TETON DAKOTA

ETHNOLOGY AND HISTORY

By

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REVISED EDITION

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FOREWORD TO THE SECOND EDITION

Although the first edition of this mimeographed pamphlet has been exhausted for several months, a lively demand for additional copies has persisted. It is in response to this demand that a second edition has been prepared.

The editorial supervision of this edition has been graciously assumed by Hazel Hunt Voth and William Lippincott.

May 1, 1938 John C. Ewers

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Note: Plates remaining from the first edition were used for this edition also.

INTRODUCTION

A century ago a large portion of the high plains country east of the Rockies was inhabited by a powerful, nomadic tribe of Indians known to ethnologists as the Teton Dakota. The wide expanse of territory included in what is now South Dakota from the Missouri Valley westward, together with adjacent areas in Nebraska and Wyoming north of the North Platte River, and smaller portions of southwestern North Dakota and southeastern Montana, was occupied by the Teton and jealously guarded by them against encroachment by surrounding hostile tribes.

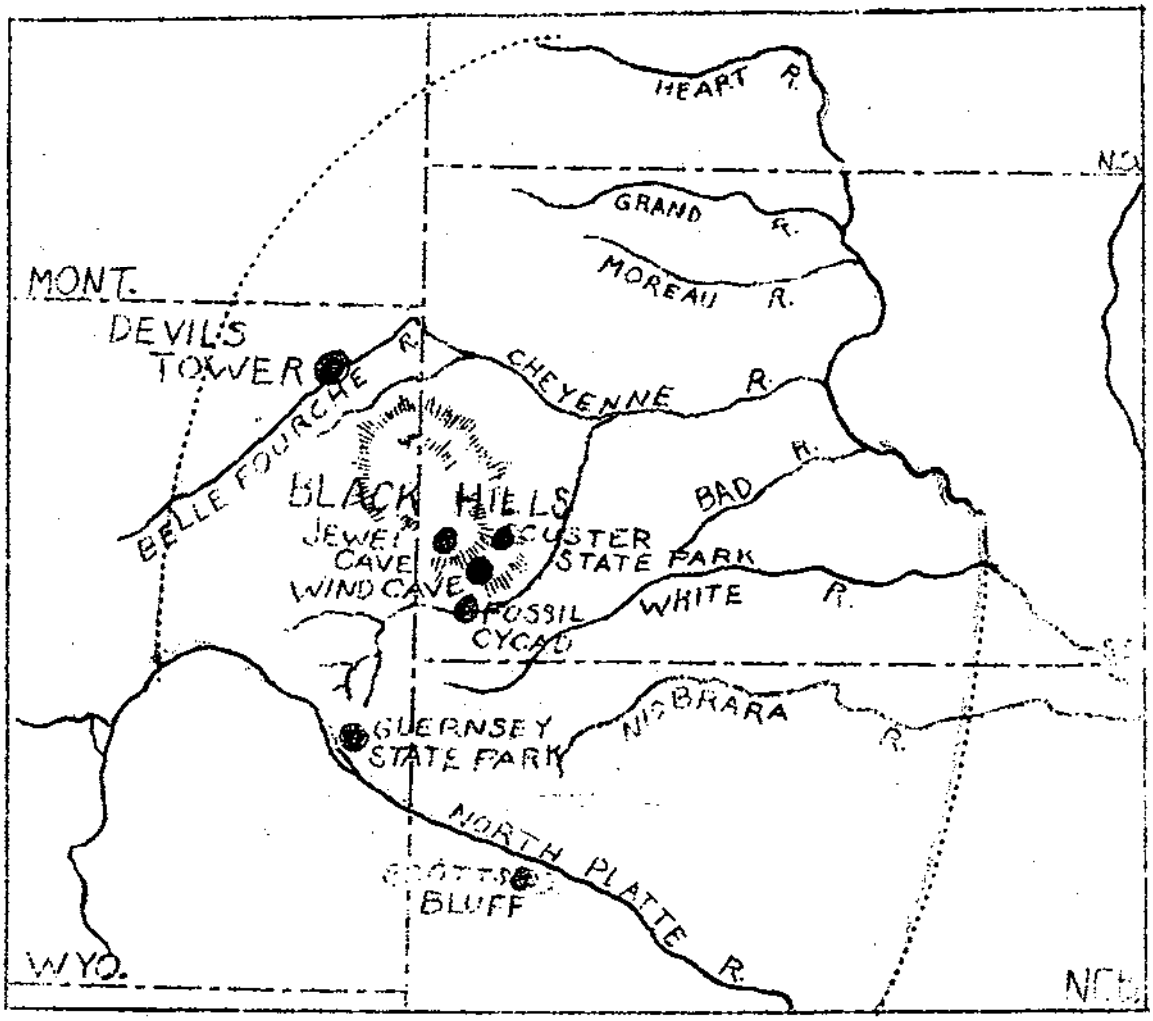
Over this country moved vast herds of American bison, commonly referred to as buffalo, feeding upon the luxuriant grasses native to the high plains region. For the Teton the buffalo constituted the staff of life. Their mode of life was peculiarly adapted to buffalo hunting. Their major problems of food, clothing, and shelter all depended on the buffalo for their solution. To the Teton of a century ago the presence of the buffalo was naturally taken for granted: it seemed as much a part of Nature's plan as were the sun in summer and the snows of winter. Up to this time the tribe's knowledge of the white man had been limited to contacts with a relatively small number of explorers, trappers, and traders. Such contacts were generally mutually satisfactory and beneficial.

In the years that followed, thousands of white immigrants and fortune hunters passed through the Teton country, killing large numbers of buffalo and driving the remainder farther and farther from the well-worn immigrant trails. The Teton were not slow to recognize the disastrous cultural implications of this destruction of the animal which was so important to their way of living. They sought to prevent white passage through their country, first by force of argument; then, finding this of no avail, they resorted to armed resistance. Force did not solve the problem for the Teton; it only brought down on their heads large numbers of better equipped fighting men of the United States Army, while the migrants' trains continued to move through the Teton country, and the buffalo continued rapidly to decrease. The battles between soldiers and Indians in the sixties and seventies were savagely fought by both sides. Finally, with the buffalo nearing extermination, and the possibility of continuing their old way of life thereby made hopeless, the Teton accepted the Government's proposal to lay down their arms and settle upon reservations as wards of the United States. Here they have remained to the present day, trying to perform the difficult task of adapting themselves to a new way of life as sedentary agriculturists or cattle herders.

The old nomadic life is gone forever. It exists only in the memories of a few old men and women of the tribe and in the liter-

Map No. 1.

PARKS AND MONUMENTS IN THE TETON COUNTRY.



- Yellow - Habitat.
- Red - National Monuments.
- Green - National Park.
- Blue - State Parks.

There are today four National Monuments, one National Park and two State Parks which have museums in the area formerly occupied by Teton Dakota. The habitat of the Teton in the mid-nineteenth century is shown on the map in yellow.

ature of the white man. But the story of the Teton in the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century remains as fascinating a bit of history as ever was written.

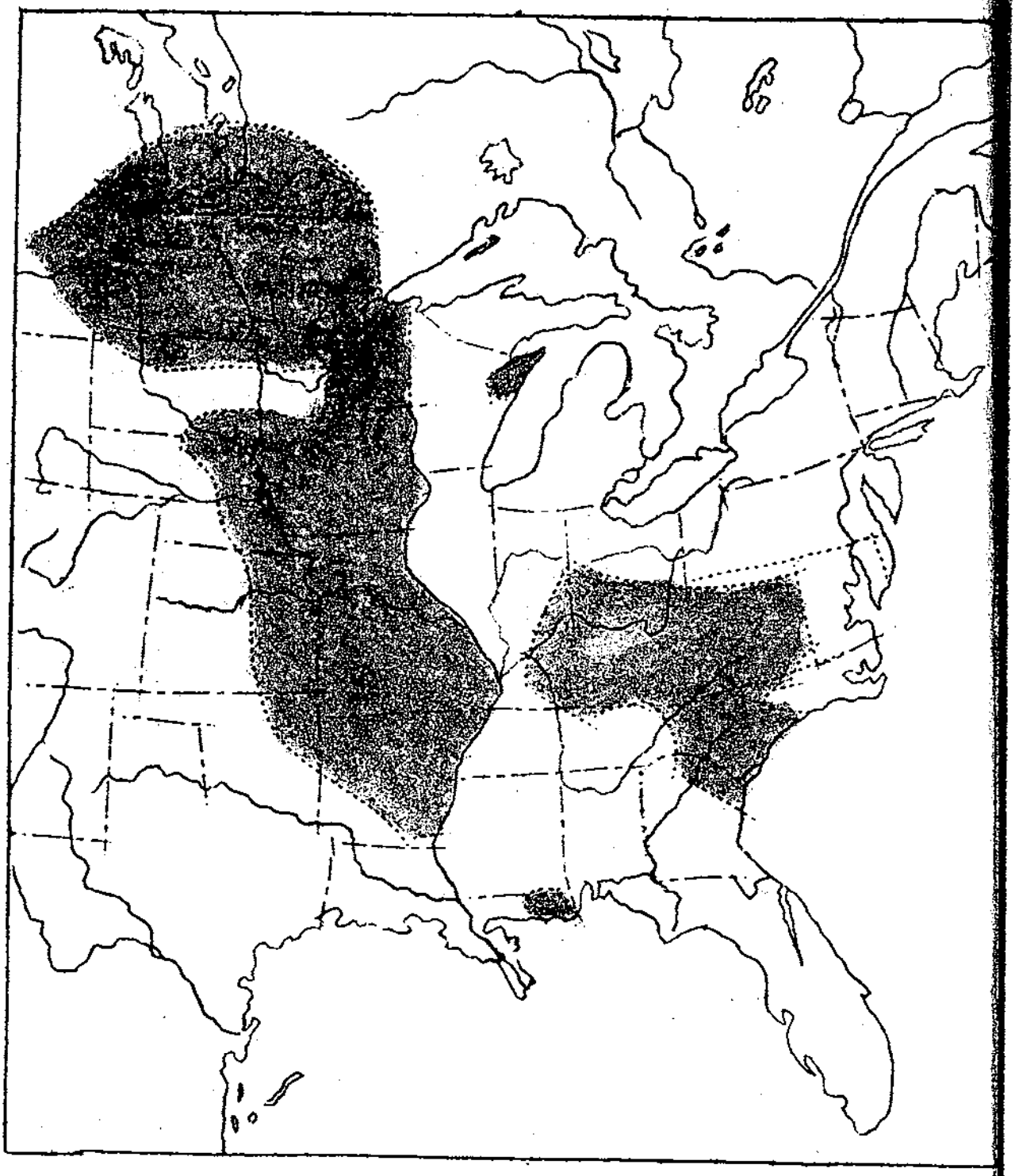
Today, there may be found within the old Teton country one national park (Wind Cave), four national monuments (Scotts Bluff, Devils Tower, Jewel Cave, and Fossil Cycad), several proposed or suggested monument sites, and two very interesting state parks situated in locations of peculiar historical significance (Guernsey and Custer). (See Map No. 1, which locates these parks and monuments.)

It is fitting that the story of the Teton should be graphically interpreted to an interested public in the museums of these parks and monuments. Although the history of the Teton will constitute but a small chapter in the total story to be interpreted in most of these museums, it would be well to include a series of exhibits on the Teton in at least one museum. The museum at Custer State Park seems to the writer to be the best location for this more detailed museum treatment of the Teton story. This Park is situated in the Black Hills, the very heart of the Teton country in the mid-nineteenth century; its name is inseparably linked with the story of the Indian wars in which the major part of the hostile Indian forces was made up of Teton; and it is in close proximity to the Pine Ridge Reservation, present home of the Oglala, the largest band of the Teton Dakota.

Before planning museum exhibits on any subject, it is well to secure a compact, ordered, accurate compilation of factual information on the subject in question. For many subjects this information is obtainable in a single publication or a limited series of publications. Such sources are available for a number of northern Plains tribes. Especially is this true of the Blackfoot, Crow, Assiniboine, Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Omaha. But such is not the case with the Teton Dakota. No compact monograph or series of monographs is available to cover adequately the ethnology and history of the Teton. The data are scattered through a large number of publications, some of which are more or less inaccessible to the general reader. The purpose of this paper is to bring together for the use of museum technicians and artists data on the Teton which may be of value in planning and creating museum exhibit items to interpret the Teton story. This is not intended to be a complete ethnology and history of the Teton. It is merely a compilation of data on those aspects of Teton culture which will lend themselves to graphic portrayal in museums. Emphasis is therefore placed on the material culture of the tribe, and references to illustrations which may be of value to museum preparators are cited where it is felt such illustrations will be of value.

Map No.2

SIOUAN SPEAKING PEOPLES IN THE 17th CENTURY.



A large portion of the United States east of the Rockies was occupied by Siouan speaking peoples at the time of the first white contact.

(After Swanton's data in Paullin Plate 33).-

I

WHO WERE THE TETON?

It is customary for students of the American Indian to identify tribes on the basis of the native languages spoken by them. On this basis the Teton may be primarily classified as a Siouan-speaking group, since they used a dialect of that language. At the time of first white contact with the Indians of North America, more natives spoke dialects of the Siouan tongue than any other language, with the single exception of Algonquian. But just as all English-speaking people today do not occupy a geographically continuous territory, so the Siouan-speaking Indians, when first encountered by Whites, did not inhabit a single continuous area. (The distribution of Siouan-speaking peoples at the time of first contact is shown on Map No. 2.)

West of the Mississippi the largest division of Siouan-speaking people was the Dakota, commonly known as the Sioux. The Dakota were divided into seven groups: The Mdewakanton, Wahpeton, Wahpekute, Sisseton, Yankton, Yanktonai, and Teton. The first four comprised the Santee or Eastern Dakota, who lived in Minnesota in the first half of the nineteenth century; the Yankton and the Yanktonai held the eastern portion of South Dakota; and the Teton, the largest of the seven groups, occupied the portion of the Dakota country from Missouri River westward. Much of the published material on the general subject of the Dakota in reality deals only with the Eastern Dakota, whose culture differed considerably from that of the Teton. This fact must be kept in mind in connection with research on the Teton Dakota.

The Teton also were divided into seven bands: Oglala, Brule, Blackfoot, Miniconjou, Sans Arc, Two Kettle, and Hunkpapa. These were in turn divided and subdivided into smaller bands or village groups.

(If further information on the identification of the Teton is desired, consult Hodge, Part II, pp.736-37.)

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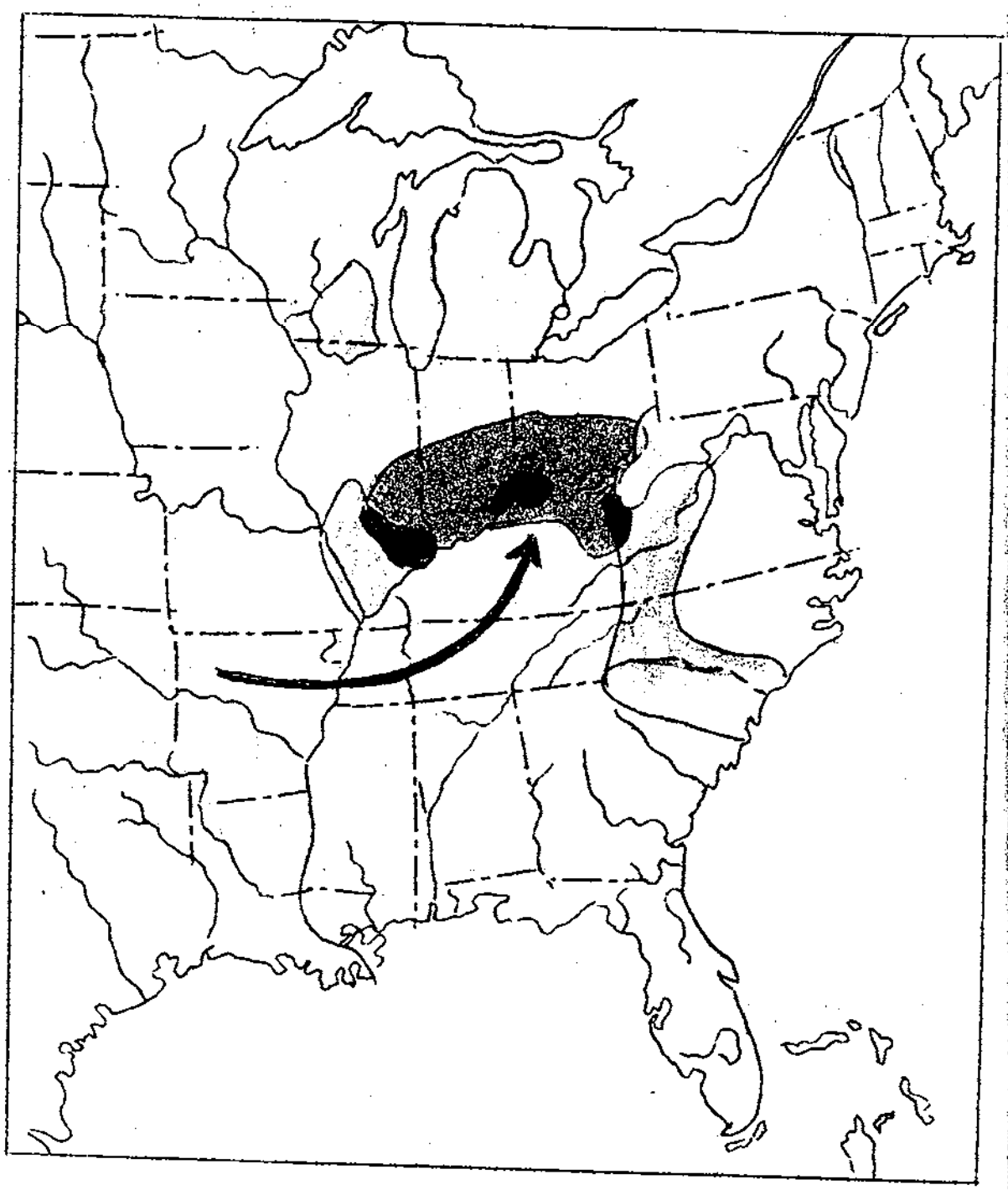
PREHISTORIC MOVEMENT OF THE SIOUAN SPEAKING PEOPLES.



— Location of the Siouan speaking peoples several centuries before Columbus.

Later northeastward movement of Iroquoian peoples.

Location of Siouan speaking peoples at the beginning of the 16th Century after the parent group had been broken up by the movement of the Iroquoian peoples.

Indicating overlaping area.

(After Bushnell, 1934)

II

THE ORIGIN AND MIGRATION OF THE TETON

The scattered location of groups of Indians speaking dialects of a common language (Siouan) at the beginning of the historic period (as indicated on Map No.2) has given rise to considerable speculation on the origin of these scattered groups. Obviously all of them must be descended from a common group of Siouan-speaking peoples who at one time inhabited a single geographically continuous area. Most serious students of the problem believe that at one time this ancestral group occupied a continuous area east of the Mississippi and probably west of the Appalachians. Bushnell has placed this area in the Ohio Valley, with the greater part of the early Siouan peoples living north of the Ohio in the present states of Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio, while a smaller number were south of the Ohio in Kentucky and West Virginia. (See Map No. 3.) This must have been several centuries prior to Columbus' epoch-making journey to America in 1492. At a later, but still prehistoric, period a northwestern movement of the powerful Iroquoian peoples from west of the Mississippi split the Siouan peoples into smaller groups, some of them moving eastward and others westward. By the beginning of the sixteenth century the Siouan peoples inhabited several distinct areas some of which were hundreds of miles apart. (See Map No. 3.) The Dakota were then a part of the northwestern group.

At the beginning of the historic period, westward expansion of Algonquian peoples, particularly the Chippewa, was forcing the Dakota still farther toward the west. When first encountered by Whites in the middle of the 17th century, the Dakota were living in the timbered country at the western end of Lake Superior, in Wisconsin and Minnesota. The pressure from the Chippewa increased after those Indians acquired firearms from the Whites. Although the Dakota have steadfastly denied it, this pressure from the east is generally regarded by students of the problem as a strong factor in the movement of the majority of the Dakota peoples from the timber out onto the Plains.

In the vanguard of the westward-moving Dakota were the Teton. When first met by white men, the Teton, as the westernmost division of the Dakota, were already leaving the timbered country for the prairie plains of southwestern Minnesota. Hennepin, who met some of them in 1680, placed them in the neighborhood of Mille Lacs in east central Minnesota. LeSueur, in 1700, found them near the present Mankato in the south central part of the state. He was told that at that time they lived entirely by the chase on the prairies, resided in lodges of skin, which they carried with them, and made expert use of the bow and arrow. (Robinson, 1904, p.46.)

During the succeeding 125 years the Teton pushed gradually westward, always seeking more favorable buffalo hunting grounds, wresting the territory from hostile tribes as they proceeded. This movement was facilitated by the acquisition of the horse, sometime prior to 1742.

The sequence of the Teton movements westward within the historic period was as follows: (1) Big Stone Lake, between Minnesota and South Dakota (Robinson, 1904, p.22); (2) Eastern South Dakota, the valley of the Sioux and James Rivers (Robinson, 1904, p.23); (3) the Missouri Valley (Robinson, 1904, p.24); (4) the Black Hills (Mallery, 1893, p.266); (5) Eastern Wyoming and south to the North Platte (Robinson, 1904, p.141).

The movement to the vicinity of Big Stone Lake seems to have been made without serious conflict with other tribes. But the valleys of the Sioux and James Rivers were only secured after the Omaha had been driven south of the Missouri. During this migration the Teton learned of the superior hunting grounds beyond the Missouri and continued to move westward. By the middle of the 18th century they had reached the Missouri Valley, only to find their way blocked by the Arikara. The Missouri Valley was secured after a long period of warfare when the Arikara withdrew up the Missouri River in 1792. The Teton entered the Black Hills, favorite winter home of the buffalo, about 1765 and proceeded to dispossess the Cheyenne and Kiowa whom they found there. The final westward movement into Wyoming followed the defeat of the Crow in 1822-1823 by the Teton and the Cheyenne.

Shortly after their conquest of the Missouri Valley the Teton turned over their former hunting territory in eastern South Dakota to their relatives, the Yankton Dakota. After about 1800 the true home of the Teton Dakota must be regarded as west of the Missouri Valley.

(The origin of the Siouan peoples is discussed by: Mooney, 1894; Swanton and Dixon, pp.387-389; J. O. Dorsey, 1886; and especially Bushnell, 1934. Robinson is the principal authority on the migrations of the Teton.)

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PHYSICAL APPEARANCE OF THE TETON DAKOTA

The Dakota or Sioux Indian has long been regarded by anthropologists as one of the finest physical types of man. In appearance he is tall and well built, with skin color of reddish chocolate. His face is long, clear cut, and strong, with eagle nose and prominent cheek bones. The countenances of many Teton individuals suggest both dignity and poise.

In 1893 a total of 1431 Dakota individuals were observed and measured under the direction of Franz Boas. Many of these were Teton. The data obtained were studied by L.R. Sullivan of the American Museum of Natural History and prepared for publication in 1920. Although some findings are given for the Teton separately, the average measurements so nearly approximate those for the entire Dakota group that we may well use the more complete data for the Dakota in the brief summary below:

Hair color: almost uniformly black and straight
Eye color: usually dark brown to black
Stature: male: 172.4 cm., average
female: 160 cm., average
Average difference in male and female stature: 12.4 cm.
Range in stature: male: 152 cm. to 190 cm.
female: 146 cm. to 174 cm.
Shoulder width: male: 38.8 cm., average
female: 35.5 cm., average
Cephalic index: male: 79.6 cm., average
female: 80.5 cm., average

Comparative data:

Height: The Dakota are among the tallest of the American Indians, among whom the average stature ranges from 153 centimeters to 175 centimeters. They are exceeded in stature only by the Maricopa, Creek, Winnebago, Iroquois, Tlingit, and Bororo outside the Plains, and by the Cheyenne, Arapaho, Crow, and Omaha of the Plains Indians.

Head form: In head form the Dakota are classified as mesocephalic, their heads being neither extremely long nor markedly broad. In this same classification are a large number of other North and South American Indian groups, among which are the majority of the tribes of the Plains, the Eastern Woodlands, Mackenzie area, and a number of tribes in Southern California and Southwestern United States.

(Should more detailed data be desired for an exhibit on the Teton physical type, consult Sullivan's "Anthropometry" of the Siouan Tribes. Many Teton individuals, both male and female, are portrayed in Densmore's "Teton Sioux Music".)

IV

POPULATION

For the past century and a half, the Dakota have comprised a large proportion of the Indian population of the Great Plains region. In 1780, on the basis of Mooney's careful estimate, the Dakota represented over one-sixth of the entire Plains Indian population. In 1907, they formed over one-half the total population of the Plains tribes. (Mooney, 1928, p.13.) Today the Dakota comprise approximately one-tenth of the entire Indian population of the United States. (See figures in Annual Report of Secretary of Interior, June 30, 1936.) The numerical strength of the Dakota over the entire period would seem to average about 26,000. (See Wissler, 1936, p.14, for a table giving the best available figures on the number of the Dakota at various dates since 1780.)

The Teton were the most numerous of the Dakota divisions, comprising fully one-half of the entire Dakota population. In 1840, Colin Campbell, in charge of the trading post at Fort Pierre, estimated their number at 13,000. (Robinson, 1904, p.197.) Culbertson estimated the Teton population in 1850 at 2280 lodges, which, computed on the basis of eight persons to a lodge, gives a total of 18,240. (Culbertson, p.141.) Lieutenant Warren gives the figure, 14,800 (Warren, p.120), in 1858, and Gen. D. S. Stanley lists 12,900 for 1869 (Robinson, 1904, p.391.) It appears that the Culbertson figure is excessive for the date 1850, although the Teton numbered 18,048 in 1899. (U. S. Statistics of Indian Tribes, 1899.)

Some figures are available on the population of the seven Teton bands, but for the early years of the 19th century this information usually appears in the form of the number of lodges occupied; and there is some difference of opinion as to how many individuals should be ascribed to each lodge. The figures do give some idea of the relative numerical strength of the bands, however. Two such estimates appear below, together with later numerical estimates:

Band	Lodges 1833	Lodges 1850	Individuals 1858	Individuals 1869
Brule	500	500	3,040	3,000
Oglala	300	400	3,680	2,000
Hunkpapa	150	320	2,920	2,000
Blackfoot	220	450	1,320	900
Miniconjou	260	270	1,600	2,000
Two Kettle	100	60	300	1,500
Sans Arc	100	250	1,360	1,500

(The figures for 1833 are from Hayden, p.371; for 1850, from Culbertson, p.141; for 1858, from Warren, p.210; and, for 1869, from Robinson, 1904, p.391.)

There seem to be considerable differences in regard to the relative number of members of the seven bands as expressed in these estimates. However, it appears evident that the Brule and the Oglala were among the largest bands.

Gen. D. S. Stanley also gives some interesting figures on the numbers of the various bands remaining hostile to the Government in 1869: Miniconjou, 1,600 (or 80%); Oglala, 1,500 (75%); Hunkpapa, 1,500 (75%); Sans Arc, 1,000 (67%); Brule, 800 (27%); Blackfoot, 200 (22%). (Robinson, 1904, p.392.)

Figures on the population of the Teton, by reservations, are given in the annual reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs from 1876 to the present.

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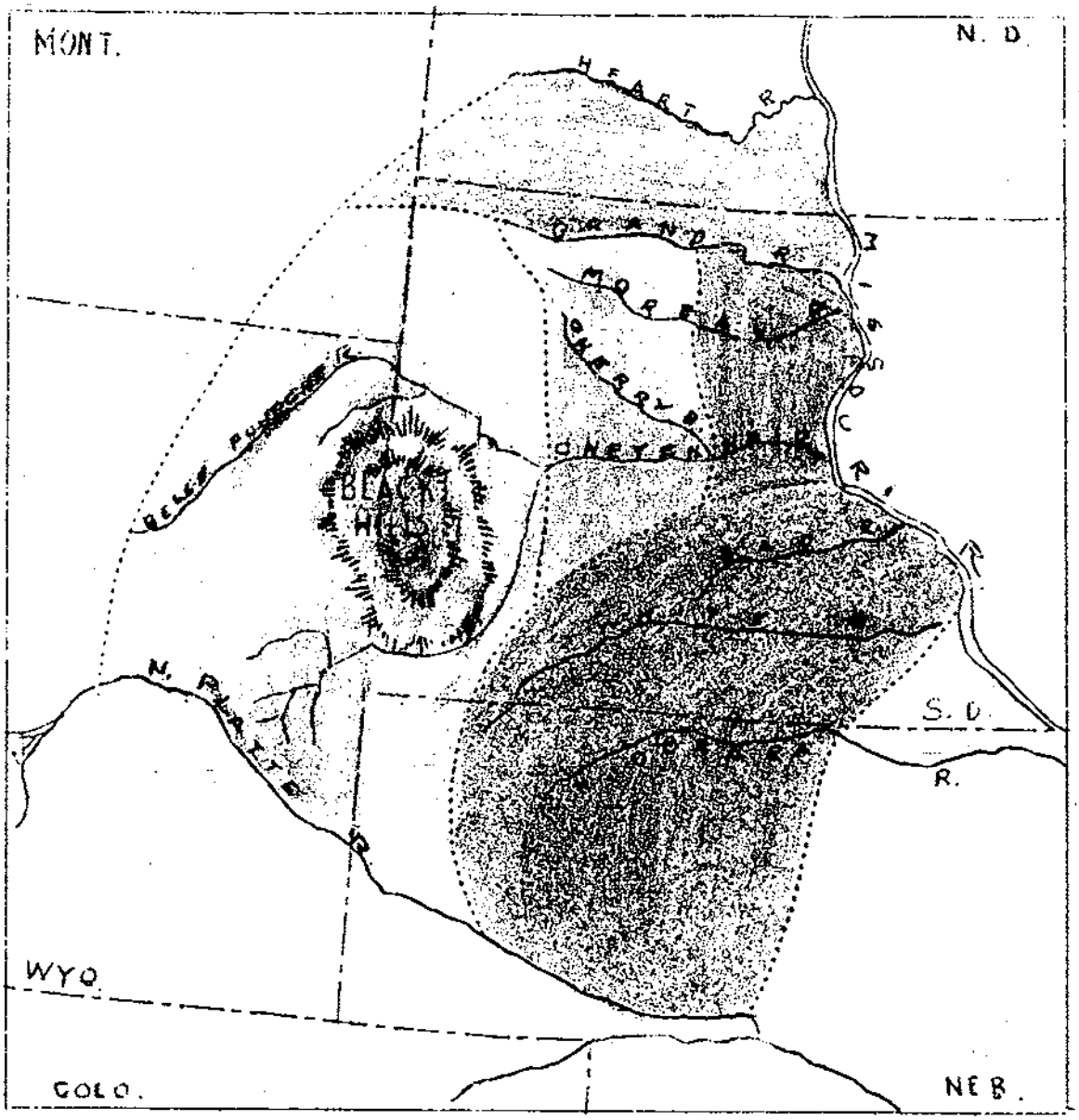
Map No. 4

LOCATION OF SUBDIVISIONS OF THE TETON



This map shows approximate locations of the seven Teton groups in the mid-nineteenth century. Boundaries between the groups were never sharply defined.

Oglala Brule Mini conjou

Two Kettle Hunkpapa, Blackfoot, Sans, Arc.

V

LOCATION OF THE VARIOUS TETON BANDS

There is great difficulty in locating on the map the distinct habitats of the seven Teton bands prior to their settlement on reservations in 1876. Early travelers who might have been interested in such matters largely confined their movements to the two great river valleys, the Missouri and the Platte; hence their knowledge of the intervening Teton country was extremely limited. Lewis and Clark in their explorations of 1804-1806 contacted three, possibly four, Teton bands on the Missouri River; the Brule on both sides of the Missouri, White, and Teton Rivers; Oglala on both sides of the Missouri below the Cheyenne River; Miniconjou on both sides of the Missouri above the Cheyenne River, and a fourth group, which may possibly have been the Sans Arc, farther north on both sides of the Missouri. The probability, however, is that this was a Yanktonai, rather than a Teton, group. (Lewis and Clark, Vol.1, pp.99-101.)

The best available description of the location of the separate Teton bands prior to their settlement on reservations is given by Hayden, who traveled extensively in the Teton country in 1856. His observations are given below:

The Brule were located on the headwaters of the White and Niobrara Rivers, extending down these rivers about half their length. The Teton River formed their northern limit.

The Oglala ranged from Fort Laramie, on the Platte, and towards the northeast, including the Black Hills and the sources of the Teton River, and as far down as the fork of the Cheyenne. They sometimes roamed as far west as the head of Grand River.

The Miniconjou were usually found from Cherry Creek on the Cheyenne River to Slender Butte on Grand River.

The Two Kettle confined themselves to the Cheyenne and Moreau Rivers, seldom going higher on the former than the mouth of Cherry Creek, but passing up and down the Cheyenne, Moreau, and Grand Rivers.

The Hunkpapa, Blackfoot, and Sans Arc occupied nearly the same district, and were so often encamped near each other, and otherwise so connected in their operations, as scarcely to admit of being treated separately. Their country lay along the Moreau, Cannonball, Heart, and Grand Rivers, seldom extending very high up on Grand River , but in later years reaching to the Little Missouri. (Hayden, pp.372-374.)

See Map No. 4, which is based on Hayden's data. It must be kept in mind, however, that these areas were in no sense absolute; there was great freedom of movement for all the groups. War, hunting, and trading

parties traveled many miles in any direction conditions would suggest. For example, Talbot, with Fremont, in 1843, encountered a war party of Miniconjou proceeding against the Crow in Sweetwater Valley, central Wyoming. (Talbot, p.38.) References to Oglala and Brule movements south of the Platte are numerous.

In 1890 the bands were located on the following reservations in North Dakota and South Dakota:

Oglala:	Pine Ridge
Brule:	Rosebud or Lower Brule
Miniconjou:	Cheyenne River
Two Kettle:	Cheyenne River and Rosebud
Hunkpapa:	Standing Rock
Blackfoot:	Standing Rock and Cheyenne River
Sans Arc:	Cheyenne River

(Report of U.S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1890.)

More recent reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs do not break down the data on the basis of Teton bands.

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VI

NATURAL ENVIRONMENT OF THE TETON COUNTRY

The country inhabited by the Teton in the 19th century is generally referred to as part of the high plains. This region is characterized by a scarcity of rainfall, cold winters, and hot summers. There are, however, local peculiarities of surface, climate, and plant and animal life that should be understood by anyone concerned with problems involving the mode of life of the Teton Dakota. A brief summary of conditions in the Teton natural environment is given below:

Surface: In the Teton country there is a general land slope from the Missouri River upward toward the west. In western South Dakota, and extending over the western boundary of that state, are the Black Hills, rising above the plains to an altitude of 7,240 feet (Mt. Harney). There are several summits in the Black Hills over 6,000 feet in height. None of them are snow-capped in summer.

Extending s outhwesterly from the Black Hills are many detached spurs and isolated uplifts which merge together in the region along the upper North Platte and Laramie Rivers. South of the Platte in Wyoming are the Laramie Mountains with Laramie Peak rising to a height of 10,274 feet. This peak served as a landmark to overland travelers as it could be seen from the plains many miles farther eastward. In the first half of the 19th century the local uplifts from the Black Hills to the Laramie Mountains were all known as the Black Hills. This fact should be kept in mind in referring to accounts of the early travelers overland by the Platte Valley route.

South and east of the Black Hills is a stretch of picturesque but barren country known as the Bad Lands. Here erosion has carved many freak formations resembling towers and grotesque forms in the soft sandstone. Smaller badland sections are also to be found in other portions of the Teton country.

Rivers: The two principal rivers in the Teton country are the Missouri and the North Platte. Only the former is navigable. The principal tributaries flowing into the Missouri from the Teton country west of that river are, from the south northward, the Niobrara, White, Bad (or Teton), Moreau, Grand, and Heart Rivers. There are no sizeable tributaries entering the North Platte from the north in the Teton country. The Laramie River, a tributary from the south, is of importance to the Teton story. Numerous small streams, some of which are dry during a large part of the year, may be found in the Teton country.

Temperature: The average temperature of 46 degrees at both Pierre and Rapid City is rather poor indication of the weather in the Teton district. The extremes of temperature are significant: In summer, temperatures in excess of 100 degrees are common; in winter the temperature

drops to 30 degrees below zero. On the whole the extremes experienced on the plains are not found in the Black Hills. This fact was largely responsible for the gathering of large herds of buffalo in the Black Hills in winter during the years when buffalo roamed the western plains.

Rainfall: A scarcity of rainfall is typical of the entire Teton area. Less than 20 inches of rain a year fall in even the most favored spots. Precipitation in the Black Hills is somewhat greater than the average annual rainfall of 17 inches recorded for western South Dakota; but the figure for the plains is slightly lower than that average.

Flora: On the plains the predominant plants are grasses, especially the grama grass and buffalo grass. Along the borders of streams narrow fringes of cottonwood, willow, and box elder trees may be found. A considerable variety of wild food plants grow on the plains or in the stream valleys.

In the Black Hills, so named by the Indians because of the thick growth of trees in this area, are fine stands of western yellow pine, red cedar, white spruce, ash, and other trees.

In the Bad Lands even grasses are scarce, growing in small, isolated clumps.

Fauna: The fauna of the plains and Bad Lands are principally species requiring little water and thriving on grasses. Of the plains animals the bison was the largest and most important in the 19th century. Other plains animals in the Teton country are the antelope, plains coyote, plains pocket gopher, mouse, prairie dog, badger, jackrabbit, skunk, gray wolf, kit fox, and the long-tailed weasel.

In the Bad Lands were the antelope, bighorn sheep, mule deer, mountain lion (puma), gray wolf, coyote, bobcat, gray rabbit, and the striped chipmunk.

The Black Hills furnished the favorite winter home for the buffalo, and were the proper habitat of the white-tailed deer, mountain lion, black bear, porcupine, chipmunk, woodchuck, wood rabbit, bobcat, and pocket gopher.

In the streams and rivers beaver were found.

(If further information on the natural environment is desired, see Visher, 1918, and Chittenden, 1935, in addition to the interesting discussion in Webb, Chapter 11.)

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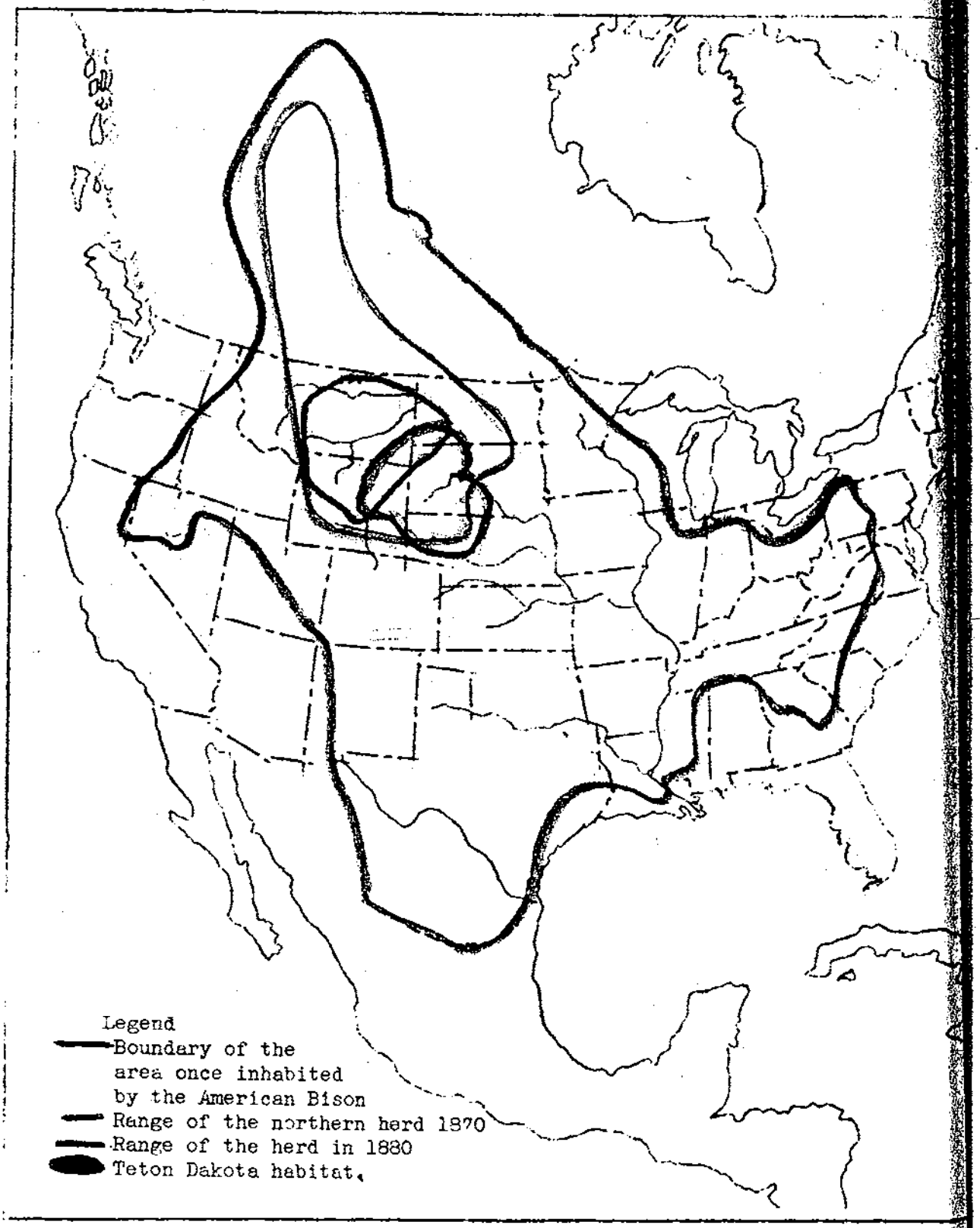
Map No.5

THE RANGE OF THE AMERICAN BISON.



Largely after Hornaday

VII

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE BUFFALO TO PLAINS INDIAN CULTURE

The Great Plains region lying between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains and extending from south central Canada almost to the Gulf of Mexico is often referred to by anthropologists as the "bison area." For the many tribes of nomadic or semi-sedentary Indians in this area, comprising a total population in excess of 55,000, the bison was the staff of life at the time when the white man first encountered these peoples.

The buffalo range: In pre-Columbian times, and for nearly 300 years after the discovery of America, the buffalo roamed over a wide expanse of territory stretching from the eastern shores of Lake Erie to northeastern Mexico, and from the present state of Georgia to Great Slave Lake in Northwestern Canada. From north to south its range extended more than 3,600 miles and from east to west over 2,000 miles. The town of Kearney, in south central Nebraska, is considered the center of the bison area at the time of its widest extent; but after 1800, until the virtual extermination of the bison in 1883, the center would be placed in the Black Hills, the very heart of the Teton country. (See Map No. 5.)

Peculiarities of the buffalo: Over the broad prairies the buffalo roamed in large, compact herds, subsisting on the native grasses and requiring little water. This animal was slow, cumberson and stupid in spite of its size. It lacked both the intelligence to sense and avoid danger and the fighting qualities to defend itself unless enraged by wounds. These characteristics of the animal itself must be regarded as important factors in the extermination of the bison. (Further observations on the habits of the American buffalo, with excellent photographs of the species, may be found in Hornaday.)

Uses of the buffalo: It has been said that in no other section of the world has the culture of a people been so strongly moulded by the presence of a single species of animal as in the Plains of North America. The buffalo not only furnished the Indians with shelter, food, clothing, and many other articles in their material culture; it held a prominent place in the mythology, religion, and ceremonial organization of the plains tribes.

The buffalo furnished, first of all, food. How much of the carcass would be used for food at any time was largely dependent upon the ease with which the animals could be procured. When buffalo were plentiful, often only the choice parts were eaten; but in times of scarcity all of the animal but the glands of the neck, sinews, bull's pizzle, horns, hoofs, and hair furnished food. (Denig, p.584.)

For clothing the buffalo hide, with pelage attached, was used as an

outer wrapper which amply protected the wearer in sub-zero weather; hides without the hair were worn in warmer periods of the year. Moccasins were also of buffalo hide.

For shelter throughout the year the nomadic tribes used the tipi, covered with dressed buffalo hides carefully pieced together, and lined with the same material to keep out wind and weather. Other hides served as bed coverings. Semi-sedentary tribes used the tipi while on buffalo hunts.

To facilitate water transportation, buffalo hides were sometimes stretched over a wooden framework to form the so-called bull-boat.

Buffalo hide had many other uses. A large variety of containers of different sizes, shapes, and uses were made of it, including the parfleche, quivers, medicine cases, saddle-bags, pipe and paint bags, and so on. Fire-hardened hide was used for the shield base, and rawhide for binding and hafting.

The sinew from the large tendons of the back and legs were twisted for use as thread, bowstrings, snowshoe webs, and rope. Many bows were backed with sinew.

As household utensils, buffalo-horn spoons and ladles were used. The intestines and bladder served as water containers, and stone boiling in buffalo paunch containers was a common method of cooking.

Hoofs and horns of the buffalo were cut up and made into ceremonial rattles, or used to hold tobacco, medicines, and gunpowder.

The bones were used for tools of various kinds: awls, chisels, hide fleshers, scrapers, and paint brushes.

Buffalo hair was sometimes twisted into yarn and braided into bags, belts, garters, leggings, girdles, and ropes for tying materials; into ceremonial costumes as headbands and necklaces, and incorporated into blankets, saddle wadding, winter moccasin linings, halters for horses, additional artificial head-hair, and so forth.

Finally, even the droppings were extensively used by the Indians as a sun-dried fuel. In a country where timber was scarce these "buffalo chips" were valuable. They gave a clear, hot, relatively smokeless flame, the last characteristic being a real advantage to warring Indians.

In the field of art, the buffalo made a less prominent contribution. The creature was rarely represented in the three principal Plains techniques, painting, quillwork, and beadwork; but buffalo hide articles

served as fields for decoration on robes, parfleches, moccasins, shields, tipi covers, and the like. Sinew for sewing the beads and attaching the quills, bone paint brushes, and the glue sizing used in painting, all were furnished by the buffalo.

This creature likewise strongly influenced the immaterial side of Plains Indian life. Societies and seasons or months of the year were named after the buffalo. It appears as a favorite topic in the mythological animal stories. It was given a place in the Dakota religious hierarchy. Buffalo-calling ceremonies and buffalo dances were observed, and materials taken from the buffalo were endowed with sacred meaning when used in ceremonial activities and medicine bundles.

Influence of the buffalo on occupations: Nothing required the attention of the Plains Indians of both sexes so much as preoccupation with the buffalo. While we may look upon buffalo hunting as a romantic, exciting form of sport, it was none the less a serious business to the Indians. It was men's work to find and kill the buffalo, and women's work to dress the hides and fashion and decorate the greater part of the objects made from them. The work of the women was hard and of long duration.

Historical significance of the buffalo: We have already seen how the search for favorable hunting grounds influenced the migration of the Teton. As the number of buffalo diminished and the distribution of the herds contracted, this search led to many bitter conflicts between tribes over hunting grounds. In the 19th century the demand for buffalo hides in the east and in Europe encouraged the Indian trade of the Plains. The period of Indian atrocities, and later open warfare with the Whites from 1841 to 1877, was largely the result of the Indians' desire to preserve their hunting grounds. The final settlement of the Teton on reservations was only effected after the number of bison had become too few to permit of their subsisting by the chase. The Ghost Dance craze of 1890 had as one of its principal motives the desire for the return of the buffalo. But it was then too late --the great herds were gone forever, and with their extermination the old culture was doomed.

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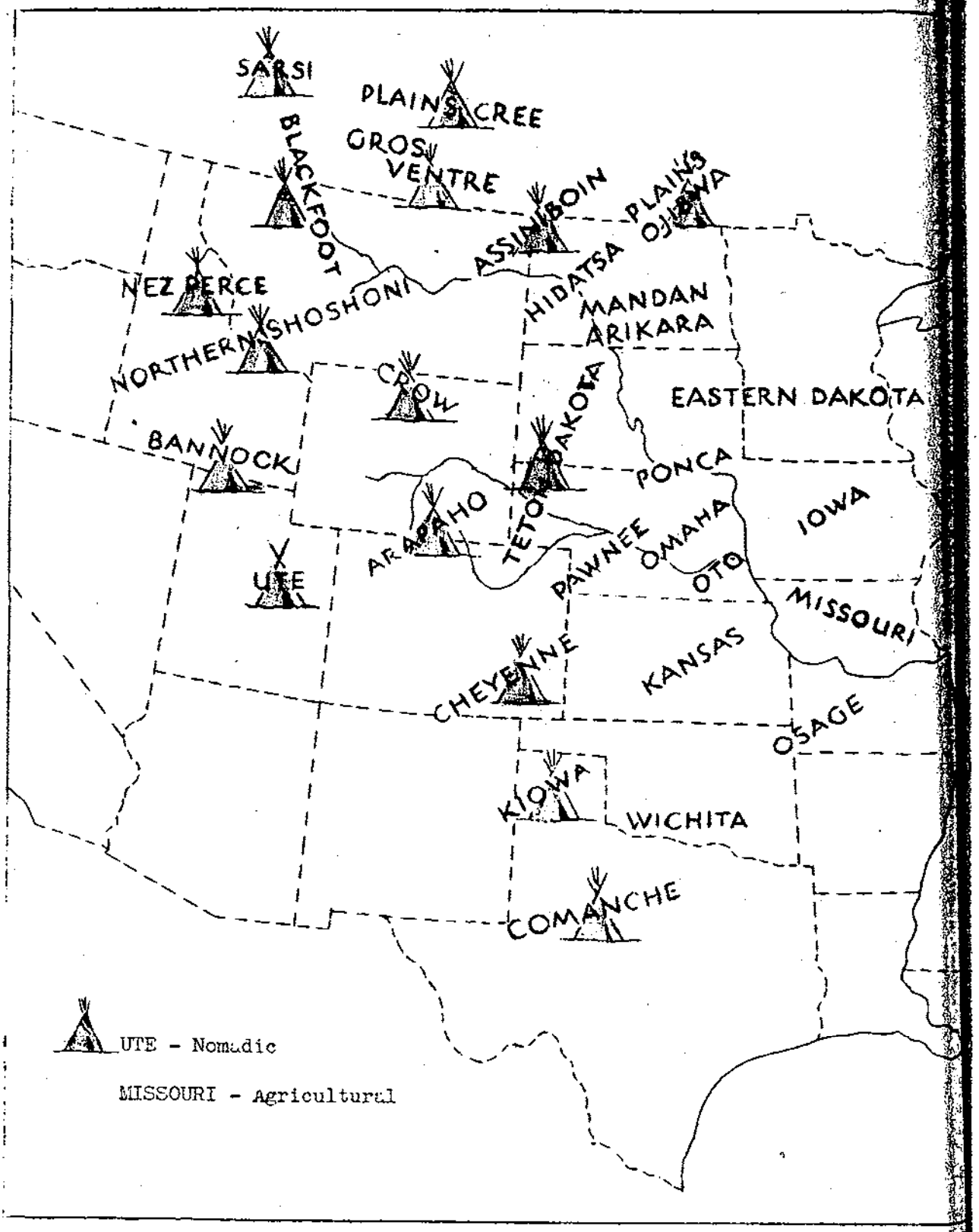
Map No. 6

AGRICULTURAL AND NOMADIC TRIBES OF THE PLAINS



(Location of Tribes after Wissler P 13. 1927.)

VIII

Within the historic period, but before their settlement on reservations, the Teton relied upon wild food for subsistence. Their chief dependence on the buffalo and secondary use of other animal foods and plant foods are traits shared by the other nomadic tribes of the Plains. They did not practice agriculture, as did many of their neighbors on the Missouri, the Pawnee of central Nebraska, and other semi-sedentary Plains tribes. (See Map No. 6, showing location of agricultural and non-agricultural tribes of the Plains.)

ANIMAL FOODS

The buffalo as food: Buffalo meat is juicy, tender, nutritious, digestible, and has a pleasant, "gamey" taste. White traders, trappers, immigrants, soldiers, and visitors to the Plains learned to like it, and the Indians consumed unbelievable quantities at a single sitting. (An interesting statement in praise of buffalo meat appears in Stansbury, p.38.) The Indian preference for buffalo meat must be regarded, therefore, as due to the quality of the meat itself as well as to the abundance of the buffalo in the early days.

The meat was eaten raw, boiled, or roasted; by itself or mixed with other animal or plant foods. Denig lists the parts of the carcass eaten raw by the Upper Missouri tribes: liver, kidneys, gristle of snout, eyes, brains, marrow, manyplies, testicles, feet of calves in embryo, and glands of the calf envelope. (Denig, p.581.) The fat buffalo cow was preferred for meat and certain parts of the animal were regarded as delicacies--the tongue, tenderloin, bass, marrow bones, and hump. When buffalo were plentiful only these portions were taken, the rest being left on the ground for the wolves. (Stansbury, p.38.) But in times of food shortage all parts of the buffalo, save the glands of the neck, the sinews, bull's pizzle, horns, hoofs, and hair were eaten. (Denig, p.584; Hayden, p.371.)

Buffalo meat was dried, and mixed with chokecherries or other berries and preserved for future use. When packed in parfleches, this mixture, known as permican, would keep for several years if necessary.

Some favorite mixed dishes of the Teton in which various parts of the buffalo were important ingredients were: (1) blood boiled with brains, rosebuds, and the scrapings of rawhide, until the whole assumed the consistency of warm glue; (2) pounded cherries boiled with meat, sugar, and grease; (3) prairie turnip boiled with the dried stomach of the buffalo. (Hayden, p.370.)

The dog as food: The dog was eaten by the Teton as a particular delicacy and therefore was reserved for special occasions. Indeed, dog feasts were frequently given in honor of visiting white men. Dog was also served at many dances. Catlin wrote that the best and favorite dogs of the Teton were fattened for these feasts. The meat was boiled and served in wooden bowls. (Further details on the eating of dogs by the Teton may be found in Lewis and Clark, Vol. 1, p.167, and Vol.7, p.65; Catlin, Vol. 1, pp.230-231; and Parkman, pp.186-187.)

Other animal foods: Many other animals of the Teton region were eaten boiled or roasted; but little information is available on the details of preparation. Denig lists the animals eaten by the Indians of the Upper Missouri in the middle of the 19th century. In addition to the buffalo and dog, the following were eaten:

antelope	badger	beaver
elk	skunk	muskrat
deer	rabbit	glutton
bear	hare	lynx
wolf	ermine	mouse
foxes (red and gray)	otter	ground squirrel
porcupine	mink	water turtle
horse		terrapin
mule		

(Denig, p.583.)

He also lists the birds eaten by the Upper Missouri tribes at this period:

crow	owl	crane
raven	duck	pelican
magpie	goose	small birds of any sort

The eagle was not eaten. (Denig, p.583.)

Fish: Wissler states that among the Dakota, fish "sometimes formed a considerable part of their winter food, though apparently from necessity rather than choice...." (Wissler, 1910, p.44.) This probably refers chiefly to the Eastern Dakota rather than the Teton. Certainly fish was a very minor item in the food supply of the Teton after their movement to the Missouri Valley and westward.

PLANT FOODS

Wild rice (Zizania aquatica L.): Although definite information is

not obtainable, it seems probable that in prehistoric times, before their movement out of the timber onto the plains, the Teton gathered wild rice much as did their relatives, the Eastern Dakota, in more recent times. A detailed, well illustrated account of wild rice gathering may be found in Jenks' Wild Rice Gatherers of the Upper Lakes. These data, carefully sifted to eliminate possible post-contact elements, may well be used in case it is desired to show something of Teton activities during their pre-plains existence.

Since their migration to the Missouri Valley and westward, the Teton have made use of plant foods of many varieties. It should be brought out, however, that the plants used grew wild. None of them were cultivated.

Plant foods formed a part of the Teton diet throughout the year. This is especially true of the growing season from spring to fall, but food plants were also dried for winter consumption. In periods when buffalo were scarce the Teton relied upon wild fruits and edible roots to prevent starvation.

So much stress has been placed upon the buffalo as food that there may be a tendency to neglect plant foods in museum interpretations of the Teton story. It would be well to bring in the use of these foods, as they form an important and integral part of the story of Teton subsistence. A number of the most important, but not all, of the plant foods used by the Teton in the 19th century are described below:

Prairie turnip (Psoralea esculenta Pursh): This was perhaps the most important plant food of the Teton Dakota. The roots were peeled and eaten raw or boiled. Large quantities were dried to augment the winter food supply. This plant was found everywhere on the high prairies. It was dug in June and early July by women and children. The root has a palatable taste similar to that of the bean. (Hayden, p.369; Gilmore, pp.92-93. Photographs of the prairie turnip appear in Gilmore, Plates 15 and 16.)

Chokecherry (Prunus virginiana L.): This plant grew in great quantities in the Teton country, along the banks of streams. The fruit was dried, and pounded on stone mortars. Although sometimes made into soup, these cherries were more often mixed with dried buffalo meat and marrow grease to make the nutritious permican. (Hayden, p.370; Gilmore, p.88. Photograph of a Teton woman pounding chokecherries appears in Gilmore, Plate 13.)

Wild plum (Prunus americana Marsh): This fruit, which grew abundantly along the Niobrara and White Rivers in the Teton country, usually

ripened in October. It was eaten fresh and raw, or cooked as a sauce, or dried for winter use. Women gathered the plums and sucked out the stones before drying the fruit, which was highly valued by the Teton. (Culbertson, p.107; Hayden, p.370; Gilmore, p.87.)

Buffalo-berry (Lepargyra argentea (Pursh) Greene): These were eaten fresh in season or dried for winter use. They were often made into soup, or took the place of chokecherries in pemmican. (Hayden, p.370; Gilmore, p.106. See illustration in Gilmore, Plate 20.)

Wild strawberries (Fragaria virginiana Duchesne, and F. americana Britton): The Teton were fond of wild strawberries. This fruit was not plentiful enough to be relied upon substantially, however; nor could it be dried for winter use, being too juicy. (Hayden, p.370; Gilmore, p.84. See photograph of wild strawberries in Gilmore, Plate 13.)

Ground bean (Falcata cosmosa L., Kuntze): This plant grew abundantly in stream valleys and in the fall, field mice gathered large quantities of the roots for their winter stores. These were robbed by the Teton women, who simetimes secured half a bushel from a single nest. The beans were boiled with dried buffalo meat to make a tasty dish. (Hayden, p.369; Gilmore, p.95 and Plate 18.)

Wild rose (Rosa pratincola Greene): The seed-vessels of the wild rose, which remained on the bush in winter, were eaten raw or boiled. Although not very palatable, the wild rose grew in abundance in Teton territory and furnished a ready supply of food in times of scarcity. (Hayden, p.370; Gilmore, p.85.)

Indian potato (Glycine apios L.): These tubers were boiled or roasted. (Gilmore, p.94 and Plate 17.)

Wild onion (Allium mutabile Michx.): These were eaten raw as a relish or cooked as flavoring for meat and soup. (Gilmore, p.71.)

Arrowleaf (Sagittaria latifolia Willd.): The tubers were boiled or roasted. (Gilmore, p.65 and Plate 14.)

Wild artichoke (Helianthus tuberosus L.): This plant, which grew in abundance along the marshy banks of rivers, was eaten uncooked, roasted or boiled. (Hayden, p.369.)

Elm cap (Pleurolus ulmarius Bull.): This fungus, when young and tender, was relished by the Teton. (Gilmore, p.61.)

Cottonwood (Populus sargentii Dode): The Teton peeled the young sprouts and ate the inner bark because of its pleasant sweet taste and nutritive value. (Gilmore, p.72.)

The methods of gathering wild plants were probably similar to those in use among the Blackfoot (described in Wissler, 1910, pp.21-22.) The Teton used the digging stick for tubers and gathered berries in rawhide bags or beat them into hides to be emptied into storage sacks. (The drying of meat and preparation of pemmican is described in Wissler, 1927b, pp.27-29.)

COOKING AND SERVING FOOD

For broiling, meat was impaled on a stick and held over the fire; or the butt end of the stick was buried in the ground at an angle in such wise as to hold the meat over the fire.

Boiling in a buffalo paunch or skin vessel stretched over sticks, using hot stones for heating, was practiced by the Teton, chiefly by war parties. (Wissler, 1910, p.45. For illustrations of this method as used among the Blackfoot, agreeing in all essential details with the Teton method, see Wissler, 1910, Plate 1.)

However, iron kettles, obtained from traders, were early introduced among the Teton. Maximilian, in 1834, found that "...they now all use iron kettles...." (Maximilian, Vol. 22, p.322.)

Food was served in wooden bowls. Mountain sheep-horn ladles were used for dipping, skimming, and other culinary purposes, and buffalo-horn spoons for eating. Wooden spoons or ladles also were sometimes used. Wissler states that the finest bowls and spoons of the Plains tribes were made by the Dakota. (Wissler, 1910, p.47; 1927b, p.79; Lewis and Clark, Vol. 1, p.169, mention Teton use of spoons of mountain sheep-horn in 1804. Good illustrations of a Mandan wooden bowl and horn spoons, which may be taken as models for Teton ones, appear in Bushnell, 1922, Plates 41 and 42.)

The Teton carried water in buffalo- or deer-paunch containers. This custom was noticed as early as 1804 by Lewis and Clark. (Wissler, 1910, p.47; Lewis and Clark, Vol. 1, p.140.)

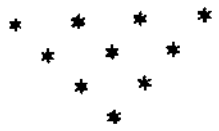
FOOD OF LATER PERIODS

As the number of buffalo decreased and they became more and more

difficult to find in the Teton country, the Teton were faced with the choice between starvation or coming in to the Government agencies to receive rations. Necessity thus brought the Indians to the agencies. In the 1860's the Teton were able to subsist by receiving rations at the agencies during the hard winter months, and then, supplied with arms and ammunition, to continue their free existence by the chase until the return of winter. It was the rapid extermination of the bison that soon made even a periodic reliance on the chase an impossibility. As a result, the Teton became willing to settle on reservations. Such settlement took place on a large scale about 1876.

When the Teton came in to the agencies they received rations which consisted primarily of beef, corn, and flour. They soon became fond of coffee and sugar, and the tobacco of the white man had long been favored by them. Brackett found some of the squaws at the Red Cloud Agency to be good coffee-makers in 1876. (Brackett, p.468.)

Despite the Government's efforts through the succeeding years to interest the Teton Dakota in agricultural pursuits, these Indians have never shown much interest in farming. Even today they prefer the life of the cowboy to that of the farmer. Mekeel remarks upon the modern diet of a portion of the Teton on Pine Ridge Reservation in 1931: "Aside from horse-flesh, chokecherries, and garden produce in season, the food staples are coffee, the grounds of which are often used many times, flour, and pork fat. The flour is either boiled with chokecherries or vegetables, or mixed with water to make a fried 'bread'". (Mekeel, 1936, p.10.)



The clothing of the Teton within the historic period, and until their adoption of white man's dress in the late 19th century, was largely made from the skins of animals. Men's dress consisted of the buffalo robe, breech-cloth, leggings, and moccasins, with the skin shirt sometimes added. Women wore the buffalo robe, long skin dress, leggings, and moccasins. Details of the various garments are given below:

The Buffalo robe: The hide of the buffalo, with hair attached, served Indians of both sexes as an outer garment comparable in function to our modern overcoat or topcoat. The hide of the adult buffalo cow, taken in fall or winter when the hair was long, was preferred. Smaller robes of buffalo calf were worn by children. These robes were not trimmed but retained the natural form of the hide as taken from the dead animal. In winter, robes were worn with the hair next to the body. In warmer weather they were reversed. In either case the garment was wrapped around the body of the wearer horizontally with the head of the animal at his left.

These robes were often decorated with geometric or pictographic painted designs, or with quilled decorations. Beaded designs on robes were very rare. (See section on Decorative Art.)

MEN'S DRESS

Breech-cloth: Doubt has been expressed as to whether the breech-cloth was worn by the Plains Indians before contact with white traders. A kilt, or possibly no covering of the private parts, may have been customary in prehistoric times. (Wissler, 1910, p.153.) In the 19th century the breech-cloth of soft deerskin or trader's cloth was used. Lewis and Clark, in 1804, saw a Teton war party whose members were described as "naked except for the breech cloth." (Lewis and Clark, Vol. 1, p.202). The cloth was passed between the legs and under the rawhide string or belt worn about the waist, with ends hanging loose at front and back.

Moccasins: Teton moccasins were generally of the hard-soled, three-piece variety. (Described, p.140, and illustrated, Fig. 83, in Wissler, 1910. The lacing is illustrated in Fig. 100 of the same source.) Moccasins were decorated with quillwork or beadwork designs. (See Wissler, 1927a, for patterns of moccasin decorations. Illustrations of decorated Dakota moccasins may be found in Wissler, 1902a.)

Leggings: Men wore leggings of skin, closely fitting the leg, extending from moccasins to crotch on the inside and higher on the outside

of the leg, attached to a belt at the top. The vertical seam on the outside of the leg was often ornamented with rawhide fringe or a quilled strip. (Bodmer's drawing of a western Dakota horse race in Maximilian's Atlas, Plate 30, shows the Teton legging to advantage.)

Shirts: Men usually went naked from the waist up save for the buffalo robe outer garment. The typical man's shirt of poncho type was donned largely for dress-up occasions rather than for general wear. (See Wissler, 1910, pp.135-36.) The shirt was made of two whole skins of the mountain sheep or other animal; frequently painted in two ground colors, bearing heraldic devices, and ornamented with rawhide fringes, quilled strips, or hair. (For details of construction of the shirt, together with illustrations, see Wissler, 1915a; for description of shirt decorations, see Wissler, 1916, pp.102-104. Illustrations of beaded shirts appear on Plate LII and Fig. 95 of Wissler, 1902a.)

Some old Plains Indian shirts bearing quilled and painted decorations, collected by Catlin in the 1830's, and possibly of Teton origin, are illustrated in Krieger, 1928, Plate 29.

During the Ghost Dance excitement of 1890 the Teton made use of shirts decorated with protective designs believed to render them bullet-proof. Such shirts were usually of cloth, fringed with rawhide, and covered with painted designs. (See Wissler, 1907b, pp.31-40, illustrated; also Mooney, 1896, for description and use, with illustrations, Plate XCIII.)

Hairdress: The Teton devoted much attention to their hair. Wissler was told that the old people believed that men's hair was at one time cut close or shaved at the sides, leaving ridges or tufts on top. (Wissler, 1910, p.152.) 19th century studies indicate that long hair was the style, with artificial hair sometimes added to secure greater length. Maximilian describes the Teton man's hairdress in 1834:

> "...These Indians let their hair grow as long as possible and plait it behind in a long tail, which is ornamented with round pieces of brass, and often hangs down to a great length, as among the Chinese. Many of the Dacotas have three such tails, one behind, and one at each side, for the Indians on the Upper Missouri take much pride in long hair, whereas those in the country lower down the river, cut it short..." (Maximilian, Vol. 22, p.325.)

(See illustrations in Maximilian's Atlas, Plates 41, 45, and 44.)

Feathers: Although the wearing of eagle feathers in the hair and the use of the picturesque feather bonnet were Teton customs, the number

and orientation of feathers was not a matter of personal choice. Feathers served as symbols of war honors, and as such their use was strictly regulated. The feather bonnet was a high and rare honor. (See Warfare, this paper, for a more detailed discussion of feather ornaments.)

Face and body painting: Teton men painted their faces and bodies, but information on this subject is scarce. There seems to be a close connection between some types of face and body painting and war honors. (See Warfare, this paper.) Women also painted their faces. Special paints were used for ceremonies.

Illustrations of men's dress: The costume of Western Dakota men of the 1830's is illustrated in Catlin, 1876, Vol. I, Plates 91, 92, and 93; and in Maximilian's Atlas, Plates 41, 44, and 45. An illustration of a warrior's costume of somewhat later date appears in Krieger, 1928, Plate 20.

WOMEN'S COSTUME

Dress: Next to the buffalo robe, the largest article of Teton feminine costume was the long, sleeveless dress made of two skins of deer, antelope, or elk, and fringed with rawhide at sides and bottom. The Teton woman's dress had a cape attached which was characteristically heavily beaded. The dress fell below the knees so that the cut fringe nearly touched the ground. (See description in Wissler, 1915a, and illustration of typical woman's dress in Wissler, 1902a, Plate XLV.)

Moccasins: Women's moccasins were similar to men's, of the hard-soled variety with quilled or beaded decorations. (See Men's Dress.)

Leggings: Women's leggings were short, extending from the ankle to the knee, and confined by hide garters. They were decorated with quilled or beaded designs. (See illustration in Wissler, 1902a, Plate LI.)

Belts: Women wore rawhide belts at the waist. In the 19th century these were often studded with metal decorations.

Hairdress: Teton women wore their hair parted in the middle with braids falling at either side. (See Wissler, 1927b, p.48, and Maximilian's Atlas, Plate 42.) The part was often painted with vermilion.

Ear ornaments: Strings of shells were worn from the ears and extended sometimes as far as the waistline. (Wissler, 1927b, p.35.)

Illustrations of women's costume: The costume of Western Dakota women of the 1830's is illustrated in Catlin, 1876, Vol. I, Plates 94 and 95; and Maximilian's Atlas, Plates 42 and 44. Dress of somewhat later period is shown in Wissler, 1927b, p.48, and Krieger, 1928, Plate 27.

CHILDREN'S DRESS

Young children went naked or wore only the breech cloth. (See Maximilian's Atlas, Plate 44.) As they grew older, children were dressed in miniature man's or woman's costume according to the sex of the wearer. (Beaded girls' dresses are shown in Wissler, 1902a, Plate XLIV.)

DRESS OF LATER PERIODS

The white trader introduced articles used for clothing by the Teton. Chief among these were the blanket and a kind of cheap cloth (known as strouding), used for making shirts or dresses. Talbot mentioned that some of the Teton women seen near Fort Laramie in 1843 wore "cloth garments" (Talbot, p.32). It seems, however, that on the whole the trade blanket and cloth shirts and dresses were not commonly worn by the Teton until animal hides became difficult to secure. (Cloth ghost shirts, worn in 1890, are illustrated in Mooney, 1896, and Wissler, 1907b; a Brule woman's dress of blue strouding is shown in Wissler, 1915a, Fig. 21.) The heavily beaded vest worn by Teton men seems also to have been a late 19th century innovation. (See illustration in Wissler, 1902a, Plates LVI.)

Bracket described the Teton dress as seen by him at Red Cloud Agency in 1876 (Brackett, p.469). At that time the buffalo robe, man's shirt, and woman's dress of skin, and moccasins were still much in evidence. But blue trade blankets, black hats, and a variety of silver and brass ornaments obtained from the Whites were also worn by some Indians.

The Teton were slow to adopt white man's dress after their settlement on reservations. The Commissioner's Report for 1880 indicates that less than one-third of the Teton wore white man's clothing. By 1890 about one-half of the Teton were still but partially so clothed and it was not until after 1900 that all the Teton had adopted the complete dress of the white man.

Today Teton men generally wear overall trousers and a shirt. Women wear simple calico dresses of their own make and shawls. Missionary gifts or old army supplies help provide warm winter clothing. (Mekeel, 1936, p.10).

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X

HOMES OF THE TETON DAKOTA

Within the historic period the Teton resided in conical tents consisting of a framework of poles over which a buffalo hide cover was stretched. This type of structure, known as the tipi, was used by all the nomadic tribes of the Plains as a year-round home. The ease with which it could be taken down, transported, and set up again in a new location made it peculiarly well adapted to the migratory life of the Teton.

PREHISTORIC HABITATIONS

It is probable that while dwelling in the timbered country before their migration out into the plains, the Teton inhabited structures similar to the Central Algonquian houses of more recent times, made of pole framework covered with mats of bark. (Bushnell, 1922, p.44.) When LeSueur met the Teton in 1700, however, they were already using skin-covered lodges which they carried with them as they moved about. (Robinson, 1904, p.46.)

THE TIPI

The tipi was made, erected, taken down, and transported by women, and it was owned by the woman who resided in it. A more detailed description of the tipi follows:

Tipi poles: The lodgepole pine (Pinus Murrayana Oreg. Com.) or spruce were used for making tipi poles. They were cut down with knives or hatchets, the bark peeled off, and allowed to dry and harden in the sun before use. (Parkman, p.240; Gilmore, p.63.)

Buffalo hide cover: The cover was made of dressed buffalo hides fitted together and sewn with sinew. The pattern of a Blackfoot tipi cover similar in shape to two native-made Teton tipi models described by Wissler is shown on p.103 of Wissler, 1910. The number of skins varied. Maximilian stated that 14 skins were generally used in 1834 (Maximilian, Vol.22, p.327). Stansbury remarks that a very large tipi seen in an Oglala village near Fort Laramie in 1850 was made of 26 skins stretched over 24 poles, forming a tent 30 feet in diameter on the ground and 35 feet in height. It was used as a trader's lodge, and hence was abnormally large. (Stansbury, p.255.) Tipi covers were sometimes decorated with painted designs. (See Decorative Art, this paper.)

Tipi doors: The doors of two Teton tipi models mentioned by Wissler were of skin, U-shaped by a bent willow. (Wissler, 1910, p.109.)

Tipi "ears": On either side of the smoke hole at the top were two

flaps, or "ears", which could be moved to regulate the course of the smoke as the wind shifted. These flaps were kept in place by two poles outside the tipi which fitted into pockets at the corners of the ears at their upper ends. (Wissler, 1910, p.109.)

Pegs: The lower edges of the tipi were usually held down by wooden pegs driven into the ground at a distance of about two feet. In the high plains are found circles of stones which are believed to have been used to hold down the edges of tipis in winter. Mathews saw such stones used by Dakota in 1866. (Lewis, 1891.)

Erection of the tipi: The Teton used the three-pole foundation in erecting the tipi. Wissler describes the erection of a Teton tipi as he observed it:

> "The cover of the tipi is laid out, folded in half and three poles laid upon it; two parallel and the other crossing between them at the proper place. This is so that the proper height of the crossing may be taken. These poles are tied at the crossing by the end of a long strap or thong. When set up, these poles form a tripod, one leg of which is to be on the left side of the door. The two rear legs of the tripod are nearer together than they are to the forward leg. Poles are then laid in, on the left of the door pole and then on the right. Two turns of the cord are made by walking around the poles twice (usually to the right) and the end tied down to the forward leg of the tripod. The rear poles are now put in place. The pole for the cover is often the longest and may bear a scalp-lock at the end. The cover is tied to this and raised in place, after which the cover is pinned above the door and staked down. The poles are so adjusted that the back of the tipi is usually steeper than the front....Among the Teton...the end of this cord is often fastened to a stake in the center of the tipi to prevent the wind from overturning the structure." (Wissler, 1910, p.111.)

(The Teton tie used in binding the three foundation poles at the top is illustrated in Fig. 59, p.113, of Wissler, 1910.)

Illustrations: Illustrations of Teton tipis as seen in 1834 appear in Maximilian's Atlas, Plate 44. Tipis seen in 1870 are shown in the photograph, Plate 5, Bushnell, 1922. Other Indian tipis at Fort Laramie in 1868 (possibly Teton) are shown in photograph, Plate 24, Bushnell, 1922. (Further data of value on the Plains tipi appear in Wissler, 1910; and Hodge, Part 2, pp.758-759.)

The interior of the Teton tipi has not been well described, but we may infer that it was similar to that of neighboring Plains tribes, among whom there is great similarity. (A ground plan of a Blackfoot tipi appears in Wissler, 1910, Fig. 64. Description of the Cheyenne tipi interior may be found in Grinnell, 1924, pp.224-235.)

The lodge lining: A curtain made of pieces of buffalo hide sewn together extended from the ground upward for about 3½ feet and was tied to the tipi poles at the top by rawhide thongs. This curtain served to keep out the draught and any water that might come in from the top of the tipi. These linings were often decorated with geometric or pictographic paintings. (See Decorative Art, this paper.)

Fire and fire-making: The fire pit was in the center of the tipi directly below the smoke hole. Over it the paunch or kettle was supported on a tripod. (See illustration of Teton tripod with paunch for stone boiling, Hough, Plate 11.)

Fire was originally made with the palm drill, but among the first materials introduced by traders were bits of steel for fire making. The Indians soon discarded the old fire-making implements in favor of the flint and steel method. Gilmore mentions the use of a fire drill made from the Yucca glauca as a temporary method of fire making by the Teton (Gilmore, p.71, and Plate 8).

Beds: "There were commonly three beds or seats, one at each side and one at the back of the tipi, each consisting of a long platform covered with a sort of mat of light willow rods, over which were thrown buffalo robes or blankets...." (Hodge, Part 2, p.759; illustration, Part 1, p.477.)

Storage: Sufficient room remained in the tipi for storage of the limited number of household and personal effects carried by the nomadic Teton. In addition, outside the lodge near the door, stood a tripod of slender poles about 10 feet long. Here the warrior hung his bow and quiver, his lance, shield, and medicine case. (Maximilian, Vol.22, p.322; Stansbury, p.45.)

SHELTER OF LATER YEARS

As the buffalo became scarce, tipis of canvas material obtained from the white men came into use. This change took place about 1870. Brackett saw both canvas and buffalo hide tipis at Red Cloud Agency in 1876 (Brackett, p.467). The canvas tipi remained in use for many years. As a summer residence it still finds favor among many Plains tribes.

After their settlement on reservations in the 1870's the Government encouraged the Indians to build houses of log or frame construction. The Teton were slow to adopt this new form of residence, however. From the Commissioner's Reports we may infer from the data on house building and house occupancy that a considerable portion of the Teton did not live in houses until about the year 1890.

Mekeel, in his study of the Teton of White Clay district in 1931, found 154 houses of which "...fourteen are frame and two-roomed; 133 are log and mostly one-roomed; 3 are a combination of log and frame; 4 are crude shacks (built and left by former white renters for summer residence while tending crops). For roofs 86 of these houses have earth, 62 are shingled, and 6 are tar-papered. Board flooring is laid in 110 houses, while 44 have dirt floors." (Mekeel, 1936, p.10.) His data on the furnishings of 133 families indicate an average of 2.4 beds per family (almost all double); 2.7 chairs per family (many houses have benches); one sewing machine to every 1.3 families; and one timepiece (alarm clock or watch) to every 1.8 families (Mekeel, 1936, p.10).

THE SWEAT HOUSE

A special structure used for hygienic treatment, and for purification in connection with religious rites and ceremonies, was the sweat house. The use of the sweat house was both old and widespread among the Indians. It has been slow to disappear among reservation Indians. Mekeel found an average of one sweat lodge to every 22 families in existence on Pine Ridge Reservation in the White Clay district in 1931 (Mekeel, 1936, p.10).

Mooney gives a detailed description of the construction and use of the Teton sweat house:

> "The sweat-house is a small circular framework of willow branches driven into the ground and bent over and brought together at the top in such a way that when covered with blankets or buffalo robes the structure forms a diminutive round-top tipi just high enough to enable several persons to sit or to stand in a stooping posture inside. The doorway faces the east, as is the rule in Indian structures, and at the distance of a few feet in front of the doorway is a small mound of earth, on which is placed a buffalo skull, with the head turned as if looking into the lodge. The earth of which the mound is formed is taken from a hole dug in the center of the lodge. Near the sweat-house, on the outside, there is frequently a tall sacrifice pole, from the top of which are hung strips of bright-colored cloth, packages of tobacco, or other offerings to the deity invoked by the devotee on any particular occasion.

"Fresh bundles of the fragrant wild sage are strewn upon the ground inside of the sweat-house, and a fire is kindled outside a short distance away. In this fire stones are heated by the medicine-men, and when all is ready the patient or devotee, stripped to the breech-cloth, enters the sweat-house. The stones are then handed in to him by the priests by means of two forked sticks, cut especially for the purpose, and with two other forked sticks he puts the stones into the hole already mentioned as having been dug in the center of the lodge. Water is then passed in to him, which he pours over the hot stones until the whole interior is filled with steam; the blankets are pulled tight to close every opening, and he sits in this aboriginal Turkish bath until his naked body is dripping with perspiration. During this time the doctors outside are doing their part in the way of praying to the gods and keeping up the supply of hot stones and water until in their estimation he has been sufficiently purified, physically or morally; when he emerges and resumes his clothing, sometimes first checking the perspiration and inducing a reaction by a plunge into the neighboring stream...." (Mooney, 1896, pp.802-805.)

(An illustration showing the willow foundation of a Teton sweat house and the adjacent sacrifice pole appears in Mooney, 1897, Plate XCIV.)

Another structure, temporary in character, but of great importance in Teton culture, was the Sun Dance Lodge. (See section of this paper dealing with the Sun Dance.)

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XI

TRANSPORTATION

In the migratory life of the Teton prior to their settlement on reservations, great stress was placed upon rapid and efficient means of transportation. The Teton traveled by land and their methods consequently were adjusted to movements on foot or on horseback. Water transportation therefore was weakly developed.

Before the Teton acquired the horse, the dog was their only beast of burden and heavy loads were carried by dog travois. Maximilian describes the dogs of the Teton as large and strong, differing little from the wolf, save that the tail was turned up more. Some wore "wolf color; others black, white, or spotted with black and white...." (Maximilian, Vol. 22, p.310).

The dog travois: The travois, on which the load was carried, was an ingenious arrangement consisting of two poles about 15 feet in length (Catlin's estimate, Vol. 1, p.45), lashed together with sinew at one end, resting at an angle over the dog's neck, and fastened securely to the animal by means of a simple harness; while the other ends of the poles, spread out in a V-shape, dragged on the ground behind. About midway between the poles was a netted crosspiece, which was usually oval in shape. (This type of travois is illustrated at the top of page 34, Wissler, 1927b; Kurz's drawing of a Plains dog harnessed to a travois, showing detail of harness, appears in Bushnell, 1922, Plate 26.) The tipi cover was folded into a compact bundle and securely tied to the netted crosspiece with rawhide. On top of it were placed articles of household equipment. After the acquisition of the horse, only lighter articles, as a rule, were carried on the dog travois.

(For a detailed description of the dog travois in use, as observed among the Oglala in 1849, see Stansbury, pp.46-47. For an earlier description, see Catlin, Vol. 1, p.45, and plate in Pageant of America, Vol. 1, p.45.)

HORSE TRANSPORTATION

The horse is so closely associated in the popular imagination with the Indians of the Plains that it may be somewhat of a surprise to some museum visitors to learn that the Indians had no horses in prehistoric times. We know that horses were not seen by the American Indians until Spanish explorers appeared on this continent in the early years of the 16th century. The first horses to come into the possession of the Plains tribes were strays or abandoned animals from the Spanish exploring expeditions into the southern plains which began in 1540. Thence the use of the horse spread northward. So rapid was this diffusion that many

Map No 7.

THE DIFFUSION OF THE HORSE IN THE PLAINS.

The date given under each tribal name represents the earliest mention of the use of the horse by that tribe as indicated in the writings of white men.

(After data in Wissler, 1914).

tribes had obtained horses before they were first met by white men. (See Map No. 7, which gives dates of first mention of horses among the various plains tribes.)

The Teton appear to have secured the horse between 1700 and 1742 (Wissler, 1914, p.5), or, in terms of Teton history, "about the time that the emigration from the timber began." (Robinson, 1904, p.28). The acquisition of the horse was a great boon to this nomadic tribe; It meant that hunting could be pursued over a wider area and game could be secured with much less difficulty.

By the 19th century the Teton possessed large numbers of horses, but there was always a lively demand for more. Horses could then be acquired in one of four ways: by catching them on the prairies, by trade, by gift, or by stealing them from enemy tribes and later from white immigrants.

Catching wild horses was an exciting and dangerous sport favored by the young men of the tribe. Hayden describes an expedition of the Brule:

> "Every summer, excursions were made by the young men into the Platte and Arkansas country, in quest of wild horses, which abounded there at the time in large numbers. Their mode of catching them was by surrounding them, and running them down on their horses. Taking positions at different points, they pursued them from one to the other, until they became so fatigued as to be lassoed, after which they were thrown down, bridled, and packed or rode by these fearless cavaliers. Often 40 to 60 of these wild horses were brought home as the results of a single expedition." (Hayden, p.372).

The Indians were fine judges of horses and keen horse traders; the gift of a good horse was always keenly appreciated. Horses were among the few valuable possessions of the Teton, and he who possessed a large number of them was considered wealthy.

Horse stealing was one of the principal motives for warfare between the tribes. So long as the animals were taken from the enemy the theft of horses was considered praiseworthy. Expeditions set out on foot for the purpose of stealing horses from enemy camps. It was a dangerous undertaking which often led to expeditions of revenge on the part of the enemy. (See section on Warfare, this paper.)

The horse travois: The horse travois is similar in principle to, but somewhat different in detail from, the dog travois. The tipi poles were bound together with rawhide into two bunches and tied on either side

of the horse with a rope of rawhide passing in front of the saddle in such a way that the upper ends of the poles rested about the animal's shoulders. The netted oval framework of the horse travois was sometimes surmounted by a light wicker canopy, open on one side and covered with a buffalo robe. (See the Cheyenne travois, Plate 14, Bushnell, 1922, similar to that described for Oglala seen in 1849, Stansbury, p.46.) The horse travois not only transported household equipment, but it was used also to carry the aged, the sick, the wounded, and women or children who tired of walking. (A modification of the travois used for carrying the infirm is described in Hodge, Part 2, p.802.)

The native horseman and his riding gear: The Teton were excellent horse trainers and riders, learning to ride when very young and spending much time on horseback. General Crook marveled that the Teton warriors' horses were so well trained that they could be safely left to graze near their masters when the latter dismounted. (DeLand, 1930, p.294.) No shelters were used for horses; they were left in the open to graze on the native grasses. Young cottonwood branches were sometimes given them as a delicacy. (Gilmore, p.72.)

It should be noted that Indians of the Plains mounted their horses from the right side, which is opposite to the customary method of mounting used by Whites. They used a minimum of riding gear, the essential elements of which were taken over from the Spaniards and simplified to suit the Indian's needs.

Saddles: Two types were used: (1) the pad saddle, simply a bag of soft skin stuffed with hair or other soft materials (see illustration in Wissler, 1915b, Fig. 8); and (2) the frame saddle, consisting of two parallel wooden side bars, supporting two forked or bowed uprights (pommel and cantle) between which was suspended a hammock-like seat made of a broad band of hide. The side bars of Teton saddles were decidedly curved (following pattern in Fig. 3b in Wissler, 1915b). Pommel and cantle were often identical in shape. Some pommels were horn-shaped with hooks in front for the quirt, or they might be Y-shaped. (See Fig. 2, Wissler, 1915b. This is a Shoshoni frame saddle, but very like that of the Teton.)

The pad saddle is usually regarded as a man's saddle and the frame saddle as a woman's. But sometimes women used the pad saddle and men a low-bowed frame saddle with pommel and cantle rising fully 18 inches (Parkman, p.84).

Stirrups: As a rule saddles had stirrups of bent wood, covered with buffalo hide. (See Wissler, 1915b, Fig.13.) Usually, however, the stirrup straps were tied, with no devices for raising or lowering them.

Cinch: A single cinch was used, so adjusted as to bear upon the middle of the saddle. It was usually made of hide, but was sometimes of woven hair. (See Wissler, 1915b.)

Saddle blankets: Saddle blankets were of buffalo hide, and for men's use were usually plain. Women sometimes used a highly ornamented saddle blanket. (See Wissler, 1915b, Fig. 18.)

Saddle-bags: The Teton used paired saddle-bags of buffalo skin. (See Wissler, 1915b, Fig. 18.)

Cruppers: The crupper was used by many Teton Dakota women riders. It was often decorated with painted designs. (See illustration of crupper in Wissler, 1915b; although not Dakota, it is representative of the general Plains type.)

Spurs: In the early days spurs were probably not used by the Plains Indians. Metal spurs were sometimes obtained from traders. (See illustrations in Wissler, 1915b.)

Bridles: The Indians used no bit, and seldom a bridle or halter. The horse was controlled by a cord looped about its lower jaw. Catlin stated that this was generally used "to stop rather than guide the horse." (Catlin, 1876, Vol. 1, p.252. See also Wissler, 1915b.)

Ropes and lasso: For tethering horses, ropes of buffalo hide, or braided cords of hair, or leathern thongs were used. The lasso used to catch wild horses is described by Catlin as "a long thong of rawhide of ten or fifteen yards in length, made of several braids or twists." (Catlin, Vol. 1, p.253.)

Quirts: The whip was a wooden - or antler-handled quirt with leathern lash and leathern wrist holder. It was carried about the right wrist. (Description in Catlin, Vol. 1, p.237; illustrations, Plate 99; illustration of Blackfoot whip similar to that used by the Teton in Wissler, 1915b, Fig. 23, left.)

A fine drawing, made between 1832-34, of a Plains Indian on horseback, showing some of the details of the equipment, appears in Maximilian's Atlas, Plate 19.

Horse races were a favorite sport among the Teton and a means of testing the speed of their best mounts. Maximilian's Plate 30 shows a Western Dakota horse race. The riders are bareback or using only hide saddles without stirrups.

For hunting the buffalo a simple pad only is shown in Bodmer's

drawing (Maximilian's Atlas, Plate 64). There is no indication of stirrups.

In the 1840's the Teton began to acquire mules, either by trade or theft, from travelers along the Overland Trail. Parkman mentions that the Oglala had mules in 1846, and Stansbury found them possessing "a good many excellent mules" in 1850. (Parkman, p.85; Stansbury, p.257.)

Many fine illustrations of Indians on horseback appear in the drawings and paintings of Frederic Remington and Charles Russell.

After their settlement on reservations, the Teton continued to raise large numbers of horses and mules. The Commissioner's Report for 1900 indicates that over 50,000 horses and mules were being raised on the various Teton reservations at that time.

The Teton's great love of horses has survived to the present day and the cowboy's life is his ideal. He likes to attend rodeos and to talk about horses. (McKeel, 1936, pp.5-7.)

Snowshoes: We know that snowshoes were used by some of the northern Plains tribes in winter, but the extent to which they were used by the Teton, if at all, is not clear. The pattern of a Plains Indian snowshoe is illustrated in Maximilian's Atlas, Plate 54.

The bull-boat: The bull-boat was a framework of wood over which a buffalo hide cover was stretched. It was used to some extent by the Western Dakota women to transport themselves and their household goods over rivers (McGee, p.172), but the Teton used it less commonly than did the village Indians on the Upper Missouri. (A good illustration of an Hidatsa bull-boat and paddle appears in Bushnell, 1922, Plate 35.)

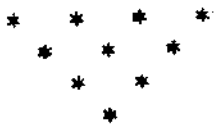
Swimming: Men, women, and children were generally good swimmers. (McGee, p.172).

Cradles: Infants were carried in cradles. Maximilian, in 1834, described these cradles as ornamented boards to which the infants were fastened with broad leathern straps, one passing over the head, and the other over the middle of the body. The cradle was entirely covered with porcupine quill decoration. Mason, in his monograph on Indian cradles, quotes Catlin's description for the Sioux. (Mason, 1887, pp.200-203; illustrations of Oglala cradle, p.200; an old Sioux cradle, p.202. See also illustrations in Krieger, 1928, Plate 27; Wissler, 1902a, Fig.79; Sydow, Plate XIX.)

Head deformation was unknown to the Teton.

After the tribe's settlement on reservations, the farm wagon secured from the Government began to take the place of the picturesque travois of the nomadic days.

At the present time there are many automobiles in use. McKeel's statistical studies of the White Clay community reveal that there was one automobile to every 4.1 families in 1931. Almost all of these were model-T Fords (Mekeel, 1936, p.10).



XII

The bow and arrow, lance, club, and stone knife were native Teton weapons. Firearms and metal knives were introduced by traders at an early date. For defense the Teton warrior carried a circular shield of buffalo hide.

THE BOW AND ARROW

The most useful native weapon of the Teton, whether for war or the chase, was the bow and arrow, in the use of which the Indians were most proficient. LeSueur found them to be expert bowmen in 1700 (Robinson, 1904, p.53), and indeed this weapon remained the favorite for hunting buffalo until after the middle of the 19th century. One old Teton preferred his bow and arrow for the buffalo hunt even to the improved rifles of 1881. In warfare the bow and arrow was never really superseded by firearms until breech-loading rifles were secured by the Teton in the sixties.

Bows: Teton bows were of two kinds: the self, or one-piece, bow, and the compound bow, made of two or more pieces carefully joined together. Self bows were most commonly made of ash, a wood native to the Teton country. The Osage orange bow was highly favored, but this wood had to be obtained in trade from natives on the Arkansas River. (Gilmore, p.108; Mason, 1893, pp.640,644; Standing Bear, 1931, p.20.) Most self bows had a double curve, and were relatively short to facilitate their use on horseback. Three-and-one half feet is a good length for a Teton bow. (See illustrations in Mason, 1893, Plates 83, 84, and 85.)

Compound bows probably first came into use because of a scarcity of good wood for making one-piece bows. Teton compound bows were made principally of the horn of buffalo or mountain sheep, with pieces carefully fitted together and the joints wrapped with buckskin; flannel, also, was sometimes used. Mason calls the compound bows of the Sioux "the most beautiful in shape of any among savage tribes." (Mason, 1893, p.642. See also illustrations in same, Plate 82.)

Many Teton bows were sinew-backed and bow strings likewise were made of sinew, twisted.

Arrows: Teton arrow shafts were fashioned of ash or other hard wood, were approximately 25 inches in length, were fitted with three eagle feathers, and had a characteristic fish-tailed nock at the end. Shafts were grooved, marked with lightning furrows, and banded with from one to three stripes near the nock. The points were attached with glue from the buffalo and with sinew.

Aboriginal Teton arrowheads were of stone or bone, but points of these materials were early replaced by metal ones made of iron secured from white traders. Mason, writing in 1893, was very suspicious of the authenticity of any so-called Sioux stone arrowheads. Nevertheless, I. Allen, a pioneer resident of Montana, describes in detail the aboriginal method of making stone and bone points. (Quoted in Mason, 1893, pp.672-673.)

However, the typical 19th-century Teton arrowhead would be an iron one. Parkman, describing the Oglala weapons of 1846, mentions only iron arrowpoints (Parkman, p.180). Metal points varied in size and shape. (See illustrations of metal-pointed arrows in Mason, 1893, Plates 47, 83, and 85; some stone-pointed arrows of doubtful authenticity are shown on Plate 46.)

There are many references to the fact that a skillful hunter, armed with a strong bow, could shoot a metal-tipped arrow completly through the body of a buffalo.

Arrow release: Teton hunters or warriors in the act of shooting the bow and arrow should be using the so-called tertiary release. (Illustrated, in Hodge, Part I, p.93.)

Quivers and bow cases: Both bow and arrows were carried in hide cases when not in use. These cases were two separate compartments, but were attached to each other. Bow cases were about 42 inches long, quivers about 26 inches. The latter were usually made of buffalo hide or otter skin. Both were ornamented with cut fringes, sometimes with fur, or quilled or beaded decorations. (See illustrations in Mason, 1893, Plates 83, 84, 85.) The quiver was slung over the left shoulder by a skin strap, and hung at the back of the wearer.

THE LANCE

The spear or lance is probably the oldest of the weapons used by the American Indians. Within the historic period the Plains Indians used the lance for hunting the buffalo on horseback or for fighting at close quarters from the mounted position. As a rule hunting lances had shorter, heavier points than those used in war. (Hodge, Part I, p.755.) Mounted warriors carried the lance in addition to the bow and arrows, rather than in place of them. Such lances were made of long shafts of hard wood (Culbertson, on p.100, remarks that those seen by him in 1850, "were about ten feet long"), tipped with stone, and later with iron, points. As was the case with arrow points, iron replaced stone lanceheads at an early date. Parkman mentions only iron points on the lances of Oglala warriors seen in 1846. (Parkman, pp.142,180 .) Lances were ornamented with colored feathers, long scalp-locks, or bits

of colored cloth. (Culbertson, p.100; Parkman, p.142.)

Catlin illustrates typical metal-pointed lances used in the northern Plains in the 1830's on Plate 18. (Catlin, 1876, Vol. 1.)

THE WAR CLUB

Clubs used in combat at close quarters were, under aboriginal conditions, fitted with stone heads. The club with stone ball head wrapped in buffalo hide was used by the Dakota. (Wissler, 1910, p.163 and Fig. 103.) Wooden-handled clubs fitted with metal heads or a metal spike were early introduced by fur traders. (These types were seen by Catlin in 1832 and illustrated by him, Vol. 1, 1876, Plate 99, Figs. d, e, f. See also the iron-headed tomahawk in the hand of the Western Dakota man on Plate 41 of Maximilian's Atlas.)

KNIVES

Knives were used in hunting for skinning and cutting up the slain animals. In warfare they served for scalping the enemy, or occasionally as weapons in hand to hand combat. Although originally of stone, metal knives of European make were traded to the Indians at an early date, and remained favorite articles of trade for many years. Men carried their knives in gayly decorated cases attached to the belt; women wore theirs in wide belts of leather, ornamented with brass nails. (Brackett, p.469; Catlin, Plate 99, Figs. a, b, illustrates metal knives of the type seen by him in 1832; Maximilian's Atlas, Plate 54, shows a knife case of the same period. A number of Dakota beaded knife cases are shown in Wissler, 1902a, Plate XLIX.)

FIREARMS

Although the Teton acquired firearms at a later date than the tribes farther east, they were armed with rifles earlier than many of their neighbors on the Plains to the north and west. Trudeau found the other Missouri River tribes to the north fearful of the "Sioux nations" in 1794 because the Sioux had firearms and they had not. (Trudeau, p.455.) Lewis and Clark remarked that the Teton men seen by them in 1804 were "badly armed with fusees" (matchlocks)(Lewis and Clark, Vol.I, p.166). Many of the Missouri River Indians illustrated in Maximilian's Atlas are shown carrying firearms, the details of which are fairly well indicated.

The old muzzle-loader, however, never displaced the bow and arrow

for hunting buffalo or in mounted warfare. The difficulty of reloading on horseback was a detriment to its efficient use. The mounted man carried the muzzle-loader in addition to the bow and arrow, if he carried it at all. (Its use in this combination is indicated in Parkman's description, p.153.) For hunting smaller game on foot and in warfare afoot, the muzzle-loader was most useful. (Denig, p.555.)

Muzzle-loaders were furnished the Indians by the Government for use in hunting game from about 1835 to the 1860's. They were either flintlock or cap lock, and varied considerably in both caliber and barrel length. (Rifles of this type are illustrated and described in Sawyer, p.55, Plate 7, Fig. 1.)

The Indians took very poor care of their guns. After a short period of use, guns often became rusty and broken, and sometimes broken pieces were tied with rawhide in an effort to mend them. (See Sawyer, p.56, and illustration of broken gun mended with rawhide, Plate 7, Fig. 2.)

In the middle sixties the Teton began to acquire breech-loading rifles. Some of them were acquired from unprincipled traders, others were taken from fallen soldiers in the Indian Wars, and still others were obtained directly from the Government. The Interior Department furnished the Teton with rifles and ammunition for hunting which, ironically enough, were used by the warriors in their battles with United States troops. (De Land, 1930, p.193.) It is known that Henry rifles and Spencer and Winchester carbines were obtained by Indian warriors prior to the Wagon Box Fight in 1867. (Birge, p.191; De Land, 1930, pp.150,166, 193.) Dodge considered this battle as a transition event, at a time when few Indians had acquired the breechloader; but thereafter the use of this type of rifle was more common. Charles King is authority for the statement that by the summer of 1876, "nine out of ten of the warriors known to be on the warpath had...the magazine rifle" (Col. W. A. Graham, The Story of the Little Big Horn, quoted in De Land, 1930, p.317.)

The importance of the introduction of the breech-loading rifle, single shot or repeater, can hardly be overemphasized. With the breechloader, the mounted warrior could load and fire from his horse with perfect ease. General Crook has stated his opinion that the mounted Indian warrior with the breechloader and metallic cartridges was much superior in marksmanship to the soldier used against him in the Indian Wars of the 1860's and 1870's. The mounted Indian could kill a moving wolf while riding at full speed; but the trooper was lucky if he could hit a mounted Indian even though the soldier stood on the ground. (De Land, p.293.) This explains the trained army man's respect for the Indian warriors (mainly Teton and Cheyenne) of this period.

Less information is available on the use of pistols by the Teton.

While a few may have been traded to the Indians at earlier periods, the pistol was not in common use until the Indian Wars of the decade 1867-1877. Charles King states that by 1877 the warriors carried, "as a rule, two revolvers--Colt's Navy preferred." (Col. W. A. Graham, The Story of the Little Big Horn, quoted in De Land, 1930, p.318.)

It should be kept in mind that the use of the most up-to-date repeating rifles did not mean the discard of the more primitive forms of weapons. The bow and arrows, lance, and war club were also used by the Teton to advantage in the Indian Wars. (De Land, 1930, pp. 88, 95,153, 158,189.)

SHIELDS

The Teton did not wear armor. Their sole defensive weapon was the thick buffalo-hide shield, carried on the left arm by a simple buckskin strap. The shield consisted of a fire-hardened buffalo hide base, covered with the dressed skin of buffalo, elk, or deer, the edges being characteristically bordered with eagle feathers. Shields averaged about 17 inches in diameter. They furnished adequate protection against lances or clubs, but could not withstand the power of bullets from improved firearms. However, even in the early days, the shield owner relied for protection on the mystic design painted on the cover rather than the thickness of the hide itself. And for this reason shields were not abandoned during the Indian Wars of the 1860's and 1870's. (Mention of the use of the shield at the Wagon Box Fight, August, 1867, appears in De Land, 1930, p.158.)

Actual shields of buffalo hide are rarely found in museum collections, but native-made reproductions are common. (A detailed discussion of the Dakota shield may be found in Wissler, 1907b. Illustrations of shields appear in Catlin, Maximilian, Wissler, 1907b, and Hall, 1926b.)

(A description of Teton shield-making which might serve as the basis of an illustration of this activity appears in Catlin, Vol. 1, p. 241.)

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XIII

HUNTING METHODS

Two very important activities of the Teton men were fighting and hunting. During the period of the fur trade, great effort was made to secure large numbers of suitable pelts to exchange with traders for their many useful or ornamental articles. The Teton continued to make periodic hunting excursions as long as game was available.

HUNTING THE BUFFALO

The Tetons' hunting activities were largely concerned with the buffalo. Their methods of hunting this animal were numerous, ingenious, and devastatingly effective. It is not known what means were preferred by the Teton prior to their acquisition of the horse, but they probably had knowledge of several methods, both individual and communal.

(1) Stalking the buffalo afoot: Probably the oldest method of bison hunting known to the American Indians was that of dispatching the animal with a spear thrown from an atlatl, or spear thrower. This was probably the favorite method employed by Folsom man in hunting the now extinct species of bison. Later the bow and arrow came into use. We may distinguish three methods of individual and collective hunting afoot with spear or with bow and arrow:

a. By surprising the buffalo beside a stream or a water hole, a group of hunters on foot, and armed with their native weapons, would readily kill several animals.

b. Indian hunters, bow and arrow in hand, approached the buffalo on hands and knees, disguised with wolf skins over their heads and backs, and when close enough to the herd to get accurate shots, they rose and with dispatch killed as many animals as possible before the herd became frightened. Catlin describes this method used by the Missouri River tribes in 1832, and illustrates it (Catlin, Vol. 1, 1876, p.254 and Plate 110). This animal pelt disguise was widely used in hunting in native North America. Le Moyne, the French artist, pictured the use of a deerskin disguise used by Florida Indians in hunting deer as early as 1563 (See Dengler, Plate 2).

c. Catlin found that Ha-won-je-tah (" the one horn"), a Miniconjou chief whom he met in 1832, was proud of the fact that he could run down a buffalo on foot and kill it with the bow and arrow. This method of tracking the buffalo may have been more common among the Teton before they secured the horse. (Catlin, Vol. 1, p.211.)

(2) Winter hunting on snowshoes: Catlin describes a method of winter hunting by which Indians on snowshoes drove the buffalo into

deep drifts, from which they were unable to escape, and killed them with the lance or with the bow and arrow. Usually only the pelts were taken when this method was used. (See Catlin, Vol.1, p.253, and illustration, Plate 109; or Hornaday, p.484, and Plate XVIII, in which Catlin's description and paintings are reprinted.) Catlin himself never saw this method in use.

(3) Grass burning: A method of group hunting used by the Eastern Dakota in more recent times, and probably also by the Teton before they secured the horse, was that of burning the grass surrounding a herd of buffalo, preventing their escape through the flames, and killing all the animals within the burning circle. Perrot's description of this method, as observed in the early years of the 18th century, is quoted in Wissler, 1927b, p.24. (Mentioned for the Santee Dakota in Wissler, 1910, p.50.)

(4) Impounding: A method of securing the buffalo by driving them into enclosures is known to have been used by several northern Plains tribes in the early days. It undoubtedly dates back to the pre-horse period. This method as seen among the Assiniboine prior to 1776 is described in detail by the elder Henry, p.286. Wissler states that the Teton Dakota practiced some form of the impounding method. (Wissler, 1927b, p.23; also 1910, p.33.)

(5) Driving over cliffs: Another method of buffalo hunting which probably dates back to the pre-horse period was that of decoying them and driving them over cliffs. It is described by Lewis and Clark, and reprinted by Hornaday, pp.483-484. In the Teton country west of the Missouri there are several sites where this method is said to have been used in the 19th century. The Chugwater, a stream in southwestern Wyoming, is said to have acquired its picturesque name from this method of hunting practiced there. (Guernsey, p.182.)

It is certain, therefore, that before the Teton secured horses they did not want for varied and effective methods of hunting the buffalo. In fact some of them (grass burning, impounding, and driving over cliffs) were extremely wasteful.

After the acquisition of the horse, most of these early methods were discarded in favor of hunting on horseback. The method of driving buffalo over cliffs, however, continued in use. Two principal methods of buffalo hunting on horseback were practiced:

(6) The surround: As the name implies, the mounted hunters encircled a herd of buffalo and rode around it, killing off the animals with the lance, with bow and arrow, or rifle as they rode, until a large number— perhaps the entire herd— was destroyed. (This method is described in Catlin, Vol. 1, pp.199-202; and by Stansbury - p.257 —who witnessed its

use by the Oglala in the fall of 1850. See also Hornaday, pp.480-483, with reprint of Catlin's description and illustration, Plate XVIII.)

(7) The individual hunt on horseback: A most exciting method of buffalo hunting was that of singling out an animal and riding it down, approaching from the right side and killing with lance, bow and arrow, or rifle. This is the method most often pictured by white artists. It was the most thrilling and hence the method favored by white sportsmen. (See Hornaday, pp.470 ff.)

In setting out on a buffalo hunt, the Indian hunter rode an inferior animal, leading his swift buffalo horse by a rope. When buffalo were sighted, he mounted the fresh steed, which was usually covered with a buffalo robe rather than a saddle. The rider himself usually wore only breech cloth and moccasins, carried his bow in the left hand, his quirt around his right wrist, and his quiver across his back, leaving his right hand free for handling and discharging the arrows.

Wherever the buffalo happened to fall, it was skinned and the meat cut into convenient sizes for packing on horseback. (The method of skinning, cutting, and packing is described in Densmore, pp.443-444.)

The communal buffalo hunt was a well organized undertaking with a recognized procedure. (Very complete descriptions may be found in Densmore, pp.436-447; and T. L. Riggs, entire.)

THE EXTERMINATION OF THE BUFFALO

The fact that the Indians found uses for nearly every part of the animal does not mean that they were always deeply concerned with the conservation of the buffalo. When buffalo were scarce, it is true, they made good use of nearly every part of the carcass; but when the animals were numerous the Indians were often extremely wasteful. Not only did they kill more than they needed by grass burning, impounding, driving over cliffs, or in the surround, but they frequently killed for the tasty tongues or useful hides alone, leaving the remainder of the kill untouched. Catlin was told of a party of Teton near Fort Pierre who, in the spring of 1832, took 1,400 buffalo tongues in a few hours without bothering to remove a single hide (Catlin, Vol. 1, p.256). The Indian's preference for the female buffalo was also extremely destructive.

Wasteful hunting practices, therefore, must be regarded as playing an important part in the final extermination of the buffalo. White men began to predict its end as early as 1820. It is of interest to note that George Catlin suggested that in order to preserve both the buffalo and the Plains Indians, the entire Plains region should be declared a

national park (Catlin, Vol. 1, p.261).

However, no conservation program was set up, and as a result the range and number of the buffalo continued to diminish. By 1883 this noble creature was no longer to be found in the northern plains. For a very complete and able description of the white man's part in its extermination, see Hornaday, 1887.

HUNTING OF OTHER ANIMALS

There is little available information on the method used by the Teton in hunting other animals and birds. Judging from facts known about the Cheyenne, close neighbors who had many traits of material culture in common with the Teton, we may surmise that deer were generally hunted with bow and arrow; elk were caught with rawhide snares or driven over cliffs; mountain sheep were caught in snares or pitfalls; wolves and foxes likewise were taken in pitfalls; and antelope were driven into enclosed pits. (See detailed description on the Cheyenne hunting methods in Grinnell, 1924, pp.273-299.)

Hayden describes the Brule method of driving the antelope in the broken country near the source of White River:

> "The animals, being surrounded by several hundred people, are driven through some gap in the hills, beyond which is a perpendicular descent of many feet, inclosed around the base with logs and brush, raised to a sufficient height to prevent them from jumping over. The antelope, once through the gap or pass, cannot recede, and the pressure of those from behind forces those in front over the descent, the rear being followed up quickly by the pursuers." (Hayden, p.373).

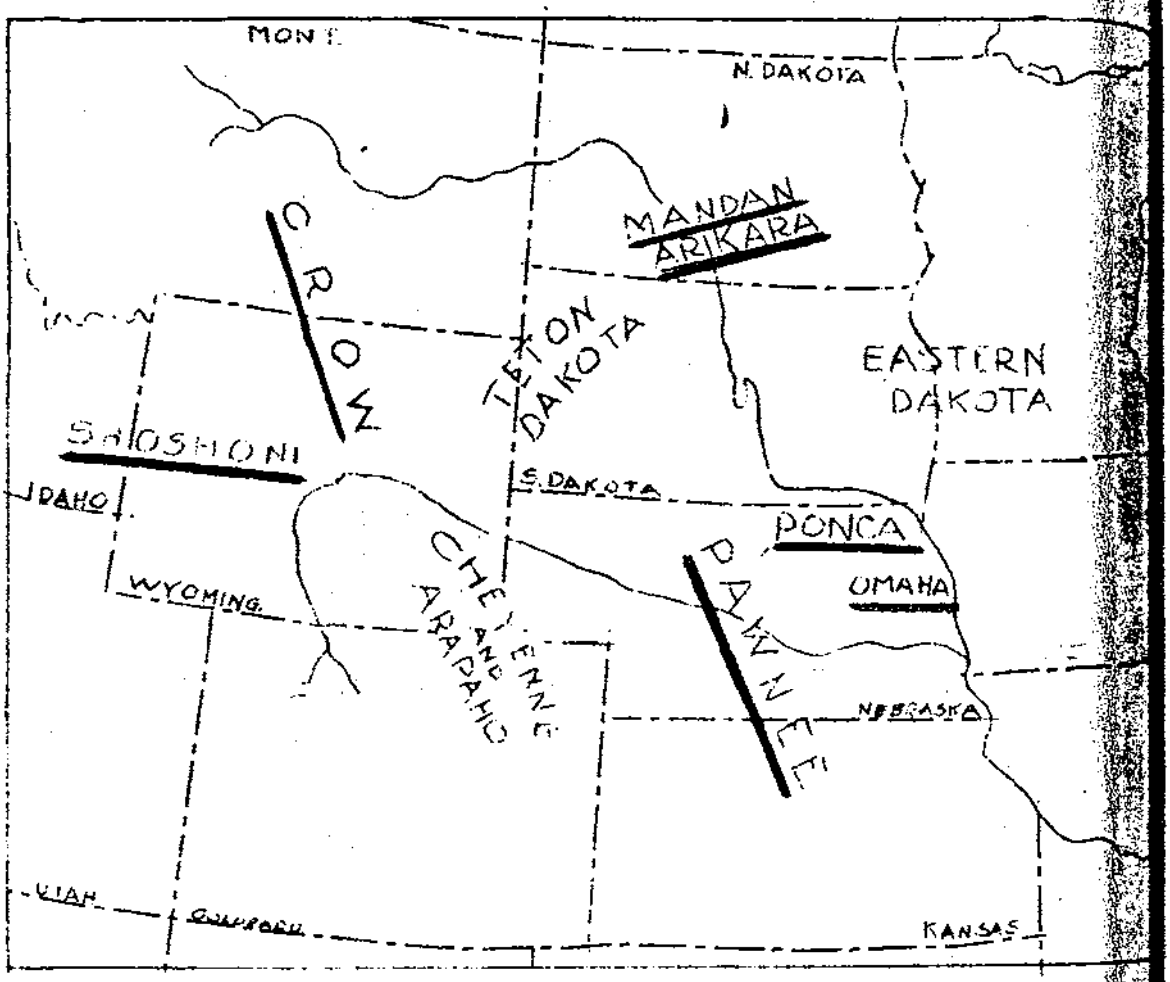
The Cheyenne method of catching eagles by hand from a specially constructed pit was used by the Teton. (The method, accompanied by a drawing of the pit, is described in Grinnell, 1924, pp.299-308.)

FISHING

Standing Bear states that boys caught fish with a bit of raw buffalo meat tied to the end of a horsehair line, or with a willow pole having a looped end. (Standing Bear, 1931, pp.65-67).

Map No.8

ALLIES AND ENEMIES OF THE TETON DAKOTA



The principal opponents of the Teton in the late 18th and the 19th century intertribal wars are underlined. Those tribes not underlined often sided with the Teton in these conflicts.

XIV

WARFARE

The most certain way for a Teton man to win the admiration and respect of his fellows was by the performance of brave deeds in war. The Teton share with the Cheyenne the reputation of being the most daring and capable warriors of the northern plains.

Enemies and friends of the Teton: We have seen that in their successive migrations westward in the 18th and early 19th centuries the Teton wrested territory from the Omaha, Arikara, Crow, Kiowa, and Cheyenne. Their principal enemies in the 19th century were the Arikara, Mandan, Ponca, Pawnee, Crow, and Shoshoni. Their relations with the Cheyenne, Arapaho, and the other Dakota groups during this period were on the whole friendly. Nothing like a binding agreement, however, allied these tribes. They aided one another in war only as mutual interests were involved. As the years passed the economic interests of the Teton grew farther and farther apart from those of the Eastern Dakota and closer to those of the Cheyenne and Arapaho. This is evidenced by the Tetons' refusal to aid the Eastern Dakota in their 1862 uprising; whereas, they united with the Northern Cheyenne and Northern Arapaho in the wars against the Whites from 1866 to 1877. During the conflicts of the sixties and seventies the Indian enemies of the Teton were generally friendly to the Whites. (See Map No. 8.)

Motives for warfare: The Teton went to war to extend or to protect their hunting grounds and to obtain horses. These seem to have been their principal motives for fighting, so far as motives were needed. The fact that glory was to be won in battle was itself a great encouragement and little further cause was necessary to send the Teton into battle against any wandering parties of Pawnee, Crow, or Shoshoni which they might meet.

The conduct of war: War expeditions were individual or tribal. In the latter the tribe acted as a unit, but in either case the parties were well organized before setting out. If securing horses was the objective the warriors went on foot, carrying extra moccasins, and perhaps cooking utensils and medicines. Boys were sometimes taken along to do the cooking and to perform menial tasks for the warriors, at the same time learning the art of war. All celebrations were postponed until the return of the warriors; then, if they had been successful, the scalp dance was performed. (See Dancing, this paper. For detailed descriptions of the conduct of war parties, see Densmore, pp.332-418, and illustrations, Plates 44, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 61; also Talbot, pp.38-39.)

Scalping: Scalps were taken but the number of scalps obtained by a warrior was not considered indicative of his prowess in war. Scalping was painful but not necessarily fatal. The scalp was taken by grasping

the hair on the crown of the head with the left hand and passing the knife around it through the skin, taking a piece of skin with the hair. It was not a genuine scalp unless it showed the crown of the head where the hair divides and radiates from the center. Scalp locks, as distinct from the scalp, consisted of other pieces of hair. These were used to ornament seams of shirts, leggings, tipi covers, lance shafts, and other articles. (See Catlin, Vol. 1, p. 238, and Plate 101. Densmore, Plate 52, shows a scalp.)

War honors: War honors were highly prized and were graded according to the degree of bravery shown by the warrior. Thus, to touch a live enemy was considered a great deed, whereas to take the scalp of a fallen enemy, who might even have been killed by some other warrior, was of no great consequence. The successful warrior recited his honors at social gatherings, wore feathers or face paint, and painted his buffalo robe and tipi cover to illustrate his brave deeds. His fellows saw to it that he did not lay claim to more or greater honors than he had justly earned.

Maximilian describes the system of regulating the wearing of feathers by Teton warriors in 1834:

> "He who, in the sight of the adversaries, touches a slain or a living enemy, places a feather horizontally in his hair for this exploit. They look upon this as a very distinguished act, for many are often killed in the attempt, before the object is attained. He who kills an enemy by a blow with his fist, sticks a feather upright in his hair. If the enemy is killed with a musket, a small piece of wood is put in the hair which is intended to represent a ramrod. If a warrior is distinguished by many deeds, he has a right to wear the great feather-cap, with ox-horns....Whoever first discovers the enemy, and gives notice to his comrades of their approach, is allowed to wear a small feather, which is stripped, except towards the top....He who takes a prisoner wears a particular bracelet...." (Maximilian, Vol. 22, pp.326-327; see also illustrations, p.323).

This description differs somewhat from the information secured from old members of the Teton some eighty years later by Densmore:

> "It was said that if a party of warriors attacked the enemy and killed several men, the first warrior who killed an enemy had a right to wear the 'black face paint'; thus many of the war songs contain the words 'the black face paint I seek.' This paint was worn by the man in the dances which followed his return from war. Usually it covered

only the face, although a man might paint his entire body if he so desired. The second warrior to kill an enemy might 'strike the enemy,' for doing which he might, on his return, let his hair hang loose, but not paint his face. The time for continuing this practice varied according to the individual, but was usually about a month. If a war party defeated the enemy without loss to themselves, it was permitted to the first four who killed enemies, and also to their women relatives, to use the black face paint. In such an event special songs would be sung, and at any large gathering these four men would appear, the tribe considering them all to be equally entitled to the honor of using the black paint.

"If a man had killed an enemy without injury to himself he was entitled to wear a feather erect at the back of his head. If he killed two or more he could wear a corresponding number of feathers, but the enemies must all have been killed in the same battle. If he succeeded in striking an enemy he could wear a feather horizontally at the back of his head. Four men could 'count coup' by striking the same enemy." (Densmore, p.359.)

This was done by touching the victim with a stick, notched to denote the number of coups counted (Mallery, 1893, p.227).

The black paint was seen on Teton warriors by Lewis and Clark in 1804 (Lewis and Clark, Vol. 1, p.166) and by Parkman, in 1846 (Parkman p.104).

The feather bonnet was described by Maximilian from his observations in 1834:

"This cap, composed of eagle's feathers, which are fastened to a long strip of red cloth, hanging down the back, is highly valued by all the tribes on the Missouri, and they never part with it except for a good horse...." (Maximilian, Vol. 22, p.326).

Brackett gives an almost identical description of feather bonnets seen at Red Cloud Agency in 1876 (Brackett, p.469). Talbot and Parkman saw Miniconjou and Oglala warriors in feather bonnets in the forties (Talbot, p.39; Parkman, p.142. A good photograph of a Teton feather bonnet appears in Densmore, Plate 50.) In the Wild West shows of a later period the feather bonnet became so common as to lose all meaning.

As a result its peculiar significance is not realized by the public today. This bonnet was characteristic of the Dakota in the old days. Today we find Indians all over the country assuming feather bonnets at rodeos and on dress occasions.

Parkman gives some fine descriptions of the dress and equipment of Oglala warriors seen by him in 1846 (Parkman, pp.84, 142, 153).

Last intertribal conflict: What has been termed the last intertribal Indian conflict in this country was fought between a party of some 1200 Teton warriors (Brule and Oglala) and a buffalo hunting party of 400 Pawnee (of which only 250 were men) on August 5, 1873, in the place since known as Massacre Canyon in southwestern Nebraska. The Pawnee, after a brave and stubborn resistance, were badly beaten, suffering a loss of more than 200 individuals. (This battle is described in detail, with illustrations of the site and participants, in the Nebraska History Magazine, Vol. XVI, No. 3, 1936. It would make a fine subject for a striking painting for museum use.)

Wars with the Whites: Although the Teton began to harass travelers on the Overland Trail through Nebraska and Wyoming in the forties, their first conflict with United States troops was in 1854. In this year Lieutenant Grattan and his men were massacred east of Fort Laramie. There followed periods of intermittent peace and bitter warfare until the settlement of the Teton on reservations was completed in 1877. (See section on History, this paper.)

Again, in 1890, as a result of the Ghost Dance excitement, the Teton met the Whites in the Battle of Wounded Knee on Pine Ridge Reservation. This marks the end of an era, the last Indian-White warfare in America. (See section on History, this paper.)

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XV

WORK IN HIDES

It was woman's work to dress the hides and to make and decorate nearly all the many articles made of hide used by the Teton. A woman's worth was to a considerable degree dependent upon her ability to dress skins; especially was this true during the period of the fur trade, when many hides were needed to exchange with the white trader for articles desired by the Indians.

SKIN DRESSING

Hides were dressed in the open air, since sunshine was deemed necessary for the best results. Women dressed several hides at a time. As soon as possible after the skin was taken from the dead animal it was pegged out on the ground, hair side down, and the work of dressing began. The general order of processes followed by the Plains tribes was as follows:

(1) Fleshing: All particles of flesh, fat, and muscular tissue adhering to the inner suface of the hide were hacked off with a sharp, toothed instrument. This tool was made originally of bone, but was later fitted with iron teeth or made entirely of iron, with a strap attached to the handle and fitting around the woman's wrist to give increased power to the scraping movement. (Described for the Teton of 1834 by Maximilian, Vol. 22, pp.309-322; instruments pictured in Wissler, 1927b, p.64.)

(2) Scraping: After the hide had been left in the sun to cure for several days, it was scraped to an even thickness with an adze-shaped tool having a wooden or antler handle to which a blade of stone--later iron--was bound with rawhide. (See picture of instruments in Wissler, 1927b, p.63. Mason, 1889, lists two Sioux specimens, one 14½ inches long, the other 12 inches, both of antler, p.589.)

If the hide was intended for a robe, only the inner side was scraped; if to be used for such articles as bags or tipi covers, it was turned over and the hair scraped off.

(3) Braining: A mixture of cooked brains, fat, and liver of the buffalo was rubbed into the hide with the hands and smooth stones. (Maxmilian mentions the use of pumice stones by the Teton in 1834, Vol. 22, p.322.) The hide was then soaked in water over night.

(4) Stripping: The hide was next stretched out on a wooden frame, or again on the ground and the surplus brains and moisture removed with a straight edged tool resembling a hoe blade.

(5) Graining: After the hide had dried it was scraped with a rough piece of buffalo bone to remove all irregularities in the surface. (A Sioux graining tool of iron is illustrated in Mason, 1889, Plate XC, Fig. 4.)

(6) Softening: Finally the skin was softened by pulling it backwards and forwards over a line, to make it pliable. Maximilian saw this process among the Teton in 1834. (Maximilian, Vol.22, p.322.)

(For detailed description of Plains skin-dressing processes in general, see Hodge, Part 2, pp.591-593; Wissler, 1927b, pp.59-66; Mason, 1889. Description of the Blackfoot methods appears in Wissler, 1910, pp.63-70, with illustrations, Figs. 32, 33, 34, and Plates I, III, IV, and V. Cheyenne methods described in Grinnell, 1924, Vol. I, pp.213 ff., and Plates opp. pp.176, 208, and 224.)

ARTICLES OF HIDE

In addition to numerous articles of hide used for clothing, in connection with the tipi, with warfare, and transportation, the Teton made many containers of hide materials in various sizes and shapes.

Parfleches: The hide container of envelope construction known as the parfleche, used especially for carrying pemmican, was a characteristic Teton product. Teton parfleches average 63 centimeters long by 37 centimeters wide and have three pairs of tie holes on the side flaps. (Illustrations of parfleche patterns appear in Wissler, 1927b, p.68. See also Wissler, 1910, pp.79-82; and Spier, 1925). Parfleches were decorated with colorful painted designs. (See section on Decorative Art, this paper, Plate 9 a.)

Rectangular hide bags: Rectangular containers, made of rawhide or softened skin, in various sizes and opening on either the long or the short dimension, were used by the Teton. (See illustrations in Wissler, 1902a, Figs. 75, 77, 86; and Wissler, 1927b, Figs. 25, 27; also Krieger, 1930.) They were decorated with painted, quilled, or beaded designs and cut fringes, which were sometimes wrapped with quill or metal.

Medicine cases: Tubular medicine cases of rawhide, decorated with painted designs and fringes, were also utilized. (See section on Decorative Art, this paper. Illustrations of Plains medicine cases appear in Wissler, 1910, Figs. 43, 44; and in Krieger, 1930.)

Pipe-and-tobacco bags: Narrow bags, ranging in length from 80 to 150 centimeters, were used to hold smoking equipment. They were decorated with quilled or beaded designs and fringed at the bottom. The

Dakota pipe-and-tobacco bags are the finest made by the Plains tribes. (Illustrations in Wissler, 1902a, Plates XLII, XLIII, XLVII, XLVIII, LV; and Figs. 99, 100.)

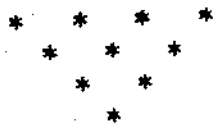
This type of bag is believed to be quite recent-- about mid-nineteenth century. The Teton claim previously to have used entire skins of the young antelope, deer, beaver, and other animals for smoking bags. (Such receptacles were seen by Catlin in 1832: Catlin, Vol. I, p.242 and Plate 101½, Fig. C.)

Strike-a-light pouches: A leather-pouch, decorated with beaded designs, was used to carry the smoker's fire lighting equipment. (Illustrated in Wissler, 1902a, Plate XLI.)

Paint bags: Paint for the face and body was kept in skin bags, which in many cases were decorated with beaded designs. (Illustrated in Wissler, 1902a, Plate L).

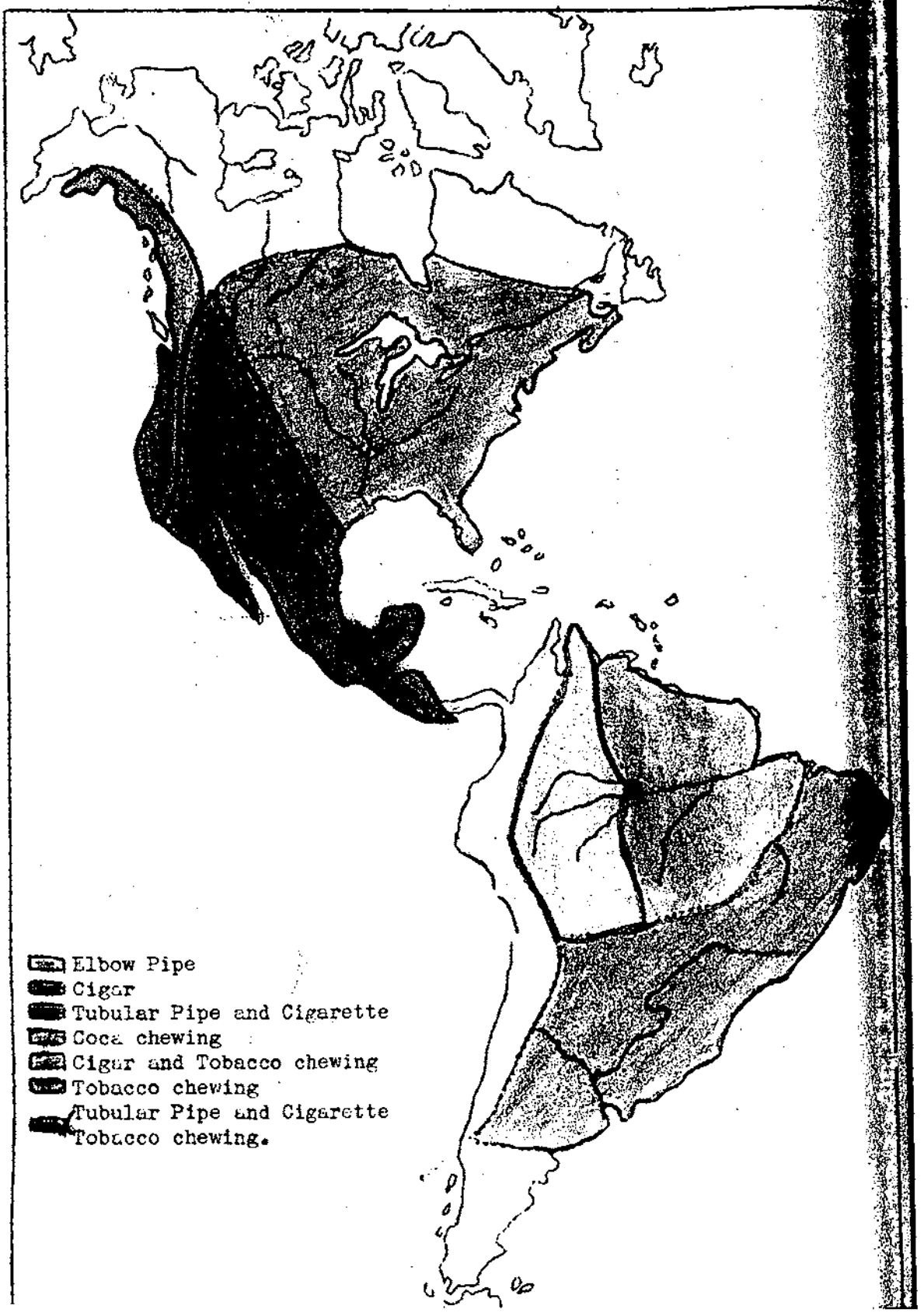
Small pouches: Women and girls carried small pouches which were heavily beaded and fringed. (Illustrated, Wissler, 1902a, Plate XL.)

Awl cases: The awls used for making holes in skins while sewing were carried in heavily beaded cases. (These are similar to the Blackfoot specimen illustrated in Wissler, 1910, Fig. 38, except the Teton ones have closing flaps.



Map No.10

THE USE OF NARCOTICS BY THE AMERICAN INDIANS.



XVI

TOBACCO, PIPES, AND SMOKING CUSTOMS

Like most other Indian tribes north of Mexico, the Teton had already acquired tobacco when they first met white men; they were pipe smokers. LeSueur in 1700 noticed the Tetons' custom of "swallowing their smoke." (Robinson, 1904, p.46). Details of the Teton smoking complex follow:

TOBACCO

Two species of tobacco appear to have been used by the Plains tribes aboriginally: Nicotiana quadrivalvus Pursh, was cultivated by the Mandan, Hidatsa, Arikara, and possibly other Missouri River tribes, and Nicotiana attenuata Torrey grew wild over the southern and central Plains and was cultivated in the north. (West, Part I, pp.63-64; Map, Part II, Plate I; Gilmore pp.113-114, illustration of quadrivalvus, Plate 27.) It is not certain whether the Teton themselves ever raised tobacco.

Smoking tobacco was mixed with the inner bark of the willow (Salix nigra) and sumac leaves (Rhus trilobata). Dried laurel (Kalmia latifolia) and the bark of the ironwood (Carpinus caroliniana) were substituted for tobacco when that article was scarce. (West, p.107; Maximilian, Vol. 22, p.313; Parkman, p.240.) The term "kinnikinnick" was applied not only to tobacco but also to the mixtures and substitutes. (West, p.32). White traders at an early period began to offer tobacco in bartering with the Indians and it became a very popular medium of exchange.

PIPES

Mr. G.A. West places the Teton in the region which he terms the "Plains Pipe Area" in which the simple elbow pipe and calumet were used. (West, Part II, Maps 12, 14, and 15.) The use of the calumet he particularly identified with the Siouan peoples west of the Great Lakes (Ibid., p.357). Maximilian termed Dakota pipes "the most beautiful of all the North American Indians." (Maximilian, Vol. 22, p.321).

Pipe bowls: The favorite material for Teton pipe bowls was catlinite, a soft claystone named after George Catlin, who first brought it to the attention of mineralogists. It was taken from the famous quarry in southwestern Minnesota near the present town of Pipestone. Here the outcrop of catlinite occurs in a broad, shallow valley, the pipestone-bearing stratum being only from 10 to 20 inches in thickness but nearly a mile long. Indian use of the quarry is believed to date back to relatively recent prehistoric times. According to tradition the site was a neutral ground where warring tribes obtained pipestone together and in

peace; but in the 19th century the Dakota claimed sole right to the quarry. It is noteworthy that the site is located in the region occupied by the Teton in 1700 and by the Eastern Dakota in later times. (For detailed descriptions and illustrations of the quarry, see Catlin, 1876, Vol. 2, pp.160-187 and Plate 270; and Holmes' illustrated account.)

Catlinite is soft and could be finely worked with stone tools. Catlin describes the drilling of the bowl:

> "...the Indian makes the hole in the bowl of the pipe, by drilling into it a hard stick, shaped to the desired size, with a quantity of sharp sand and water kept constantly in the hole, subjecting him therefore to a very great labour and the necessity of much patience." (Catlin, Vol. I, p.234).

Some pipe bowls were carefully carved into life forms, and in later years many were tastefully inlaid with pieces of metal.

Pipe stems: The broad, flat pipe stem was made of ash wood (Fraxinus pennsylvanica Marsh) (Gilmore, p.108). Catlin describes the drilling of the stem hole:

> "...the stems are uniformly made of the stalk of the young ash, which generally grows straight, and has a small pith through the centre, which is easily burned out with a hot wire or a piece of hard wood, by a much slower process." (Catlin, Vol. I, p.235).

Pipe stems were decorated with tufts of dyed horsehair and wound with strips of dyed porcupine quills. (Maximilian, Vol. 22, p.322). The sacred calumet bore feathers and other decorations. It should be noted that the stem, not the bowl, was considered the sacred part of the Siouan calumet (West, p.128).

(For illustrations of Dakota pipes, see Catlin, 1876, Vol. I, Plate 98; West, Part II, Plates 178 ff; and McGuire, 1897.)

WHITE INFLUENCE ON PIPES

White traders manufactured catlinite pipes for sale to Indians or to white souvenir hunters. Burnett estimated that in 1892 not one per cent of the pipes then being made were of Indian manufacture (Holmes, p.264).

The long, detachable stem of stone was developed for the tourist

trade in the latter half of the 19th century (West, p.248).

OTHER SMOKING EQUIPMENT

The elaborate pipe-and-tobacco bags used by the Dakota, as well as the strike-a-light pouches in which the flint and steel for lighting purposes were carried, have been described in the section Work in Hides.

SMOKING CUSTOMS

Smoking was either a recreation or a sacred act for the Teton, depending upon circumstances. Catlin remarked that the Indians were excessive smokers and that some of them "would seem to be smoking half their lives." (Catlin, Vol. I, p.234). The smoke was generally inhaled (Maximilian, Vol. 22, p.313). It was the custom for the host to offer the pipe to his visitors. In social smoking the pipe passed from right to left, but in the medicine smoke of reconciliation it passed from left to right around the circle (Parkman, p.233).

Catlin mentions the use of the sacred calumet:

> "The calumet...is a sacred pipe, and never allowed to be used on any other occasion than that of peace making....
>
> "The mode of solemnizing is by passing the sacred stem to each chief, who draws one breath of smoke only through it, thereby passing the most inviolable pledge that they can possibly give, for the keeping the peace. This sacred pipe is then carefully folded up, and stowed away in the chief's lodge, until a similar occasion calls it out to be used in a similar manner." (Catlin, Vol. I, p.235).

(See also Lewis and Clark, Vol. I, p.167; Denig, p.446 ff; Mooney, 1896, pp.1062-1064; and Densmore, p.102, and Plate 14, describing the use of the pipe in the Sun Dance of the Teton.)

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XVII

DECORATIVE ART

In the old days, the Plains Indians decorated many of their functional articles with painted, quilled, or beaded designs, using both decorative geometric and life forms. The Teton excelled in these arts.

PAINTING

Painting is probably the oldest of the Plains decorative techniques. Many examples of Teton art possess a striking quality attained by composition of simple elements in line and color. Geometric painting was the work of women, whereas men usually painted life forms.

The painter's "canvas": The native painter's "canvas" was usually an animal hide -- buffalo, deer, elk, antelope, or horse in the early days, and later, the domesticated cow. The many articles made of hide by the Teton--robes, tipi covers, parfleches and other hide containers, tipi linings, shields, shirts, drum heads, and so on -- were frequently painted with brightly colored abstract designs or life forms.

Paints: The colors used in painting on hides were principally earth pigments. Shades of brown, red, and yellow, found in the form of ferruginous clays, were commonly employed. Red paint was sometimes made by treating yellow ocherous substance with heat, while earth and charcoal were sources of black. There is doubt as to the Tetons' possession of blue or green pigments before their association with white men. Commercial colors were introduced at an early date. Mallery listed the trade colors employed by the Plains Indians about 1880: "Vermilion, red lead, chromate of lead (yellow), Prussian blue, chrome green, ivory black, and lamp black, Chinese white, and oxide of zinc. All these are in the form of powder or in crude masses." (Mallery, 1886, p.221). In the mid-nineteenth century the primary colors, red, yellow, and blue, were preferred, with green next in order. (See Mallery, 1893, pp.220-221; Densmore, p.116; Orchard, 1916, p.11.)

Preparation of colors: Paints were ground to a powder in shallow stone mortars and mixed for application with a thin, gluey substance obtained by boiling hide scrapings or the tail of a beaver (Mallery, 1893, p.221). This substance served to make the colors adhere to the skin surface and also increased the luminosity of the paint. In some instances the color was simply combined with water, and the boiled mixture applied as an overcoat to set the paint.

Color containers: Unmixed paints were kept in skin bags when not in use. During the process of painting, hollow stones or a tortoise shell served as a palette (Standing Bear, 1931, p.126).

Brushes: The Tetons' "brushes" were made of bone, horn, or wood. A favorite material was the spongy, porous section of the buffalo's leg bone. One edge of such a tool was sometimes pointed for making fine lines, while the side was commonly used for spreading color over larger surfaces. Sharp, pointed pieces of willow or cottonwood, or mountain sheep horn also served for outlining forms. The wooden pieces were sometimes chewed to make a loose, fibrous brush. Mallery mentioned the use of tufts of antelope hair tied to a stick in approximation of a true hair paint brush (Mallery, 1893, p. 221). A separate brush was employed for each color. Thin pieces of bone with a sharp edge, or sharp-pointed sticks, were used for outlining forms on the hide in preparation for painting. Standing Bear mentions the use of a sort of ruler for making straight lines (Standing Bear, 1931, p.126).

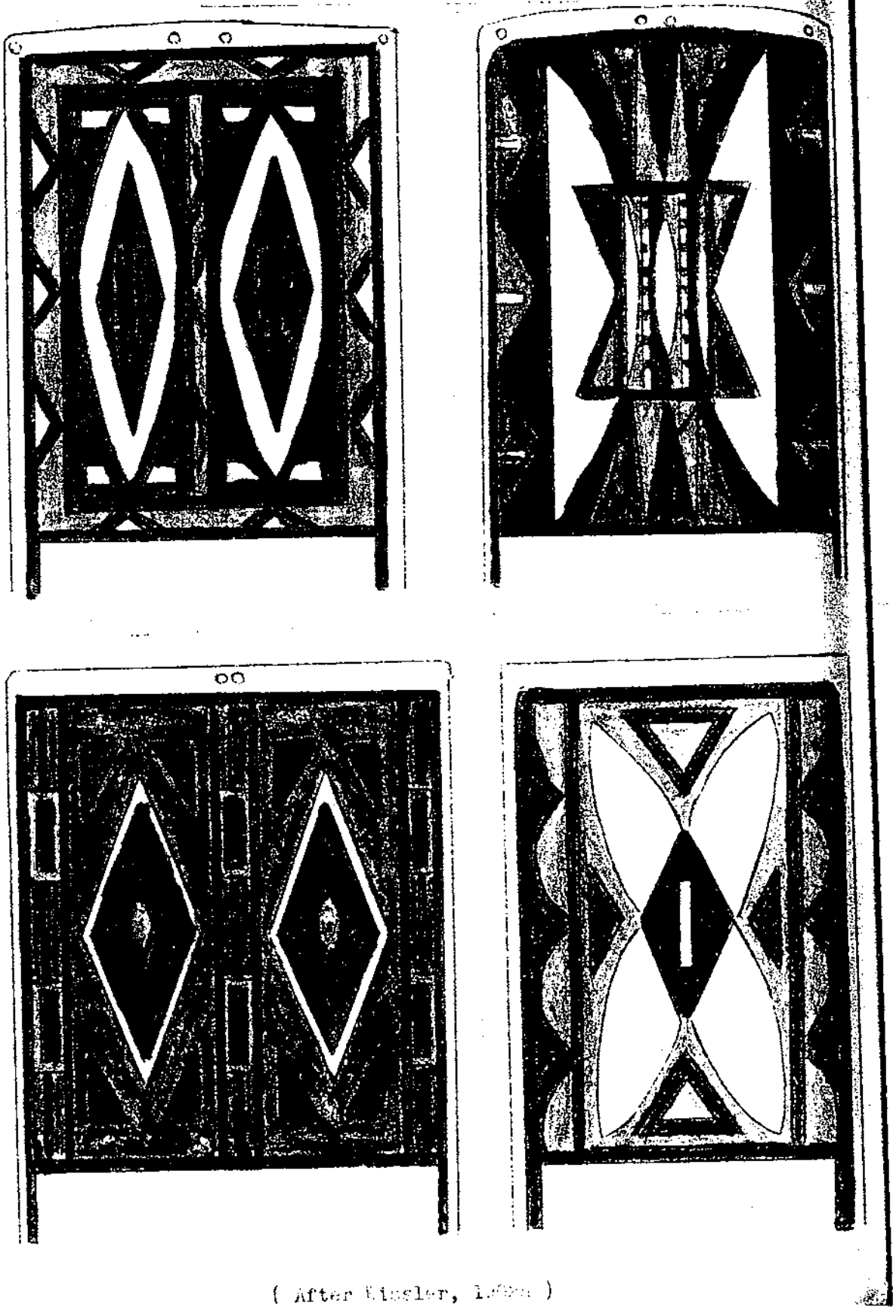
Technique of painting: The hide was stretched out on the ground and the artist knelt or crouched over it on his knees or haunches. Sometimes in the case of representative painting, more than one artist worked on a single hide. Geometric patterns were first pressed into the hide with a wooden or bone piece, and paint was applied over them; finally glue sizing was put on over the paint as a fixative. On robes of geometrical design, colorless glue sizing was often applied around blocks of color. Its lavish use on hides as an outline for painted forms set the colors off and produced very striking contrasts. This use of sizing is never found on hides decorated only with life forms. (See also Standing Bear, 1931, pp.126-127.)

Decorative style: While representative -- that is, life -- forms were similar in style, whether painted on robes, tipi covers, shields, or shirts, the pattern of geometric design was adjusted to fit the form of the article to be decorated. Thus, for example, the same patterns were not used on both robes and parfleches.

Representative style: Teton representative painting depicts human and animal figures, usually in profile, in flat color, and without background. The warrior's desire to represent his principal war deeds on his buffalo robe or tipi cover accounts for the predominance of the figures of horse and man on these objects. Counting coup on the enemy and horse stealing were favorite subjects. In spite of its importance in Teton culture, the buffalo was rarely painted. Realism seemed but slight incentive to the Teton painter. His figures at best were decorative rather than realistic, and his choice of color was motivated by aesthetic rather than realistic considerations. A blue, green, or purple horse, for example, is unknown in nature, but it is not at all uncommon in Teton painting.

Figures were usually drawn in outline and filled in with solid colors. Favorite outline colors were brown and black; blue was less

Plate No.9A
DAKOTA PARFLECHE DESIGNS



(After Wissler, 1[illegible])

commonly used. Complex problems of perspective were avoided by representing figures in side view profile; consequently, figures in front or threequarters view are rare. Action, too, was stylized: horses in action generally have both fore legs extending frontward and both hind legs rearward.

Through the years there was a development of forms from rather crude types of horse and human figures in the early years of the 19th century to a well drawn, highly stylized type of representation common among the Teton in the second half of the century. It does not appear that this development was due to White influence; nor is that influence indicated in the choice of subject matter. Subjects remained the same from the early years of the century until after the Teton were confined on reservations.

(An excellent example of a robe painted with life forms is illustrated in color in Hall, 1926a; see also Krieger, 1930, and Watter, 1927.)

GEOMETRIC PATTERNS

Robes: Two patterns of Siouan geometric painting on robes are common in museum collections: a woman's robe pattern (illustrated in Maximilian's Atlas, Plate 42, and Wissler, 1902a, Fig. 83; also Densmore, Plate 5); and a man's (illustrated in Maximilian's Atlas, Plate 50, and Wissler, 1902a, Plate XLVI). Both these patterns were already well developed in 1834 and continued to be painted in early reservation days on hides of the domesticated cow.

Parfleches: The rectangular flaps of parfleches were painted with geometric decorations made up of simple elements produced by a continuous subdivision of the area, the design always maintaining at least a bilateral symmetry on the long dimension and, in most cases, a quadrilateral symmetry on both long and short axes. (See example, Plate 9a, this paper. See also drawings of parfleche designs in Spier, 1931, and Wissler, 1902a.)

Tipi covers: The earliest mention of Western Dakota painted tipis (as well as painted buffalo robes) dates from the Lewis and Clark Expedition in 1804 (Lewis and Clark, Vol. 1, p.128). Details of painted tipi decorations are, however, scarce. It seems from observations of several tipi models, and the illustrations of painted tipis in Dorsey (1894), that horizontal, banded areas of color were used near the base and top of the tipi, the central portion being reserved for cult symbols or the record of the tipi owner's war deeds. (See also Standing Bear, 1931, pp.127-128.)

Tipi linings: The single painted tipi lining of Sioux origin seen by the writer bore representative figures rather than geometric decorations. It was painted by Pretty Hawk in 1864 and portrays his deeds of bravery.

Shields: The circular form of the shield, and the fact that it was carried in a set position, influenced painters to consider the shield as a circular, decorative field lending itself to the grouping of figures about a central point or to a bilaterally symmetrical composition divided on the vertical axis. Teton shield paintings were sometimes entirely geometric (See Wissler, 1907, Figs. 2, 7, and 9), but these protective shield decorations more often included mythical or real animals. (See Wissler, 1907, Figs. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8 and Plates V and VII.)

Paintings on introduced materials: The white man introduced additional materials on which paintings were sometimes made in the late years of the 19th century. The canvas tipis and tipi linings which replaced those of buffalo hide continued to be thus ornamented. War deeds were sometimes painted on separate pieces of the same fabric. (Some of these are illustrated in Densmore.) During this period, army officers and other white visitors sometimes collected on paper or in little note-books samples of native drawings and paintings.

QUILLWORK

Another decorative technique of the Teton, aboriginal in origin, was that of porcupine-quill embroidery. This technique also was not peculiar to the Teton, or even to the Plains tribes. It was almost universal throughout Canada and the United States east of the Rockies.

The quills: Porcupine hunting was man's work. One method was to trace a porcupine up a tree by means of the marks of gnawed bark and dislodge it with bow and arrow or gun. Another method was to dig the porcupine out of its burrow. The animal was wrapped in a soft-tanned skin to prevent its escape.

The quills were sometimes plucked from the living animals; in any case, this operation was performed before removing the skin. Four sizes of quills were recognized and graded: (1) the largest and coarsest were from the tail, and were used in broad masses of embroidery, where a large surface was to be covered, or for wrappings for club handles, pipe-stems and fringes; (2) the next size was from the back; (3) a still smaller size was from the neck; (4) the finest were from the belly, and were used in the most delicate line work. After grading, the various sizes were kept in separate containers made

from the bladder of an elk or a buffalo. The hair was singed off and the animal cooked for eating after the quills had been extracted (Orchard, 1916, p.6).

The colors: The quills were dyed by boiling them with selected plant materials. Orchard obtained the following information on the sources of aboriginal colors: for red, the buffalo berry was preferred; for black, wild grapes; for yellow, the wild sunflower and the cone flower. Blue was unknown to the Dakota in early days.

The white trader introduced aniline dyes which soon replaced the native dye stuffs listed above (Orchard, 1916, pp.6-9).

Equipment used in quillwork: Quills were kept in pouches of elk- or buffalo-bladder. A bone marker was used for tracing the designs on the leather surface to be quilled. Awls of bone or metal served for making holes in the leather, while sinew strands fastened the quills to the leather. A knife was employed to cut the quills. Quill flatteners of bone or antler were sometimes used, but the embroiderer probably more often flattened the quills by simply holding one end between the teeth and drawing the thumbnail, pressed tightly, lengthwise of the quill. (Orchard, 1916, pp.9-10; illustrations of Sioux quill worker's equipment, Plates IV and V.)

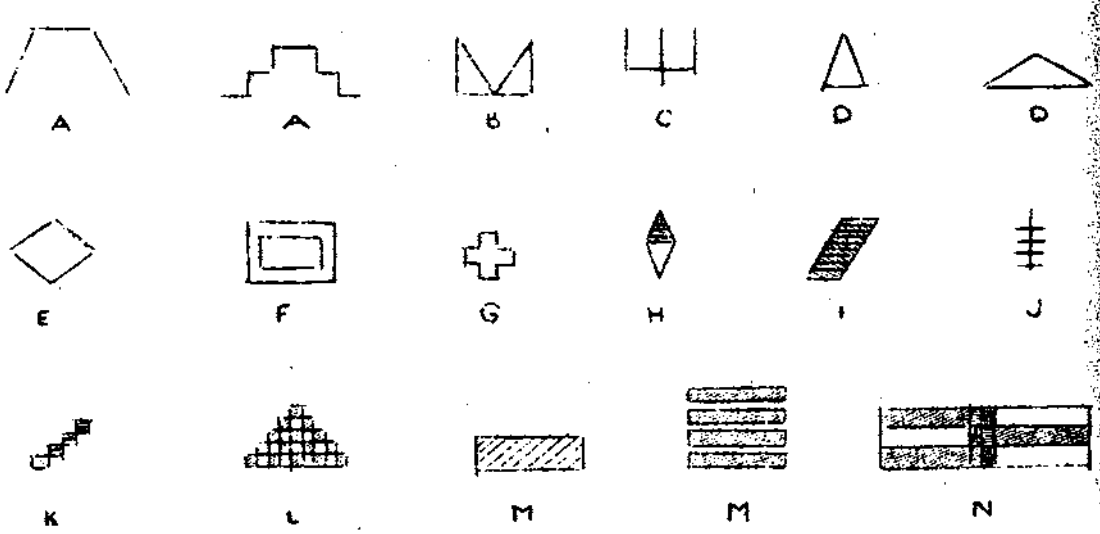
Sinew from the back of the deer or buffalo was used for thread. It was moistened, one end twisted between the thumb and forefinger, and then allowed to dry. The point thus made would easily follow an awl-hole in the leather (Orchard, 1916, p.11).

Quillwork techniques: The types of stitches used, methods of splicing quills, of embroidering, wrapping, and so on, are described by Orchard (1916, pp.11 ff.), with numerous line illustrations. Wissler and Orchard found that two techniques were primarily used on the Sioux specimens in the American Museum: a plaiting technique, used on flat surfaces (Wissler, 1910, Fig. 19 and p.62), and a wrapping technique, used on fringes, bands, and lacings (Ibid., Fig. 20, and p.62. There are illustrations of a Cheyenne woman working on a moccasin --opp. p.160-- and using a smoother on quills-- opp. p.64-- in Grinnell, 1924, Vol.I.)

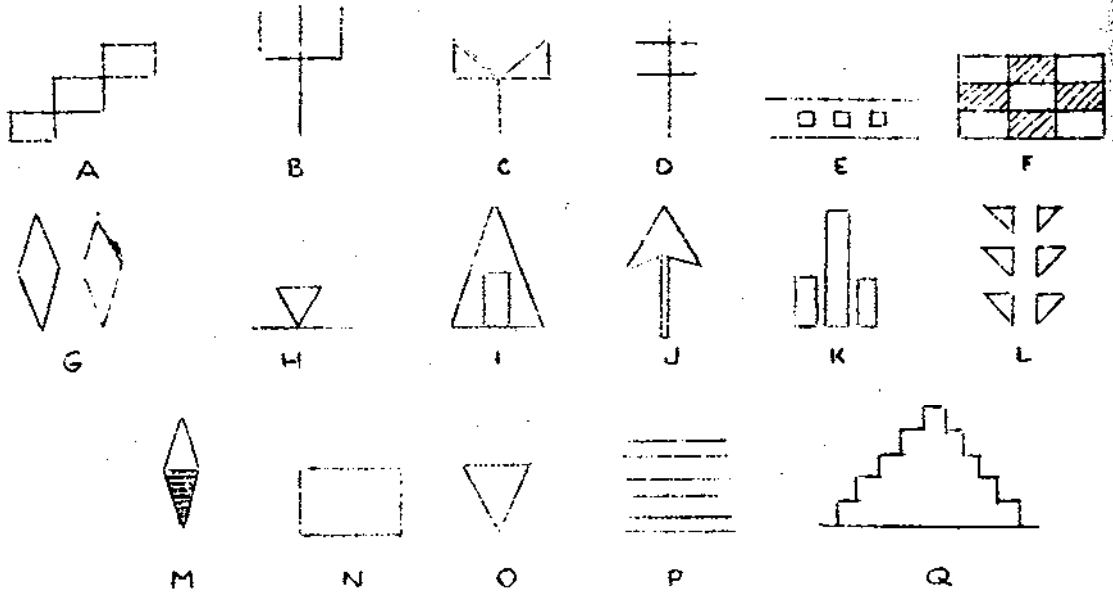
Materials quilled: Quillwork was done by the women. They applied such embroidery to flat surfaces or, as already indicated, wrapped the quills about fringes, bands, and lacings. In either case the foundation surface was leather.

Two excellent examples of Teton quillwork are illustrated in full color in Sydow, Plate XIX. One is a cradle, the other a tobacco pouch.

Plate No. 9B
DESIGNS USED IN BEAD AND QUILL EMBROIDERY



Plains Indian Bead and Quill Designs
(After Kroeber, 1903, fig.1)



Dakota Beadwork Designs

(After Wissler 1902., fig. 71)

Other materials quilled, together with references to illustrations of specimens reproduced in line or halftone, are mentioned in the following sources:

Moccasins: Orchard, 1916, Plate VIII; Wissler, 1902a, Plates 38, 39, 54. - Robes: Orchard, 1916, Plate VIII; Wissler, 1902a, Fig. 81. - Pipe stems: Orchard, 1916, Plate XVI. - Saddle blankets: Wissler, 1902a, Fig. 78. - Soft bags: Wissler, 1902a, Fig. 77; Wissler, 1927b, Fig.27. - Pipe-and-tobacco-bags: Wissler, 1902a, Plate 55. - Cradles: Wissler, 1902a, Fig. 79. - Men's shirts: Krieger, 1928, Plate 29; Wissler, 1902a, Plate 53.

Design motives in quillwork: See general discussion of quillwork and beadwork below; also, Plate 9 b.

BEADWORK

Beadwork among the Teton must not be considered as a wholly independent decorative technique --the glass beads introduced by fur traders merely supplanted porcupine quills. The materials embroidered, and to a considerable extent the techniques and designs, remained the same as for quillwork. As the 19th century passed, quill embroidery began to disappear and beaded designs remained. The ease with which beads could be secured and the simplicity of applying them were in their favor. As a result, quillwork virtually disappeared in the late 19th century, whereas some beadwork is done for the tourist trade even today.

Beads: Beads are among the oldest articles used by white men in trade with the Indians. Those made in Venice were favored by early traders, but American-made beads were soon available. It is of interest to note that one of the oldest factories in America was established at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1622, for the manufacture of glass beads for the Indian trade.

The most common type of bead used in embroidery by the Teton was the small "seed" bead, a flattened globular piece ranging in size from about one-sixteenth to one-eighth inch in diameter.

There was an almost unlimited range in colors, but bright red, blue, yellow, green, and opaque white were preferred (Orchard, 1929, pp.82-85).

Equipment used in beadwork: The beads were originally strung on a piece of sinew --later, on white man's thread --and sewed down to the skin --later cloth-material through holes made by an awl or a metal needle.

Beadwork techniques: Orchard distinguishes two fundamental techniques of applying bead embroidery: (1) the "overlaid" or "spot" stitch, by which the threaded beads, laid in the desired position, are sewed to the material by an overlaid stitch between each two or three beads (described and illustrated in Orchard, 1929, pp.128-129); and (2) the "lazy" stitch, by which beads are applied in a series of bands of transverse strings of beads, usually about 10 to 12 beads in each line (described and illustrated in Orchard, 1929, p.129). Both of these stitches were used by the Teton.

Materials beaded: The foundations were, for the most part, the same as those to which quilled decorations were earlier applied. References to photographs of bead-worked specimens follow:

Moccasins: Wissler, 1902a, Plates 38, 39, 52, 54. - Women's and girls' dresses: Wissler, 1902a, Plates 44 and 45. - Women's small pouches: Wissler, 1902a, Plate 40. - Strike-a-light pouches: Wissler, 1902a, Plate 41. - Pipe- and-tobacco bags: Wissler, 1902a, Plates 42, 43, 47, 48, 55, and Figs. 99, 100. - Women's leggings: Wissler, 1902, Plate 51. - Men's vests: Wissler, 1902a, Plate 56. - Knife cases: Wissler, 1902a, Plate 59. - Paint bags: Wissler, 1902a, Plate 50. - Navel amulets: Wissler, 1902a, Fig. 76. - Cradles: Kriegor, 1928, Plate 27.

DESIGNS IN QUILLWORK AND BEADWORK

The larger surfaces decorated with quill or bead embroidery were usually treated as monochrome backgrounds for designs made up of small, simple elements. In the beadwork of the early days the backgrounds were usually light blue; in that of the late 19th century and the present century these backgrounds have generally been white.

Professor Kroeber has portrayed the most common Plains design elements used in quill and bead embroidery (Kroeber, 1908, Fig. 1; reprinted in Wissler, 1927b, Fig. 46). Of these the Sioux used most frequently those indicated on the cut as c, d, e, f, g, and h. Elements a and b were less commonly used, while i, j, k, l, m, and n were generally lacking in Sioux embroidery (Kroeber, 1908, pp.153-154. See also Plate No. 9b, this paper.)

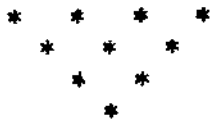
Wissler has portrayed the most common elements in Sioux beadwork (Wissler, 1902a, Fig. 71. Reproduced in this paper, Plate No. 9b).

For further information on Sioux embroidery in quills and beads, see: Wissler, 1902a (general); Wissler, 1916 (use on articles of cloth-

ing); Wissler, 1927a (moccasin decoration); Wissler, 1931a (general beadwork); Lyford; Boas, 1927 (general); Krieger, 1930 (general).

SYMBOLISM

It was a common custom for Sioux workers in quill and bead embroidery to give names to their design elements. These names must not be interpreted as meaning that the individual designs were intended to be conventionalizations of those forms in nature that have the same names. Actually, the same form of design was sometimes given various names by different individuals, and different individuals sometimes gave the same name to quite different forms. There was, therefore, no tribal system of symbolism for abstract forms in decorative art. (See Wissler, 1902a, and Boas, 1928.)



XVIII

GAMES AND AMUSEMENTS

The Teton Dakota did not want for pleasant ways of passing their leisure hours - they played games, told stories, sang, and danced.

GAMES

A considerable number of games of skill or chance for persons of all ages and both sexes were known to the Teton. Dorsey describes over fifty children's games alone (Dorsey, 1891). An exhibit showing how several games were played would interest the museum visitor. Five typical Teton games, with respective illustrated references to their rules and equipment, are given herewith:

The Dice Game: (Culin, pp.179-182).
The Moccasin Guessing Game: (Culin, pp.364-365).
The Hoop-and-Pole Game: (Culin, pp.503-508).
Shinny: (Culin, pp.637-639).
Archery: (Culin, pp.391-393, gives details).

Descriptions of other Teton games may be found in Culin, Meeker, Walker (1905), and Dorsey (1891).

FOLK LORE

The Teton possessed a large body of myths and legends handed down by word of mouth from generation to generation. Many of these were animal tales dealing with real or imaginary creatures and explaining the origin of natural phenomena. Such tales were not peculiar to the Teton. Many were shared with surrounding tribes, and some were widely distributed throughout North America. The relating of these stories was a pleasant pastime, and it was a duty of the elders to keep the legends alive. (See Dorsey, 1889c, and Wissler, 1905 and 1907a.)

MUSIC AND DANCING

Music was made by singing, with rattle, whistle, drum, or flute. Many songs were suited to particular occasions. There were songs for war or the hunt, for love-making, healing the sick, mourning the dead, for ceremonies, games, or dances. (See Densmore's Teton Sioux Music.)

Rattles: Densmore illustrates and describes three types of rattle: (1) a gourd (Plate 32); (2) a rawhide receptacle (Plate 45); (3) dew claws (Plate 46). The second type is mentioned and illustrated by Catlin. It was of rawhide, with pebbles inside (Catlin, Vol. 1, p.242, and Plate

101½, Fig. d).

Whistles: Densmore illustrates a number of bone whistles which had different uses (Figs. 21, 23, 30, 39, and Plates 18 and 61). Catlin mentioned a war whistle having two notes, one for battle, the other to sound retreat (Catlin, Vol. 1, p.242, and Plate 101½, Fig. h).

Drums: Drums were of the single-headed, tambourine type, with rawhide cover, (beaten with a kind of rattle), or the taller keg type, with two rawhide heads. (Catlin, Vol. 1, p.242, Plate 101½, Fig. e). Densmore illustrates a single-headed drum and stick (Plates 38 and 39).

Flute: Catlin mentions the use of a "flute", blown at the end and fingered on holes, of which there were from three to six in the side (Catlin, Vol. 1, p.243, and Plate 101½, Fig. g).

Dances: The Teton had a number of social dances in the early years of the present century; most of them, however, proved to have been derived from other tribes within the memory of natives then living (These dances are described by Densmore, pp.468-482, with illustrations, and Wissler, 1916, p. 75 ff). Nevertheless, social dancing was an old Teton custom. Lewis and Clark mentioned the dancing of Teton whom they visited in 1804 (Lewis and Clark, Vol. 1, pp.130,169), and Catlin described the dancing of the Western Dakota in the 1830's (Catlin, Vol. 1, pp.244-246).

For museum purposes, some of the special dances would be more impressive: for example, the great Sun Dance, the Beggar's Dance, the Bear Dance, or the Scalp Dance. (For the Sun Dance, see section on "Religion," this paper.)

The Bear Dance: This event occurred on several successive days before a party set out on a bear hunt. The chief medicine man wore an entire bear skin, other dancers wore bear-head masks, and all imitated the animal's actions. (Catlin, Vol. 1, p.244, Plate 102).

The Beggar's Dance: This was given by the young men of the tribe to solicit contributions for the needy. The dance, as noted by Catlin in the 1830's, is described by him in Vol. 1, p.245; and illustrated in Plate 103. It was still practiced in 1931. (See also Densmore, pp.481-482, and Mekeel, 1936, p.12.)

The Scalp Dance: Dancing by torch light, the participants celebrated a victory in war by brandishing their weapons and boasting of their prowess. Several young women stood in the center of the circle with enemies' scalps raised on poles, while the warriors distorted their faces, shouted, and jumped simultaneously on both feet. (Catlin, Vol. 1, p.245, and Plate 104).

XIX

LANGUAGE AND COMMUNICATION OF IDEAS

The Plains Indians lacked a written language, but their methods of communicating ideas were nevertheless many and varied, and by no means limited to oral conversation. Their use of the sign language, picture writing, and a variety of methods of signaling with objects are subjects which can well be graphically interpreted .

Oral language: The Siouan language, a dialect of which was used by the Teton, was spoken by a considerable number of the Plains tribes (Assiniboine, Crow, Dakota, Hidatsa, Iowa, Kansa, Mandan, Missouri, Omaha, Osage, Oto, and Ponca). The dialectic differences within the language were considerable, however, and, from the point of view of practical communication, most important. The Teton could converse with the other Dakota groups and to some extent with the Assiniboine, for instance. However, the differences between Teton and Crow were too great to make practical conversation possible. There were nevertheless many individuals in neighboring tribes who could speak the Teton dialect to some extent. Clark has stated: "To such an extent is the language used in the intercommunication by tribes that it may be considered the court language of the Northern nations." (Clark, p.343; Wissler, 1927b, pp.139-143; Boas, 1911).

The sign language: A sign language consisting of certain formalized manual gestures was used by the Teton and the Plains Indians generally for communication between groups speaking different languages, and between members of the same tribe, and for communicating at a great distance or under conditions where the sound of the voice was undesirable. This medium was useful to white traders in communicating with many tribes of Indians. Stansbury mentions a conversation carried on entirely with signs between Bridger and some Oglala near Fort Laramie in 1849. The communication lasted more than an hour, with complete understanding on both sides (Stansbury, p.254).

Mallery (1881) compiled a dictionary of Plains Indian signs, descriptions of signs used for tribal names, sample conversations, and so forth, illustrated with many line cuts. (See also W. P. Clark.)

Picture writing: The Teton, like other Plains tribes, conveyed ideas by means of pictures painted on hide. Two principal varieties of these pictures may be mentioned: (1) The winter count, in which a calendar record of the years was kept in terms of pictures, each one symbolizing a significant event of one winter. Such pictorial calendars seem to have been limited to the Dakota and Kiowa tribes. (See description and illustrations in Mallery, 1877, 1886, and 1893; Mooney, 1898.) (2) Pictures painted on robes or tipi covers symbolized the brave deeds of the warrior who wore the robe or occupied the tipi. In the early days the forms used were simply suggestive rather than realistic. The style of this pictorial shorthand was well understood by members of the tribe, so

they could interpret the number and importance of the accomplishments by observing the pictures (See Mallery, 1886 and 1893).

Signaling with objects: It was customary to convey knowledge to those at a distance by means of signals. Some of these are described below:

(1) Smoke signals could be seen from a distance of 20 to 50 miles. A small fire was built, over which green grass or weeds were placed to smother the fire and create a dense smoke. The robe or blanket was spread over the pile to confine the smoke, then, by rapidly displacing the blanket, the operator could regulate the discharge of a column of smoke in such a manner to convey different meanings to his distant allies. (See G.A. Custer, pp.187, 217; and Mallery, 1881, pp.536-537.)

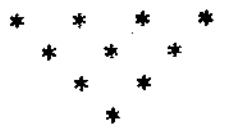
(2) Blanket signals were given by the scouts on buffalo hunts to indicate to the main party that buffalo had been sighted. There were also other blanket signals. (See Mallery, 1881, p.532 ff, and illustration, Fig. 337.)

(3) Horse signals were used to convey to distant companions the discovery of game or enemies. The horse was rapidly ridden back and forth or in a circle. (See Mallery, 1881, pp.533-534, and illustration, Fig. 338.)

(4) Mirror signals were used by the Sioux on bright days. (Mallery, 1881, p.536.)

(5) Dust signals, made by throwing handfuls of dust in the air, were used to signify the discovery of an enemy or game. (Mallery, 1881, p.541.)

Feathers as symbols of achievement: By the number and position of feathers in the hair of a warrior, the number and kind of brave deeds were told. (See section on "Warfare".)



XX

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The political and social organization of the various Teton Dakota groups were not identical in detail; nor are these subjects susceptible to facile interpretation in museum exhibits. Nevertheless, the technician or artist employed in planning and preparing items interpreting Teton culture should have a general idea of these subjects.

Political Relations Between the Dakota Tribes: The Dakota recognized as "The Seven Council Fires," the primary divisions, Mdewakanton, Wahpeton, Wahpekute, Sisseton, Yankton, Yanktonai, and Teton. These divisions were politically independent, but did not make war on one another. At one time they camped together, the four eastern groups in four concentric circles, with Yankton, Yanktonai, and Teton arranged likewise in three. Dorsey believed these seven divisions represented seven original Dakota gentes (See Dorsey, 1889a, 1889b, and 1897).

Relations between the Teton groups: Dorsey believed the seven Teton groups to be developed from the original Teton gens. Each of these in turn developed gentes, and some of the latter sub-gentes (Dorsey, 1889b). There was no central Teton government. Each of the seven groups had its camp circle, with each gens its location in the circle, the number of gentes differing with each group (See Dorsey, 1897, pp.219-221, for diagrams of camp circles of several groups).

Government: The details of Teton government are available only for a few Oglala sub-groups. Wissler describes the organization of one of these sub-groups as it existed in reservation days. This may be briefly summarized:

The Chiefs' Society was composed of the majority of the efficient men of 40 years and older. It elected its own members and also:

The Seven Chiefs, who held office for life. The position was often hereditary inasmuch as it was customary for a son or relative of a former chief to be elected to the office. The chiefs delegated their powers to:

The Four "Shirt-Wearers," or councilors, who also served for life, but could resign at any time. They might or might not be members of the Chiefs' Society, but the seven chiefs themselves were not eligible to this position. On investment with office the incumbents were given a special hair-fringed shirt; hence the name "Shirt-Wearers." They were supreme councilors and executives, charged with caring for the general welfare of the group.

The Four Wakicun were officers elected by the Seven Chiefs - often assisted by the Four Shirt-Wearers and the whole Chiefs' Society -

to organize and control the camp. They held office for one year, though usually two or three were re-elected at the spring encampment. The Wakicun appointed two orderlies, a herald, and:

Two Head Akicita. These last in turn selected two others to serve with them as heads of the camp police organization. Jointly they selected eight or ten men to act as:

Akicita, the camp police or marshals, whose duties were to keep order in the camp, oversee the buffalo hunt, prevent murder, or punish murderers. They served one year.

The organization thus provided for a series of permanent officers and a series of temporary officers chosen for a yearly period by the permanent group. It is possible that the office of chief is of post-White origin, and that the original government was vested in the Wakicun.

The democracy of the system is apparent. Parkman was impressed with the limited power of the chiefs and the authority of the "soldiers" (Akicita), who "could venture without risk to their lives to strike or lay hands upon the meanest of their people." (Parkman, pp.136, 235). Lewis and Clark mention the Teton "soldiers" in 1804 (Vol. 1, pp.168, 171).

For details of political organization, see Wissler, 1912, pp.7-12. On 20th-century changes in political organization on Pine Ridge Reservation, see Mekeel, 1932.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND RELATIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT

Government relations with the Teton were based upon the theory that the chiefs were the important native officers who could decide matters of policy, make treaties, and cede land, for their people as if they were unlimited despots. This, of course, was not the case, and misunderstandings and broken treaties resulted in the second half of the 19th century.

Social Organization: The Teton had the gens type of organization; that is, descent was reckoned in the male line. Picturesque aspects of Teton society that might conceivably be objectified in a museum are the sororate and mother-in-law avoidance.

For further details on social organization, see Walker, 1914; and Spier, 1925b.

XXI

THE LIFE CYCLE

A brief summary of the important events or periods in the life of the Teton Dakota man and woman from birth to death is given below:

BIRTH

The wife usually, if convenient, went to reside with her family for the birth of her baby. Her women relatives attended her in childbirth. The event was announced in the village by a crier, and the father often gave away a horse to celebrate it (Standing Bear, 1933, pp.11, 117-119).

INFANCY

The baby was placed in a cradle which was carried on the mother's back or securely set up on end while she was occupied with her various tasks. In moving camp, it could be placed on the travois.

Standing Bear mentions the naming ceremony which took place a few days after a child's birth, and the ceremony of piercing the baby's ears that was held during the Sun Dance period. On both these occasions the father might give away horses (Standing Bear, 1933, pp.11-12).

CHILDHOOD

The child was taught manners and morals by its father and mother, learning early the Teton virtues of courage, industry, and generosity. As a boy grew older he learned to make and use the bow and arrow, to ride skillfully and to hunt. On approaching adolescence, he was taken on a war party to assist with the menial tasks and to learn the arts of war. The girl was taught to dress skins, make clothes, prepare food, care for the tipi, and to perform the many other women's tasks. (See Standing Bear, 1931, for an account of his own Oglala boyhood, written with simple charm.)

THE HUNKA CEREMONY

The most important event in the life of the Dakota child was the Hunka Ceremony, by which he or she acquired an older person for a personal helper and guardian. Standing Bear was nine years old when this ceremony was performed for him, and his father gave horses away in honor of the occasion. (Standing Bear, 1933, pp.27-32, and Densmore, pp.68-77, describe the ceremony in detail. The latter has illustrations.)

COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE

The Teton beau was shy and reticent, speaking to the girl of his choice from under his blanket in moments when she might be somewhat apart from others. Elopements were sometimes resorted to but were generally frowned upon - it was better that the couple go at once to the family of the young man. There were neither ceremony nor vows, and only mutual consent formed the basis of the marriage.

Divorce was a simple matter for either party, but it was not common. The marriage could be dissolved by mutual consent if the wife was quarrelsome with her husband's relatives, lazy or unfaithful; or if the husband was cruel, unfaithful or cowardly.

Good providers might have several wives - often sisters - who lived together in the same tipi, or had separate tipis. The demands of the fur trade for many hands to dress the hunter's skins encouraged polygamy in the late 18th and early 19th centuries.

For details of courtship and marriage customs of the Teton, see Standing Bear, 1933, pp.98-117.

DEATH AND BURIAL

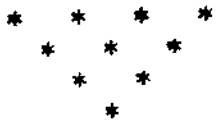
The dead were usually placed in trees, on a scaffold, or buried on a high hill. The individuals, according to Maximilian, expressed their choice "...whether they will be buried, or be placed on a stage, or in a tree." (Maximilian, Vol. 22, p.327. See also illustrations of methods of burial in Bushnell, 1927; and Maximilian's Atlas, Plate 44.) Culbertson implies that the aged were commonly abandoned on the prairie (p.113), and Stansbury mentions finding, laid out on the ground inside tipis, bodies of individuals who had died in 1849 of the cholera. It appears that their relatives, fearing the disease, had left them without the usual burial (Stansbury, p.43).

The dead warrior's favorite horse was killed, and his arms, clothing, pipe, or other personal effects were placed near the deceased (Dorsey, 1889c, p.144; Brackett, p.470).

It was the custom for a man to mourn the loss of a dear one by giving away possessions. Sometimes a man gave away everything he owned, leaving himself utterly poverty-stricken. This custom is still observed by the Teton in the White Clay District on Pine Ridge Reservation (Mekeel, 1936, p.12).

Brackett describes Teton mourning customs as observed at Red Cloud Agency in 1876:

> "(The man), for many days holds no communication with anyone, but sits bowed down with grief, and alone. He bears his sorrow in silence. The squaws, on the other hand, howl and make the most dismal sounds, tearing their hair, and gashing their bodies with knives. I have seen some Indians who even cut off the joints of their fingers in the excess of their grief. When Red Dog's son died in March, 1872, he sat beside the body the whole day, naked, with his flesh cut and slashed, and blood running from every wound." (Brackett, p.470).



XXII

MEN'S SOCIETIES

Among the Teton there were a number of men's societies which, if the analogy is not carried too far, may be compared to the modern white man's lodges or fraternal organizations. It was the purpose of all the societies to enhance the social and fraternal relations of the members, and to perform certain charitable acts.

That such societies are of some antiquity among the Teton is attested by Lewis and Clark's mention of their existence in 1804 (Lewis and Clark, Vol. 1, p.130).

The Teton societies differed from those of some of the neighboring Plains tribes, however, in that they were not age-graded organizations; that a man could belong to several at the same time; and that there were no corresponding women's organizations.

Wissler, from his investigations among the Oglala on Pine Ridge Reservation, believed he obtained information on all the men's societies in existence among the Oglala during the preceding 100 years (Wissler, 1912). He divides the Oglala societies into three groups:

(1) The Akicita Societies: These were made up of able-bodied young men who might be called into akicita service. A society as a body might be given this honor (See "Akicita" in section on "Political Organization", this paper). The akicita societies referred to by Wissler are: Kit Fox Society (pp.14-23); Crow Owners (pp.23-25); Braves (pp.23-31); Badgers (pp.31-32); Sotka (pp.33-34); Wic'iska (pp.34-36);

(2) The Headmen's Societies; made up for the most part of older men who did not perform akicita service, were: The Chiefs' Society (pp.36-41); Ska Yuha (p.41); Miwatni (pp. 41-48); Omaha (pp.48-52);

(3) The War Societies; made up of able-bodied warriors who vied with one another for war honors, were: Dog (pp.52-54); Blotaunka (pp.54-61); Sotka Tanka (pp.61-62).

Each of the men's societies had its own songs, dances, paraphernalia, and ceremonies.

Wissler lists the following common characteristics of the Oglala men's societies:

(1) All were assumed to have originated in mystic experiences of shamans, as a result of which certain medicine attributes were associated with various rituals.

(2) All had from two to four leaders of equal rank, supported by a definite number of officers or councilors.

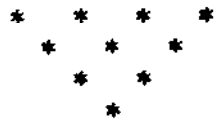
(3) With one or two possible exceptions, all selected their members in secret meetings.

(4) No women were admitted, except a few to assist in the singing.

(5) All were independent in that membership in one was not a stepping stone to any other society.

(6) Age qualifications were similar, except that boys and very young men rarely were taken into the Chiefs' or Ska Yuha organizations (Wissler, 1912, pp.62-63).

Densmore gives some descriptions of the men's societies she found among the Teton on Standing Rock Reservation. She mentions the Fox, Crow Owners, Strong Heart (Wissler's "Braves"), Badger, and Miwantani organizations (See Densmore, pp.311-328, which include a number of illustrations of society paraphernalia).



XXIII

MEDICINE AND CURING

The Teton Dakota had a number of home remedies to relieve their aches and pains and cure their minor ailments. They also were experts at curing wounds, but when faced with a very serious therapeutic problem, they called upon the medicine man.

For abdominal pains: The flowers and leaves of the horsemint were boiled together to make a drink (Gilmore, p.111).

For cold in the head: The dried root of the purple mallow having been comminuted and fried, the smoke was inhaled (Gilmore, p.103).

For colic and dysentery: A concoction of leaves of the Parosela aurea was taken (Gilmore, p.94).

For constipation: The bark of the root of the Kentucky coffee-tree was dried and mixed with water, pulverized, and used as a rectal injection. It was said to be an infallible remedy (Gilmore, p.89).

For consumption: The root of Psoralea tenuiflora Pursh was boiled with other roots (Gilmore, p.93).

For cough: The rootstock of the calamus (Acorus calamus L.), was chewed (Gilmore, p.70).

For fever: A decoction of the above plant was drunk, or the root of the wild four o'clock was boiled to make a drink (Gilmore, pp.70-78).

For intestinal pains: The fruits of wild hops were steeped to make a drink (Gilmore, p.77).

For irregular menstruation: The little wild sage plant was taken internally in the form of a decoction (Gilmore, p.134).

For stomach ache: The leaves of the wild verbena were boiled to make a drink (Gilmore, p.111).

For toothache: The roots of the wild licorice or calamus were chewed (Gilmore, pp.70, 92).

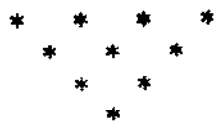
Maximilian remarked: "...the Sioux do not understand the treatment of diseases, but generally cure wounds very well...." (Vol. 22, p.327). The natives were helpless against such scourges as the smallpox, venereal diseases, and cholera, brought into the Plains by the Whites. In reservation days tuberculosis developed and could not be checked by native means.

MEDICINE MEN

Medicine men became such as the result of dreams in which they received instructions on the treatment of specific ailments. Each man treated only the illness for which his dream gave the remedies; many therefore were specialists.

The sick were treated by the use of sacred stones, by conjuring, or administering herbs. A man might use more than one method, but he was best known for the one he used most.

For descriptions of the work of Teton medicine men, see Densmore, pp.208-283. This source includes portraits of medicine men and illustrations of sacred stones (Plates 29 and 30); a medicine man's rattle (Plate 32); medicine bags (Plates 33, 34, 35, and 36); a splint and matted deer hair used in treating fractures (Plate 37); medicine man's drum and drumstick (Plates 38 and 39); and a necklace worn when treating the sick (Plate 41).



XXIV

RELIGION

The popular notion that the Plains Indians worshipped a Great Spirit corresponding closely to our conception of a God is erroneous. Nevertheless, the Dakota recognized certain supernatural powers.

> "The Dakota use a term 'wakan tanka' which seems to mean, the greatest sacred ones. The term has often been rendered as the great mystery, but this is not quite correct. It is true that anything strange and mysterious is pronounced wakan, or as having attributes analogous to wakan tanka; but this seems to mean supernatural. The fact is, as demonstrated by Dr. J. R. Walker, that the Dakota do recognize a kind of hierarchy in which the Sun stands first, or as one of the wakan tanka. Of almost equal rank is the Sky, the Earth, and the Rock. Next in order is another group of four, the Moon (female), Winged-one, Wind, and the 'Mediator' (female). Then come inferior beings, the buffalo, bear, the four winds, and the whirlwind; then come four classes or groups of beings and so on in almost bewildering complexity. So far as we know, no other Plains tribe has worked out quite so complex a conception...." (Wissler, 1927b, p.110.)

These concepts are, of course, difficult of museum interpretation. More susceptible to such treatment are the vision quest, cult ceremonies, and the great annual tribal ceremony, the Sun Dance.

THE VISION QUEST

Each Teton male had his individual guardian spirit or supernatural helper, who he believed conferred great power on him and protected him from harm. The youth, after he had received instructions from the shaman, went alone in quest of the spirit to some secluded spot on a hill, or on the prairie where he could fast and pray until the identity of his guardian spirit was made known to him in a dream. This spirit often took the form of some animal of known or imaginary species. He returned from such a quest with one or more songs, special taboos to be observed, and the designation of some object of convenient size to be carried and used by him as a personal charm or medicine bundle (Wissler, 1927b, pp.111-112; Densmore, pp.157 ff; Dorsey, 1889c, p.155; Dorsey, 1894, p.475).

DREAM CULTS

Dream cults were societies made up of groups of men who in their

dreams had seen the same animal. For admission to a cult the dream must conform to a certain formula (explained in Wissler, 1912, p.81). The individual having such a dream returned to the village to make a feast, sent a herald to invite all those who had had similar dreams, and they went through the ceremonies prescribed by custom for their particular cult. Each cult had its own songs, dances, paraphernalia, and ceremonial procedure.

For further information on the individual cult customs, refer to sources given below. Wissler (1912) describes in more or less detail those of the Oglala.

> Heyoka (pp.82-85); Elk (pp.85-88); Bear (pp.88-90); Black-tail Deer (p.90); Wolf (pp.90-91); Buffalo (pp.91-92); Berdache (p.92); Double-Women (pp.92-94); Dream-Pairing (pp.94-95); Mountain Sheep (p.95); Rabbit (p.95); Horse (pp.95-98); Woman's Medicine (pp.98-99); Mescal (p.99); Dog (p.99).

Densmore describes three cults of the Teton on Standing Rock Reservation: Buffalo (p.285); Elk (p.293); Horse (p.298). A shield used in the ceremonies of the Buffalo Cult is illustrated in Plate 43.

THE SUN DANCE

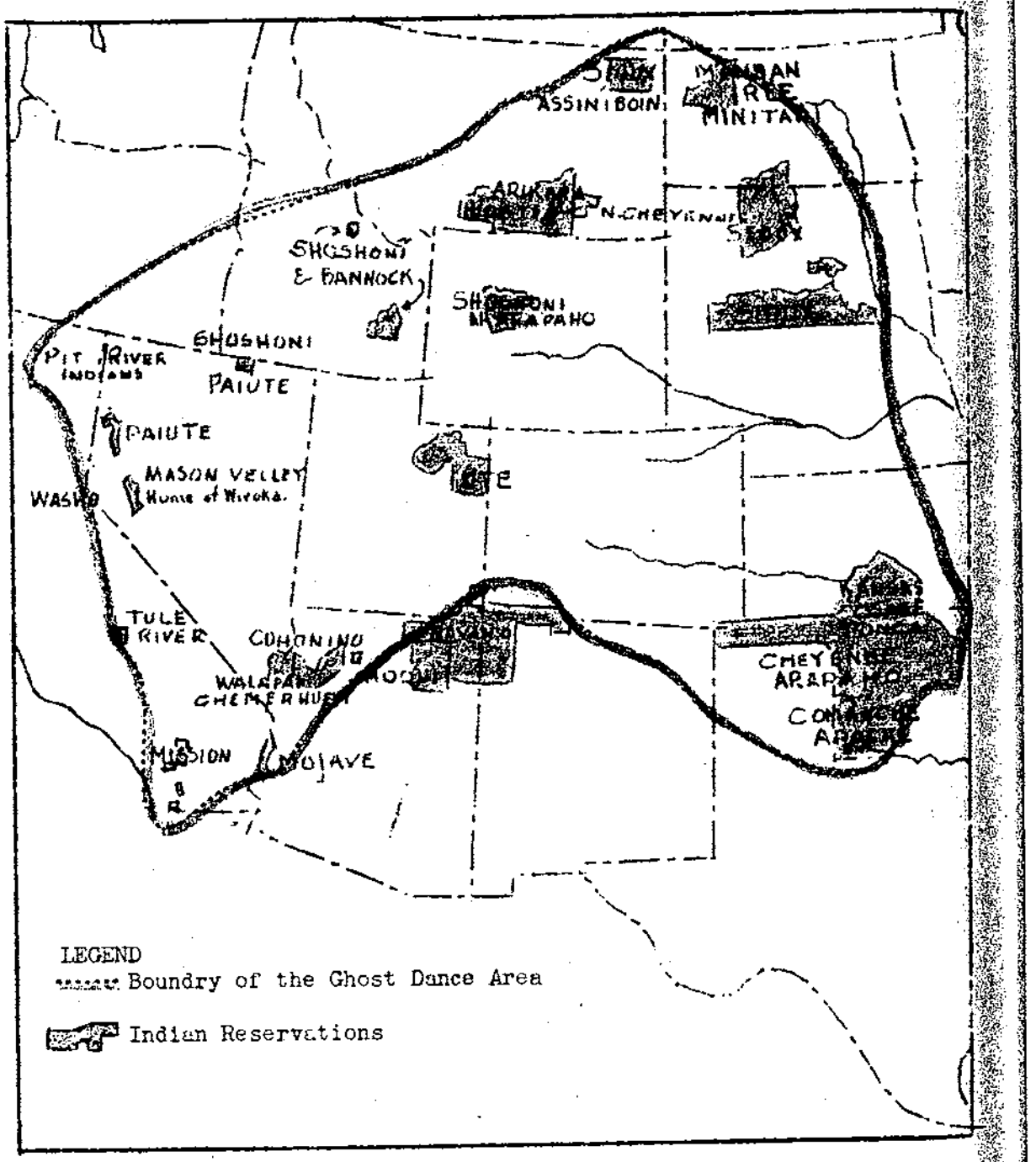
The Sun Dance was the only tribal gathering of a religious nature. It was held each year at the full moon of midsummer. Each year it was held at a different place, bands gathering to form a camp circle in the center of which the dance lodge was to be erected. Each band had its sweat lodge and large tipi in which the participants assembled before and after the ceremony.

For four days before the Sun Dance began there were careful preparations and rehearsals of the parts individuals were to play in the ceremony. The men's societies met together to elect the Intercessor (who offered prayers on behalf of the people, performed certain ceremonial acts, painted the sacred pole, and prepared the sacred place), the Leader of the Dancers, the four young men who were to select the sacred center pole of the dance lodge, and the four young women who were to cut it down.

An important, highly formalized procedure were the selection of the sacred center pole (usually a cottonwood tree), the cutting of the tree and bringing it into camp, its preparation and erection in the center of the camp circle. Rigid regulations were followed and the dance lodge was constructed with meticulous care.

Map No. 1

DIFFUSION OF THE GHOST DANCE
RELIGION OF 1890.



Participants in the Sun Dance were principally those men who had at some time during the preceding year vowed to take a definite part in the ceremony. This part might consist simply of dancing, with bodies specially painted and clothed in the customary garb, or it might extend to one or more forms of exceedingly painful, self-inflicted torture. The dance lasted two days.

It is not necessary here to go into the multitude of details concerning the Sun Dance. They are well described in Densmore (pp.98-151, including many illustrations of paraphernalia); Walker (1917); Fletcher (1883); Dorsey (1894), with illustrations). A fine photograph of the torture feature appears in Wellman, p.133. A comparative discussion of the Plains Indian Sun Dance appears in Spier, 1921. No illustrations or models showing Sun Dance activities should be attempted until the technician in charge has made a careful study of these sources.

The last Teton Sun Dance was held in the summer of 1881. It had been for some years strongly opposed by missionaries and Government offials prior to its discontinuance.

THE GHOST DANCE

The Teton heard of the doctrine expounded by Wovoka, the Paviotso Indian originator of the so-called Ghost Dance, in 1889. They sent a delegation to Nevada to learn more of his ideas and these men returned to encourage the practice of the dance with its accompanying beliefs among the Sioux. According to Wovoka's doctrine, the Indians, by dancing and observing the formalized ritual of the Ghost Dance, could cause the Whites to disappear and the Indians to be restored to their old way of life, reunited with their departed friends in a country filled with buffalo. Among the Teton the excitement of this new doctrine, aggravated by local grievances, led, in the winter of 1890-91, to an outbreak the principal events of which were the killing of Sitting Bull and the massacre at Wounded Knee.

For a complete account of the Ghost Dance, with particular emphasis on its relation to the Sioux outbreak, see Mooney (1896). This source contains many fine illustrations of the dance, paraphernalia worn, and the affair at Wounded Knee. (See Map No. 14, this paper, for distribution of the Ghost Dance.)

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS AMONG THE TETON

Very little progress toward Christianizing the Teton was made prior to their settlement on reservations. The noted Protestant missionary to

the Eastern Dakota, Stephen R. Riggs, visited Fort Pierre in 1840, preached a sermon, talked with some of the Teton, and recommended that a mission be established in their country. But it was not until thirty-three years later that his own son, Thomas L. Riggs, was able to found the first permanent mission among the Teton (Robinson, 1904, pp.195-197). The Catholic missionaries Ravoux and DeSmet also visited the Teton in the 1840's but established no permanent missions.

The Reports of the Commissioner of Indians Affairs indicate how slowly the work of missionaries progressed among the Teton. In 1875 there were sixteen missionaries on the Teton reservation, and in the years that followed churches were built, more missionaries arrived, and schools were set up. But by 1900 the figures on church membership, when compared with those on the total population, showed that only a small part of the Teton had become Christians.

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XXV

PERIODS IN TETON HISTORY

The history of the Teton Dakota may be divided into four principal periods, some of which overlap in years. A brief summary of the characteristics of each period is given below:

THE PREHISTORIC PERIOD: TO 1680

At the time of first White contact, the Teton were leaving the timbered country to the east for the broad prairies. Authorities believe that this movement resulted in significant cultural changes for the Teton. While living in the timbered country their diet probably had consisted largely of wild rice, berries, fish, and timber game. They traveled to a considerable extent by canoe, and lived in homes with foundations of poles and covered with earth, matting or bark. On the prairies they became more accustomed to a diet consisting largely of buffalo beef and prairie plant foods, traveled almost entirely by land, using the travois for loads, and made their homes in skin-covered tipis (Robinson, 1904, p.29). In the prehistoric period they had no iron tools, and made use of the stone-tipped lance or arrow (See section on "The Origin of the Teton", this paper).

PERIOD OF LIMITED WHITE CONTACT: 1680-1841

Father Hennepin met some of the Teton in 1680, but the first record giving any details of their culture is that of LeSueur, who in 1700 found that they did not then use canoes or gather wild rice; that they lived in lodges of buffalo skin which they carried about with them; that they were experts with bow and arrow, being able to kill ducks on the wing; that they swallowed their smoke or blew it out through the nose; and that they practiced polygamy (Robinson, 1904, p.46).

The recorded history of the Teton in the 18th century is very meager. We do know that during this period they acquired the horse (sometime prior to 1742) and moved westward into South Dakota to the valley of the James River and finally to the Missouri Valley. The brothers La Verendrye may have met some of them on the east side of the Missouri near the present town of Fairbanks, South Dakota, on April 9, 1743. By the close of this century their proper home was the Missouri Valley in South Dakota, from which they had driven the Arikara after a long period of warfare.

Toward the end of the 18th century French fur traders began to creep up the Missouri from St. Louis and to establish posts in South Dakota. Trudeau met the Teton on the east bank of the Missouri in September, 1794, at which time they were supplied with firearms and were much feared by both traders and neighboring Indians. He mentions that the Teton

hunted on both sides of the Missouri at this time (p.419). The Teton were very troublesome in the early years of the fur trade, annoying boat parties ascending the river to the Upper Missouri tribes. Lewis and Clark, who met them on both sides of the Missouri in 1804 and 1806, were very careful in their dealings with the Teton lest they arouse their enmity (See Lewis and Clark's Journals). But already Loisell had established a post in the Sioux country on the Missouri (Chittenden, p.929), and as the trade continued the Teton became more friendly toward the traders.

Chittenden lists twelve fur posts on the Missouri River in Teton territory, most of which, however, were active only for limited periods (Chittenden, pp.927-931). The most important trading post for the Teton was Fort Pierre (1831-55, three miles above the mouth of the Teton known also as Bad River). This post had succeeded Fort Tecumseh (1822-31), operated by the American Fur Company. There were many subordinate houses of this company scattered through the Sioux territory on both sides of the Missouri. Many temporary houses were built along the streams west of the Missouri toward the Black Hills, on the Cheyenne, Cherry, White, and Niobrara Rivers in particular. Little is known of these places (Chittenden, p.931).

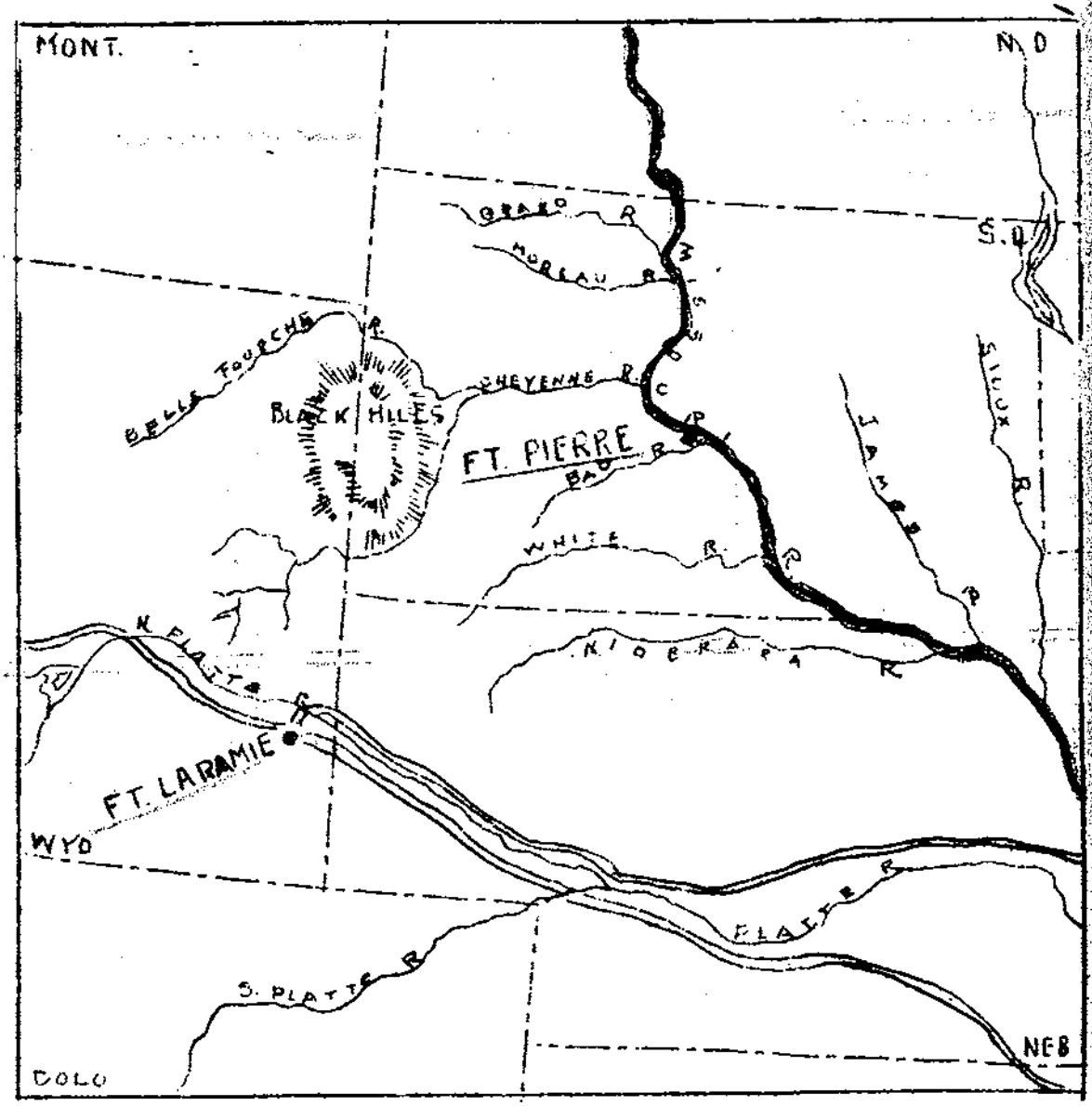
For history of Fort Pierre, see Chittenden and also Wilson. The post is described and illustrated by many white visitors to the Missouri, including Catlin, Maximilian, and Culbertson. Catlin, Plate 85, Maximilian, Plate 43, and Kurz (in Bushnell, 1922), Plate 23, illustrate the fort.

In the early years of the 19th century the valley of the Platte River became a favored route for fur traders between the Rocky Mountains and St. Louis, which city was the central shipping and outfitting point for the fur trade of the Rockies. This land route, first used by Stuart's party of returning Astorians in 1812-13, became the principal road to and from the Rocky Mountain rendezvous of the traders. In the second decade of the 19th century French fur traders were active in eastern Wyoming near the Platte River, and in 1834 the first of the complex of posts that later became known as Fort Laramie was established on Laramie River near its confluence with the North Platte. It was established for trade with the Oglala and Cheyenne (Chittenden, p.940, and Coutant). Fort Laramie was the principal post for trade with the Teton on the Platte. It remained a fur post until 1849.

For history of this fort, see Coutant, whose account has illustrations. For descriptions at various periods, see Fremont, Parkman, Stansbury, and others. The best pictures of Fort Laramie as a fur post are those made by Miller in 1837, photographs of which are in the files of the National Park Service's Western Museum Laboratories.

No. 11.

PRINCIPAL ROUTES THROUGH THE TETON COUNTRY
DURING THE FUR TRADE PERIOD.



The location of the two most important trading posts in the Teton country, Fort Pierre and Ft. Laramie are here indicated.

In the early years of the fur trade the smaller, more expensive pelts (especially beaver) were sought. Chittenden states that the Sioux were good beaver hunters (p.852). As the number of beaver began to decline, concentration on the less valuable buffalo hides followed. These hides were shipped to eastern and European markets for use as overcoats, wagon and sleigh robes, and so forth. The Sioux traffic in buffalo robes was very heavy. Chittenden rates the Sioux as the most important Indians in the western fur trade, and places the number of posts among them, large and small, in excess of one hundred (p.852).

The great period of the fur trade, about 1820-40, was the period of greatest prosperity for the Teton. In this period their native culture was enriched by the use of the horse, guns, and a variety of metal tools and utensils furnished by the white man. The Teton were free and independent, with a ready market for peltries and a bountiful supply of healthful food.

The relations between traders and the Teton were, for the most part, friendly. Many traders took wives from among the Indians and adopted to a considerable degree the clothing and habits of the natives. The Whites were too few in number to afford to take great advantage of the Indians or to treat them harshly. However, liquor was given to the Indians to facilitate trading, and insure the white man a certain advantage in the bargaining. Lewis and Clark found some Teton chiefs, in 1804, already fond of liquor. In the early days it was usually diluted with a great deal of water, but as the Indians became more accustomed to it the proportion of liquor in the mixture had to be strengthened. In 1823 the Government prohibited the use of liquor in the Indian trade, but this prohibition could not be strictly enforced. The epidemics of smallpox and cholera which swept many neighboring tribes (the smallpox epidemic of 1837 nearly exterminated the Mandan) did not greatly harm the Teton.

On the whole, the period of limited contact with Whites down to 1841 was one of the mutually profitable relations between the races during which the Teton grew in power and numbers. The buffalo were plentiful and the Teton were happy (See Robinson, 1904, p.29). Chittenden is the classic authority on the conditions of the fur trade in this region.

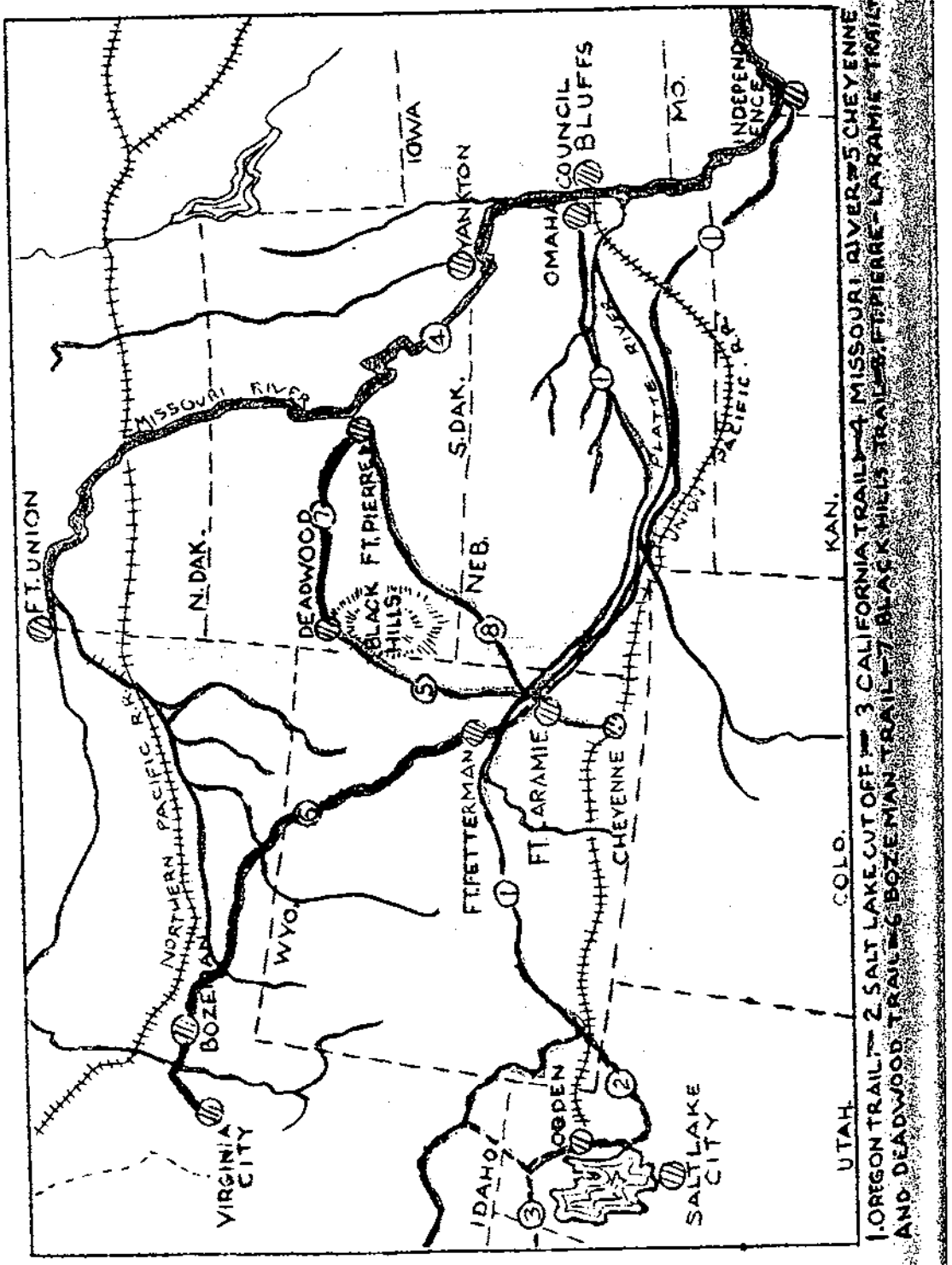
(See Map No. 11, this paper, showing principal routes of the fur traders and location of principal trading posts in the Teton country.)

PERIOD OF INDIAN-WHITE CONFLICT: 1841-1877

We have seen (in the section on "Migration of the Teton") that between 1700 and 1830 the Teton were much concerned with securing the best

Map #12

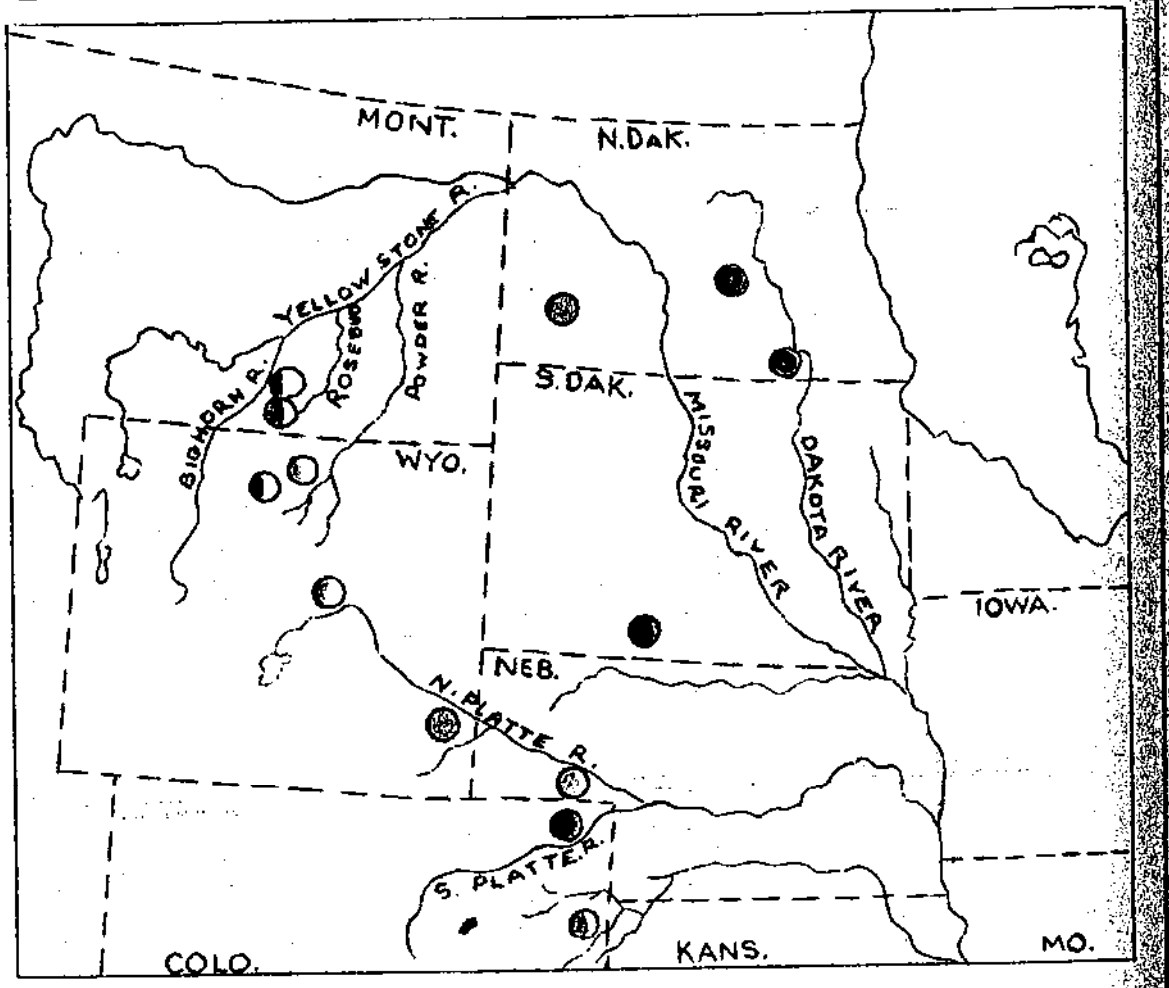
THE WHITE MAN ROADS THROUGH TETON COUNTRY



Map No. 13.

PRINCIPAL CONFLICTS BETWEEN TETON AND WHITES

1854-1890.



- GRATTAN MASSACRE, AUG.19,1854.
- ASH HOLLOW, SEPT.3,1855.
- BUFFALO LAKE, JULY 26,1863.
- WHITESTONE HILLS, SEPT.3,1863.
- KILLDEER MTN., JULY 28,1864.
- ATTACK ON JULESBURG, JAN.6,1865.
- PLATTE BRIDGE, JULY 26,1865.
- FETTERMAN MASSACRE, DEC.21,1866.
- WAGON BOX FIGHT, AUG.2,1867.
- BEECHER'S ISLAND, SEPT.17-24,1868.
- ROSEBUD, JUNE 17,1876.
- CUSTER MASSACRE, JUNE 25,1876.
- WOUNDED KNEE, DEC. 29, 1890.

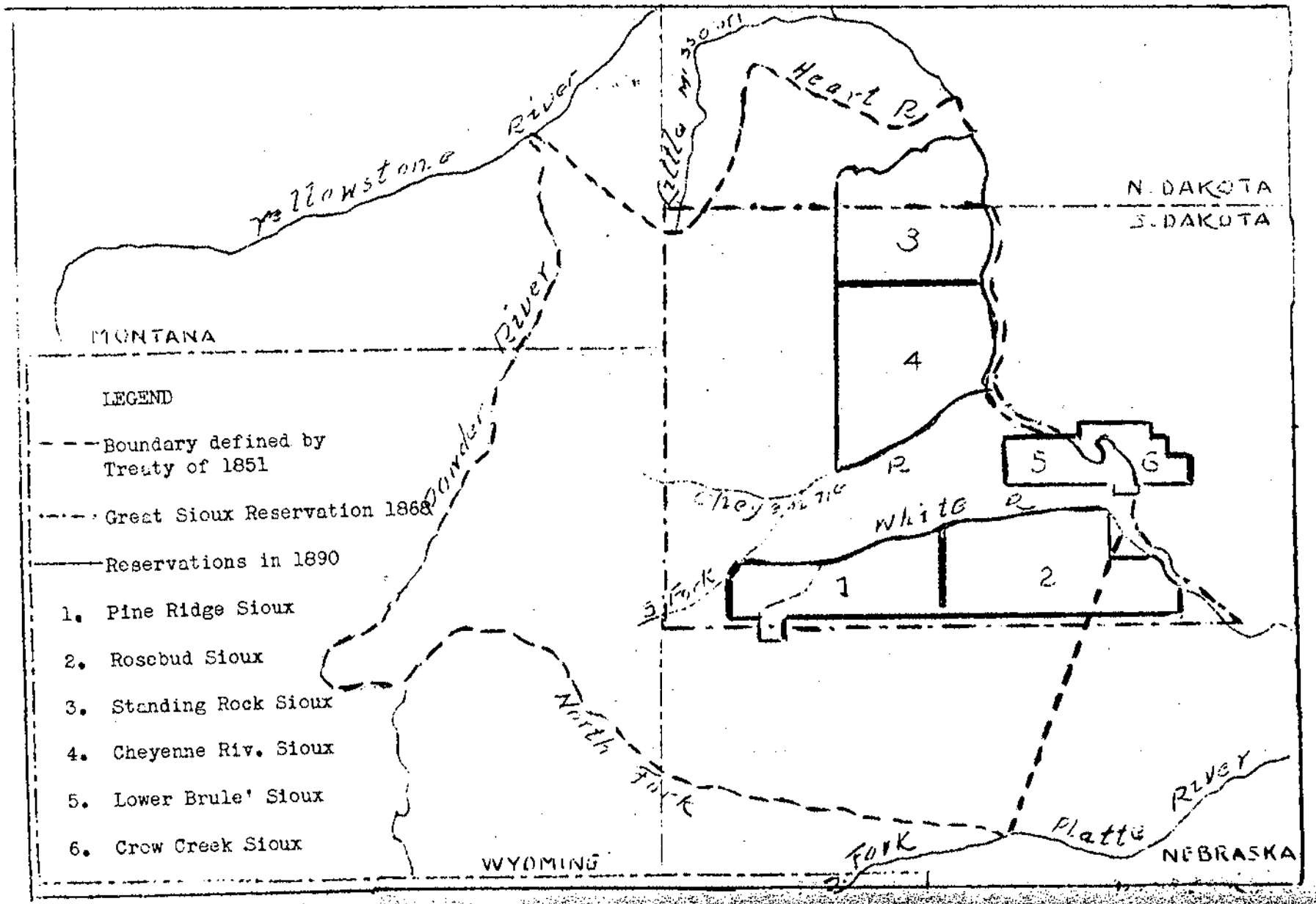
of Fort Laramie, Lieutenant Grattan and 32 men were killed in a dispute over an emigrant's cow. General Harney followed the Indians in 1855 and gained revenge by killing 86 Brule men, women, and children at Ash Hollow, Nebraska. (See Hunton, and Grinnell, 1915, pp.100 ff.)

This marked the beginning of the bloody wars between the Teton (often assisted by Cheyenne and Arapaho allies) and United States troops. The period from 1854-77 was marked by brief intervals of vicious fighting and longer ones of relative peace. The principal motive of the Teton throughout this period was the desire to protect their hunting grounds from trespass by white travelers, prospectors, soldiers, and railroad men. Prior to 1865 it was the Overland Trail traffic and the construction of the Union Pacific Railroad that roused Indian opposition; from 1865 to 1868 the Bozeman Trail, from Fort Fetterman to the Montana mines, furnished the irritation; and in the seventies the Northern Pacific Railroad survey in Montana, and the Black Hills gold rush sent the Indians on the warpath. (See Map No. 12, this paper, for principal routes of the Whites through the Teton country. Map No. 13 indicates sites of the principal armed conflicts between Teton and Whites in the period 1854-90.)

The Indians were aided by the peculiar policy adopted by the Whites. The army was compelled to make peace when the Indians asked for it, with the result that the Indians were able to come into the agencies to be fed during the hard winters, procure guns and ammunition from the Interior Department, supposedly for hunting, and then turn against the Government forces with their newly acquired weapons when the weather was again favorable. Again, it should be noted that the groups of Teton engaged at various periods differed. In the wars of the late sixties the Oglala were the principal contenders, while in the seventies, after Red Cloud, the leader in these wars, had settled down to peaceful reservation life, the Hunkpapa were most troublesome.

For details on the Indian Wars, 1854-77, in which the Teton took part see: Birge; Brady; Brininstool (1926a, 1926b); Brown and King; Coutant; Crawford; E. B. Custer (1885, 1889, 1890); G. A. Custer; DeLand (1930); Dodge (1876, 1882); Gabriel (Vol. 2); Graham; Hunton; Keim; King; Macleod; Miles; Paxson; Robinson (1904); Sabin; Seymour; Wellman; and Vestal. The most valuable sources above are underlined. (See also section on "Chronology", this paper.)

The last armed resistance of the Teton occurred in the winter of 1890-91, after all had been settled on reservations for more than a decade. This outbreak, resulting in Sitting Bull's death and the bloody conflict at Wounded Knee, properly belongs with the Ghost Dance rather than the Indian Wars in a discussion of Teton history. (See Mooney, 1896.)

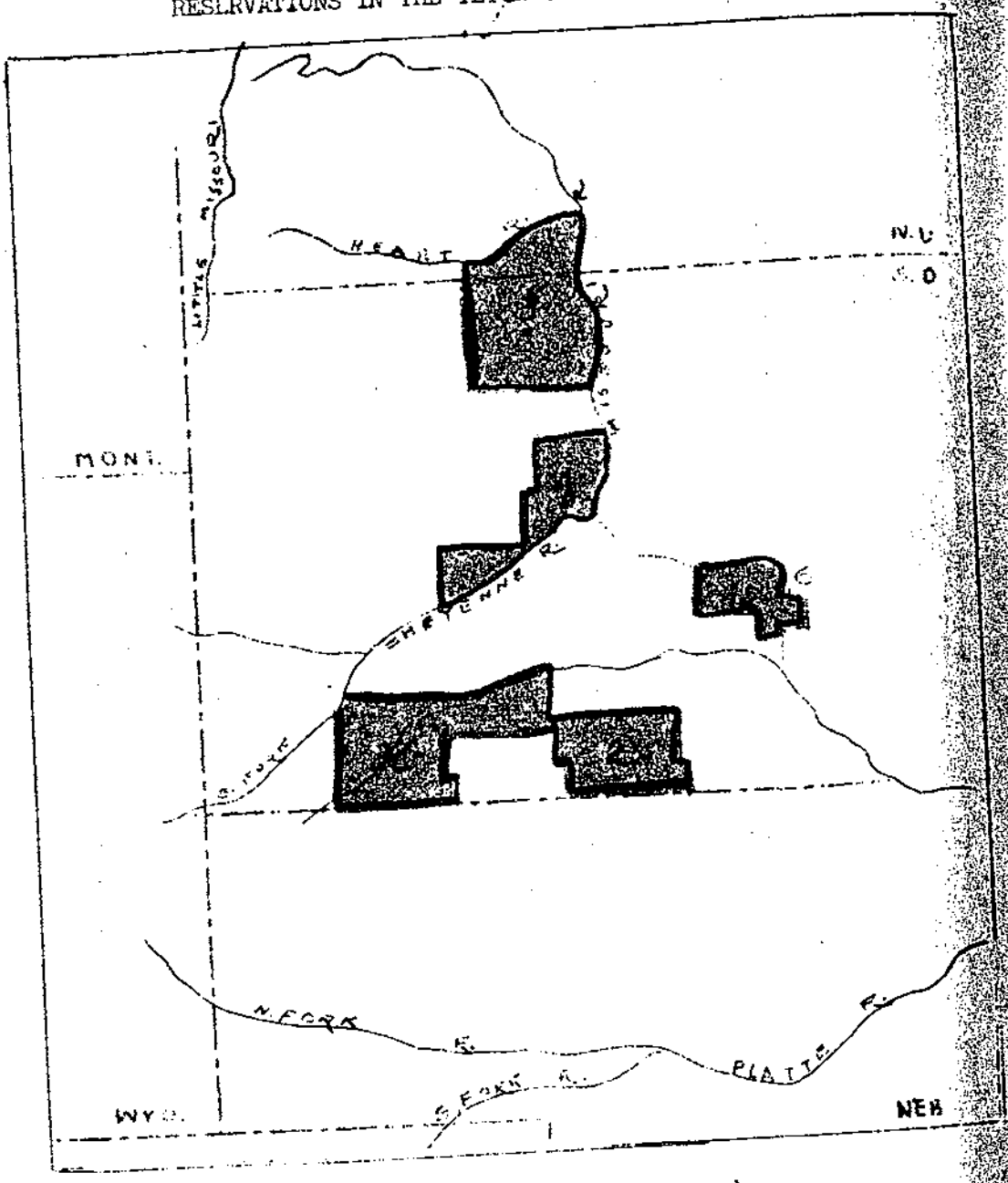


Map No. 15.

THE BREAK-UP OF THE TETON TERRITORY 1851-1890.

Map No. 16

RESERVATIONS IN THE TETON COUNTRY TODAY.



No. 1. Pine Ridge (Pop. 8,579)

No. 2. Rosebud (Pop. 6,571)

No. 3. Standing Rock (Pop. 2,132)

No. 4. Cheyenne River (Pop. 3, 421)

No. 5. Lower Brule (Pop. 607)

No. 6. Crow Creek (Pop. 965)

THE RESERVATION PERIOD: 1865 TO THE PRESENT

White men's desire for Indian land has been the principal reason for confining Indians on limited reservations in the United States. The land occupied by the Teton was not found desirable by Whites until a relatively late date - less than seventy years ago - when the cattlemen of Wyoming desired to extend their activities north of the Platte, and prospectors rushed to the Black Hills for gold.

The thousands of pioneers who passed over the Oregon Trail prior to this time evidenced no desire to settle in the Teton country. Their hearts were set on Oregon, California, or Utah. So the first treaty involving land made with the Teton in 1851 was only aimed at securing the white man's right of way through the Teton country. Again in 1868, when the great Sioux Reservation was established in western South Dakota (See Map No. 15), the Teton were permitted to retain the right to hunt in their old territory to the westward. This territory remained unceded Indian land until 1876, when, together with a considerable portion of far western South Dakota containing the Black Hills, was ceded. In 1889 a large portion of the remaining Teton country was relinquished. In 1890 the Teton were confined on five smaller reservations in South Dakota - namely Standing Rock, Cheyenne River, Lower Brule, Rosebud, and Pine Ridge. (See Map No. 15.) These reservations, with somewhat different boundaries because of minor land cessions since 1890, remain today. (See Map No. 16.)

Government attempts to civilize the Teton were intensified with their settlement on reservations. They were encouraged to adopt the white man's clothing, language, shelter, religion, education, and methods of making a living. Agriculture was suggested but soil and climate combined with the Indian's dislike of the farmer's life to make progress in this direction difficult. The old hunting economy was doomed with the virtual extermination of the bison in 1883, and the Teton became entirely dependent on the Government for the necessities of life.

The progress of the Teton on reservations has been slow, impeded by periods of maladministration, ill health, and disease (trachoma, tuberculosis, and syphilis in particular), and the Indian's dislike of farming, his unhappiness, and a defeatist attitude growing out of his parasitic existence.

The present administration, through certain sweeping reforms, is attempting to readjust conditions more nearly to suit the temper and needs of the Indians. But it is a difficult task requiring much study, patience, and time. (See Mekeel, 1932 and 1936, on modern conditions on Pine Ridge Reservation.)

XXVI

A TETON DAKOTA CHRONOLOGY: 1680-1890

1680 Father Hennepin first met some Teton on Mississippi River about 70 miles above present site of Minneapolis. Suggested neighborhood of Mille Lacs as location of Teton.

1700 LeSueur met Teton on Blue Earth River, near present Mankato, Minneapolis. He was first to mention Teton culture traits.

1722 Pachot located the Teton 80 leagues west of Falls of St. Anthony.

1742 Sometime between 1700 and this date the Teton acquired horses.

1743 La Verendrye brothers met band of the "Gens de la Fleche Collee," possibly Teton, April 9, on east bank of Missouri River at point believed to be just south of present Fairbanks, Sully Co., S. D.

1765 Indian winter count places Teton at the entrance into Black Hills at this date.

1766 Jonathan Carver met at least part of the Teton in the extreme western boundary of his journey up Minnesota River about 200 miles from its mouth.

1780 About this date the Yankton and Yanktonai, having been driven from western Iowa by Otos, settled in James River Valley, S. D., at invitation of Teton.

1792 Teton finally conquered the Arikara and gained possession of the Missouri Valley in South Dakota. Arikara forced to retreat up the Missouri to mouth of Grand River.

1794 Trudeau met Teton party on east side of Missouri River at site of Crow Creek Agency, Sept. 30. He found them well supplied with firearms.

1796 Loisel built fur-trading post on Cedar Island, between Pierre and Big Bend--first recorded post in South Dakota.

1800 Younger Alexander Henry found Teton on the upper Missouri River.

1804 Lewis and Clark met two bands of Teton at mouth of Teton River, west side of Missouri, Sept. 23. (Clark's map, reprinted in Robinson, p.71, locates Brule, Oglala, Miniconjou on the Missouri.) They gave first scientific mention of the Black Hills.

1811 Wilson P. Hunt and party of fur traders passed up Missouri River and overland westward, skirting the Black Hills on the north.

1813 Manuel Lisa made U. S. sub-agent for the Missouri River Sioux and kept the Teton friendly to American interests during the struggle with the English farther east.

1812-13 Robert Stuart and party of returning Astorians first to use the land route later known as the Oregon Trail.

1815 First Teton treaty with the United States Government, July 15, at Portage des Sioux, near mouth of Missouri River. Teton acknowledged allegiance to the United States. No land claims concerned.

1817 Joseph La Framboise built Fort Teton at site of later Fort Pierre. First continuous settlement in South Dakota.

1823 Intertribal wars: Teton and other Sioux groups against Crow, Arikara, and Mandan. Teton forced Crow westward and wrested from them the region from Missouri River to Yellowstone and Big Horn Rivers.

1825 Teton signed trade treaties with United States Government to assure traders authorized by United States a monopoly in Indian trade and thus shut out British influence. Sixteen Teton signed.

1831 The Yellowstone, first steamboat on the upper Missouri, proceeded up river to Fort Tecumseh, thus revolutionizing the Missouri River fur trade.

1831 Fort Pierre founded, three miles above mouth of Teton (Bad) River. This was most important fur-trading post in the Teton country.

1832 George Catlin visited the Teton at Fort Pierre, painted a number of portraits and scenes, and gathered materials for later publication.

1834 Maximilian and Bodmer visited Teton at Fort Pierre, gathering information for Maximilian's "Atlas".

1834 Fort Laramie founded near mouth of Laramie River, Wyoming, for trade with Oglala and Cheyenne. Most important trading post with the Teton on the Overland Trail route.

1837 Great smallpox epidemic on the upper Missouri River.

1840 Colin Campbell, in charge of Fort Pierre, estimated the Teton population at 13,000 and total Sioux population at 24,000.

1840 Reverend Stephen Riggs visited Fort Pierre and preached first sermon in South Dakota. Recommended a mission to the Teton.

1841 Beginning of large scale migration of peoples westward over the trail to Oregon and California.

1842 John C. Fremont's first western expedition via Fort Laramie.

1846 Francis Parkman followed the trail to Fort Laramie and joined a hunting party of Oglala west of Fort Laramie, making many interesting comments on Oglala culture of the period in his classic work, "The Oregon Trail."

1847 First white woman entered South Dakota via the Missouri River.

1847 First large party of Mormons followed the Overland Trail to Utah.

1849 California gold rush over the Overland Trail. (Gold had been discovered at Coloma in 1848.)

1849 Government bought Fort Laramie for a military post.

1849 Cholera epidemic on the Plains.

1849 Father De Smet spent greater part of the summer among the Oglala and Brule.

1849 Stansbury led exploring expedition westward via Overland Trail; made many interesting observations on Oglala culture.

1849 Dr. John Evans led scientific expedition into the White River Bad Lands southeast of the Black Hills; published map in 1852 showing details of the region.

1851 First Fort Laramie Treaty, by which Indian tribes along Overland Trail agreed to respect white right of way in return for annual payments. Boundaries of Western Dakota and neighboring tribes defined.

1854 Lieutenant Grattan, 30 men, a sergeant, and a corporal killed in misunderstanding over an emigrant's cow, nine miles east of Fort Laramie, by combined camp of Brule, Oglala, and Miniconjou, June 17. The soldiers were members of Company D, 4th Infantry, stationed at Fort Laramie.

1855 General Harney revenged the Grattan Massacre by defeating the Brule

at Ash Hollow, Nebraska, killing 86 men, women and children, Sept. 3. Harney's force included dragoons, artillery, and infantry.

1855 Fort Pierre purchased by the Government for military post. General Harney brought his force of 1200 men there following the Ash Hollow conflict.

1856 General Harney made a treaty with Teton at Fort Pierre by which they agreed to respect white right of travel over Oregon Trail and a trail between Fort Laramie and Fort Pierre. Treaty never ratified.

1857 Lieutenant Warren sent to make preliminary survey of the Black Hills. He was accompanied by the eminent geologist F. V. Hayden, who made first reliable study of Black Hills geology at this time. Teton objected to the expedition on grounds that it would frighten away the buffalo, but there was no bloodshed.

1862 Report on the Indians revealed that only the Yanktonai and Teton of the Dakota group were still "wild" at that date. Other Dakota groups settled on reservations.

1862 Teton refused to aid the Eastern Dakota in their Minnesota uprising.

1863 About 650 Hunkpapa and Blackfoot Teton joined the Eastern Dakota in conflicts against General Sibley at Buffalo Lake (July) and Whitestone Hills (Sept.) in North Dakota. In the fall they returned to the Black Hills to hunt buffalo.

1863 The Brule and Oglala, who had been relatively well behaved since 1856, began attacks on Overland Trail immigrants, stage passengers, and telegraph operators. These attacks increased in number and severity in 1864 and 1865.

1863 Fort Sully built on east side of Missouri River, six miles below present town of Pierre.

1864 General Sully with 2,200 men opposed combined force of Santee, Yanktonai, and some Hunkpapa, Blackfoot, Sans Arc, and Miniconjou in campaign during which the battle of Killdeer Mountains, in North Dakota, occurred, July 28. The Teton involved, again returned to the Black Hills in the fall.

1865 United Teton, Cheyenne, and Arapaho killed 18 soldiers and plundered Julesburg Stage Station, Jan. 6. Later in month completely wrecked about 75 miles of road--burning stations, ranches, capturing wagon trains, and destroying telegraph lines.

1865 The Government voted to establish a road from the Overland Trail to Bozeman, Mont., March 1. In early spring, Colonel Sawyer set out from Fort Laramie to survey the route. Red Cloud sought to dissuade him through warning, but no bloodshed occurred. Unsuccessful.

1865 About 3,000 warriors of combined Sioux-Arapaho-Cheyenne attacked Platte Bridge near present Casper, Wyoming, in late July. Soldiers succeeded in holding bridge and stockade with only eight men lost.

1865 Treaty of Fort Sully. Separate treaties with each of seven Teton bands. Agreed to peace, submission of troubles to the president, and to respect right of way of roads, in return for annuities. Terms generally misunderstood by Indians. Lower Brule at this time agreed to go on reservation near old Fort Lookout.

1866 Fetterman Massacre. Eighty-one Whites killed by combined Teton-Cheyenne-Arapaho near site of Fort Phil Kearney, Wyo., Dec. 31.

1867 Wagon Box Fight--Aug. 2--the most disastrous Indian defeat of the wars in which the Teton took part. Indian losses estimated at from 1000 to 1500.

1867 The Union Pacific Railroad was begun across Wyoming. Town of Cheyenne founded as western terminus of the road in winter of 1867-68.

1868 Beecher's Island Fight on Arikara Fork of Republican River, Colo., Sept. 17-24. Party of 51 frontiersmen, under Major Forsyth, held off large force of combined Cheyenne-Sioux-Arapaho.

1868 Second Fort Laramie Treaty ended the Red Cloud War, in November. The Government capitulated to Red Cloud's demand that road to Montana be closed and forts removed. Great Sioux Reservation established, containing all of western South Dakota, with hunting privileges farther west. Teton relinquished all claim to territory east of Missouri River.

1869-70 These were years of entire peace in the Teton country.

1870 Red Cloud visited Washington and New York in the summer, and agreed to settle near Fort Laramie on a reservation which became known as the Red Cloud Agency.

1871 Sitting Bull began to lead the Teton opposition to the Northern Pacific Railroad through country claimed by Teton on south bank of Yellowstone River, Montana.

1873 First Protestant mission to the Teton established by Reverend T. L. Riggs.

1873 Red Cloud Agency moved to White River, 80 miles northeast of Fort Laramie, near Fort Robinson.

1873 Last intertribal war in which Teton took part; conflict between Brule and Oglala war party of 1200 and Pawnee hunting party of 400 in Massacre Canyon, southwestern Nebraska. About 200 Pawnee killed.

1874 In July, Custer with 1000 men sent into Black Hills to investigate possibility of establishing an army post there for better handling of Teton problems. Indians incensed over this violation of the 1868 treaty, but no open conflict. Custer returned to Fort Abraham Lincoln on Aug. 22, to report discovery of gold in Black Hills.

1875 Treaty commission failed to gain Indian consent to cession of the Black Hills. Miners rushed on to the Hills without legal right to do so.

1876 Following General Crook's attempt to punish Indians for raiding white prospectors in the Black Hills, he met combined Teton-Cheyenne force on Rosebud River, Montana, June 17.

1876 Custer Massacre on the Little Big Horn in which 265 Whites were killed by Teton-Cheyenne-Arapaho forces.

1876 Teton ceded all claims to Black Hills and their hunting grounds farther west, Sept. 26. All Teton, except Gall's and Sitting Bull's bands, which fled to Canada, became thereby settled reservation Indians.

1881 The last Teton Sun Dance was performed.

1882 The last great buffalo hunt of the Teton was held.

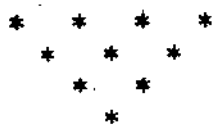
1883 The last buffalo was killed by Teton in November of this year.

1889 Great Sioux Reservation broken up and five smaller ones established by Congressional Act of March 2. The new reservations--Standing Rock, Cheyenne River, Lower Brule, Rosebud, and Pine Ridge--exist today, although some boundary changes have been made since 1889.

1889 The Teton sent a delegation to visit Wovoka, the Ghost Dance prophet in Nevada, in fall of this year. They returned to encourage

the Ghost Dance on Sioux Reservations.

1890 Messiah War on Teton reservations, growing out of Ghost **Dance** excitement and local grievances, during which Sitting Bull was killed (Dec. 15), and conflict at Wounded Knee took place (Dec. 29). Disturbance lasted into January, 1891. Was last armed conflict between Teton and Whites.



A number of strong individuals played an important part in determining the course of Teton history in the 19th century. Little information is available on the Teton leaders prior to the sixties, but the names and deeds of later leaders such as Red Cloud, Gall, Sitting Bull, Crazy Horse, and Spotted Tail are well known to students of American history. These men differed in traits of character, in abilities, and in attitude toward the Whites. Some gained recognition as warriors, some as diplomats, orators, or peacemakers. A few combined several of these abilities. Nearly all were self-made men, rising from obscurity to positions of prominence and leadership among their people through their own abilities.

The One Horn: Catlin stated that this man, a Miniconjou, was the principal chief of all the Missouri Sioux in 1832. He was renowned as a warrior and hunter, and could run down a buffalo on foot and kill it with a bow and arrow (Catlin, Vol. 1, p.211. Portrait in color, Plate 91).

Red Fish: Prominent as an Oglala chief about 1840. Met by DeSmet at Fort Pierre in 1841, in which year he had suffered a severe defeat by the Crow which cost him his leadership. (BAE-B 30, Pt. 2, p.359; DeSmet).

Whirling Bear: A Brule chief, leader of the Indians in the Grattan Massacre, Aug. 19, 1854, as result of which he was killed (BAE-B 30, Pt. 1, p.789).

Little Thunder: A Brule chief, present at the Grattan Massacre; assumed command after death of Whirling Bear; took part in battle of Ash Hollow in 1855; died some years later. He was fully 6 ft. 6 in. tall, large in proportion and of superior intelligence (BAE-B 30, Pt. 1, p.771).

Red Cloud: (1822-1909) Oglala chief, probably the most able Teton leader of the late 19th century. Not an hereditary chief, but rose to prominence through his own efforts and was renowned as warrior and statesman. Headed the opposition to the Bozeman Trail in 1865 and led Indian forces in the Fetterman Massacre and Wagon Box Fights in 1866 and 1867. Made peace at Fort Laramie in 1868 only on condition that the Bozeman Road be abandoned and forts evacuated; from that date he took no part in wars against Whites. Visited Washington in 1870 and agreed to settle on reservation known as Red Cloud Agency near Fort Laramie. Agreed to cession of Black Hills in 1876; opposed the Sioux outbreak of 1890-91 (BAE-B 30, Pt. 2, p.359; Dictionary of American Biography, Vol. XV, p.437). Portraits are numerous in books on Indian Wars, but see especially Cook, who gives several rare views. Captain Cook of Agate,

Neb., was Red Cloud's closest friend among the Whites and has in his private museum at Agate, Neb., many personal articles which formerly belonged to Red Cloud.

Spotted Tail: (1833-81), Brule chief; not an hereditary chief, but attained prominence through personal qualities. Took conspicuous part in Grattan Massacre, and battle of Ash Hollow, after which he gave himself up to the troops at Fort Laramie in order to spare his people, but was later freed. He favored the construction of Bozeman Trail and forts, which attitude lost him many followers to Red Cloud; signed treaty of 1868; went to Washington with Red Cloud in 1870; favored sale of Black Hills; in 1876 appointed chief of all Indians at Red Cloud and Spotted Tail Agencies; negotiated Crazy Horse's surrender in 1877; killed by "Crow Dog" in 1881 (BAE-B 30, Pt. 2, pp.626-627; Dictionary of American Biography, Vol. XVII, p.469; portrait in BAE-B 30, Pt. 2, p.627).

Crazy Horse: (1842-77) Oglala chief; with Sitting Bull, was a leader of the hostiles in the seventies; opposed Crook on the Rosebud, and Custer on the Little Bighorn in 1876; pursued by General Miles in following winter; surrendered in spring of 1877 with 2,000 followers; arrested under suspicion of stirring up trouble in Sept., 1877, broke away and was shot to death (BAE-B 30, Pt. 1, p.358; Dictionary of American Biography, Vol. IV, pp.530-531; Miles, pp.193,244; Brininstool, 1929; portrait in Wheeler, opp. p.104).

Sitting Bull: (1834-90) Hunkpapa leader; his father a sub-chief; took active part in the wars of 1860's in North Dakota; first became widely known when he led raid against Fort Buford in 1866; on warpath almost continuously from 1869 to 1876 against Whites, or Crow or Shoshoni; refused to go on reservation in 1876; leader with Crazy Horse in Custer Massacre; fled with a number of followers into Canada, where he remained until 1881 when he returned to surrender at Fort Buford under promise of amnesty; confined at Fort Randall until 1883; influenced Sioux refusal to sell land in 1888; encouraged the first Ghost Dance on Standing Rock Reservation; killed by Indian police trying to arrest him in 1890. He was renowned as an organizer and medicine man (BAE-B 30, Pt.2, pp.583-584; Dictionary of American Biography, Vol.XVII, pp.192-193; Vestal, 1932, entire, contains several portraits; Mooney, 1897.)

Gall: (1840-1894) Hunkpapa chief; not an hereditary chief; fought in battles in North Dakota in 1863-64; a leader in the Custer Massacre; fled to Canada with Sitting Bull but returned to surrender in 1881; settled on Standing Rock Reservation; denounced Sitting Bull and became friendly to Whites; encouraged Indian education; influential in securing the land cession of 1889; from 1889 was judge of the court of Indian offense at Standing Rock Agency. A great war leader in the 1870's, he

became potent influence for peace and progress from 1881 till his death (BAE-B 30, Pt. 1, p.482; Dictionary of American Biography, Vol.VII, pp.101-102; portrait, BAE-B 30, Pt. 1, p.482.)

John Grass (or Charging Bear): (1837-1918) Blackfoot chief; son of chief of same name; renowned as a councilor and orator rather than warrior; opposed warfare of the seventies; a leading exponent of progress in reservation days; was chief justice of Indian court at Standing Rock; opposed the cession of 1889 until more money was offered; became member of Catholic church (Dictionary of American Biography, Vol.VII, pp.501-502; South Dakota Historical Collections, Vol. 1, pp.154-156; portraits in BAE-B 30, Pt. 1, p.568; S. D. Hist. Colls., Vol. 1, p.65; Densmore, Plate 73).

Other leaders of somewhat less prominence than those mentioned above were:

Big Mouth: (died 1873 or 1874) A Brule chief, killed by Spotted Tail. See BAE-B 30, Pt. 1, p.147.

Hollow-horn Bear: (born 1850) A Brule chief. See BAE-B 30, Pt. 1, p.557.

Short Bull: (born about 1845) A Brule chief, prominent during the Ghost Dance excitement. See BAE-B 30, Pt. 2, p.554.

Big Foot: (died 1890) A Hunkpapa chief, prominent in 1890. See BAE-B 30, Pt. 1, p.146; portrait in Wellman, opp. p.253.

Rain-in-the-Face: (1835-1905) A Hunkpapa chief and prominent warrior. See BAE-B 30, Pt. 2, p.353; portrait in Wellman, opp. p.148.

American Horse: An Oglala chief. See BAE-B 30, Pt. 1, p.48; portrait in Grinnell, 1900, frontispiece.

Kicking Bear: An Oglala leader and priest, prominent in 1890. See BAE-B 30, Pt. 1, p.686; portrait in Mooney, 1897.

Young Man Afraid of His Horse: An Oglala chief and warrior. See BAE-B 30, Pt. 2, p.1001.

Portraits of a number of Teton chiefs and influential leaders of somewhat later period (i.e., at the turn of the century) may be found in Grinnell, 1900, and in Dixon.

W. H. Jackson, photographer for the U.S. Geological Survey, took a large number of pictures of Teton individuals prior to 1877. These pictures, comprising probably the best collection of Teton portraits in existence, are listed in Miscellaneous Publications No. 9, U.S. Geological Survey of the Territories, Washington, 1877. The negatives of these photographs are now in the possession of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, D. C.

XXVIII

MUSEUM EXHIBIT SUGGESTIONS

Exhibits intended to portray an Indian culture at a given period are open to misinterpretation by the museum visitor, who often fails to realize the limited period for which the culture traits portrayed were characteristic. This would be especially true in regard to Teton culture. An exhibit portraying Teton life of the period 1820-40, when the old buffalo-hunting-culture was at its height, would be an inaccurate portrayal of the culture a half century earlier or later. It should be remembered, too, that in the period 1820-40 there was already a considerable number of traits which were not of native origin but had been introduced by Whites--the use of the horse, of firearms, iron arrow points, iron cooking utensils, and glass beads, to mention but a few.

It would be preferable if, instead of attempting a static interpretation, a dynamic portrayal could be presented which would bring out the modification of old traits and the introduction of new ones with the passage of time. The data in this paper are, so far as possible, offered with this dynamic treatment in mind.

Some suggestions for the interpretation of interesting aspects of Teton culture are listed below. Each exhibit might well occupy a case. Wherever possible, authentic specimens or replicas should be used in connection with prepared exhibits (models, maps, charts, and illustrations):

1. Who were the Teton? In introductory exhibit interpreting the origin, language, physical type, migrations, and locations of the Teton at various periods. Decorative maps and charts, together with photographs and life-sized models of physical type, might well be used.

2. Importance of the Buffalo to the Teton: Its influence on Teton culture, bringing out its many uses; its influence on Teton history--migrations, wars, fur trade--and the effect of its extermination. A model of the buffalo, together with illustrations and decorative maps, might well be used, in addition to suitable specimens of materials made from the buffalo.

3. Importance of the Horse to the Teton: Its introduction from Europe, its spread over the Plains, mode of capture, riding gear, use in transportation (especially the travois), and in warfare and hunting. Models of horse and travois, and horse saddled for riding, together with decorative maps, charts, illustrations, and specimens of riding gear, available, might be used.

4. The Teton as a Fighting Man: Map of enemies and allies of the Teton; specimens or replicas of weapons used at various periods; conduct of war parties (illustrations); system of war honors (charts); model of mounted warrior with equipment.

5. The Teton Life Cycle: an exhibit interpreting by means of illustrations the life history of a typical Teton warrior of the mid-nineteenth century: birth; Hunka ceremony; childhood training; war deeds; marriage; hunting; vision quest; participation in ceremony of a men's society; death; and burial. In such an exhibit many aspects of Teton culture not otherwise adapted to museum interpretation can be brought out in an attractive manner.

6. Tobacco, Pipes, and Smoking Customs: specimens of kinds of tobacco used; decorative map showing various ways of using tobacco in aboriginal America; chart showing diffusion of tobacco and smoking customs to other parts of the world; specimens of Teton pipes and smoking equipment, if available; illustrations showing quarrying of pipestone in Minnesota; making the bowl and drilling the stem; also social and ceremonial smoking scenes.

7. Arts and Crafts of the Teton: interpretation of the materials used, techniques, and so far as possible inclusion of specimens of work in the three principal techniques of painting, quill-work, and beadwork.

8. Games and Amusements: an exhibit explaining by means of illustrations and specimens (if obtainable) several selected games; illustrations of dancing and use of musical instruments, with specimens of drums, whistles, rattles, and so forth.

Excellent subjects for dioramas or sizeable oil paintings for inclusion in museums would be:

a. A Teton camp scene, with emphasis on local color and various aspects of women's work on hides.

b. A hunting scene, showing the surround or the drive over cliffs.

c. A scene showing the last intertribal conflict--the battle with the Pawnee in Massacre Canyon, Neb., in 1873.

Care should be taken to develop a simple and attractive arrangement of elements in the cases, and to present a fresh interpretation rather than a repetition of aspects emphasized in already established museums which deal with the Plains Indians.

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Note: Publications containing maps or illustrations of particular value are starred.

Abbreviations: The following abbreviations are used for the most frequently mentioned serial publications:

AA	American Anthropologist
AMNH-AP	American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Papers
AMNH-B	American Museum of Natural History, Bulletin
BAE-B	Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin
BAE-R	Bureau of American Ethnology, Annual Report
SD-HC	South Dakota Historical Collections
SI-MC	Smithsonian Institution, Miscellaneous Collections
SI-R	Smithsonian Institution, Annual Report
USNM-B	United States National Museum, Bulletin
USNM-R	United States National Museum, Report
UW-PA	University of Washington, Publications in Anthropology

Allen, J. A. — The American Bisons, Living and Extinct. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard Univ. press, 1876.

Beckwith, Paul — Notes on Customs of the Dakotas. (SI-R, 1886.)

*Benteen, F.W. — See Brininstool.

*Birge, J.C. — The Awakening of the Desert. Boston (1912).

Blish, Helen H.
1926 — Ethical Conceptions of the Oglala Dakota. (Neb. Univ. Studies, Vol. 26, Nos. 3-4.)
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