, however, is of interest in considering the development of the Plains pictographic tradition and its historic relationship to rock art. Caution must be exercised in pursuing this line of study as many of the patterns identified in Cheyenne art might well have been independently conceived by various people without any historical connection. Binary opposition is one of the most fundamental of human systems of classification and lateral coding appears to have near universal occurrence. Even the messages relating hunting, warfare, and sexual conquest are linked in many societies around the world.

FIGURES

Figure 1

SUBJECT MATTER DISTRIBUTION

SUBJECT	FREQUENCY	PER CENTAGE
COMBAT	863	51%
COURTING	233	14%
PEOPLE	151	9%
HUNTING	112	7%
ANIMALS	115	7%
MISCELLANEOUS	74	4%
RITUAL	55	3%
WHITE LIFE	57	3%
HORSE STEALING	27	2%
OBJECTS	13	1%

Figure 2

CHEYENNE ARTISTS IDENTIFIED BY NAME

ARTIST	LATEST DATED SPECIMEN	BIRTH DATE*	AGE**
ALFRICH	1887	1867	20
BEAR ROBE, CLYDE	1889	1869	20
BUZZARD	1878	1855	23
NICK	1878	1855	23
ROMAN NOSE, HENRY	1878	1855	23
TICHKEMATSE	1880	1857	23
SHAVE HEAD	1878	1854	24
WASHEE	1887	1863	24
BEARS HEAD	1887	1862	25
COHOE	1878	1853	25
LITTLE CHIEF, WM.	1879	1854	25
WHITE MAN	1878	1853	25
BEAR ROBE, THOMAS	1889	1863	26
BIRD CHIEF	1887	1861	26
or BIRD CHIEF		1851	36
SOARING EAGLE	1878	1851	27
OLD BEAR	1876	1848	28
CHIEF KILLER	1878	1849	29
BEARS HEART	1881	1851	30
STARR	1891	1861	30
BUFFALO MEAT	1878	1847	31
HOWLING WOLF	1881	1850	31
RED EAGLE	1887	1854	33
STANDING BULL	1887	1854	33
STARR, THOMAS	1889	1856	33
MAKING MEDICINE	1878	1844	34
MAN ON THE CLOUD	1889	1852	37
WHITE BIRD	1895	1857	38
BIG HORSE, HUBBLE	1903	1864	39
YELLOW NOSE	1891	1848	43
WOODEN LEG	1930	1857	73
BIG BACK	1882		
HIGH BULL	1876		
LITTLE CHIEF, DAN'L	1891		
LITTLE FINGER NAIL	1878		
RED WOLF	1887		
ROMAN NOSE	1886		
SHORT HORN	1887		
WHITE BEAR	1885		
WHITE BIRD	1889		
WILD HOG	1878		

* Sources for birth dates are given in Appendix B.
** Maximum age for the artist.

Figure 3

FIGURE PLACEMENT IN BILATERAL COMBAT SCENES

left right		
Cheyenne - nonCheyenne	129	(16%)
nonCheyenne - Cheyenne	689	(84%)
	818	
tribe unclear	23	
total scenes	841	

left right		
victor - vanquished	52	(8%)
vanquished - victor	628	(92%)
	680	
outcome unclear	161	
total scenes	841	

Figure 4

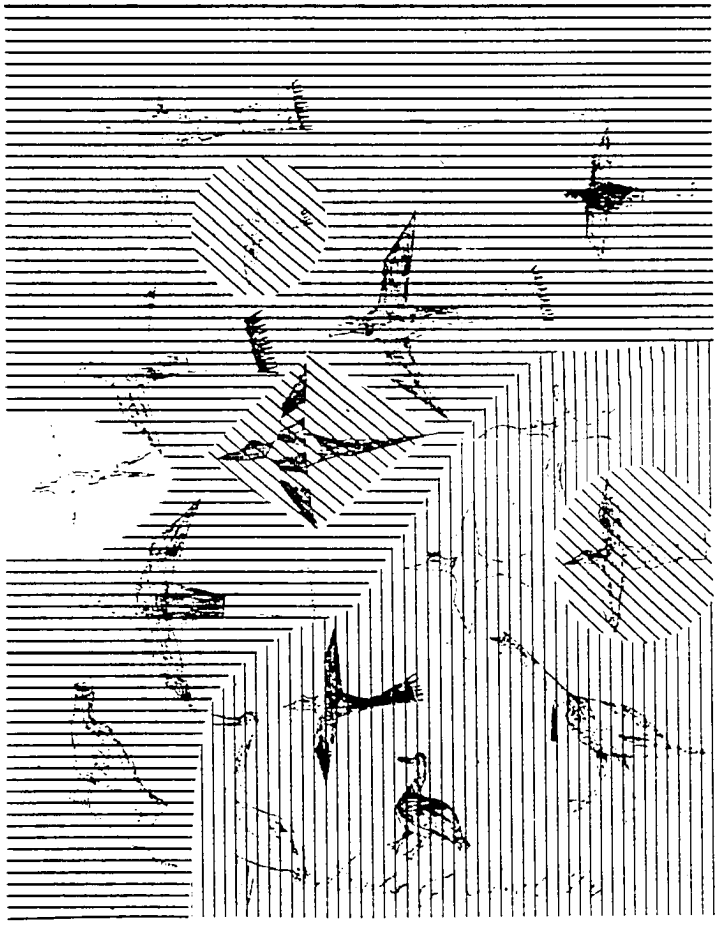
COMBINED RELATIONSHIPS IN BILATERAL COMBAT SCENES

	vanquished/victor	victor/vanquished
nonCheyenne/Cheyenne	562 (83%)	13 (2%)
Cheyenne/nonCheyenne	66 (8%)	39 (6%)

This chart should be read so that the term on the left of each pair represents the figure on the left in the picture.

Figure 5

SPATIAL RELATIONS AMONG THE VARIOUS ORDERS OF BIRDS



MAHEONEVEKSEO - HOLY BIRDS

MAXEVEKSEO - GREAT BIRDS

XAMAEVEKSEO - ORDINARY BIRDS

ILLUSTRATIONS

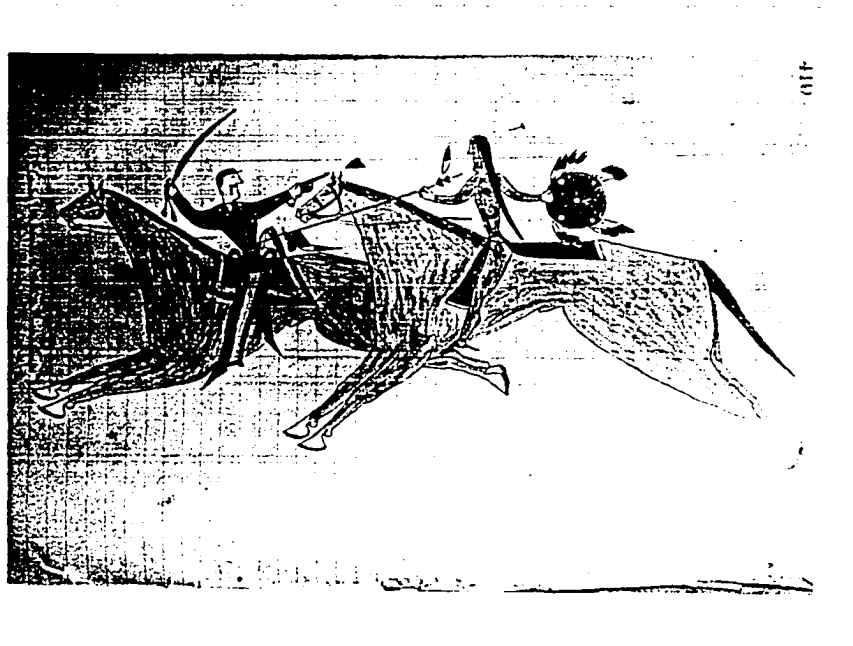


Plate 1. Bilateral composition, warfare scene. (OUSM E/85/1/1)

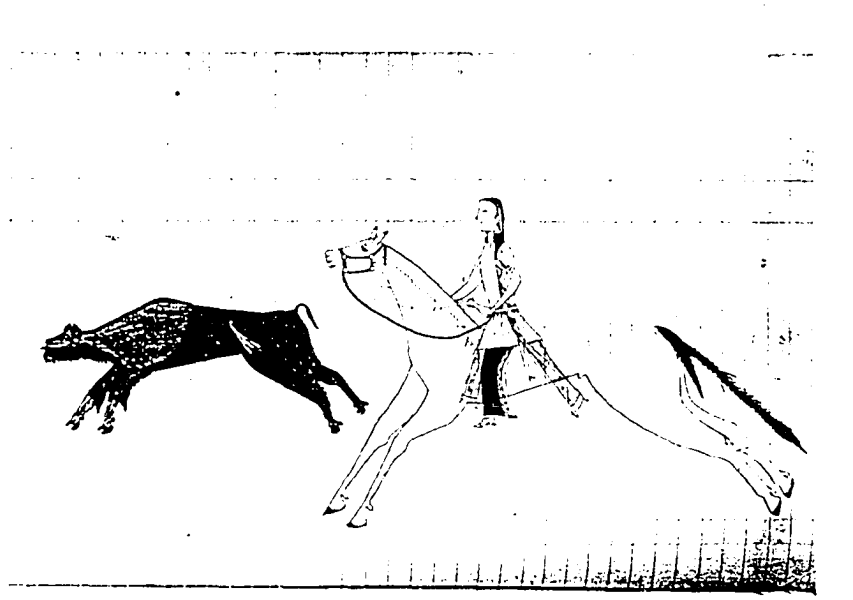


Plate 2. Bilateral composition, hunting scene. (OUSM NAM 9-6-298)



Plate 3. Bilateral composition, hunting scene with roles of hunter and hunted reversed. (NAA 39A)

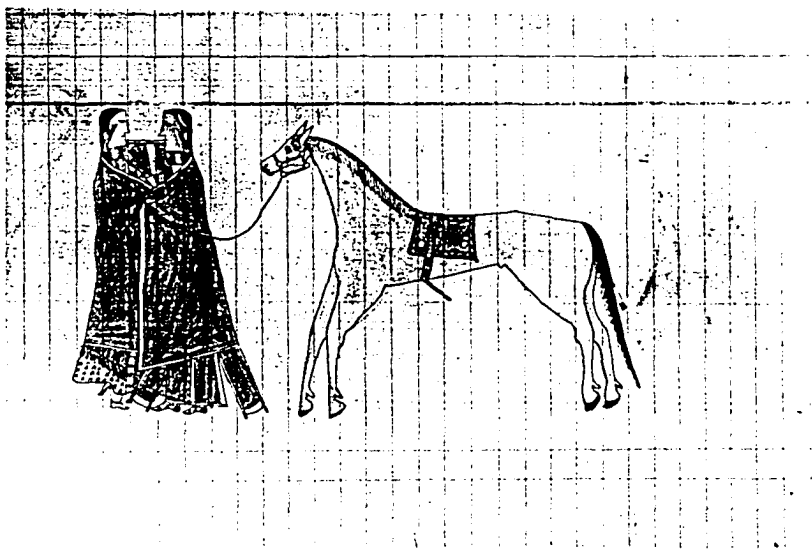


Plate 4. Bilateral composition, courting scene. (OUSM NAM 9-6-298)

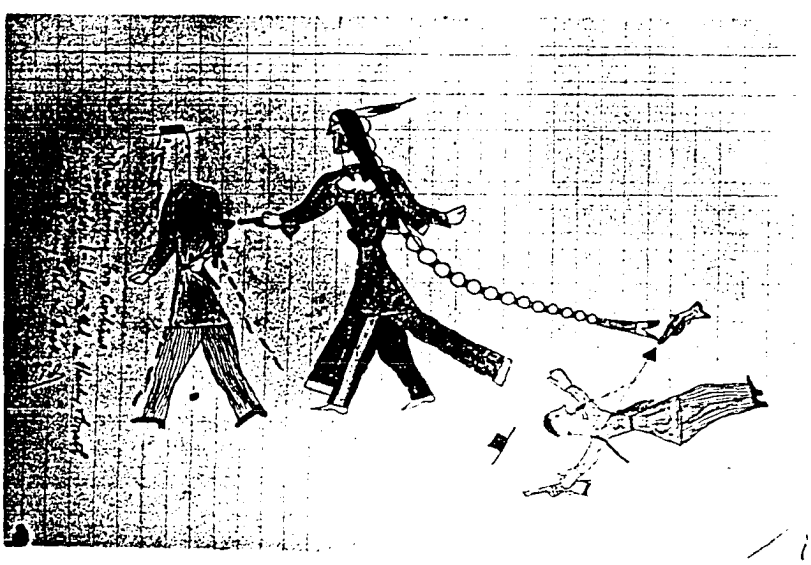


Plate 5. Complex bilateral composition showing sequential action. (OUSM E/85/1/1)

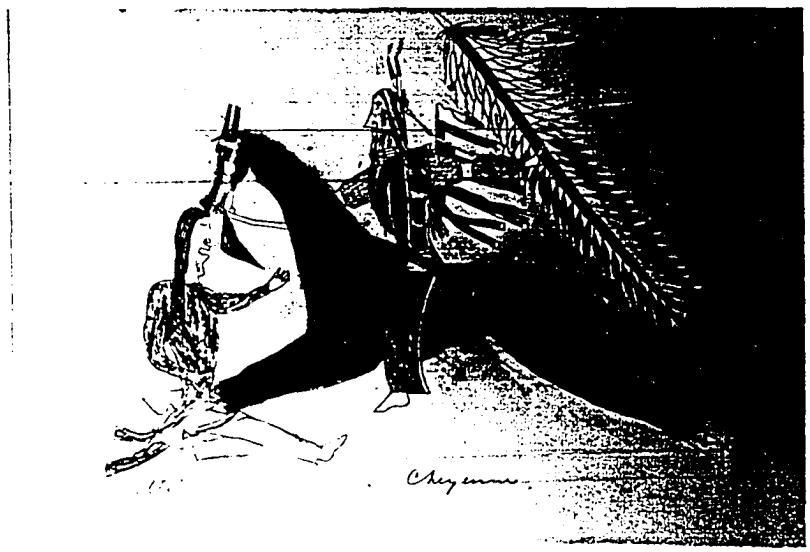


Plate 6. Bilateral composition, warfare scene with repeated message. (NAA 4653)

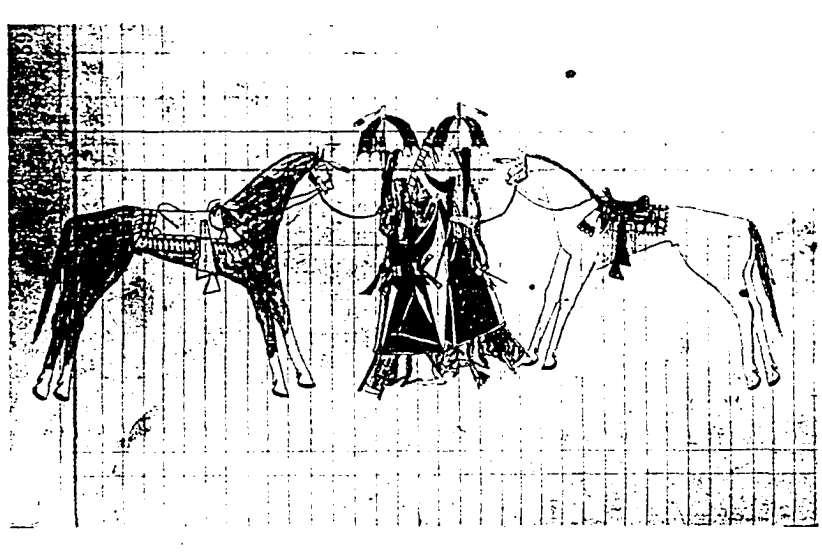


Plate 7. Bilateral composition presenting equivalent figures. (OUSM NAM 9-6-298)

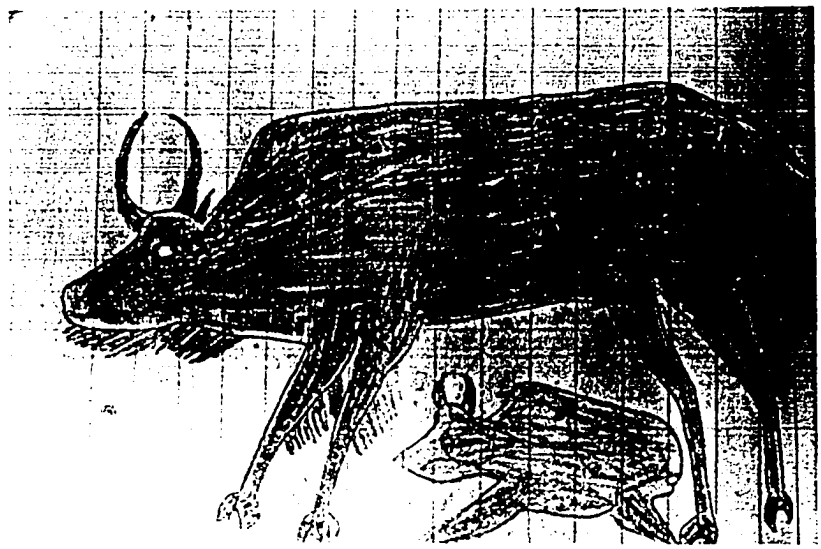


Plate 8. Bipolar composition, animal life. (KSHS #2)

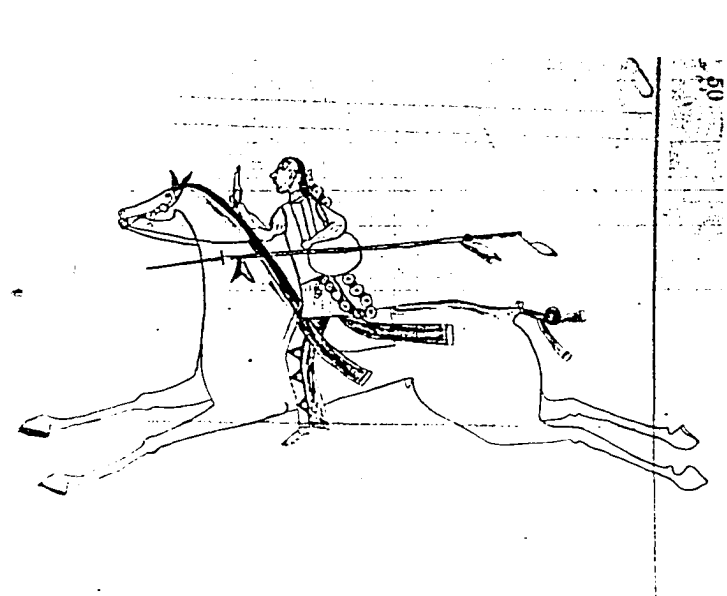


Plate 9. Single composition, implied warfare. (NAA 4452A)

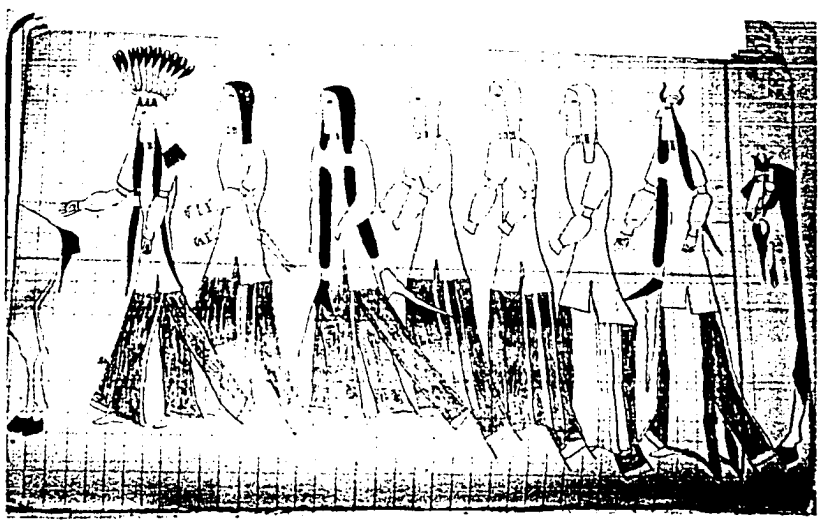


Plate 10. Serial composition, unfinished. (GI4526.11)



Plate 11. Tripartite composition with contrasting central figure. (OUSM NAM 9-6-298)

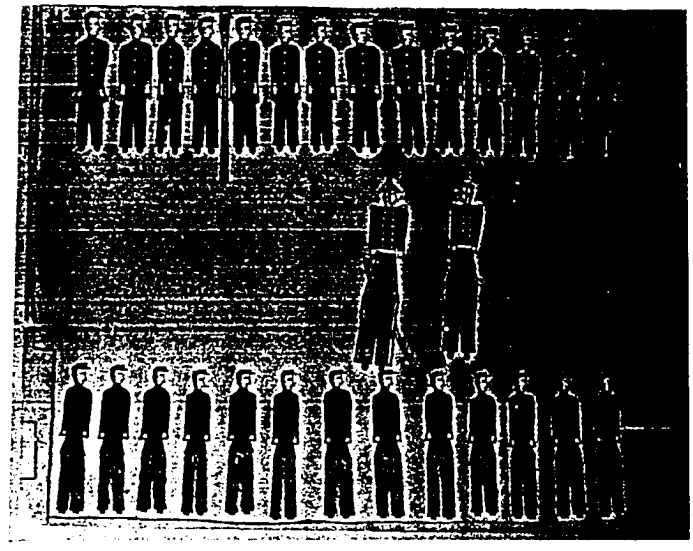


Plate 12. Vertical composition with contrasting central band. (NAA 39B)



Plate 13. Bilateral composition, scalp dance with positions of men and women reversed. (FPAIAC)



Plate 14. Detail of Catlin drawing of Cheyenne pictographic robe. (NYPL)

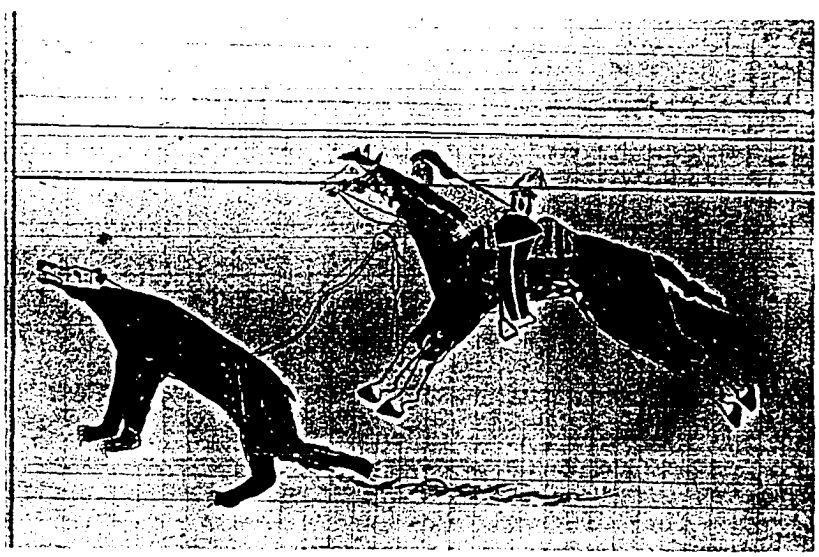


Plate 15. Hunter counting coup on a bear. (FPAIAC)

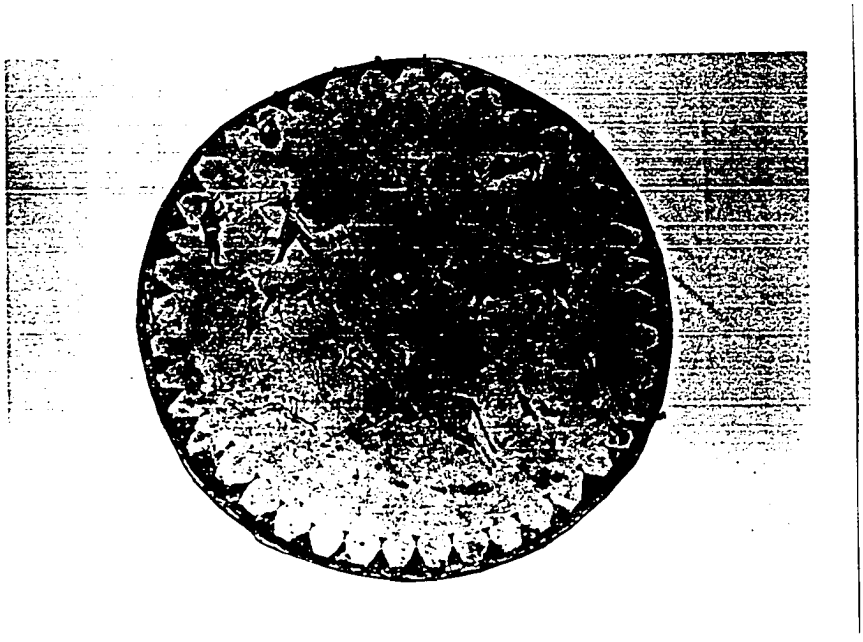


Plate 16. Pictographic shield with scenes of hunting. (FMNH 15,334)

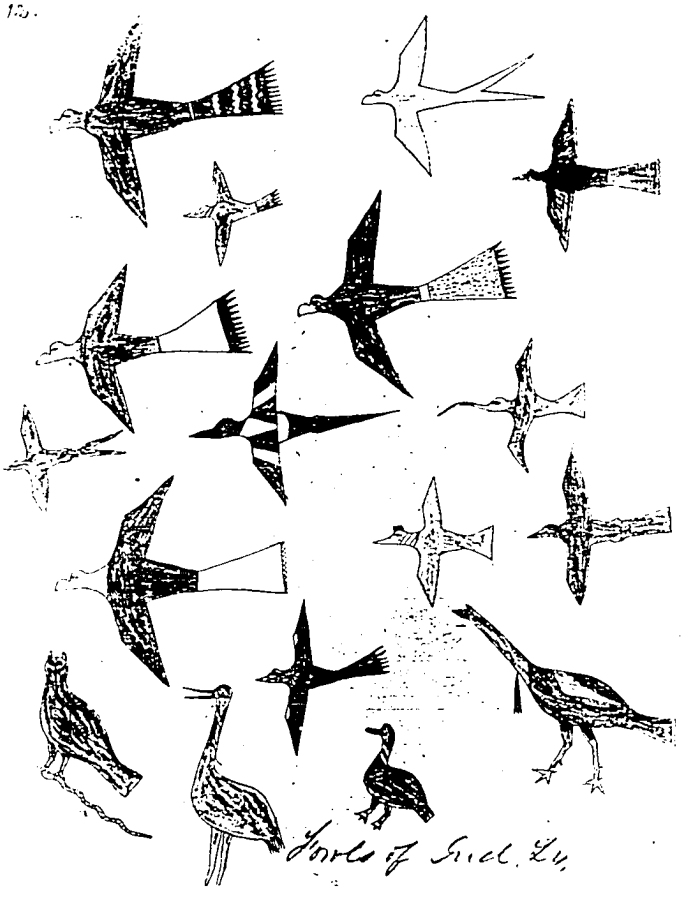


Plate 17. "Fowls of Indian Territory", by Making Medicine. (NAA 39A)

Plates 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, and 11 are reproduced courtesy of the Stovall Museum of Science and History, University of Oklahoma.

Plates 3, 6, 9, 12, and 17 are reproduced courtesy of the National Anthropological Archives, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution.

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Plates 13 and 15 are reproduced courtesy of the Foundation for the Preservation of American Indian Art and Culture.

Plate 14 is reproduced courtesy of the New York Public Library.

Plate 16 is reproduced courtesy of the Field Museum of Natural History.

APPENDIX A

DOCUMENTED SPECIMENS OF CHEYENNE PICTOGRAPHIC ART

This listing includes all the specimens on which this study was based. Many additional drawings were examined but excluded from analysis because their documentation was inadequate or they were not comparable units. (See Chapter II for a discussion of my standards for inclusion.) The category 'artist' includes any known individual whose work appears in the specimen. It is not intended to imply that he produced all or even most of the drawings contained. The category 'date' was used to identify the ages of artists and represents the final date at which the specimen could have been produced, not a confirmed date of origin. The category '# of images' represents the number of units on which analysis was based. This may not correspond with the total number of images in the work as in some cases I was not able to examine them all.

Collection: ACM
Object: drawing book
Artist(s): Buffalo Meat
Date: 1876

Cat.#: 48.65
Acc.#:

images: 7

Acquired from Old Print Shop in New York, N.Y. in 1965. Documented by flyleaf inscription: "Drawn by Buffalo Meat (Cheyenne Prisoner), Fort Marion, Fla. Nov. 1876. Presented by Capt. Rich. H. Pratt. 10th U.S. Cavalry. April 1877." Pratt was in charge of the Ft. Marion prisoners.

Collection: AMNH
Object: ledger book
Artist(s): unknown
Date: 1878

Cat.#: 50.1/6618
Acc.#: 1914.25

images: 151

Received together with 50.1/6619 from the estate of Joseph Hardie and assumed to have been collected around the same

time. This assumption is supported by the presence of works by the same unknown artist in both books. Specimen on exhibit and not available for direct study. My analysis is based on examination of file photographs.

Collection: AMNH
Object: ledger book
Artist(s): Little Finger Nail
Date: 1878

Cat.#: 50.1/6619
Acc.#: 1914.25
images: 67

Received from the estate of Joseph Hardie. Collected by Lt. Col. Francis Hunter Hardie. Documented by a letter from Francis Hardie to his cousin Joseph Hardie in which he described seeing the book in possession of a Cheyenne imprisoned at Ft. Robinson. The book was later recovered from his body after he was killed in the Jan. 1879 outbreak. Heitman (1903) confirms Hardie's assignment to the 3rd Cavalry at that time. Identification of one artist as Little Finger Nail is based on oral tradition secured by Sandoz (1964). Specimen on exhibit and not available for direct study. My analysis is based on examination of file photographs and microfilm.

Collection: AMNH
Object: painted hide
Artist(s): unknown
Date: unknown

Cat.#: 50.2/2856
Acc.#: 1927.19
images: 1

Collected among the Northern Cheyennes by George Bird Grinnell circa 1901. Note in accession file: "Painted calfrobe. Mrs. Black Wolf. Lame Deer Mont. July 28, 1901 GBG."

Collection: AMNH
Object: painted hide
Artist(s): unknown
Date: unknown

Cat.#: 50.2/3589
Acc.#: 1927.19
images: 8

Collected among the Northern Cheyennes by George Bird Grinnell circa 1901. Catalog entry noted as verified by Grinnell reads: "painted skin depicting a fight with American soldiers - Cheyenne."

Collection: AMNH
Object: painted hide
Artist(s): unknown
Date: unknown

Cat.#: 50.2/5849
Acc.#: 1952.68
images: 3

Received from Gifford M. Proctor. Collected by his father, A. Phimister Proctor, among the Northern Cheyenne in 1914. His presence there is corroborated by his autobiography in which he relates the following incident. "When my visitors found that I was interested in Indian artifacts, they swarmed in with all the cast offs they could carry... One woman brought me a buffalo robe which she insisted was 'ten hunnert' years old. I didn't believe her until she unrolled the relic, and then I decided that she had underestimated its age" (Proctor 1971:161).

Collection: CBNM
Object: ledger book pages
Artist(s): Wooden Leg
Date: 1930

Cat.#: unknown
Acc.#:
images: 8

Received from the estate of Thomas B. Marquis. Collected from the artist and captioned by Marquis, a physician on the Northern Cheyenne reservation in the 1920's and 1930's. The incidents depicted are detailed in Marquis (1931), which also includes a photograph of the artist at work. My analysis is based on photostats provided by the Monument.

Collection: CHS
Object: ledger book
Artist(s): unknown
Date: circa 1869

Cat.#: RB/P970.6/S29
Acc.#: 673
images: 103

Received from Ira LaMunyon in 1903. Inscribed, "This book was captured by the 5th U.S. Cavalry on their charge through the Indian Village July 10th 69," and "P. Haskins 1st Lt. 5th Cav USA." See Afton (1977) for detailed discussion of the documentation of this specimen, including identification of Haskins.

Collection: Curtin
Object: drawing book
Artist(s): Howling Wolf
Date: 1877

Cat.#: na
Acc.#: na
images: 29

Produced in 1877 at the request of Miss Eva Scott, later Mrs. Eva S. Fenyes, who captioned the drawings. The book passed to her daughter Leonora Scott Musė Curtin and was in her possession when published by Dunn (1969). According to Szabo (1983:308) it is now in the collection of Mr. and Mrs. George of Paloheimo of Santa Fe, New Mexico. Analysis of the specimen is based on

illustrations published in Dunn (1969).

Collection: DAM | Cat.#: 1958.192
Object: painted muslin | Acc.#:
Artist(s): White Bird
Date: 1894-5 | # images: 1

Received from Mrs. John Livermore, daughter-in-law of the collector. Collected by Capt. Richard Livermore at Ft. Keogh, Montana, where he was in command of Indian scouts. Cullum (1891, 1900) confirms his posting at this fort. Note: Other White Bird muslins at DAM were overlooked as they are erroneously indexed as Sioux.

Collection: DMNH | Cat.#: 11,787
Object: painted plate | Acc.#:
Artist(s): Little Chief
Date: 1875-78 | # images: 1

Received from Howard B. Roloff in 1981. Identified on basis of inscription, "Little Chief, Cheyenne," and comparison with documented works by the Ft. Marion artist of that name. Petersen (1971:104) documents the production of painted pottery by artists attending Hampton Institute. The piece is assumed to date from that period of Little Chief's life.

Collection: Dodge | Cat.#: na
Object: drawings | Acc.#:
Artist(s): Big Back
Date: 1876-82 | # images: 3

Published in Dodge (1882:412) and identified as, "Drawn with colored pencils, by Big Back, a Cheyenne Indian." These drawings do not all appear to be by the same artist. Analysis based on published illustrations.

Collection: FMNH | Cat.#: 15,334
Object: shield | Acc.#: 872
Artist(s): unknown
Date: unknown | # images: 5

Acquired by James Mooney from John D. Miles. Miles purchased the shield from the Southern Cheyenne High-back Wolf in 1878 while Miles was in charge of the Cheyenne-Arapaho Agency at Darlington.

Collection: FMNH Cat.#: 83,999
Object: drawing book Acc.#: 2769
Artist(s): Howling Wolf, Soaring Eagle
Date: 1875-78 # images: 8

Received from Mrs. A.W.F. Fuller whose husband had acquired it in 1930. Identified on the basis of inscription, "Howling Wolf, Soaring Eagle," and comparison with documented works by these Ft. Marion artists.

Collection: FMNH Cat.#: 96,796
Object: painted hide tipi liner Acc.#: 958
Artist(s): unknown
Date: 1903-06 # images: 11

Produced for James Mooney during his field work among the Southern Cheyennes in 1903-06. Preliminary drawings for this liner, some signed by Hubble Big Horse and dated 1903, are preserved in NAA 2538.1-.3 together with additional notes by Mooney dated 1906.

Collection: FMNH Cat.#: 96,808
Object: painted hide tipi liner Acc.#: 958
Artist(s): unknown
Date: 1903-06 # images: 15

Produced for James Mooney during his field work among the Southern Cheyennes in 1903-06. Preliminary drawings for this liner are preserved in NAA 2538.1-.3 and 123,124-9.

Collection: FMNH Cat.#: 96,809
Object: painted muslin tipi liner Acc.#: 958
Artist(s): unknown
Date:unknown # images: 4

Collected by James Mooney during his field work among the Southern Cheyennes in 1903-06. Notes from Mooney on file in FMNH archives identify this as, "Canvas painting - Tipi & Battle - of Red Cloud."

Collection: FPAIAC Cat.#: unknown
Object: ledger book Acc.#:
Artist(s): unknown
Date: circa 1878 # images: 34

Collected by Charles H. Heyl and purchased from the estate of his son, who provided the information that his father had commissioned the drawings from a Northern Cheyenne

artist (Peter J. Powell, personal communication). This identification is corroborated by inscriptions of Cheyenne names and events. Specimen not available for examination. Analysis based on illustrations published in Powell (1975; 1981) and Maurer (1977).

Collection: GI Cat.#: 4526.11
Object: ledger book Acc.#:
Artist(s): Red Eagle, Standing Bull, Bears Head, Bird Chief, Short Horn, Washee, Red Wolf, Alfrich
Date: 1887 # images: 137

Source of acquisition unknown. Identification based on the following inscriptions and their corroboration. "Made by the Indian Scouts 1887; Neal W. Evans, Fort Reno, Indian Territory, July 25/87; Capt Homer Wheeler U.S.A.; Lieut. 'Squid' Rice U.S.A." "N.W. Evans, Ft. Reno." "The picture's war of many years ago. in the year 1865. This picture book is belong to Indian Scouts of Ft. Reno. I.T." 62 individual pictures also have name inscriptions.

Neal Evans owned a trading post at Ft. Reno from the 1870's to the 1890's. There are numerous references to his post in the Cheyenne-Arapaho Agency records and the Pioneer Papers, OHS-IA. Copies of 13 pages of this book are in the Mooney collection NAA 2018 identified as "Cheyenne Pictures from Evans Cheyenne Picture Book 1906." Evans was apparently also the collector of another Cheyenne ledger, NAA 4653.

The first company of Indian scouts was organized at Ft. Reno in July 1885 and continued to serve until disbanded in 1895. Their first commander was Lt. Sedgwick Rice who served until July 22, 1886. Lt. Homer Wheeler came to Ft. Reno is May 1890 when the Indian scouts he commanded at Ft. Elliott, Texas were transferred to Ft. Reno and consolidated with the two companies already established there (National Archives Record Group 94, Box 2368). Wheeler was not promoted to the rank of captain until April 1893 (Heitman 1903). His name may have been added to the book some years after production while it was in Evans' possession. Twenty four men's names are inscribed on various pictures in the book. Twenty one of these appear on scout muster rolls for 1887, with a number discontinuing their service after that date.

Note: One page of this book has become detached and erroneously incorporated with 4526.19.

Collection: GI
Object: ledger book
Artist(s):unknown
Date: circa 1878-79

Cat.#: 4526.19
Acc.#:
images: 67

Collected by Lt. Heber Creel at Ft. Reno, I.T. in 1879. Documented by inscription, " This book contains history of American Horse and is ethnography for few of the [illeg.]... It is proposed intent to illustrate the Cheyenne method of recording history; H.M. Creel, 7th U.S. Cav. on Detached Service with Cheyenne Indians. Fort Reno, Indian Ty., Feb 20th 1879." The documentation is corroborated by correspondence in the Gilcrease library between Creel and the Asst. Adjutant General, Division of the Missouri, detailing his service in I.T. between Sept. 1878 and Dec. 1879, including reference to the "History of American Horse (Picture)."

Collection: JAM
Object: drawing book
Artist(s): Howling Wolf
Date: 1878-1881

Cat.#: 39.1966
Acc.#:
images: 12

Received from Mrs. A. H. Richardson, daughter of John G. Bourke. Evidently acquired by Bourke from Ben Clark, an interpreter on the Southern Cheyenne reservation, as the inscriptions are in Clark's hand (Petersen 1968). Inscription on first page begins, "Drawings by 'Howling Wolf' Southern Cheyenne, Son of 'Manimik' or Eagle Head', a Cheif [sic]..." Bourke also collected a Cheyenne ledger book now at the USMA.

Collection: KSHS
Object: note book
Artist(s): Wild Hog
Date: 1879

Cat.#: none (#1)
Acc.#:
images: 54

Received from Mrs. James (Dora A.) Clayton. Collected by her husband who was clerk to a commission that investigated the "Indian uprising," presumably the Northern Cheyenne outbreak of 1878. Inscribed, "These pictures were drawn by 'Wild Hog' and other Northern Cheyenne Indian Cheifs [sic], while they were confined in the Dodge City jail, in May 1879," but Mrs. Clayton noted in a letter to the Society, "my son wrote a name in the book but I'm but I'm not sure it is the correct name" (8/6/39). The son's identification is corroborated by a drawing at the NAA (2372, box 11) documented as collected from Wild Hog that appears to be by the same artist as this book of drawings.

Collection: KSHS
Object: note book
Artist(s): unknown
Date: 1879

Cat.#: none (#2)
Acc.#:
images: 80

Received from Mrs. Sallie Straughn in 1922 without any documentation. The drawings are quite similar to those in KSHS #1 and the notebook itself is almost identical. On this basis the notebook is assumed to have been produced at about the same time, probably by another individual imprisoned in Dodge City.

Collection: KSHS
Object: drawings
Artist(s): unknown
Date: 1878

Cat.#: none (#3)
Acc.#:
images: 3

Received from F.A. Hobble sometime before 1922. Inscription on envelope enclosing the drawings, "These two drawings, combined form one scene, they represent an Indian wedding. As I have never had the opportunity of having an Indian explain the picture, your understanding will be as good as any. F.A. Hobble. These drawings were made by Indians confined in jail after the raid of..." A note on a photograph in the library collection (E99/C53) received from the same donor provides information that may relate to these drawings: "This is a picture of the chiefs of the Northern Cheyenne Indians, who conducted the last Indian Raid thro [sic] Kansas, during the fall of 1878. A full history of this raid may be easily secured. There is now in the possession of the Kansas State Historical Society a few samples of Indian drawing which was made by some one of these Indians." These drawings are similar in style to KSHS #1 and #2.

Collection: MAI
Object: ledger book
Artist(s): High Bull, Old Bear
Date: 1876

Cat.#: 10/8725
Acc.#:
images: 40

Received from John Jay White who purchased it from a New York dealer. This specimen is remarkably well documented. Its collecting and later ownership is detailed in Wheeler (1923:186). It later came to the notice of George B. Grinnell who took it to the Northern Cheyenne reservation where he was able to locate individuals familiar with it (Grinnell 1956:367). The detailed information that he received is published in Wheeler (1923:188-190) and interpreted in Powell (1975). Specimen not available for examination. Analysis based on study of file photographs.

Collection: MAI
Object: drawings
Artist(s): unknown
Date: circa 1878

Cat.#: 11/1705-06
Acc.#:
images: 2

Received from Miss Gertrude M. O'Beirne. Collected by her father Brev't. Brigadier General of Volunteers James Rowan O'Beirne. Catalogued as Sioux, collected at Pine Ridge, Dakota about 1880. Identified as Cheyenne on the basis of inscriptions naming prominent Southern Cheyenne chiefs and classic Cheyenne soldier society regalia. The style is suggestive of a Ft. Marion artist, possibly Little Chief (George Eager, personal communication). O'Beirne was stationed at Pine Ridge and may have acquired the drawings there from an intermediary. However, he was in direct contact with several of the Ft. Marion artists in 1878 when he escorted 39 prisoners returning to the Southern Cheyenne reservation (OHS-IA: CAA 24, 4/15/78, 4/18/78). Specimen not available for examination. Analysis based on study of file photographs.

Collection: MAI
Object: drawing book
Artist(s): Bears Heart
Date: 1876

Cat.#: 20/6231
Acc.#:
images: 22

Collected by General William Tecumseh Sherman when visiting Ft. Marion in 1876. Identified by an inscription, "Bears Heart. The name of the artist, written by himself. Ft. Marion, Fla. Nov. 1876." Published by Supree (1977). Specimen not available for examination. Analysis based on published illustrations.

Collection: MAI
Object: drawing
Artist(s): Roman Nose
Date: 1886

Cat.#: 23/5998
Acc.#:
images: 1

Received from George Terasaki. Previously in the collection of Fred B. Hackett, a rider with the Buffalo Bill show. Identified by inscription, "Drawn by 'Roman Nose' a Cheyenne Indian in Confinement at Post Guard-House, Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas, May 7, 1886." This is corroborated by Berthrong (1976:107-8), who references a Roman Nose imprisoned at Ft. Leavenworth for an attack on Ben Clark. This was not the same Roman Nose who was a Ft. Marion prisoner and later a prominent Southern Cheyenne chief.

Collection: MHS Cat.#: none
Object: drawing book Acc.#:
Artist(s): Making Medicine, Bears Heart, Buffalo Meat, Cohoe, plus several Kiowas
Date: 1877 # images: 22

Received from Mrs. John Forbes as part of the Francis Parkman papers. Inscribed, "Sketches by Indians at Ft. Marion, St. Augustine, Fla. 1877," and "The Indian prisoners who made these pictures at Fort Marion, St. Augustine, had been there about two years, and had been taught to write, but had not been instructed in drawing." Individual pictures bear the names of various artists.

Collection: MTHS Cat.#: x61.16.01-03
Object: drawing Acc.#: x82.38.01-03
Artist(s): White Bear
Date: 1885 # images: 3

Received from Mrs. Francis Jergens Tobie. Identified on basis of inscriptions on two pictures: "Drawn by 'White Bear' a Cheyenne Indian Convict in the U.S. Penitentiary at Deer Lodge, Montana April 1885" and "White Bear a Cheyenne Convict (Penitentiary, Deer Lodge, Montana - April 1885." The third drawing is similar to the others and is presumed to have been produced by the same artist around the same time. Analysis based on study of photographs provided by the MTHS.

Collection: NAA Cat.#: 39A
Object: drawing book Acc.#:
Artist(s): Making Medicine
Date: 1875 # images: 22

Received from the U.S. War Department, their catalog #30664. Stamped, "Ordnance Office, Rec'd. Sep. 15, 1875." Inscribed, "Drawn by Making Medicine - Cheyenne Prisoner - St. Augustine Fla., Aug. 1875."

Collection: NAA Cat.#: 39B
Object: drawing book Acc.#:
Artist(s): Making Medicine
Date: 1875-78 # images: 21

Received from Mrs. S.H. Burnside, cousin of the collector. Collected by George W. Fox. Documented by the donor, "This book of Indian drawings was given by my cousin, Geo. W. Fox to my brother - David M. Grice of Philada. The drawings were made by an Indian, by the name of Making

Medicine, while in prison at Fort Marion Florida - about 1878 - The book came into my possession upon the death of my brother in 1881." Inscribed, "Drawn by Making Medicine, Cheyenne - individually captioned by George Fox." Fox was an interpreter at Ft. Marion (Petersen 1971).

Collection: NAA
Object: drawings
Artist(s): Tichkematse
Date: unknown
Cat.#: 39D2
Acc.#:
images: 3

Cataloged as part of collection received from James Mooney in 1906 but not referred to in his correspondence on that material. The remarkable similarity of this material to specimens cataloged as 290,844-45 leads me to the conclusion that they were produced by Tichkematse during his residency at the Smithsonian and were erroneously associated with the Mooney collection cataloged as 39D1.

Collection: NAA
Object: drawing
Artist(s): Daniel Little Chief
Date: 1891
Cat.#: 2016A
Acc.#:
images: 1

Received from Albert S. Gatschet. Inscribed, "Crayon pictures of Cheyenne ceremonial customs and implements. Drawn by Wuxpais, or Daniel Littlechief, son of the present head chief of the Cheyenne Indians of South Dakota, at Pine Ridge Agency. Explained by notes obtained from the same Indian by Albert S. Gatschet. Washington, D.C., February 1891." All of these pictures except one are illustrations unsuited for inclusion in this analysis. The final one, a battle scene, is on a different type of paper and is inscribed in part, "A Blackfeet Indian was killed by a Cheyenne... T.D. Little Chief."

Collection: NAA
Object: card
Artist(s): Wild Hog
Date: 1878
Cat.#: 2372.11
Acc.#:
images: 1

Received from Dr.J. Odenbaugh who collected the drawing from Wild Hog while he was imprisoned at Dodge City, Kansas in 1878.

Collection: NAA
Object: drawings
Artist(s): Hubble Big Horse
Date: 1903

Cat.#: 2538.1 and .3
Acc.#:
images: 26

Produced for James Mooney as part of his 1903-06 studies of Cheyenne heraldry. Four drawings signed H.B. Horse and dated June, 1903. A number of these are preliminary drawings for the tipi liners at the FMNH #96,796 and #96,808.

Collection: NAA
Object: ledger book
Artist(s): Washee
Date: 1878-81

Cat.#: 4452A
Acc.#:
images: 55

Received from W.H. Myers who provided the information that he had purchased them from the estate of Capt. David N. McDonald who served with the U.S. Army, ca. 1880-85 "in the Western United States." Inscribed on several pages with a name that Myers took to be Nashee, or Nachi, an Apache chief. McDonald served in the Army from 1877 to 1888 and was stationed at Ft. Reno from July 1878 to November 1881 (Cullum 1891). I believe that the inscription is properly read as "Washee." This name is also inscribed in GI 4526.11 on drawings that appear to be by the same artist, confirming my identification of the specimen as Cheyenne.

Collection: NAA
Object: ledger book
Artist(s): unknown
Date: unknown

Cat.#: 4563
Acc.#:
images: 70

Received through an antiquities dealer without any accompanying documentation. Identified on the basis of style, inscriptions, and an enclosed advertisement for N.W. Evans & Co., a trading establishment at Ft. Reno, the proprietor of which collected another Cheyenne book, GI 4526.11. Numerous inscriptions identify the participants as Cheyennes and refer to famous Cheyenne battles, including the Beecher Island fight of 1868 and the Smoky Hill fight of 1875. Well known Cheyenne leaders such as Iron Shirt, Whirlwind, and Roman Nose are identified.

Collection: NAA
Object: ledger book
Artist(s): Yellow Nose, Thomas Bear Robe, Thomas Starr, Man on the Cloud, White Bird, Clyde Bear Robe or Big Chief
Date: 1889
Cat.#: 166,032
Acc.#: 26,674
images: 88

Received in 1893 from H.R. Voth whose notes indicate that he collected it in 1889 from H. Spotted Wolf. Voth was a Mennonite missionary stationed at Darlington from 1882-91 (Kaufman 1973). His collection includes other specimens by Yellow Nose as well as other artists.

Collection: NAA
Object: ledger pages
Artist(s): unknown
Date: 1876
Cat.#: 176,622
Acc.#: 31,963
images: 4

Received from Mrs. John G. Bourke and recorded as collected by her husband. I have identified these pages as from the ledger that Bourke collected and placed in his diary, now preserved at the USMA library. Documentation established from that specimen.

Collection: NAA
Object: drawings
Artist(s): unknown
Date: 1904
Cat.#: 233,124-130
Acc.#: 43,633
images: 10

Collected by James Mooney among the Southern Cheyennes in 1904. These are preliminary drawings for the tipi liner at the FMNH #96,808.

Collection: NAA
Object: drawings
Artist(s): Tichkematse
Date: 1879-80
Cat.#: 290,844-5
Acc.#: 59,767
images: 17

Received from E.P. Upham, Smithsonian employee. A number are inscribed, "Tichkematse." Tichkematse, also known as Squint Eye, worked at the Smithsonian in 1879-80 (Petersen 1971:193-9) and evidently produced them during that time as one is inscribed, "Nov. 8th 1879."

Collection: NMNH
Object: painted hide
Artist(s): Yellow Nose
Date: 1891
Cat.#: 165,127
Acc.#: 26,286
images: 1

Collected by James Mooney. Reproduced in Mooney (1896:177) and captioned, "The original of this picture was drawn in colored inks on buckskin by Yellow Nose, a Ute captive among the Cheyenne, in 1891. It was obtained from him by the author and is now deposited in the National Museum at Washington."

Collection: NMNH
Object: painted hide
Artist(s): unknown
Date: circa 1891

Cat.#: 165,927
Acc.#: 26,674
images: 1

Received in 1893 from H.R.Voth (see NAA 166,032 for information on Voth), whose original catalog identifies it as, "One buck-skin dance painting - Cheyenne." Official museum catalog lists it as, "Ghost Dance by Yellow Nose", but it appears instead to be an Omaha Dance and the style is not typical of Yellow Nose.

Collection: NMNH
Object: painted hide tipi liner
Artist(s): Yellow Nose
Date: circa 1891

Cat.#: 165,931
Acc.#: 26,674
images: 34

Received in 1893 from H.R. Voth (see NAA 166,032 for information on Voth). Identified by him as, "One large bed covering with drawings - Cheyenne." This specimen contains two styles of drawing, an upper center section with traditional scenes of coup counting and a surrounding section with a variety of scenes of war, hunting, courting, and ritual. Several of these latter can be attributed to Yellow Nose on the basis of style and an inscription, "Yellow Nose in War."

Collection: NMNH
Object: painted hide
Artist(s): Yellow Nose
Date: circa 1891

Cat.#: 165,960
Acc.#: 26,674
images: 1

Received in 1893 from H.R. Voth (see NAA 166,032 for information on Voth). Identified by him as, "One drawing on a panther skin." Basis for catalog identification as Yellow Nose not recorded but is consistent with his style.

Collection: NMNH
Object: tipi model
Artist(s): unknown
Date: unknown

Cat.#: 394,636
Acc.#: 222,628
images: 6

Received from Mrs. Guy Stevens Norvell. Collected by her father-in-law, Lt. Col. Stevens T. Norvell, and identified by his original tag, "model tent - Cheyenne - Montana." According to donor, Norvell was in service at Ft. Custer and Ft. Keogh, Montana in the 1890's. This is confirmed by Heitman (1903).

Collection: NYSL
Object: drawing book
Artist(s): Howling Wolf
Date: 1876

Cat.#: 672
Acc.#:
images: 8

Received in 1912 from the Lexington Book Shop. Accompanied by notes indicating that it was collected by Frank B. Mayer and consisted of "Original American Indian Sketches in Color. Made by Howling Wolf, Cheyenne, at Fort Marion, Florida. 1876." Analysis based on photostats provided by NYSL.

Collection: OHS
Object: drawings
Artist(s): Buffalo Meat, Buzzard
Date: 1875-78

Cat.#: 3956
Acc.#:
images: 7

Received from C.P. Wickmiller. Inscription on one indicates that some if not all of these were collected by Frank H. Taylor. This is corroborated by an illustration accompanying an 1878 article by Taylor published in the Philadelphia Daily Graphic, which shows portions of two of the drawings. (Reproduced as Plate 10 in Petersen 1971:13.) Inscribed with the names of Buffalo Meat and Buzzard. One attributed to Buzzard and at least two to Buffalo Meat on the basis of style.

Collection: OUSM
Object: painted muslin
Artist(s): unknown
Date: unknown

Cat.#: NAM 9-6-237
Acc.#: E/47-8/1/19
images: 4

Received from the estate of William H. Munger. Munger operated a hardware store in Watonga, Oklahoma from 1892 to 1926. Many Indians traded there and he amassed a substantial Indian collection, of which this was a part.

Collection: OUSM
Object: ledger book
Artist(s): unknown
Date: unknown

Cat.#: NAM 9-6-298
Acc.#: E/73/7/10
images: 82

Received from Mrs. John Surr. Collected by her father, Vernon Stiles, who worked for a trader at Darlington from 1883-85. Stiles date of employment in I.T. is confirmed by a letter of reference from his employer that has been preserved with the collection, a report of his arrival in the Cheyenne Transporter (5/28/83), and various agency records (OHS-IA).

Collection: OUSM
Object: ledger book
Artist(s): Starr
Date: 1890-1

Cat.#: NAM 9-6-xxx
Acc.#: E/85/1/1
images: 46

Received from the Montgomery City-County Public Library. Collected by Col. Samuel Goode Jones and given to Judge Walter B. Jones, who placed it with the Montgomery Museum of Fine Arts. Transferred by the museum to the Public Library. Inscribed by the collector, "Indian Drawings - by Indian artists presented to 2nd Lieut. Samuel Goode Jones, 5th U.S. Cavalry by 'Whirlwind', Hereditary chief of Southern Cheyennes at Fort Reno, Indian Territory 1890-1891." Jones' service at Ft. Reno confirmed by Cullum (1900).

Collection: Petersen
Object: drawing book
Artist(s): Cohoe
Date: 1876

Cat.#: na
Acc.#: na
images: 12

Sent by Capt. Pratt to Bishop Henry B. Whipple in December 1876. Subsequently passed down in the family to the present owner, Karen Daniels Petersen. Inscribed, "Drawn by Cohoe (Cheyenne) Ft. Marion, Fla. Sept. 1876." Eight of these drawings were examined in person. Analysis of the remainder was based on images published in Petersen (1964).

Collection: SPB
Object: drawing book
Artist(s): Bears Heart
Date: 1875-78

Cat.#: 4366.92
Acc.#:
images: 18

Offered for sale 4/26/80. Identified by myself as the

work of Bears Heart on the basis of comparison to documented works. Analysis based on illustrations published in sale catalog.

Collection: SPB
Object: drawing book
Artist(s): Making Medicine
Date: 1875-78

Cat.#: 5096.226
Acc.#:
images: 24

Offered for sale 10/22/83. Identified by myself on the basis of inscriptions, "N, No. 41, Drawing Book, By a Cheyenne Prisoner at St. Augustine, Fla..." and three marked, "Making Medicine." Analysis based on illustrations published in sale catalog.

Collection: USMA
Object: ledger book
Artist(s): unknown
Date: 1876

Cat.#: Bourke diary, vol.18
Acc.#:
images: 47

Collected by Maj. John G. Bourke who cut the ledger apart and pasted the pages into his diary. The book was captured in 1876 during the sacking of an Indian village that Bourke believed to be Sioux. Powell (1976), however, reports that military historians now recognize that this was the Northern Cheyenne camp of Old Bear. Four pages from this book are at the NAA #176,622.

Collection: USMA
Object: ledger book
Artist(s): unknown
Date: circa 1878

Cat.#: unknown
Acc.#: 169,568
images: 94

Received from Gen. Francis H. Pope without documentation. The materials, style, and inscriptions are identical to those used in the FPAIAC ledger documented as collected by Charles H. Heyl. Identified as Cheyenne on the basis of association with that specimen.

Collection: WPM
Object: painted muslins
Artist(s): White Bird
Date: 1894-5

Cat.#: 406-8
Acc.#:
images: 3

Received in 1914 from Capt. Richard L. Livermore. Documentation provided in an article in the Denver Times (1/19/13): "The three pictures are on sheets of unbleached muslin and were bought by Captain R.L. Livermore of Denver

from the artist, White Bird, who fought in the massacre of Custer's detachment. The two smaller pictures, each about four feet square, were already drawn when Livermore saw them. The larger picture - a panorama of the entire attack - was drawn to order. Livermore will send the pictures to the National Military museum at West Point in a short time. White Bird, a Cheyenne Indian, drew the picture in 1895, using pencils, colored crayon and inks for the work."

Collection: YBL
Object: photographs of drawings
Artist(s): Bears Heart
Date: 1875-81
Cat.#: Pratt papers 31.735
Acc.#: S1154
images: 11

Part of papers of Richard Pratt. Copies of drawings made to illustrate lectures that Pratt gave about the Fort Marion prisoners (Karen Petersen, personal communication).

Collection: YBL
Object: drawing book
Artist(s): Making Medicine, Bears Heart, Nick, Cohoe, Little Chief, Chief Killer, White Man, Howling Wolf, Squint Eyes (Tichkematse), Buzzard, Soaring Eagle, Roman Nose, Shave Head
Date: 1875-78
Cat.#: Pratt papers 34.767
Acc.#: S1154
images: 29

Part of papers of Richard Pratt. Book inscribed, "Drawings Made by the Indian prisoners confined in Fort Marion. St. Augustine, Fla. 1875 to 1878, representing themselves and incidents in their lives." Individual drawings inscribed with names of the artists.

APPENDIX B

RECOGNIZED CHEYENNE ARTISTS

Ft. Marion Artists

The identification, personal histories, and artistic output of the artists who were imprisoned at Ft. Marion have been well researched by Petersen (1971). Specimen dates and birth dates for the following artists are based on that source.

artist	specimen dates	birth date
Bears Heart	1875-81	1851
Buffalo Meat	1875-78	1847
Buzzard	1875-78	1855
Chief Killer	1875-78	1849
Cohoe	1875-78	1853
Howling Wolf	1875-81	1850
Little Chief (Wm.)	1875-79	1854
Making Medicine	1875-78	1844
Nick	1875-78	1855
Roman Nose (Henry)	1875-78	1855
Shave Head	1875-78	1854
Soaring Eagle	1875-78	1851
Tichkematse	1875-80	1857
White Man	1875-78	1853

Ft. Reno Scouts

Specimen GI 4526.11, attributed to the Ft. Reno scouts, contains 137 pictures. Fifty two of these bear inscriptions giving 23 separate men's names. The identification of artists was established by sorting the pictures into individual artists based on style and seeing what names were associated with each group of pictures. An individual was assumed to be the artist if his name appeared only on works by a single individual and if his name was the one most commonly appearing in those works. In only one instance did two names appear with equal frequency. In that case it was possible to determine that Washee was the correct artist as works by the same hand in

another specimen (NAA 4452A) are also inscribed "Washee". Another artist was identified as Red Wolf. Two individuals named Red Wolf were enrolled as scouts with partially overlapping service terms. It was not possible to determine which was the artist and both are listed below. Birth dates for all artists were established from the 1892 census of the Southern Cheyennes and Arapahoes done in conjunction with the Dawes Commission allotment proceedings.

artist	service dates	birth date
Alfrich	2/86-8/87;11/90-5/91	1867
(identified on census as Alfrich Heap of Birds)		
Bears Head	2/86 - 10/88	1862
Bird Chief	7/86 - 4/88	1851
(there were also Arapahoes of this name)		
Red Eagle	7/86 - 5/91	1854
Red Wolf	7/85 - 11/90	1864
or Red Wolf	7/85 - 11/90	1868
Short Horn	7/86 - 7/88	
Standing Bull	7/86 - 7/87	1854
Washee		1863

Yellow Nose Ledger Artists

These artists were identified by a method similar to that used for GI 4526.11. The pictures were sorted by individual artist and the resulting groups were examined to see what names were associated. In this case the task was simpler as fewer names appeared in the work on any given artist. With the exception of Yellow Nose whose name appears on the work of three artists, multiple names were found in only one instance. The names of Clyde Bear Robe and Big Chief occur once each. As Clyde's brother Thomas also produced work in this book, he is probably the correct artist. Birth dates for these artists were established from the 1892 census of the Southern Cheyennes and Arapahoes.

artist	birth date
Man on the Cloud	1852
Thomas B[ear] Robe	1863
Thomas Starr	1856
White Bird	
Yellow Nose	1848
Clyde Bear Robe	1869
or Big Chief	

Other Artists

The remaining artists produced work in a variety of specimens. They have been identified through inscriptions and other documentary sources detailed in Appendix A.

artist	specimens	dates	birth date
Big Back	Dodge	1876-82	
Big Horse, Hubble	NAA 2538.1 &.3	1903	1864*
High Bull	MAI 10/8725	1876	
Little Chief, Dan'l.	NAA 2016C	1891	
Little Finger Nail	AMNH 50.1/6619	1878	
Old Bear	MAI 10/8725	1876	1848**
Roman Nose	MAI 23/5998	1886	
Starr	OUSM E/85/1/1	1890-91	1861*
Washee	GI 4526.11	1887	1863*
	NAA 4452A	1878-81	
White Bear	MTHS x61.16.01-3	1885	
White Bird	DAM 1958.192	1894-95	1857**
	WPM 406-8	1894-95	
Wild Hog	KSHS (#1)	1878	
	NAA 2372.11	1878	
Wooden Leg	CBNM	1930	1857**
Yellow Nose	NAA 166,032	1889	1848*
	NMNH 165,127	ca.1891	
	NMNH 165,931	ca.1891	
	NMNH 165,960	ca.1891	

* 1892 Southern Cheyenne and Arapaho census
** 1900 Federal census, Lame Deer Reservation

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