# TETON DAKOTA

## ETHNOLOGY AND HISTORY

By John C. Ewers

U. S. Department of the Interior
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
Berkeley, California
1937

# T E T O N  D A K O T A

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# FOREWARD

This paper is one of many prepared by research workers of the Field Division of Education, National Park Service, Berkeley, California.

The objective of this paper is the compilation of pertinent information obtained from the best available sources on the ethnology and history of the Teton Dakota Indians. The need for such a compilation became apparent to the wrtier, an ECW museum technician, when faced with the practical problem of gathering basic data for use in planning exhibits for the museum at Guernsey Lake Park, Wyoming. This data should be useful to museum curators and museum preparators in planning and preparing exhibits for museums in the several parks within the area once inhabited by the Teton Dakota.

The form and content of the paper reflect the special purpose for which it is intended. It makes no pretense of being an important piece of original research. It stresses those aspects of Teton Dakota ethnology and history which are most adaptable to graphic interpretation in museums. The paper departs from the usual standards of scholarly form in order to save time and expense in mimeographing. References are included in the text in parenthesis.

The work of mimeographing, drawing of maps, coloring of plates, and binding has been done by workers made available by the Works Progress Administration, District 8, Project #4285.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

# NOTES ON THE ETHNOLOGY AND HISTORY OF THE TETON DAKOTA

## 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 looked to the buffalo for their solution. To the Teton of a century ago the presence of the buffalo was naturally taken for granted. This animal seemed to be as much a part of nature's plan as was the warm sun in summer and the heavy snows of winter. Up to this time their 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.

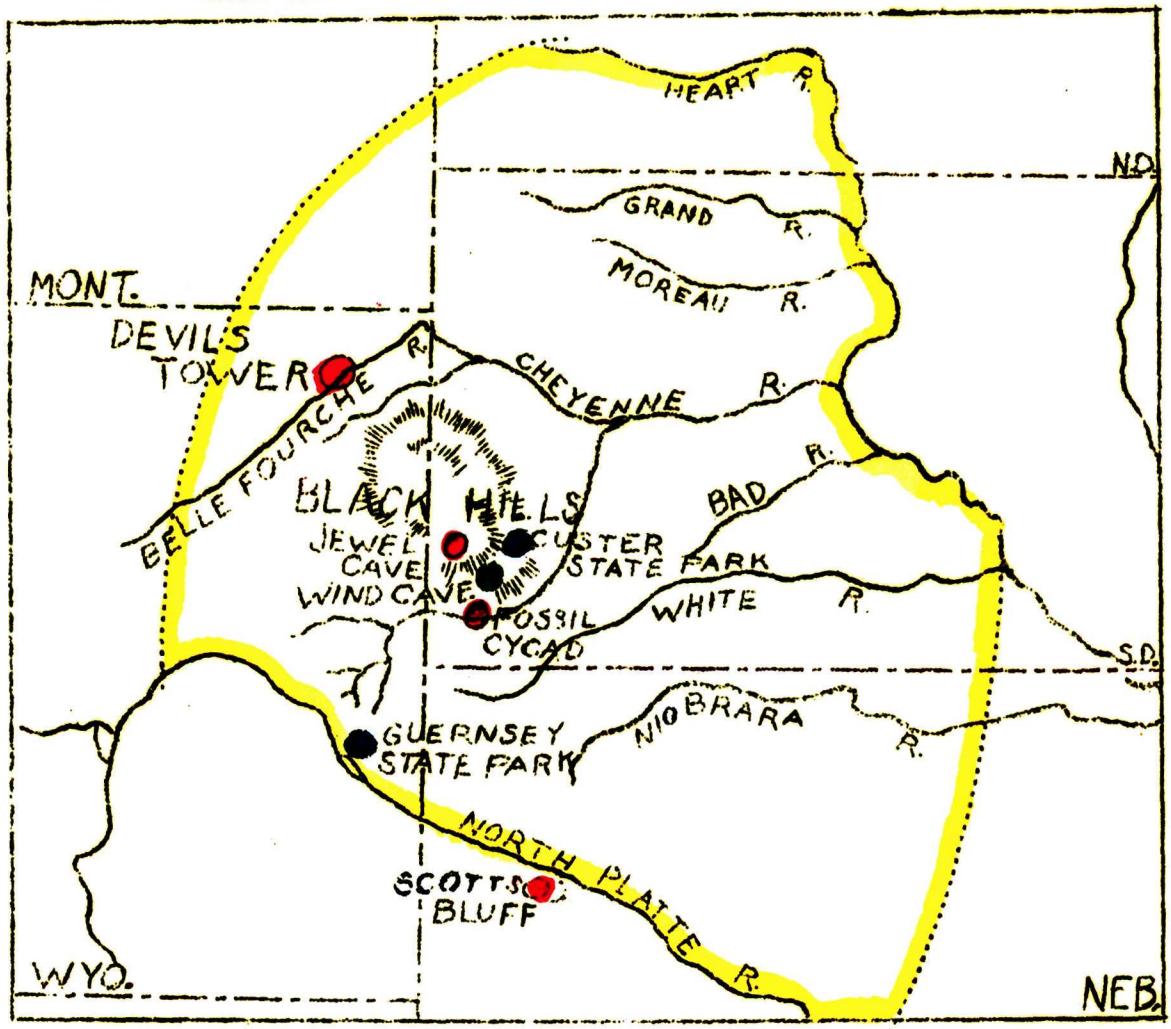
In the years that followed thousands of white emigrants and fortune hunters passed through the Teton country, killing large numbers of buffalo and driving the remainder further and further from the well-worn emigrant trails. The Teton were not slow to recognize the disastrous cultural implications of 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 emigrant trains continued to move through the Teton country, and the buffalo continued to decrease in numbers at a rapid rate. The conflicts between soldiers and indians in the '60's and '70's 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 agriculturalists or cattle herders.

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

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.

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 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 the Missouri River westward. Much of the published data 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 subject of the Teton Dakota.

The Teton 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 2, pp 736-37).

## 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 further 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 problems 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 plans of southwestern Minnesota. Hennepin who met some of them in 1680 placed them in the neighborhood of Mille Lacs in east central Minnesota. Le-Sueur in 1700 found them near the present ManKato in the south central part of the stste. 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 withing 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).

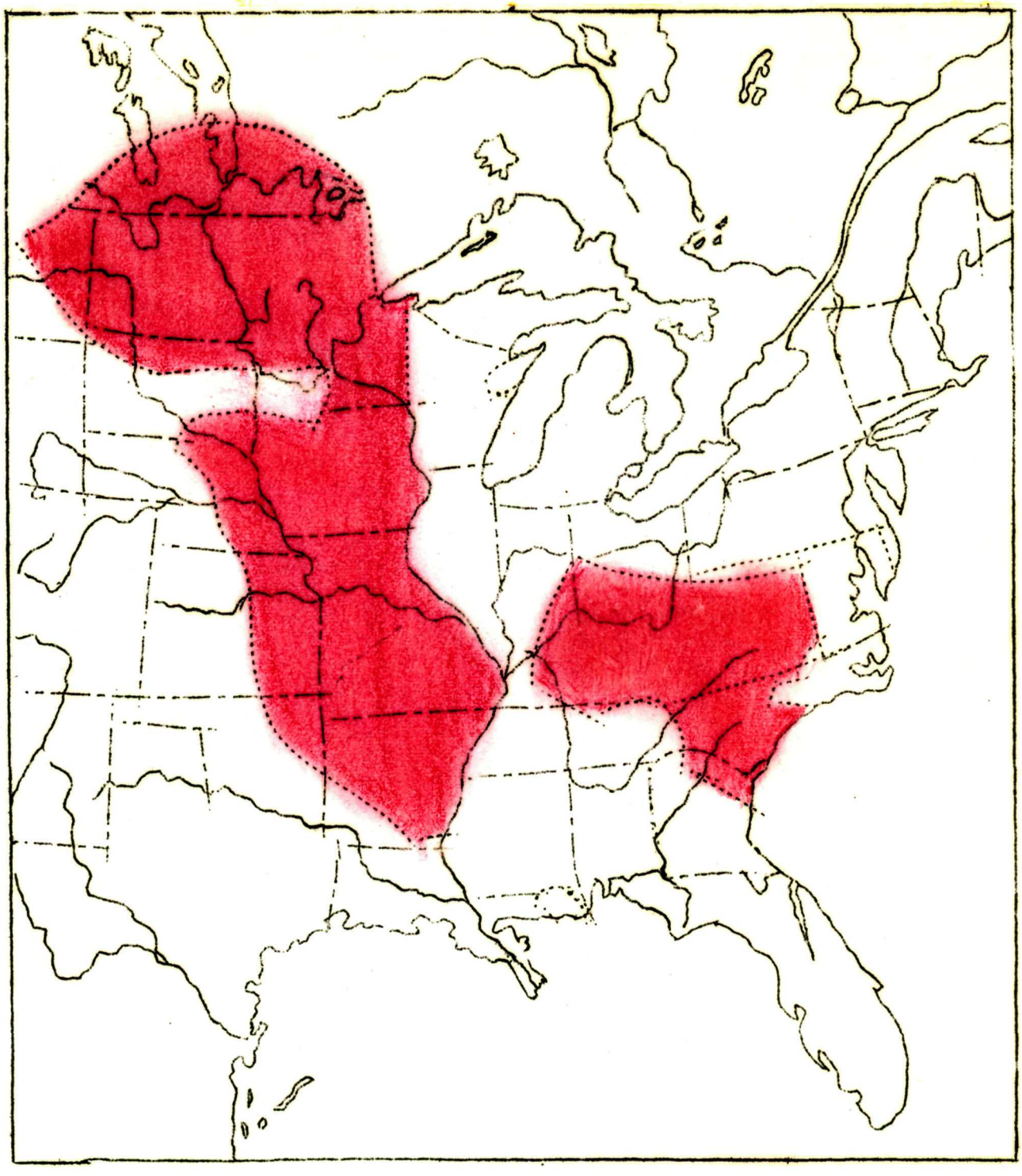
The movement to the vicinity of Big Sto ne Lake seems to have been made without serious conflict with other tribes. But the valleys of the Sioux and James Rivers were only secured after the Omaha had been driven south of the Missouri. In the course of this migration the Teton learned of the superior buffalo hunting grounds west of the Missouri and decided on a new movement to the favored land. By the middle of the 18th century the Teton reached the Missouri Valley, only to find their way blocked by the Arikara owners of this region. 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 1822-23 by the Teton and Cheyenne.

Shortly after the Teton conquest of the Missouri Valley in 1792 the Teton turned over their former hunting territory in eastern South Dakota to their relatives the Yankton Dakota. Since about the year 1800 the true home of the Teton Dakota must be regarded as from the Missouri Valley westward.

(If further research data on the origin of the Siouan peoples is required see 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).

**Map No.2**

SIOUAN SPEAKING PEOPLES IN THE 17th CENTURY.

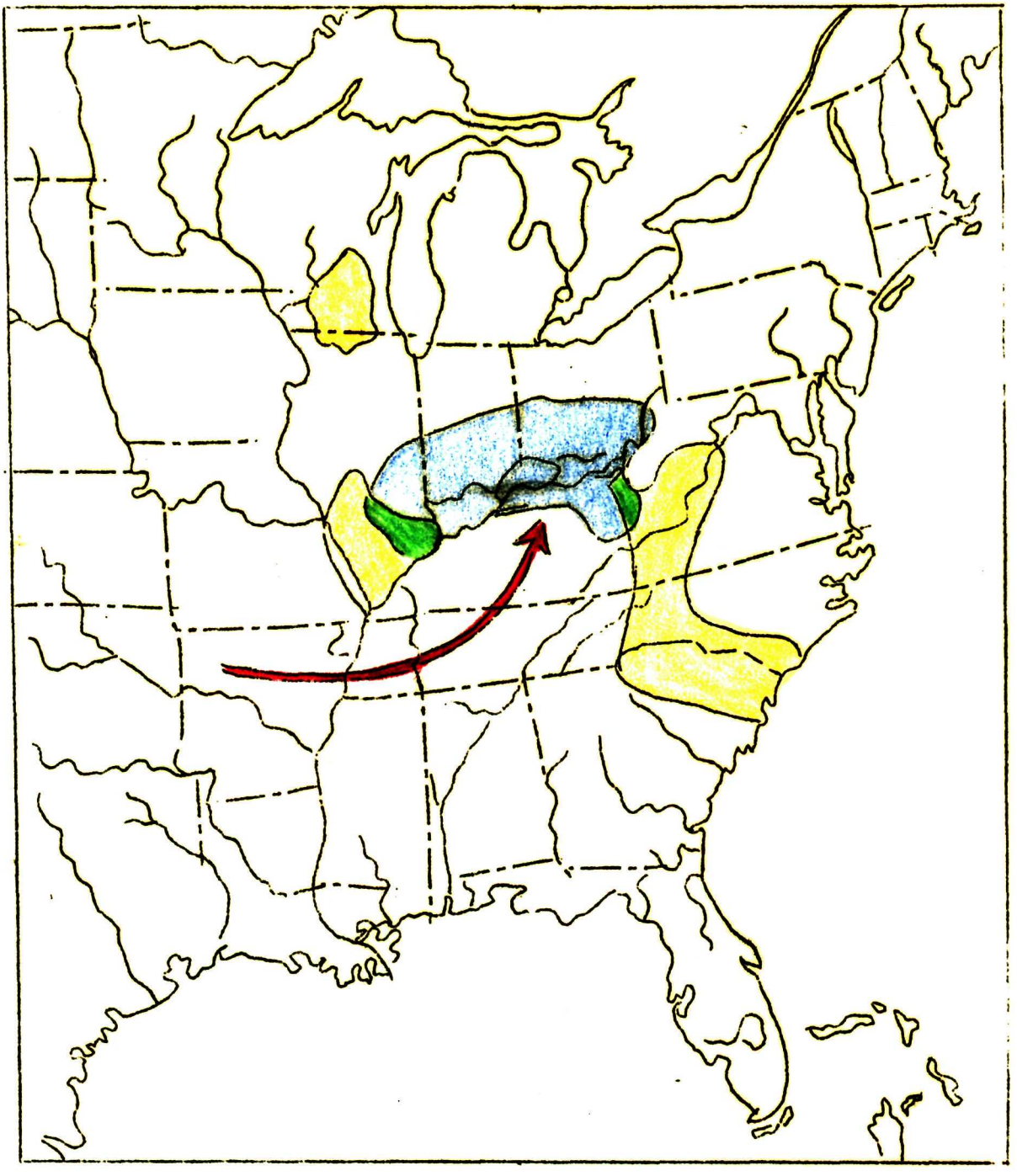


A large portion of the United States east of the Rockies was occupied by Siouan speaking peoples at the time of the first white contact.

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

Map No.3

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)

## 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 to the white observer.

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 was studied by L. R. Sullivan of the American Museum of Natural History and worked up for publication in 1920. Although some data is given for the Teton separately, the Teton 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 average.
female: 80.5 average.

Comparative data:

Height: The Dakota are among the tallest of the American Indians among whom the average stature ranges from 153 cm. to 175 cm. They are exdeeded 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 or 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 publication. A large number of Teton individuals, both male and female, are portrayed in Densmore's "Teton Sioux Music").

## 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, 1908. p. 13). Today the Dakota comprise appoximately one-tenth of the entire Indian population of the United States. (based on 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 populous 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). Lieut. Warren gives the figure 14,800 (Warren, p. 210) in 1858, and Gen. Stanley lists 12,900 for 1869 (Robinson, 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 data is 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 | 1833 | 1850 | 1858 | 1869 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Brule | 500 lodges | 500 lodges | 3,040 | 3,000 |
| Oglala | 300 lodges | 400 lodges | 3,680 | 2,000 |
| Hunkpapa | 150 lodges | 320 lodges | 2,920 | 2,000 |
| Blackfoot | 220 lodges | 450 lodges | 1,320 | 900 |
| Miniconjou | 260 lodges | 270 lodges | 1,600 | 2,000 |
| Two Kettle | 100 lodges | 60 lodges | 800 | 1,500 |
| Sans Arc | 100 lodges | 250 lodges | 1,360 | 1,500 |

(The data for 1833 is 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 Oglala were the largest bands.

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 the Indian Affairs from 1873 to the present).

## 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 travellers 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 1804-06 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 futher north on both sides of the Missouri. The probability is that this was a Yanktonais rather than a Teton group however. (L. and C. 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 travelled extensively in the Teton country in 1856. His data is given below:

Brule - on headwaters of White and Niobrara Rivers, extending down these rivers about half their length. The Teton river formed their northern limit.

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

Miniconjou - usually found from Cherry Creek on Cheyenne to Slender Butte on Grand River.

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

Hunkpapa, Blackfoot, Sans Arc - occupy nearly the same district, and are so often encamped near each other and otherwise so connected in their operations, as scarcely to admit of being treated separately. Their country lies along the Moreau, Cannonball, Heart and Grand rivers, seldom extending very high up on Grand River, but of 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 travelled many miles in and direction conditions would suggest. For example, Talb ot, 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 movement south of the Platte are numerous.)

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

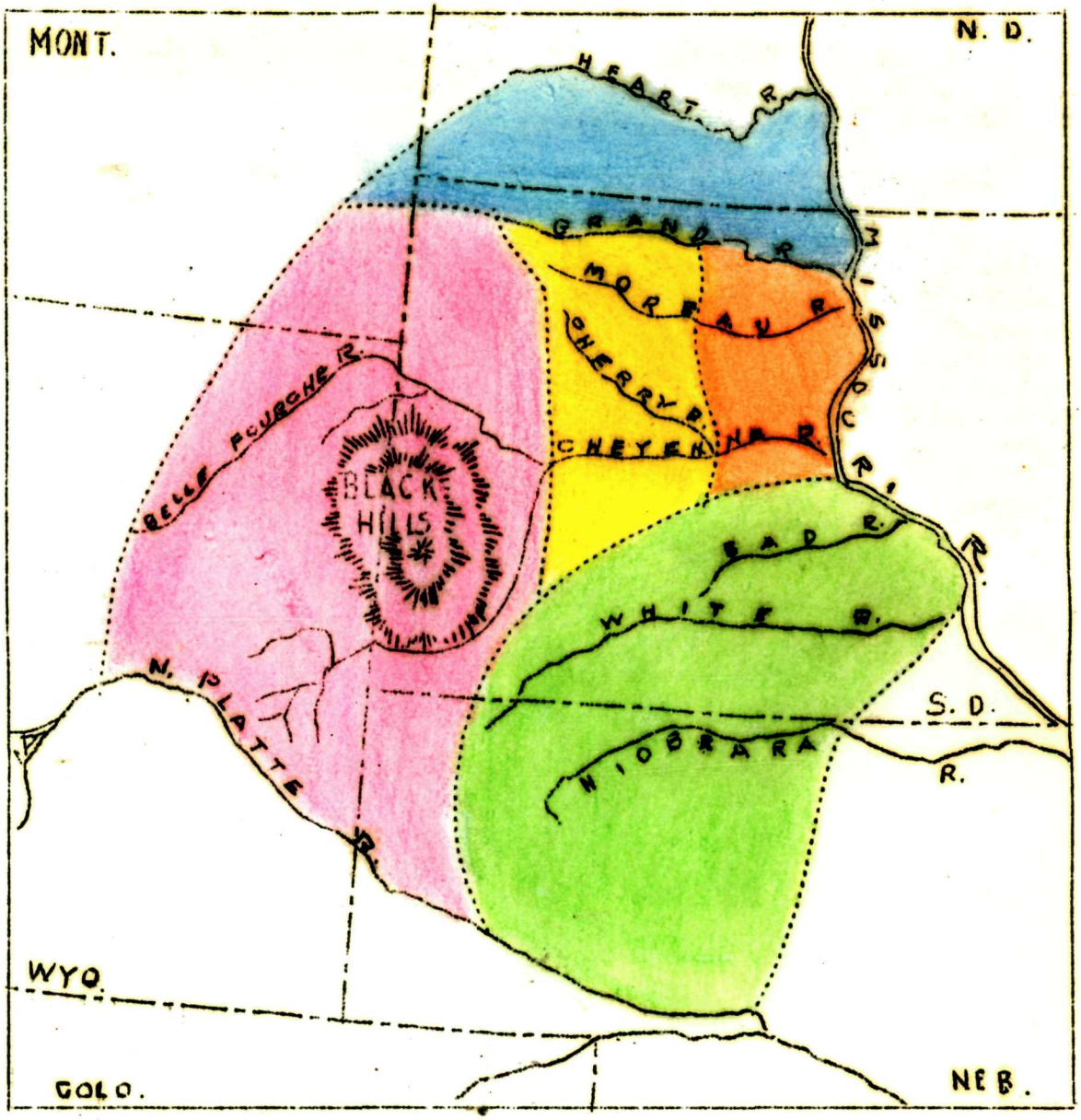
| | |
|---|---|
| Oglala: | Pine Ridge |
| Brule: | Rosebud and Lower Brule |
| Miniconjou: | Cheyenne River |
| Two Kettle: | Cheyenne River and Roseb ud |
| Hunkpapa: | Standing Rock |
| Blackfoot: | Standing Rock and Cheyenne River |
| San Arc: | Cheyenne River |

(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.

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.

## NATURAL ENVIRONMENT OF THE TETON COUNTRY

The country inhabited by the Teton in the nineteenth 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 western boundary of that state, are the Black Hills rising above the plains to an altitude of 7,240 ft. (Mt. Harney). There are several summits in the Black Hills over 6,000 ft. in height. None of them are snow capped in summer.

Extending southwesterly 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 Mts. with Laramie Peak rising to a height of 10,274 ft. This peak served as a landmark to overland travellers as it could be seen from the plains many miles further eastward. In the first half of the nineteenth century the local uplifts from the Black Hills to the Laramie Mts. were all known as the Balck Hills. This fact should be kept in mind in referring to occounts of the early travellers 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 resemblings towers, and grotesque forms in the soft sandstone. Smaller bad land sections were also to be found in other portions of the Teton country.

Rivers: The two principal rivers in the Teton country are the Missouri and 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 annual temperature of 46 at both Pierre and Rapid City is rather poor indication of the weather in the Teton country. The extremes of temperature are significant. In summer, temperatures in excess of 100 are common. In winter the temperature drops below 30 degrees. On the whole the extremes of temperature encountered 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 rainfall a year fall in even the most favored spots. Precipitation in the Black Hills is somewhat greater than the average annual rainfall of 17 in. 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 boxelder trees may be found. A considerable variety of wild food plants grew 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 nineteenth century. Other plains animals in the Teton country are the antelope, Plains coyote, Plains pocket gopher, mice, prairie dogs, badger, jackrabbit, skunk, gray wolf, kit fox, long-tailed weasel, etc.

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

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

In the streams and rivers were beaver.

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

## 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 ares". 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 contacted 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.)

Pecularities 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, cumbersome 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 data on the habits of the buffalo, in addition to 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 food, clothing and shelter 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 animal would be used for food at any time was largely dependent upon the ease with which the buffalo could be procured. When buffalo were plentiful only the choice parts were often 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 winter weather. Or hides without the hair were worn in warmer periods of the year. Moccasins, too, of the important articles of clothing were of buffalo hide.

For shelter the nomadic tribes used the tipi, covered with dressed buffalo hides carefully pieced together, throughout the year. The tipi

was used by the semi-sedentary tribes while on buffalo hunts. Tipis were lined with additional pieces of buffalo hide to keep out wind and water. Other hides served as bed coverings.

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 hide, including the parfleche, quivers, medicine cases, saddle bags, pipe bags, paint bags etc. The shield base was of fire-hardened hide. Rawhide was used for binding and hafting.

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

As household utensils buffalo horn spoons and ladles were used. The intestines of bladder served as water containers. 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.

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

The hair was sometimes twisted into yarn and braided into bags, belts, garters, leggings, girdles, ropes for tying materials, in ceremonial costumes as headbands, necklaces etc., blankets, saddle wadding, moccasin lining in winter, halters for horses, additional artificial head-hair etc.

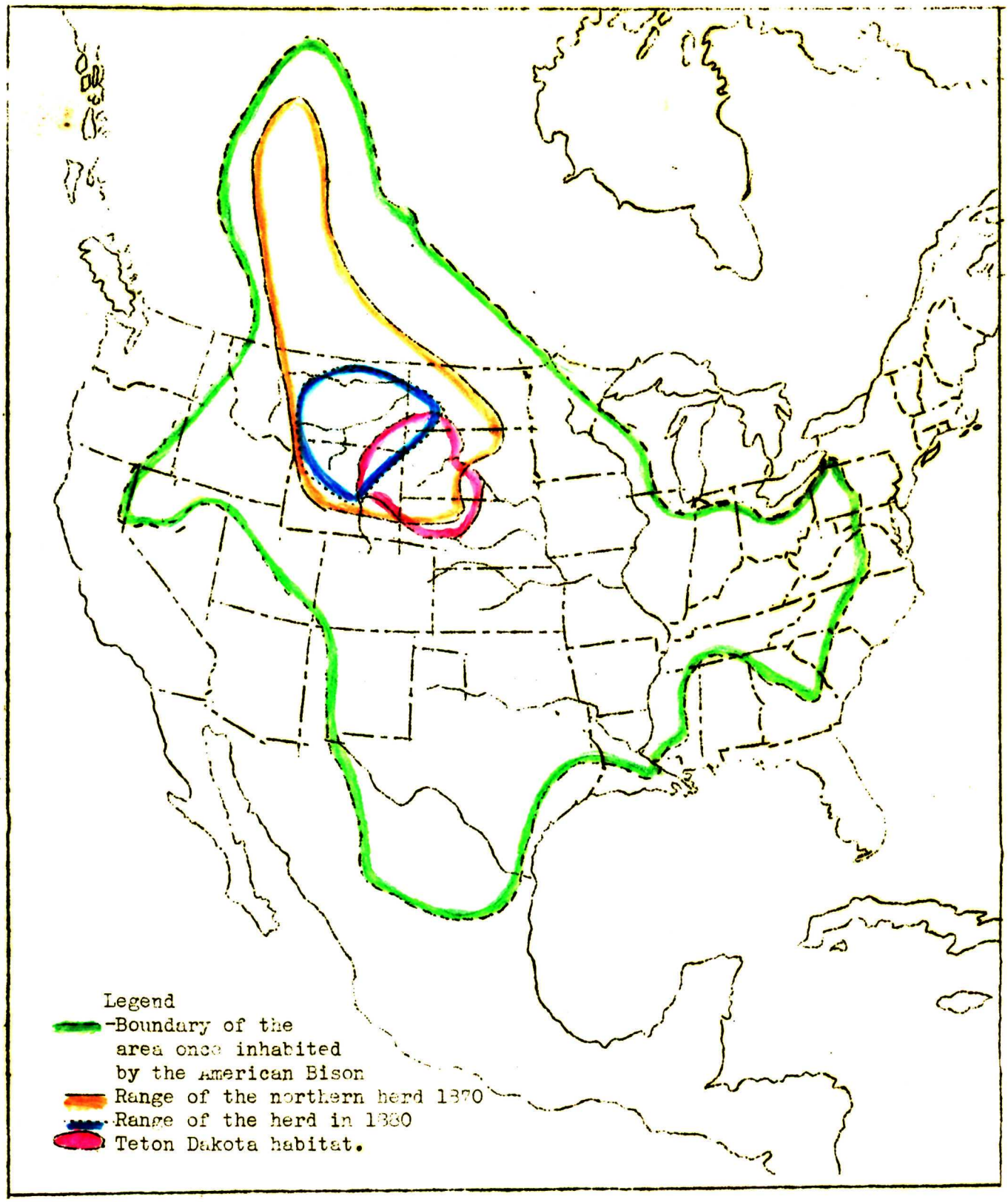
Finally, even the droppings of the buffalo, were extensively used by the Indians as a sun-dried fuel. In a country where timber was scarce these "buffalo chips" were valuable. They gave a clear, hot, relatively smokeless flame which was a real advantage to warring Indians.

In the field of art the buffalo made a less prominent contribution. The buffalo was rarely represented in the three principal Plains techniques - painting, quillwork, and beadwork. But buffalo hide materials served as fields for decoration - robes, parfleches, moccasins, shields, tipi covers etc. And sinew for sewing beads and attaching quills, bone paint brushes, and the glue sizing used in painting all were furnished by the buffalo.

The buffalo strongly influenced the immaterial side of Plains Indian life. Societies and seasons or months of the year were named after the buffalo. The buffalo 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.

Map No.5

THE RANGE OF THE AMERICAN BISON.




Largely after Hornaday

Influence of the buffalo on occupations: Nothing required the attention of the Plains Indians of both sexes so much as preoccupation with the buffalo. It was men's work to find and kill the buffalo. It was women's work to dress the hides and fashion and decorate the greater part of the objects made of buffalo hides. 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. 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 for buffalo led to many bitter conflicts between tribes over hunting grounds. In the nineteenth 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 motivated by the desire on the part of the Indians to preserve their hunting grounds. The final settlement of the Teton on reservations was only effected after the number of bison had b ecome 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 the extermination of the bison the old culture was doomed.

## FOODS OF THE TETON DAKOTA

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 game taste. White traders, trappers, emigrants, soldiers, and visitors to the Plains learned to like Buffalo meat and to eat it in large quantities. 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 the abundance of the buffalo in the early days.

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

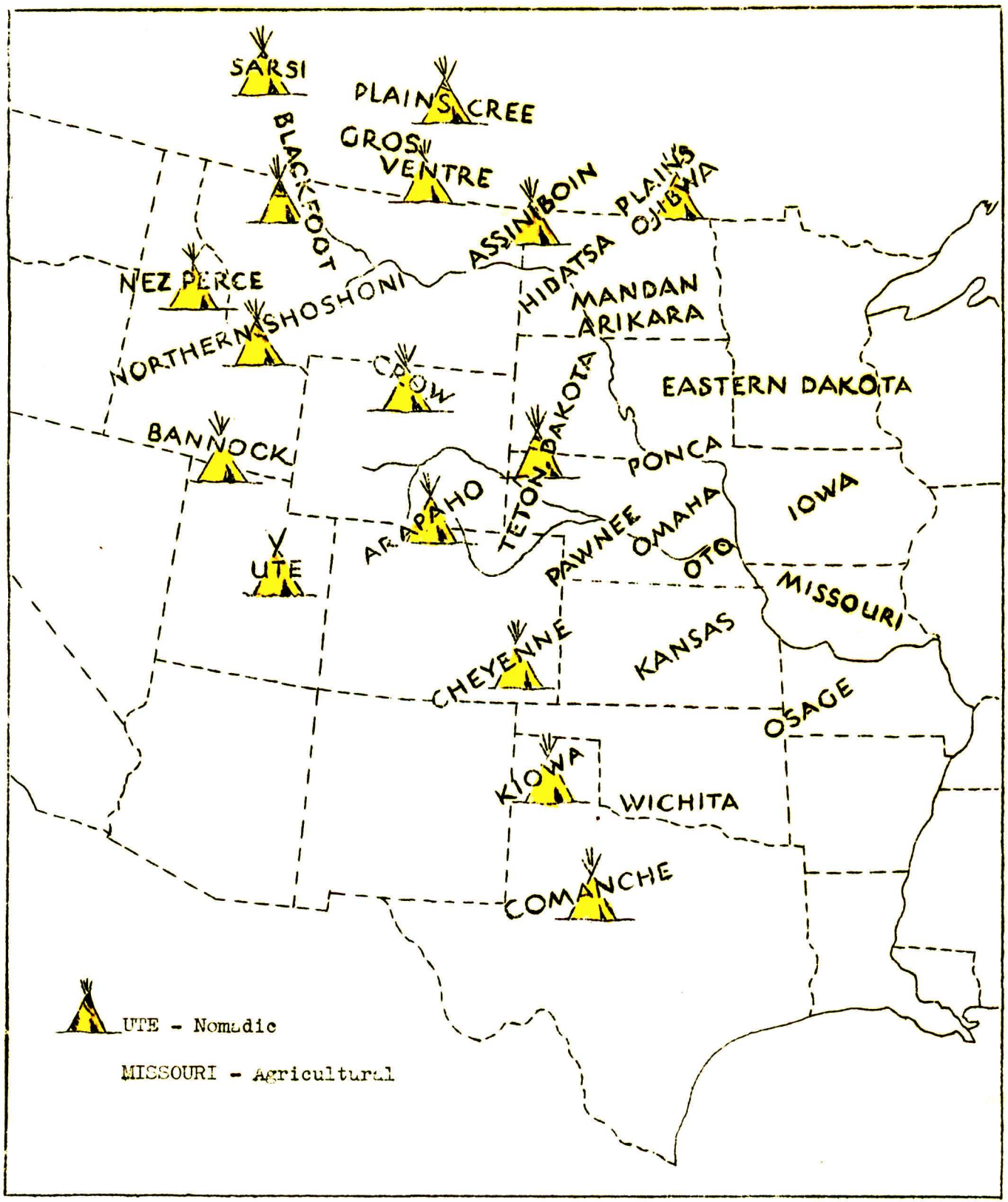
Buffalo meat was dried, and mixed with chokecherries or other berries for preservation for future use. When packed in parfleches this mixture, known as pemmican, would keep for several years if necessary.

Some favorite mixed dishes of the Teton in which various parts of the buffalo were important ingredients were: (1) blood boiled with brains, rose-buds, and the scrapings of rawhide, until the whole assumes 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. Therefore, it was reserved for special occasions. Dog feasts were given in honor of visiting white men on numerous occasions. Dog was also served at many dances. Catlin wrote that the best and favorite dogs of the Teton were fattened for eating at these feasts. The dogs were 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.

Map No. 6

AGRICULTURAL AND NOMADIC TRIBES OF THE PLAINS




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

p. 167 and Vol. 7, p. 64; Catlin Vol. I, 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 the preparation of these foods. Denig lists the animals eaten by the Indians of the Upper Missouri in the middle of the nineteenth century. In addition to the buffalo and dog they are:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 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 were a very minor item in the Teton food supply after their movement to the Missouri Valley and westward.

## PLANT FOODS

### Wild rice (Lizania aquatica):

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 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". This 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 by the Teton.

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):

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 (Padus nana, Roemer):

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 pemmican. (Hayden, p. 370; Gilmore p. 88).

(Photo 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 these fruits, sucked out the plum stones, before drying. This fruit was highly valued by the Teton. (Culbertson, p. 107; Hayden, p. 270; Gilmore, p. 87).

Buffalo-berry (Lepargyrea Nutt.):
This fruit was eaten fresh in season or dried for winter use. It was often made into soup, or took the place of chokecherries in making pemmican. (Hayden, p. 370; Gilmore, p. 106). (See illustration in Gilmore, Plate 20).

Wild strawberries (Fragaria verginiana Duchesne, and F. americana Britton):
The Teton were fond of wild strawberries in their season. They were not numerous enough to be relied upon as a means of support, however, nor could they be dried for winter use, being too juicy. (Hayden p. 370; Gilmore, p. 84).
(See photo of wild strawberries in Gilmore, Plate 13).

Ground bean (Falcata cosmosa L.):
This plant grew abundantly in stream valleys. In the fall field mice gathered large quantities of the roots for their winter store. These were robbed by the Teton women, who sometimes 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).
(See photo in Gilmore, 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 palatible, 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 patato (Glycine apios L.):
These tubers were prepared for eating either by boiling or roasting. (Gilmore, p. 94).
(See photo of plant in Gilmore, plate 17).

Wild Onion (Allium Mutabile Michx.):
These were either eaten raw as a relish or cooked as a flavor for meat and soup. (Gilmore, p. 71).

Arrowleaf (Sagittaria latifolia Willd.):
The tubers were boiled or roasted. (Gilmore, p. 65)
(See photo in Gilmore, Plate 1A).

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

Elm Cap (Plourotus ulmarius Bull):
This fungus, when young and tender was found to be good eating by the Teton. (Gilmore, p. 61).

Cottonwood (Populus Sargentii Dodo):
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). They used the digging stick for tubers and gathered berries in rawhide bags or beat them into hides to be emptied into storage bags.

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 either held over the fire or the butt end of the stick 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 all now 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, buffalo horn spoons used for eating. Wooden spoons or ladles were also 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 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 Agencies to receive government rations. Necessity thus brought the Indians to the Agencies. In the 1860s the Teton were able to subsist by receiving government 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 the next 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. This wholesale settlement of the Teton on Reservations took place 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 as well. The white man's tobacco 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." (Mekeek, 1936, p. 10).

## CLOTHING OF THE TETON DAKOTA

The clothing of the Teton within the historic period and until their adoption of white man's dress in the late years of the last century, was largely made from skin materials obtained from animals taken in the chase. 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. Detailed descriptions of the various articles of dress are given below:

The Buffalo robe: The hide of the buffalo with pelage 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 (but not always) decorated with geometric or pictographic painted designs, or with quilled decorations. Beaded designs on robes are 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. Either a kilt or no covering of the private parts may have been the custom in prehistoric times. (Wissler, 1910, p. 153). In the nineteenth century the breech-cloth of soft deer-skin or trader's cloth was used. Lewis and Clark saw a Teton war party who were described as "naked except for the breech cloth", in 1804 (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 figured Fig. 83 of 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 the belt at the top. The vertical seam on the outside of the leg was often ornamented with rawhide fringe or 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 worn largely for dress-up occasions rather than for general wear. (See Wiss-

ler 1910. pp. 135-36). The shirt was made of two whole skins of the mountain sheep or other ruminant; 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 decrations, collected by Catlin in the 1830s, of unknown tribal origin, but possibly Teton are illustrated in Krieger, 1928. Plate 29.

During the Ghost-dance excitement of 1890 the Teton made use of shirts decrated 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, with illustrations; also Mooney, 1897 for description and use with illustrations Plate XCIII).

Hair dress: The Teton devoted much attention to their hair. Wissler was told that the old people of the Teton belived 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). Nineteenth century data indicates that long hair was the style, with artificial hair sometimes added to secure yet 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 Dakotas 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 traits, the number and orientation of feathers was not a matter of personal choise. Feathers served as symbols of war honors, and such their use was strictly regulated. The feather bonnet was a high and rare honor. (See warefare. 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 warefare, 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 1830s is illustrated in Catlin 1876, Vol. 1. 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.

## Woman's Costume.

Dress: Next to the buffalo robe, the largest article of Teton women's costume was the long, sleeveless dress made of two skins of the 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 well 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 moccasins).

Leggings: Woman'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 L1).

Belts: Women wore rawhide belts at the waist which were often studded with metal decorations.

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

Ear Ornaments: Strings of shell were worn from the ears. These extended sometimes as far as the waistline. (Wissler, 1927b, p. 35).

Illustrations of women's costume: The costume of Western Dakota women of the 1830s is illustrated in Catlin, 1876. Vol. 1. Plates 94 and 95; and Maximilian's Atlas Plates 42 and 44. Dress of somewhat later period is shown in Wissler 1927. 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 girl's 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 Ft. Laramie in 1843 were "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 1897 and Wissler 1907; 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 nine-

teenth century innovation. (See illustration Wissler, 1902a, Plates LVI).

Brackett 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 clothed in citizen's clothing. It was not until after 1900 that all the Teton had adopted complete citizen's dress.

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).

## 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 onto the Plains the Teton inhabited structures similar to the Central Algonquian houses of more recent times, made of pole framework covered with mats or bar. (Bushnell, 1922 p. 44). When Le Sueur 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. 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, allowed to dry and harden in the sun before use. (Parkman, p. 240; Gilmore, p. 230).

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 figured p. 103 of Wissler, 1910. The number of skins used varied. Maximilian stated that 14 skins were usually used in 1834 (Maximilian Vol. 22, p. 327). Stansbury remarks that a very large tipi seen in an Oglala village near Ft. Laramie in 1850 was made of 26 skins stretched over 24 poles forming a tent 30 feet in diameter on the ground and 35 ft. in height. It was used as a trader's lodge, and hence 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 are of skin shaped by a U of bent willow. (Wissler, 1910, p. 109).

Tipi ears: On either side of the smoke hole at the top are two flaps or "Ears" which could be moved to regulate the course of the smoke as the wind shifted. These flaps are kept in place by two poles outside the tipi which fit 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 Dakotas in 1866. (Lewis, 1899).

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 foreward 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 the 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 fig. 69, 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 (which may be Teton) are shown in photographs Plate 24, Bushnell, 1922.

Further data of value on the Plains tipi appear in Wissler, 1910; and pp. 758-59, Part 2, of Hodge).

## Tipi Furnishings.

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 similsrity. 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 of pieces of buffalo hide sewn together, extended from the ground upward for about 3½ ft., 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).

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 one of 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 illustration Plate 8).

Beds: "There were commonly 3 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 a tripod of slender poles about 10 ft. long was set up on which were hung the warrior's 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 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 1870s 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 listed 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 "14 are frame and two-roomed; 133 are log and mostly one-rooned; 3 are a combination of log and frame; 4 are crude shacks (built and left by former white rentees 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 indicates 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 time piece (alarm clock or watch) to every 1.8 families. (Mekeel, 1936, p. 10).

The Sweat House.

A special structure used for hygienic treatment, and purification in connection with religious rites and ceremonies was the sweat house. This

phenomenon was both old and widespread among the Indians. It has been also 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 sweathouse, 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 sweathouse, and a fire is kindled outside a short distance away. In this fire stones are heated by the medicine-man, and when all is ready the patient or devotee, stripped to the breech-cloth, enters the sweathouse. 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, 1897, pp. 822-23).

An illustration showing the willow foundation of a Teton sweathouse 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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## 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 travelled by land rather than water and their methods were adjusted to movements on foot or horseback. Heavy burdens were carried on the travois. Water transportation was weakly developed.

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

The travois, on which the lead was carried, was an ingenious arrangement consisting of two poles about 15 ft. in length (Catlin's estimate, Vol. 1, p. 44), 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 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 with rawhide. On top of it were placed articles of household equipment. After the acquisition of the horse, the dog travois was not abandoned, but as a rule only the lighter articles were carried on it.

For a detailed description of the dog travois in use as seen among the Oglala in 1849 see Stansbury, pp. 46-47. For an earlier description see Catlin Vol. 1, page 45, and Plate on page 45 Vol. 1, Pageant of America.

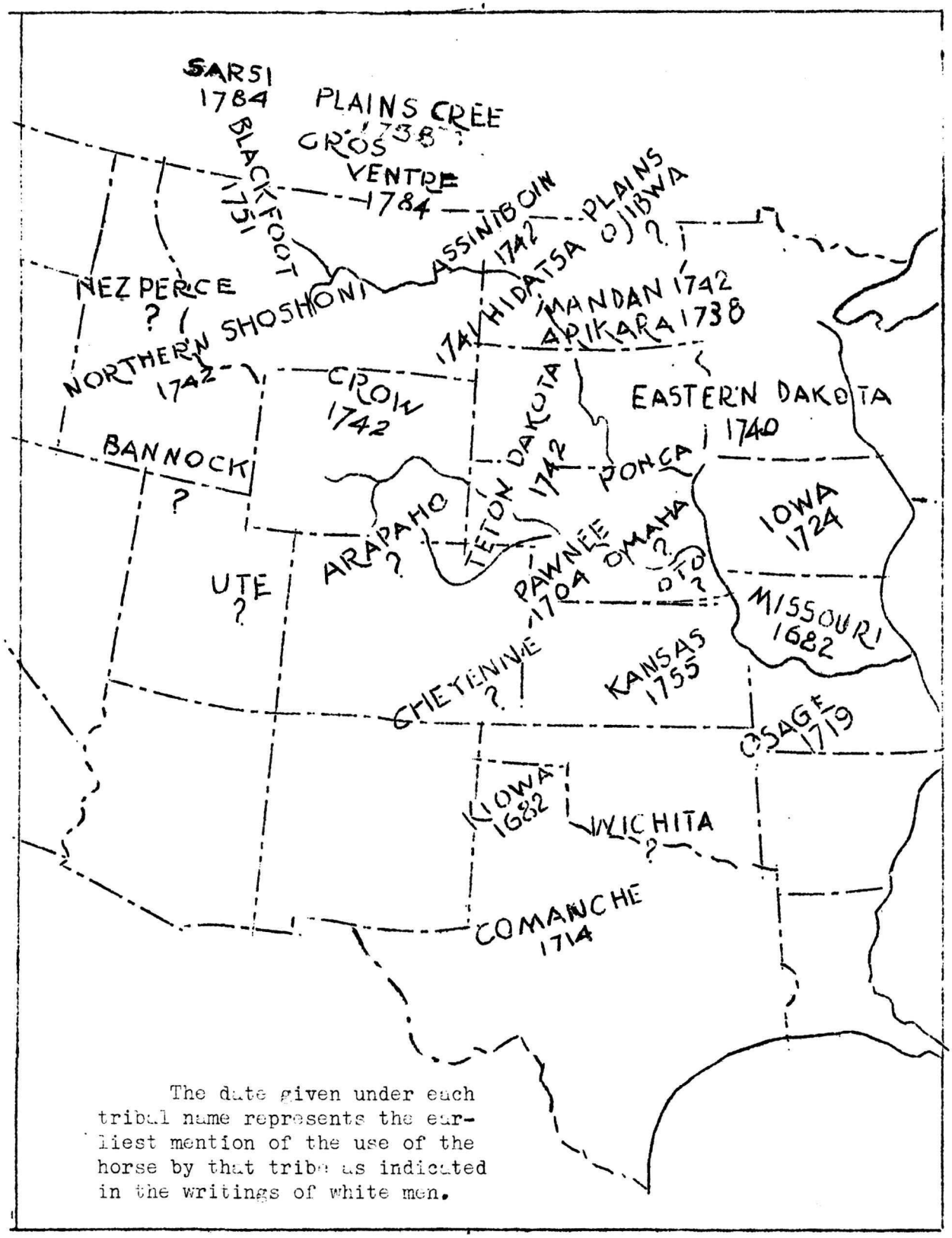
### Horse Transportation.

The horse is so closely associated with the Indians of the Plains in the popular imagination 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 sixteenth century. The first horses to come into the hands of the Plains tribes were strays or abandoned animals from the Spanish exploring expeditions into the Southern Plains which began in 1540. Thence the horse spread northward. So rapid was this diffusion of the horse that many tribes had obtained horses before they were first met by white men. (See Map No. 7 giving dates of first mention of horses among the various Plains tribes).

The Teton appear to have secured the horse some time 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, 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

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 ).

secured with much less difficulty.

By the nineteenth 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 wild horses on the prairies, by trade, gift, or by stealing them from enemy tribes and later white emigrants.

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 or 60 of these wild horses were brought home as the rusult of a single expedition." (Hayden, p. 372).

The Indians were fine judges of horses and keen horse traders. The gifts 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 but somewhat different in detail than the dog travois. The tipi poles were bound together with rawhide into two bunches which were tied on either side of the horse with a rope of rawhide passong 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 also was used to carry the aged, sick, wounded, children, or women who tired of walking. A modification of the travois used for carrying the infirm is described in Hodge, Part 2. p. 803).

The native horseman and his riding gear: -The Teton were excellent horse trainers and riders, learning to ride at a tender age and spending much time on horseback. Gen. Crook marveled at the fact that the Teton warrior's horses were so well trained that they could be left to graze near their masters when they were dismounted without fear of the animal's

running away. (De Land, 1930, p. 294). No shelters were used for horses. They were left to graze in the open, on the native grasses. Young cottonwood branches were sometimes the horses as a delicacy. (Gilmoro, p. 72).

It should be noted that Indians of the Plains mounted their horses from the right side which is the opposite to the customary method of mounting used by whites.

The Plains Indians used a minimum of riding gear the essential elements of which were taken over from the Spaniards, and simplified to suit their needs.

Saddles: Two types of saddles were used (1) the pad saddle, simply a bag of soft skin stuffed with hair or only 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 is suspended a hammock-like seat made of a broad band of hide. The side bars of Teton saddles were decidedly curved (following pattern 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 illustration fig. 2, Wissler, 1915b. This is a Shoshoni frame saddle but much 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 women sometimes used the pad saddle and men used a low-bowed frame saddle with pommel and cantle rising fully 18 inches. (Parkman, p. 84).

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

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

Saddle blankets: Saddle blankets were of buffalo hide which in the case of men's use were usually plain. Women among the Dakota sometimes used a highly ornamented saddle blanket. (See illustration, fig. 18, Wissler 1915b).

Saddle bags: The Teton used paired saddle bags of buffalo skin. See illustration, fig. 18, Wissler, 1915b).

Cruppers: The crupper was used by many Dakota women. It was often decorated with painted designs. (See illustration of crupper in Wissler, 1915b. While 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 the horse's lower jaw. Catlin stated 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 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 leather lash and leather wrist holder. The quirt was carried about the right wrist. (Description in Catlin, Vol. 1. p. 237; illustrations Plates 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 one by which they could test the speed of their best mounts. Maximilian's Plate 30 shows a Western Dakota horse race. The riders are bareback or use only a hide saddle with no stirrups.

In 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 1840s the Teton began to acquire mules from emigrants along the overland trail either by trade or theft. 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 raised on the various Teton reservations at that time.

The Teton's great love of life on horseback has survived to the present day. The cowboy's life is his ideal. He dearly loves rodeos and conversation about horses. (Mekeel, 1934. 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 it was not so commonly used as it was by 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 by the Teton. Maximilian in 1934 described them 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 being 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 and 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.

## Transportation of Later Periods.

After their settlement on reservations the farm wagon secured from the Government began to take the place of the picturesque travois of the nomadic days for carrying loads.

At the present time there are many automobiles in use. Mekeel'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).

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## WEAPONS USED IN HUNTING AND WAREFARE

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

### The bow and arrow

The most useful native Teton weapon, wheather for war or the chase, was the bow and arrow, in the use of which they were most proficient. Le Sueur found the Teton to be expert bowmen in 1700. (Robinson, 1904, p. 53). This weapon remained the favorite for hunting buffalo until after the middle of the nineteenth century. One old Teton preferred his bow and arrow to the improved rifles of 1881 in the buffalo hunt. In warfare the bow and arrow was never really superseded by firearms until breach loading rifles were secured by the Teton inn the '60s.

Bows: Teton bows were of two kinds (1) the self, or one piece bow and (2) the compound bow, made of two or more pieces carefully joined together. Self bows were most commonly 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 p. 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 principally of buffalo or mountain sheep horn, with pieces carefully fitted together and the joints wrapped with buckskin (later sometimes flannel). Mason calls the compound bows of the Sioux "the most beautiful compound bows of any savage tribes". (Mason 1893, p. 642. (See illustrations in Mason, 1893, Plate 82).

Many Teton bows were sinew backed. Bow strings were made of twisted sinew.

Arrows: Teton arrow shafts were of ash or other hard wood, approximately 25 in. in length, feathered with three eagle feathers, and possessed of 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 sinew.

Aboriginally Teton arrowheads were of stone or bone. But points of these materials were early replaced by metal ones of iron secured from white traders. Mason, writing in 1893, was very suspicious of the authenticity of any so-called Sioux stone arrowheads. Nevertheless, J. Allen, a pioneer resident of Montana, gives a detailed description of the oboriginal method of making stone and bone points, should such data be desired for museum interpretation. (quoted in Mason, 1893, pp. 672-73).

However, the typical nineteenth 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 sillful hunters, armed with a strong bow, could shoot a metal tipped arrow completely 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, p. 93 of Hodge, Part 1).

Quivers and bow-cases: Both bow and arrows were carried in hide cases when not in use. The quivers were usually of buffalo hide or otter skin. Bow cases were separate from quivers but attached to them. Arrow cases measure around 26 inches in length and bow cases 42 in. Both were ornamented with cut fringes, and sometimes fur, 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 eldest of the weapons of the American Indians. Within the historic period the Plains Indians used the lance for hunting the buffalo on horseback or fighting the close quarters from the mounted position. As a rule hunting lances had shorter, heavier points than those used in war. (Hodge, Part 1, 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, p. 100, remarks that those seen by him in 1850 were "almost ten feet long"), tipped with stone, and later 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. 180, 142). 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 1830s on Plate 18. (Catlin, 1876, Vol. 1).

## The war club.

Clubs used in combat at close quarters were, under aboriginal conditions, stone headed. 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 aboriginally 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 their knives 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 further east, they were armed with rifles before 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 did 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, p. 165. Vol. 1). 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 loaded, however, never displaced the bow and arrow for hunting buffalo or in mounted warefare. The difficulty of reloading on horseback was a detriment to its effifient use. The mounted man carried the muzzle loader in addition to the bow and arrow if at all. (Its use thus is indicated in Parkman's description p. 153). For hunting smaller game on foot and in warefare 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 circa 1835 to the 1860s. They were either flint lock or cap lock, and varied considerably in both calibre and barrel length. (Rifles of this type are illustrated and described in Sawyer, Plate 7, fig. 1 and p. 55).

The Indians took very poor care of their guns. After a period of use they often became rusty and broken. Sometimes the 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 breach loading rifles. Some of them were acquired from unprincipled traders, others 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 were in turn used by the warriors in their battles with U, S. troops. (De Land, 1930, p. 193 ). It is known that Henry rifles, Spencer and Winchester carbines were obtained by Indian warriors prior to the Wagon Box Fight in 1867.

(Birgo, p. 191, De Land, 1930 pp. 150, 166, 193). Dodge considered this battle as a transition period, when few Indians had acquired the breach loader, but after which time the use of this type of rifle was more common. Charles King is authority for the statement that by summer of 1876 "nine out of ten of the warriors known to be on the warpath had the magazine rifle". (quoted in De Land, 1930, p. 317).

The importance of the introduction of the breach loading rifle, single shot or repeater, can hardly be overemphasized. With the breach-loader the mounted warrior could load and fire from his horse with perfect ease. Gen. Crook has stated his opinion that the mounted Indian warrior with the breach-loader and metallic cartridges was much superior in marksmanship to the soldier used against him in the Indian Wars of the '60s and '70s. 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 flat on the ground. (De Land, p. 293). This shows the trained army man's respect for the Indian warriors of the period who were largely Teton and Cheyenne.

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 1867-77. Charles King states that by 1877 the warriors carried, as a rule, "two revolvers - Colt's Navy preferred." (quoted in De Land, 1930, p. 318).

It should be kept in mind that the use of even 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. 188, 88, 95, 153, 158).

## 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 fire-hardened buffalo hide base, covered with a dressed buffalo, elk or deerskin, the edges of which were characteristically bordered with eagle feathers. Shields averaged about 17 in. 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 '60s and '70s. (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 shield models 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 detailed description of the making of a Teton shield which might serve for the basis of an illustration of this activity appears in Catlin, Vol, 1, p. 241).

## HUNTING METHODS

The two most important activities of the Teton men were fighting and hunting. During the period of the fur trade still greater emphasis was placed upon the securing of large numbers of suitable animals pelts to exchange with white traders for their many useful or ornamental trade to make periodic hunting excursions as long as game was available.

### Hunting the Buffalo

Teton hunting activities were largely concerned with the taking of the buffalo. Their methods of hunting this animal were numerous, ingenious, and devastatingly effective. It is not known what methods 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 varieties of individual or collective hunting afoot with spear or bow and arrow:

a. By surprising the buffalo besides a stream or water hole a group of hunters afoot could readily kill several animals with their native weapons.

b. Indian hunters, bow and arrow in hand, approach 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 rise and with dispatch kill as many animals as possible before the herd takes fright. Catlin describes this method used by the Missouri River tribes in 1832, and illustrates the method (Catlin, Vol. 1, 1876, p. 254 and Plate 110). The animal pelt disguise was widely used in hunting in native North America. Le Moyne, the French artist, pictures 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 The One Horn, a Miniconjou chief, met in 1832, was proud of the fact that he could run down a buffalo on foot and kill him 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 drive the buffalo into deep drifts from which they are unable to excape, and kill them with the lance or bow and arrow. Only the robes were usually 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, is 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 eighteenth 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).

(5). Driving over cliffs: Another method of buffalo hunting which probably dates back to the pre-horse period is that of decoying them and driving them over cliffs. It is described by Lewis and Clark, reprinted in 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 nineteenth 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 even wasteful in the extreme.

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 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 round it killing off the animals with the lance, bow and arrow or rifle as they rode, until a large number, or even the entire herd were destroyed. This method is described in Catlin Vol. 1, pp. 199-201) 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 on horseback, 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 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.

Buffalo were skinned, and the meat cut into convenient sizes for packing on horseback, where the dead animal happened to fall. (The method of skinning, cutting up the animal and packing it is described in Densmore, pp. 443-444).

The communal buffalo hunt was a well organized undertaking with a recognized procedure to be followed. Very complete descriptions of the Teton buffalo hunt may be found in Densmore, pp. 436-47; and T. L. Riggs, entire.

## The Extermination of the Buffalo.

It should be emphasized that 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 all of every animal. But when buffalo were more numerous the Indians were often extremely wasteful. Not only did they kill more animals than they had use for 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 animals untouched. Catlin was told of a party of Teton near Ft. 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.

The Indian's wasteful hunting practices, therefore, must be regarded as playing an important part in the final extermination of the buffalo. White men began to predict the end of the buffalo as early as 1820. It is of interest to note that George Catlin suggested that in order to preserve the buffalo and the Plains Indians as well, the entire Plains region should be declared a national Park. (Catlin, Vol. 1, p. 261).

However, no conservation program was ever set up and as result the range and number of the buffalo continued to dwindle, By 1883 the buffalo as a wild animal was no longer to be found in the northern Plains.

For a very complete and able description of the white man's part in the extermination of the buffalo 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 data on the Cheyenne, close neighbors of the Teton who had many traits of material culture in common, we may surmise that the deer was generally hunted with bow and arrow, elk were caught with rawhide snares or driven over cliffs, mountain sheep were caught insnares or pitfalls, wolves and foxes were

taken in pitfalls, and antelope were driven into enclosed pits. (See detailed data 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 follow-up quickly by the pursuers". (Hayden, p. 373).

The Cheyenne method of catching eagles by hand from a specially constructed pit was followed by the Teton. The method (together with 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 the end of which was looped. (Standing Bear, 1931, pp. 65-67).

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## WAREFARE

The most certain way for a Teton man to win the admiration and respect of his fellows was by the preformance of brave deeds in war. The Teton have been considered along with the Cheyenne as the most daring and capable worriors of the northern Plains.

Enemies and friends of the Teton: We have seen that in their successive migrations westward in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the Teton wrested territory from the Omaha, Arikara, Crow, Kiowa and Cheyenne. Their principal enemies in the nineteenth 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 allied these tribes, however. They aided one another in war only as mutual interests were involved. As the years passed the economic interests of the Teton grew further and futher apart from those of the Eastern Dakota and closer to those of the Cheyenne and Arapaho. This is evidenced by the Teton's 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 '60s and 70s the Indian enemies of the Teton were generally friendly to the whites. (See Map No. 8).

Motives for warefare: The Teton went to war to extend or 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 futher cause was necessary to send the Teton into battle against any wandering parties of Pawnee, Crow or Shoshoni they might meet.

The conduct of war: War expeditions were individual or tribal. In the latter the tribe acted as a unit. In either case the parties were well organized before setting out. If securing horses was the objective the warriors set out on foot carring extra moccasins, and perhaps cooking utensils and medicines. Boys were sometimes taken along to do the cooking and preform menial task for the warriors, at the same time learning the art of war. All celebrations were saved until the return of the warriors, then, if successful, the scalp dance (See dancing, this paper) was preformed. 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 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 gunuine 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, consist of other pieces of hair. These were used to ornament seams of shirts, leggings etc. (See Catlin, Vol. 1. p. 238, and Plate 101; Densmore Plate 52 shows a scalp.

War Honors: War honors were highly prized, and 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 war honors at later gatherings, wore feathers or face paint, and painted his buffalo robe and/or tipi cover to objectively indicate his brave deeds. His fellows saw to it that he did not lay claim to more or greater honors than had been justly earned.

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

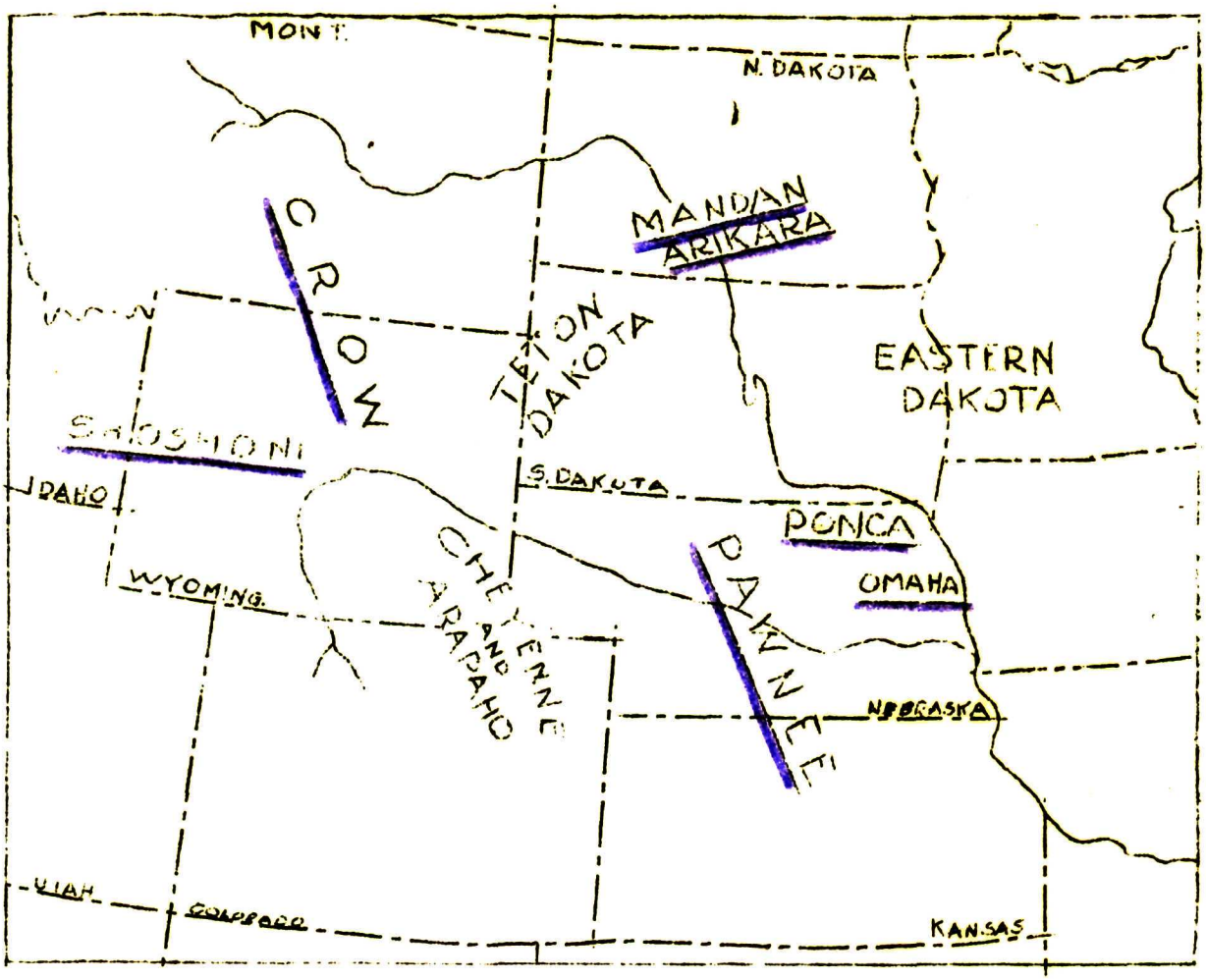
> "He who in the sight of the adversaries, touches a slain or a living enemy, places a feather horizontally in his hair for this exploit. They look upon this as a very distinguished act, for many are often killed in the attempt, before the object is attained. He who kills an enemy by a blow with his 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. 323, 326; see 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 have been killed in the same battle. If he succeeded in striking an enemy he could wear a

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.

corresponding number of feathers, but the enemies must 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).

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

The black paint was seen in use by Teton warriors by Lewis and Clark in 1804 (Lewis and Clark, Vol. 1, p. 166) and Parkman in 1846 (Parkman p. 1o4).

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 of the Missouri, and they never part with it exdept for a good horse." (Maximilian, Vol. 22. p. 323).

Brackett gives an almost identical description of feather bonnets seen at Red Cloud Agency in 1876 (Brackett, p. 669). Talbot and Parkman saw Mineconjou and Oglala warriors in feathers bonnets in the '40s. (Talbot, p. 39; Parkman, p. 142). (A good photo 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. Asresult its peculiar sinificance is not realized by the public today. This bonnet was most characteristic of the Dakota in the old days, today we find Indians all over the country assuming feather bonnets on dress occasions, at rodeos etc.

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

Last intertribal conflict: What has been termed the last intertribal Indian conflict in this countey 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 Aug. 5, 1873, in what has since been known as Massacre Canyon in southwestern Nebraska. The Pawnee were badly beaten with a loss of more than 200, but only after a brave and stubborn resistence,

This battle is described in detail with illustrations of 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 harrass travellers on the Overland Trail through Nebraska and Wyoming in the '40s their first conflict with U.S. troops was in 1854 when Lieut. Gratten and men were massacred east of Fort Laramie. There followed periods of intermittent peace and bitter warefare 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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## WORK IN HIDES

It was woman's work to dress the hides and to make and decorate nearly all the many articles of hide materials 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 large numbers of robes were needed to exchange with the white trader for the many articles desired by the Indians.

### Skin Dressing

Hides were dressed in the open air, for sunshine was deemed necessary for 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 surface of the hide were hacked off with a sharp, toothed instrument originally of bone, later fitted with iron teeth or entirely of iron, with a strap attached to the handle fitting around the woman's wrist to give increased power to the movement. (Described for the Teton by Maximilian who saw this work in 1834, 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 an antler or wooden handle to which a blade of stone, later iron, was bound with rawhide. (See pictures of instruments in Wissler, 1927b, p. 63. Mason lists two Sioux specimens one 14½ in. long, the other 12 in. both of antler, Mason 1889. p. 589).

If the hide was intended for a robe only the inner side was scraped, if to be used for bags, tipi covers etc. 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. (Maximilian 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 then 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 gone over 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 over a line, backwards and forwards 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 the numberous articles of hide used for clothing, in connection with the tipi, warfare, and transportation the Teton made many containers of various sizes and shapes of hide materials:

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

Rectangular hide bags: Hide containers, rectangular in shape, of rawhide or softened skin, of various sizes, and opening on the long or short dimension were made and 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 used by the Teton. (See section on decorative art, this paper). (Illustrations of Plains medicine cases appear in Wissler, 1910 figs. 43, 44; and Krieger, 1930).

Pipe and Tobacco Bags: Long, narrow bags, ranging from 80 to 150 cm. were used by the Teton to hold their 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 XLIII, XLII, XLVII, XVLIII, LV and figs. 99, 100).

This type of bag is believed to be quite recent (i.e. mid-nineteenth century). The Teton claim to have used entire skins of the young antelope, deer, beaver etc. for smoking bags at an earlier period. (Such bags were seen by Catlin in 1832, Catlin, Vol. I. p. 242 and Plate 101½, figs. 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).

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## TOBACCO, PIPES AND SMOKING CUSTOMS.

Like most other Indian tribes north of Mexico, the Teton smoked tobacco when first met by white men. They were pipe smokers. Le Sueur noticed the Teton custom of "swallowing their smoke" in 1700. (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, (1) N. quadrivalvus Pursh. was cultivated by the Mandan, Hidatsa, Arikara, and possibly other Missouri River tribes, and (2) N. attenuata Torrey, grew wild over the southern and central Plains and was cultivated in the north. (West, Part I, pp. 63-64; Map Part 2, Plate I; Gilmore pp. 113-114, illustration of quadrivalvus Plate 27). It is not certain whether the Teton ever raised tobacco themselves.

Tobacco was mixed for smoking 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 used in place of tobacco in the mixture when tobacco itself was scarce. (West, p. 107; Maximilian Vol. 22. p. 313; Parkman, p. 240). The term "kinnikinnick" was applied not only to tobacco but to the mixtures and substitutes for tobacco as well. (West, p. 32). White traders at an early period began to use tobacco in the Indian trade. The Plains Indians were fond of the tobacco furnished by the whites.

### Pipes

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 2. Maps 12, 14 and 15). The use of the calumet he particularly identified with the Siouan peoples west of the Great Lakes. (West, p. 357). Maximilian termed Dakota pipes "the most beautiful of all the North American Indians". (Maximilian, p. 322, Vol. 22).

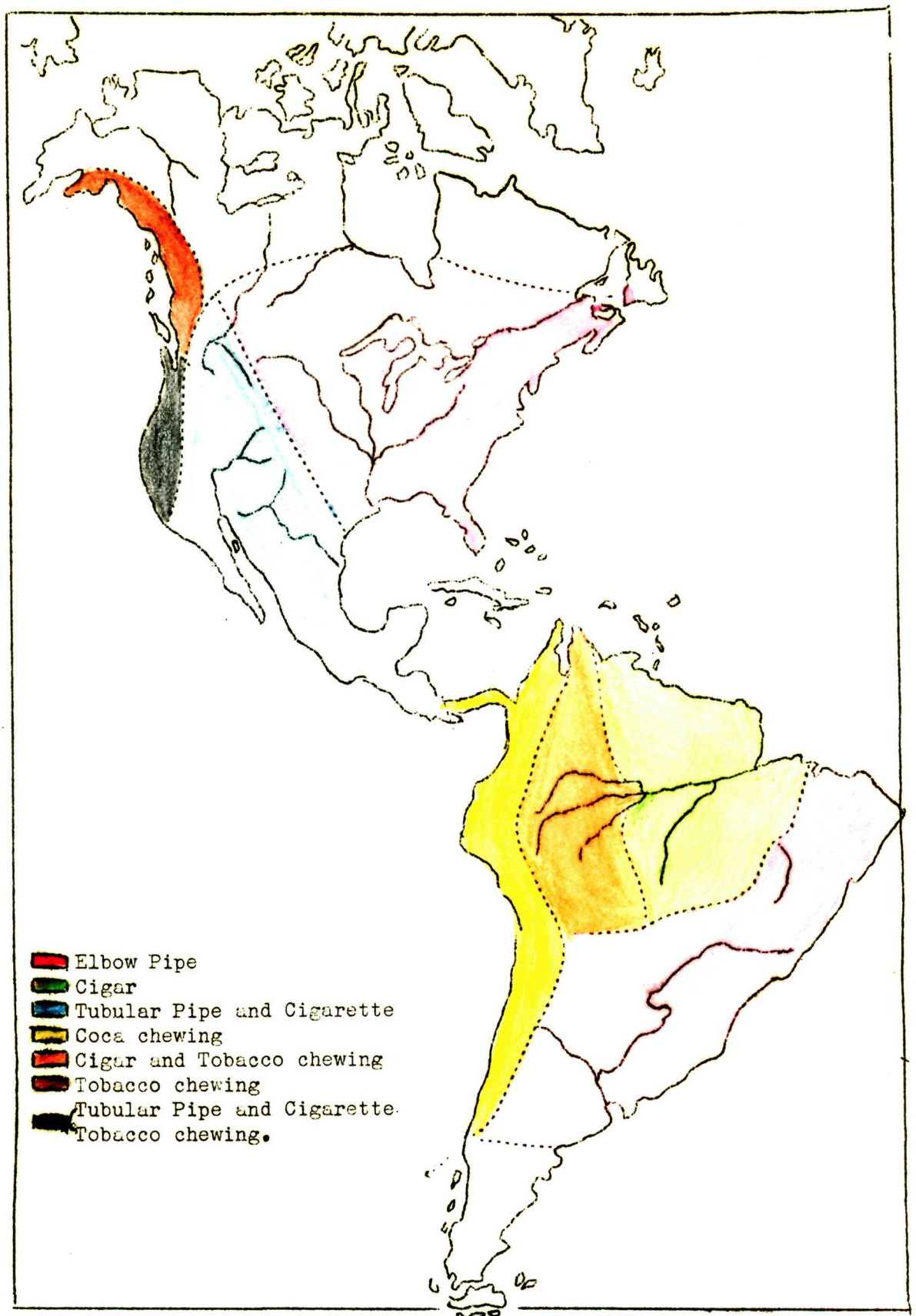
Pipe bowls: The favorite material for Teton pipe bowls was catlinite, a soft claystone named after George Catlin who first brought it to the attention of minerologists. It was taken from the famous quarry in southwestern Minnesota near the present town of Pipestone. Here the outcrop of catlinite occurs 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 in peace, but in the nineteenth century the Dakota claimed sole right to the quarry. It is noteworthy that the site is located in the general 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.

Map No.10

THE USE OF NARCOTICS BY THE AMERICAN INDIANS.




( After Wissler, 1922. P26 ).

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 great labor 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 center, 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 2, Plates 178 ff; and McGuire, 1897.

White influence on pipes.

White traders manufactured catlinite pipes for sale to Indians or white souvenier hunters. Burnett estimated that in 1892 not 1% of the pipes then 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 nineteenth 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 was carried, have been previously described. (See section on 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 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 smoking 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 may never be allowed to be used on any other occasion then that of peace smoking.... 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 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. 325).

See also Lewis and Clark, p. 167. Vol. I; Denig, p. 446 ff; Mooney, 1897. pp. 1062-64; and Densmore, p. 102, and Plate 14, describing use of pipe in the Sun Dance of the Teton.

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## DECORATIVE ART

The Plains Indians decorated many of their useful articles with painted, quilled or beaded designs in the old days. Both geometric and life forms were used. The Teton excelled in these arts.

### Painting

The art of painting is probably the oldest of the Plains decorative techniques. Many examples of Teton painting 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 of animal hide (buffalo, deer, elk, antelope, or horse in the early days, and later, domestic cow). The many articles made of hide by the Teton - robes, tipi covers, parfleches and other hide containers, tipi linings, shields, shirts, drum heads, etc. 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 an original yellow ocherous substance by heat. A black earth or charcoal were sources for black paint. There is some doubt whether the Teton possessed blue or green paints before white contact. 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, 1887, p. 221). In the mid-nineteenth century the primary colors red, yellow and blue were preferred, with green the next most common color used. (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 gluey substance served to make the colors adhere to the painted skin surface, and in addition increased the luminosity of the paint. In some instances the color was simply mixed with water, and the gluey substance 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 the prepared colors were held in hollow stones or tortoise shell. (Standing Bear, 1931, p. 126).

Brushes: The aboriginal implements which served as brushes for application of paint to the hide were of bone, horn or wood. A favorite material was the spongy, porous portion of the buffalo's leg bone. One edge of such a brush 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 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 simply outlining forms on the hide in preparation for painting. Standing Bear mentions the use of a sort of ruler for guiding the painter in making straight lines. (Standing Bear, 1931, p. 126).

Technique of painting: The hide was stretched out on the ground and the painter knelt or crouched over it on his knees or haunches. Sometimes more than one artist worked on a single hide in the case of representative painting. In painting geometric designs the patterns were first pressed into the hide with a wooden or bone piece, then the paint was applied over the pressed-in patterns, and finally glue sizing was put on over the paint to set it. On geometrically painted robes glue sizing was often applied without color to portions of the hide surrounding painted blocks of color. Its lavish use on many hides as an outline for all painted forms sets the colors off from one another and produces very striking contrasts. This use of size marking is never found on hides which bear only paintings of life forms. (See also Standing Bear, 1931, pp. 126-127).

Decorative Style: While representative (i.e. life) forms were similar in style whether painted on robes, tipi covers, shields, shirts, etc., the pattern of geometric design was adjusted to fit the form of the article decorated. Thus, for example, the same patterns of geometric decoration were not used on both robes and parfleches.

Representative Style: Teton representative painting makes use of human and animal figures, usually in profile, in flat color and without background. The warrior's desire for representation of his principal war deeds on his buffalo robe or tipi cover accounts for the predominance of the figures of horse and man on these materials. The subjects of counting coup on the enemy and stealing horses are favorite ones. In spite of the importance of the buffalo in Teton culture it 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 were brown and black. Blue outlines were less common. Complex problems of perspective were avoided by representing figures in side view profile. Figures in front or three-quarters 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 figure forms from a rather crude type of horse and human figure in the early years of the nineteenth 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 white 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 painted robe containing life forms is illustrated in color in Hall, 1926a; see also Krieger, 1930, and Vatter.

## Geometric Patterns

Robes: Two patterns of geometric robe painting of the Sioux are common in museum collections; (1) a woman's robe pattern (illustrated in Maximilian's Atlas, Plate 42, and Wissler, 1902a, Fig. 83; also Densmore, Plate 5); (2) a man's robe pattern (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 domestic 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, always maintaining at least a bilateral symmetry on the long dimension and, in most cases a quadrilateral symmetry on both long and short axis. See examples, Plate 9, 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 and the central portion was reserved for representations of cult symbols or the record of the tipi owner's war deeds. (See also Standing Bear, 1931, pp. 127-128).

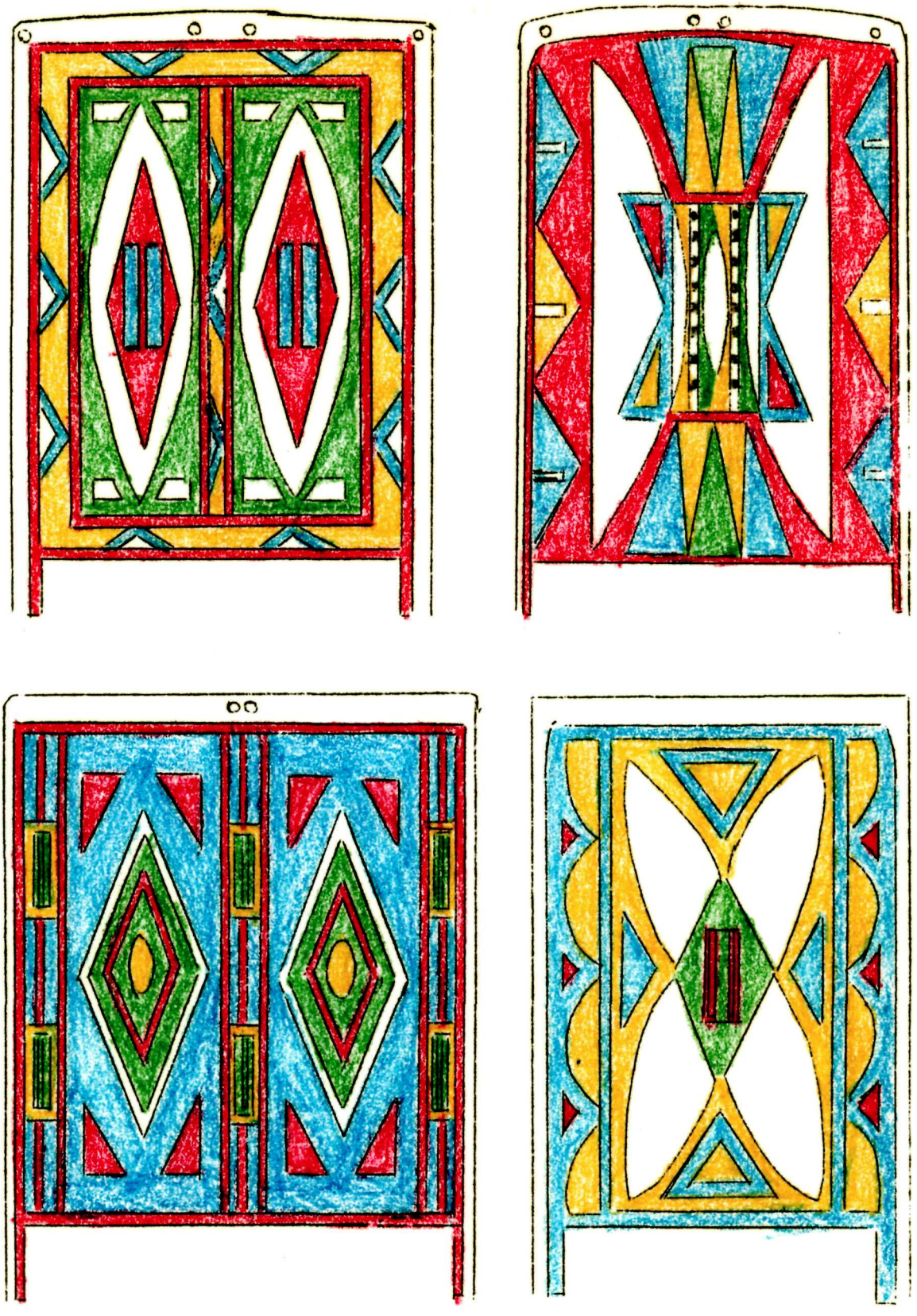
Tipi Linings: The single Sioux painted tipi lining seen by the writer bore representative figures rather than geometric decorations. It was painted by Pretty Hawk in 1864, and portrays his personal deeds of bravery.

Shields: The circular form of the shield, and the fact that it was carried with 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 which were sometimes painted in the late years of the nineteenth century. The canvas covered tipis, and canvas tipi linings that replaced those of buffalo hide continued to be painted. War deeds were sometimes painted on separate pieces of canvas. (Some of these are illustrated in Densmore). White visitors, army officers, etc. sometimes collected samples of native Indian drawings and paintings on paper or in little notebooks in the late nineteenth century.

Map No.9

DAKOTA PARFLECHE DESIGNS



( After Wissler, 1902a )

## 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 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 escape.

The quills were sometimes plucked from the living animals, at any rate, this operation was performed before removing the skin. Four sizes of quills were recognized and graded: (1) the largest and coarsest quills 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 handled, pipe-stems and fringes, (2) the next size was from the back, (3) a still smaller size was from the neck, (4) the finest quills 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 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 given their desired colors by boiling selected plant materials with the quills in water until the quills were dyed. Orchard obtained some information on the aboriginal sources of color:

red - the buffalo berry preferred,
black - wild grapes preferred,
yellow - wild sunflower and cone flower preferred,
blue - 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: The 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 were used for making holes in the leather; sinew strands were used for fastening the quills to the leather. A knife was used to cut the quills. Quill flatteners of bone or antler were sometimes used, but quill workers probably more commonly flattened the quills by simply holding one end of the quill 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: Detailed descriptions of the types of stitches used, methods of splicing quills, embroidering, wrapping, etc., are given in 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 for wrapping fringes, bands, lacings etc. (Wissler, 1910, 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 the decoration to flat surfaces or wrapped the quills about fringes, bands, lacings, etc. 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. Other materials quilled, together with references to illustrations of specimens reproduced in line or halftone, are mentioned below:

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 Motive in Quillwork: See general discussion of design motives for quillwork and beadwork below.

## Beadwork.

Beadwork among the Teton must not be considered as a wholly independent decorative technique. Actually, the glass beads introduced by fur traders were substituted for quills. The materials embroidered, and to a considerable extent the techniques and designs remained the same as for quillwork. As the years of the nineteenth century passed quillwork began to disappear and beaded designs remained. The ease with which the beads could be secured and the simplicity of applying them favored the development of beadwork. As a result, quillwork virtually disappeared in the late nineteenth century whereas some beadwork is done even at the present day for the tourist trade.

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 one 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 1/16 to 1/8 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 strung on a piece of sinew, later white man's thread and sewed down to the skin (later cloth) material through holes made by an awl or 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 these stitches were used by the Teton.

Materials Beaded: The materials to which beaded decorations were applied were, for the most part, those to which quilled decorations were earlier attached. References to photos of beadworked specimens appear below:

Moccasins:- (Wissler, 1902a, Plates 38, 39, 52, 54).
Women's and girl's 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, 1902a, 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:- (Krieger, 1928, Plate 27).

Designs in Quillwork and Beadwork.

The larger surfaces decorated with quill or bead embroidery were usually treated as monochrome backgrounds on which were worked compositions made up of a number of small, simple design elements. In the beadwork of the early days the backgrounds were usually light blue,

in that the late nineteenth century and the present century these backgrounds have generally been white.

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 commonly those indicated on the cut as c, d, e, f, g and h. Elements a and b were less commonly used. Elements i, j, k, l, m and n were for the most part lacking in Sioux embroidery. (Kroeber, 1908, pp. 153-154).

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

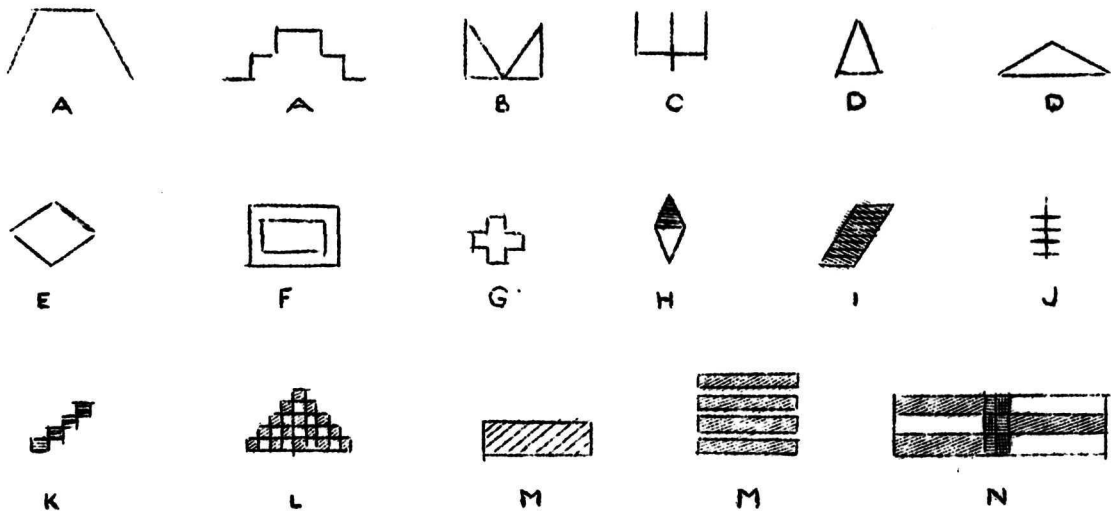
For further information on Sioux embroidery in quills and beads see: Wissler, 1902a (general); Wissler, 1916, (use on articles of clothing); Wissler, 1927a (moccasin decoration); Wissler, 1931 (beadwork - general); Lyford; Boas, 1928 (general); Krieger, 1930 (general).

## Symbolism.

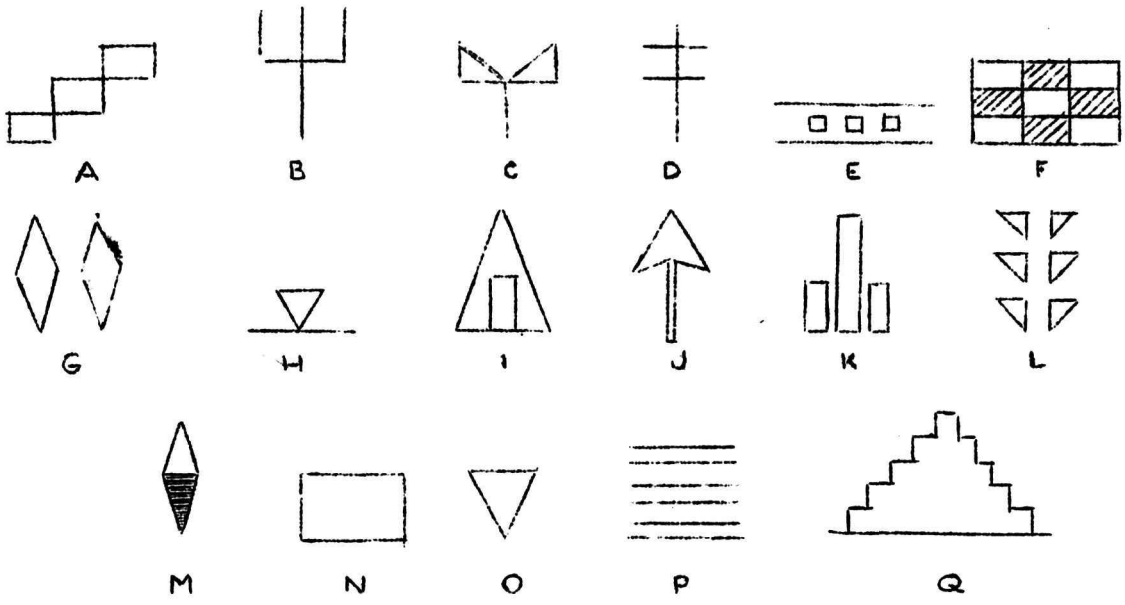
It was a common custom for Sioux workers in quill and bead embroidery to give names to their design elements. The names given must not be implied as meaning that the individual design forms were intended to be conventionalizations of those forms in nature that have the same names. Actually, the same design form was sometimes given different names by different people and different people 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).

No. 9b.

DESIGNS USED IN BEAD AND QUILL EMBROIDRY.




Plains Indian Bead and Quill Designs.
( After Krober 1908, fig. 1. )




Dakota Beadwork Designs

( After Wissler 1902a. fig. 71 )

## GAMES AND AMUSEMENTS

The Teton Damota 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 were known to the Teton. There were games for persons of all ages and both sexes. Dorsey describes over fifty children's games alone. (Dorsey, 1891). An exhibit illustrating the playing of several games would be of interest to the museum visitor. Five typical Teton games were:

The Dice Game: rules and equipment described and pictured in Culin, pp. 179-182.

The Moccasin Guessing Game: rules and equipment described and pictured in Culin, pp. 364-365.

The Hoop and Pole Game: rules and equipment described and pictured in Culin, pp. 503-508.

Shinny: rules and equipment described and pictured in Culin, pp. 637-639.

Archery: rules and equipment described in detail and pictured in Culin, pp. 391-393.

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 at all 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, "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 pictured 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 with different uses. (Figs. 21, 23, 30, 39 and Plates 18 and 61). Catlin mentioned a war whistle used by war leaders having two notes, one for battle, other to sound retreat. (Catlin, Vol. 1, p. 243 and Plate 101½, Fig. h.).

Drums: Drums were of single headed tambourine type with rawhide cover, beat with a stick of rattle type; or a taller drum of keg type with two rawhide heads was used. (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 in the end, and fingered on the three to six holes in the side. (Catlin, Vol. 1, p. 243 and Plate 101½, Fig. g).

Dances: Investigators found that the Teton had a number of social dances in the early years of the present century, but upon investigation most of the dances were found to be of alien origin derived from other tribes within the memory of natives then living. (These are described by Densmore, pp. 468-482 with illustrations, and Wissler, 1916, pp. 75 ff). Nevertheless social dancing was an old Teton custom. Lewis and Clark mentioned the dancing of Teton visited in 1804. (Lewis and Clark, Vol. 1, p. ). And Catlin described the dancing of the Western Dakota in the 1830s. (Catlin, Vol. 1, pp. 244-46).

For purposes of museum interpretation some of the special purpose dances would be more impressive. 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 dance was given several days in succession before starting out on the bear hunt. The chief medicine man wore an entire bear skin, other dancers wore bear head masks, all imitated the actions of the bear. (Catlin, Vol. 1, p. 245, Plate 102).

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

The Scalp Dance: This was danced at night, by torch light, in celebration of victory in war. Dancers brandished their weapons and boasted of their prowess. Several young women stood in center of the circle with the scalps taken raised on poles. The warriors distorted their faces, shouted, jumped on both feet at same time. (Catlin, Vol. 1, p. 246, illustrated on Plate 104).

## LANGUAGE AND COMMUNICATION OF IDEAS

The Plains Indians lacked a written language but their methods of communicating ideas were none the less 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 signalling with objects are subjects which can well be interpreted by graphic museum methods:

Oral Language: The Siouan language, a dialect which was spoken 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). However, the dialetic differences within the language were considerable, 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. But the differences between Teton and Crow were too great to make practical conversation possible. There were, however, many individuals in neighboring tribes who could speak 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 on 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 intertribal communication between peoples speaking different languages, and for communication at great distances or under conditions where the sound of the voice was undesirable by persons of the same tribe. The sign language was found useful to white traders in communicating with many tribes of Indians. Stansbury mentions a conversation between Bridger and some Oglala near Fort Laramie in 1849, which was carried on with complete understanding on both sides entirely by use of signs for more than an hour. (Stansbury, p. 254).

Mallery, 1881, gives a dictionary of Plains Indian signs, descriptions of signs used for tribal names, sample conversations in sign language, etc., illustrated with many line cuts. See also Clark.

Picture Writing: The Teton in common with other Plains tribes conveyed ideas by means of painted pictures on hide. Two principal varieties of these 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 to the Dakota and Kiowa tribes. (See descriptions and illustrations of examples of 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 especially the forms used were simply suggestive rather than realistic. But 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).

Signalling with Objects: It was customary to convey knowledge to those at a distance by means of signals of various kinds. Some of these were:

(1). Smoke Signals, could be seen for from 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 as to convey different meanings to his allies at a distance. (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 other blanket signals also. (See Mallery, 1881, p. 532ff, and illustration Fig. 337).

(3). Horse Signals were used to convey to those afar the discovery of game, enemies etc. 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 with a piece of looking glass reflecting on a bright day were used to convey information by the Sioux. (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, game, etc. (Mallery, 1881, p. 541).

Feathers as Symbols of Achievement: By the number and orientation of the feathers in the hair of a Teton warrior the number and kind of his brave deeds could be ascertained. (See section on warfare, this paper).

## 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 on planning and preparation of items interpreting Teton culture should have a general idea of these subjects in mind.

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

Relations Between the Teton Group: Dorsey believed the seven Teton groups to be developed from the original Teton gens. Each of these in turn developed gentes, and some 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 which includes diagrams of camp circles of several groups).

Government: Detailed data on Teton government is available for a few Oglala sub-groups only. 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 older men, 40 years and over. It elected its own members and also elected

The Seven Chiefs who held office for life. The position was often hereditary in that 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 coundilors, who also served for life, but could resign at any time. They may or may not be members of the chiefs' society, but the seven chiefs were not eligible to this office. On investment to office these were given a special form of hair-fringed shirt, hence the name "Shirt Wearers". They were supreme concilors, 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 whole chiefs society) to organize and control the camp. They held office for one year,

though usually two or three were re-elected for the following year. They were elected at the formation of the camp circle in the spring. They appointed two orderlies, a herald and

Two Head Akicita who selected two others to serve with them as heads of the camp police organization. They select 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 the murderer, etc. They served one year.

The set-up 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 detailed discussion of political organization see Wissler, 1916, pp. 7-12. On twentieth 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, cede land, etc., for their people as if they were unlimited despots. Such, of course, was not the case, which led to misunderstandings and broken treaties in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Social Organization: The Teton had the gens type of organization (i.e. descent was reconed in the male line). Picturesque aspects of Teton society that might conceivably be objectified in museum interpretation are the sororate and mother-in-law avoidance.

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

## 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 (but not always) went to reside with her family for the birth of her baby if it was convenient. Her woman relatives attend her in childbirth. The birth was announced in the village by a crier and the father often gave away a horse to celebrate the event. (Standing Bear, 1933, pp. 11. 117-119).

### Infancy

The baby was placed in a cradle which was carried on the mother's back, on the travois in moving camp, or securely set up on end while the mother was busily occupied about the camp.

Standing Bear mentions the naming ceremony which took place a few days after birth and the ceremony of piercing the baby's ears which 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. It learned the Teton virtues of courage, industry, and generosity. As the boy grew older he learned to make and use the bow and arrow, to ride skillfully and to hunt. On approaching adolescense he was taken on a war party to assist with the menial task and learn the arts of war. The girl was taught to dress skins, make clothes, perpare food, care for the tipi and the many other women's tasks. (See Standing Bear, 1931, 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. His father gave horses away at the time. (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 was generally frowned upon. It was better that the couple go at once to the family of the young man. There was no ceremony, no vows. 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 disolved by mutal consent, or if the wife was quarrelsome with her husbands relatives, lazy or unfaithful or if the husband was cruel, unfaithful or cowardly.

Good providers often had 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 eighteenth and early nineteenth 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 on a high hill. The individual, according to Maximilian, expressed his choice before death. (Maximilian, Vol. 22, p. 327). (See illustrations of methods of burial in Bushnell, 1927; and Maximilian's Atlas, Plate 44). Culbertson infers that the aged were sometimes abandoned on the prairie. (p. 113), and Stansbury mentions finding bodies laid out on the ground inside tipis of individuals who had died of the cholera in 1849. It appears that their relatives, fearing the disease, had left them without the usual burial. (p. 43).

The dead warrior's favorite horse was killed and his arms, clothing, pipe, etc., placed near the deceased. (Dorsey, 1889c,,p. 444; 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 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 men "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 often 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 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).

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

Wissler in 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 preceeding 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 were :
   - 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.
   - The Chief's Society (pp. 36-41).
   - Ska Yuha (pp.41).
   - Miwatni (pp. 41-48).
   - Omaha (pp. 48-52).

3. The War Societies: Made up of able bodied warriors The societies vied with one another for war honors.
   - Dog (pp. 52-54).
   - Blotaunka (p. 54-61).
   - Sotka Tanka (p. 61-62).

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

Wissler lists a number of common characteristics of the Oglala

men's societies:

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

2. All have 2 to 4 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 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 Chief's 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 Owner's, Strong Heart,, (Wissler's Braves) Badger, and Miwantani organizations. (See Densmore, pp. 311-328, which includes a number of illustrations of society paraphernalia).

**********

## 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 really serious medical problem they called upon the medicine man.

Some typical Teton remedies were:

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 used. (Gilmore, p. 94).

For Constipation: The bark of the root of the Kentucky Coffee-tree was pulverized after being dried and mixed with water , 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 that "the Sioux do not understand the treatment of diseases, but generally cure wounds very well". (Maximilian, Vol. 22, p. 327). The natives were helpless againsts such scourges as the smallpox, venerial diseases, and cholera, brought into the Plains by the Whites. In reservation days tuberculosis grew and could not be checked by native means.

## MEDICINE MEN.

Men became medicine men as 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 of them treated but one special disease.

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

For some detailed 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), medicine man's rattle (Plate 32), medicine bags (Plates 33, 34, 35, and 36), splint and matted deer hair used in treating fractures (Plate 37), medicine men's drum and drumstick (Plates 38 and 39), necklace worn when treating the sick (Plate 41).

## RELIGION

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

> "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 comes 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 so complex a conception". (Wissler, 1927b, p. 110).

These concepts are, of course, difficult to objectify in museum interpretion. More susceptable to museum treatment are the vision quest, cult ceremonies, and the great annual, tribal religious ceremony of the Sun Dance.

### The Vision Quest.

Each Teton male had his individual guardian spirit or supernatural helper which he believed conferred great power on him and protected him from harm. The youth, after he had received instructions from the shamen, went out alone in quest of the spirit to some secluded spot on a hill or 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. 157ff; Dorsey, 1889c, p. 155; Dorsey, 1894, pp. 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 similar dreams to attend, and they went through the ceremonies prescribed by custom for

the particular cult. Each cult had its own songs, dances, paraphernalia and ceremonial proceedure.

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

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 on 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, where the bands gathered to form the 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 proceedure was 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. All followed rigid regulations. The dance lodge was then constructed with meticulous care.

Participants in the Sun Dance were principally those men who had during the preceeding year at some time 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 gard, or it might extend to one or more forms of exceedingly painful self-inflicted torture.

The Sun Dance lasted for two days.

It is not necessary to go into the multitude of details of the Sun Dance procedure here. 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 activities 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 officials 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. These men returned to encourage the practice of the dance with its accompanying beliefs among the Sioux. According to 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, aggrevated by local grievances, led to an outbreak in the winter of 1890-91 the principal events of which were the killing of Sitting Bull and the massacre of Wounded Knee.

For a complete, detailed 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 should be established in the Teton 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 to the Teton. Robinson, 1904, pp. 195-97). The Catholic missionaries Ravoux and DeSmet also visited the Teton in the 1840s but established no permnent missions.

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

## 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 believed 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 timbered game; they traveled to a considerable extent by canoe, and lived in homes of pole foundation 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 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.

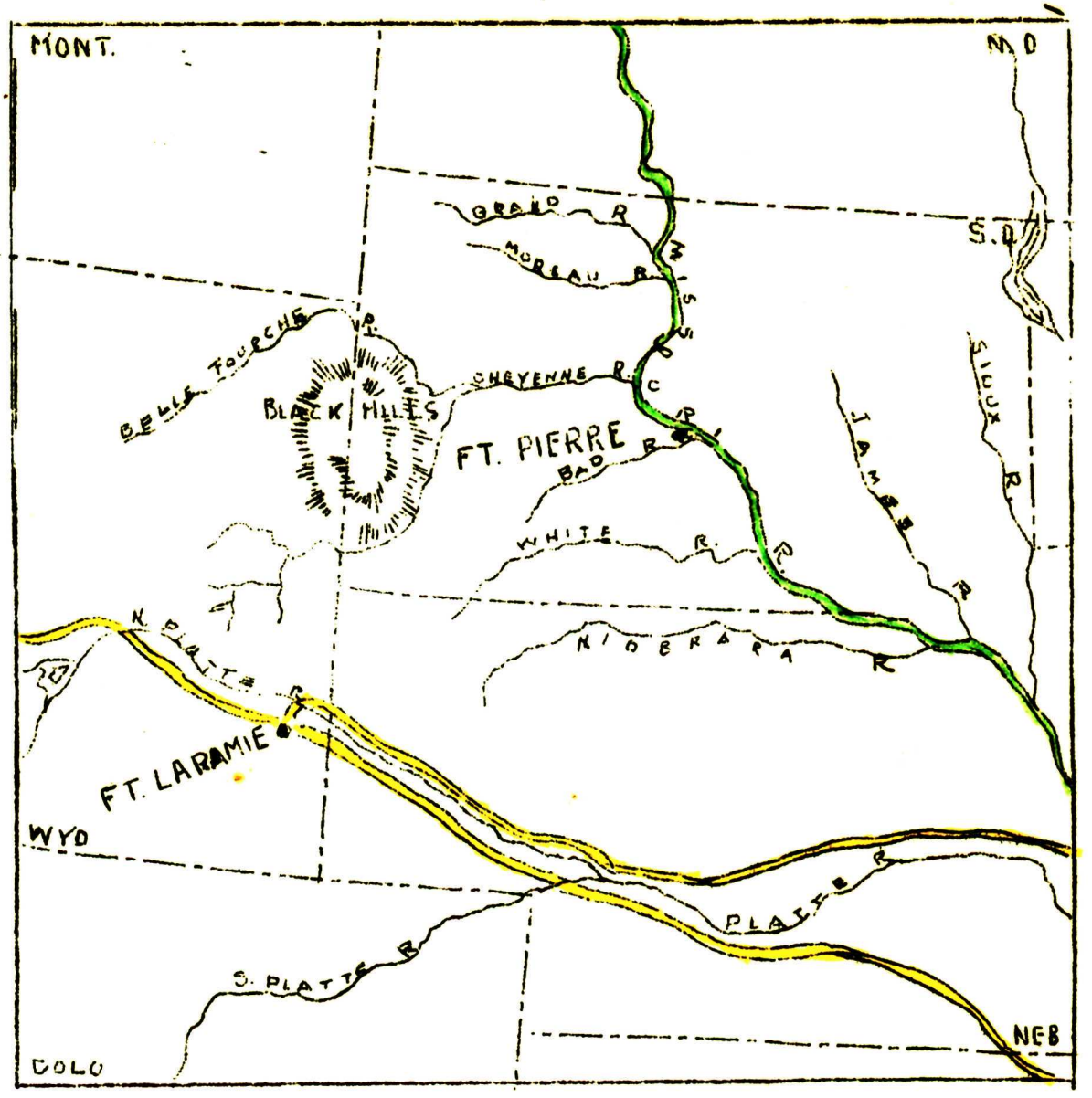
Father Hennepin met some of the Teton in 1680, but the first record giving any details of Teton culture is that of LeSueur, who, in 1700 found that they did not then use canoes or gathered wild rice, lived in lodges of buffalo skin which they carried about with them, were experts with bow and arrow,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

The recorded history of the Teton in the 18th century is very meagre. 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 the Missouri Valley. The La Verendrye brothers may have contacted some of them on the east side of the Missouri near the present town of Fairbanks, S. D. 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 much feared by traders and neighboring Indians alike. He mentions that the Teton hunted on both sides of the Missouri at the 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

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.

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 12 fur posts on the Missouri River in Teton territory most of which, however, were active for rather limited periods. (Chittenden, pp. 927-931). The most important trading post for the Teton was Fort Pierre (1831-1855) three miles above the mouth of the Teton (or Bad) River (successor to Fort Tecumseh 1822-31), operated by the American Fur Co. There were many subordinate houses of this company scattered through the Sioux country on both sides of the Missouri. Many of these 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 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, 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 Mountains rendezvous of the traders. In the second decade of the 19th century French fur traders were active in eastern Wyoming near the Platte. 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). Ft. 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, which contains illustrations; for descriptions at various periods see Fremont, Parkman, Stansbury, etc. The best pictures of Fort Laramie as a fur post are those made by Miller in 1837, photos of which are in the files of the Field Division of Education).

In the early years of the fur trade the smaller, more expensive pelts (especially the 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, etc. The Sioux traffic in buffalo robes was very heavy. Chittenden rates the Sioux as the most important Indians in the 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, circa 1820-1840, was the period of greatest prosperity for the Teton. In this period their native culture was augmented 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 healthy 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 life of the natives. The white were too few in number to afford to take great advantage of the Indians or treat them harshly. However, liquor was given to the Indians to facilitate trading, and insure the white man something of an edge in the bargaining. Lewis and Clark found some Teton chiefs, encountered 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, cholera, etc. 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 white contacts to 1841 was one of 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 (see section on migration of the Teton) that between 1700 and 1830 the Teton were much concerned with securing the best possible buffalo hunting grounds, and that this search carried them westward from Minnesota to Western South Dakota and adjacent regions of North Dakota, Montana, Wyoming, and Nebraska. In this region they found the finest hunting grounds of the west. Their concern thereafter was to preserve these hunting grounds against all encroachment by outsiders. Against the neighboring Indian tribes they were successful. It was not until 1841 that they began to feel uneasy about trespass in their territory. The offenders were not Indians but whites.

The Platte Valley had been used by fur traders since 1812 as the shortest route to and from the Rockies, and a small number of parties had passed up the Platte, through the South Pass and on to Oregon before 1841. But the number and size of these parties had not been so great as to seriously disturb the herds of buffalo in this region.

THE WHITE MAN ROADS THROUGH TETON COUNTRY

Map #12

In 1841 the first large immigrant train bound for Oregon passed over the trail, beginning the destruction of the buffalo nearby and frightening the herds away from the region, and the destruction of wood and grass in the river bottoms. From then on food became increasingly hard for some of the Brule and Oglala bands to procure. And with each year the number of immigrants continued to grow. Talbot heard one of the Oglala chiefs enquire "if there were still any whites remaining there, pointing to the eastward". (Talbot, 1931). That was in 1843. In the twelve years period from 1841 to 1852 fully 157,717 immigrants passed over the trail to Oregon, California or Utah. (Breed, p. 254). True, none of them stopped to settle in the Teton country, but their effect on the buffalo in the region was devastating.

Isolated cases of Indian attacks on the immigrant parties began in the early years of the large scale immigration. It became apparent that government protection of the immigrants would be necessary. Accordingly, a string of forts was set up by the Government. Principal ones in the Teton Country were Fort Kearney (Neb) established in 1847, and Fort Laramie, purchased from the American Fur Co. in 1849. They were garrisoned with troops.

In 1851 the Government made treaties with all the tribes along the route of the Oregon Trail by which the Indians promised to respect the immigrants' right of way, and the boundaries of the various tribes were defined. By this first Fort Laramie Treaty the Sioux (i.e. Teton) territory was defined as shown on Map 15. But in reality this boundary had little meaning to the Indians. They continued to roam over a considerable wider area than indicated on the map.

In 1854 occurred the first armed conflict between U.S. troops and the Teton (a camp made up of Oglalas, Brules and Miniconjous). In this fight, the so-called Grattan Massacre, some 9 miles east of Fort Laramie, Lieut. Grattan and 32 men were killed in a dispute over an immigrant's cow. Gen. 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. 100ff).

This marked the beginning of the bloody wars between the Teton (often assisted by Cheyenne and Arapaho allies) and U.S. troops. The period from 1854 to 1877 was marked by brief intervals of vicious fighting interspersed by longer ones of relative peace and quiet. The principal motive of the Teton throughout this period was the desire to protect their hunting grounds from trespass by white immigrants, 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 indicated sites of the principal armed conflicts between Teton and whites in the period 1854-1890).

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 for the supposed purpose of using these materials in the hunt, and then turn against the government forces with their newly acquired supplies 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 and 1877, 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, 1914, Sabin, Seymour, Wellman, and Vestal. The most valuable sources above are underlined. (See also section on chronology, this paper).

The last armed resistence of the Teton occurred in the winter of 1890-1891, after all had been settled on reservations for more than a decade. The outbreak of this period, 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, 1897).

## The Reservation Period, 1865 - the Present.

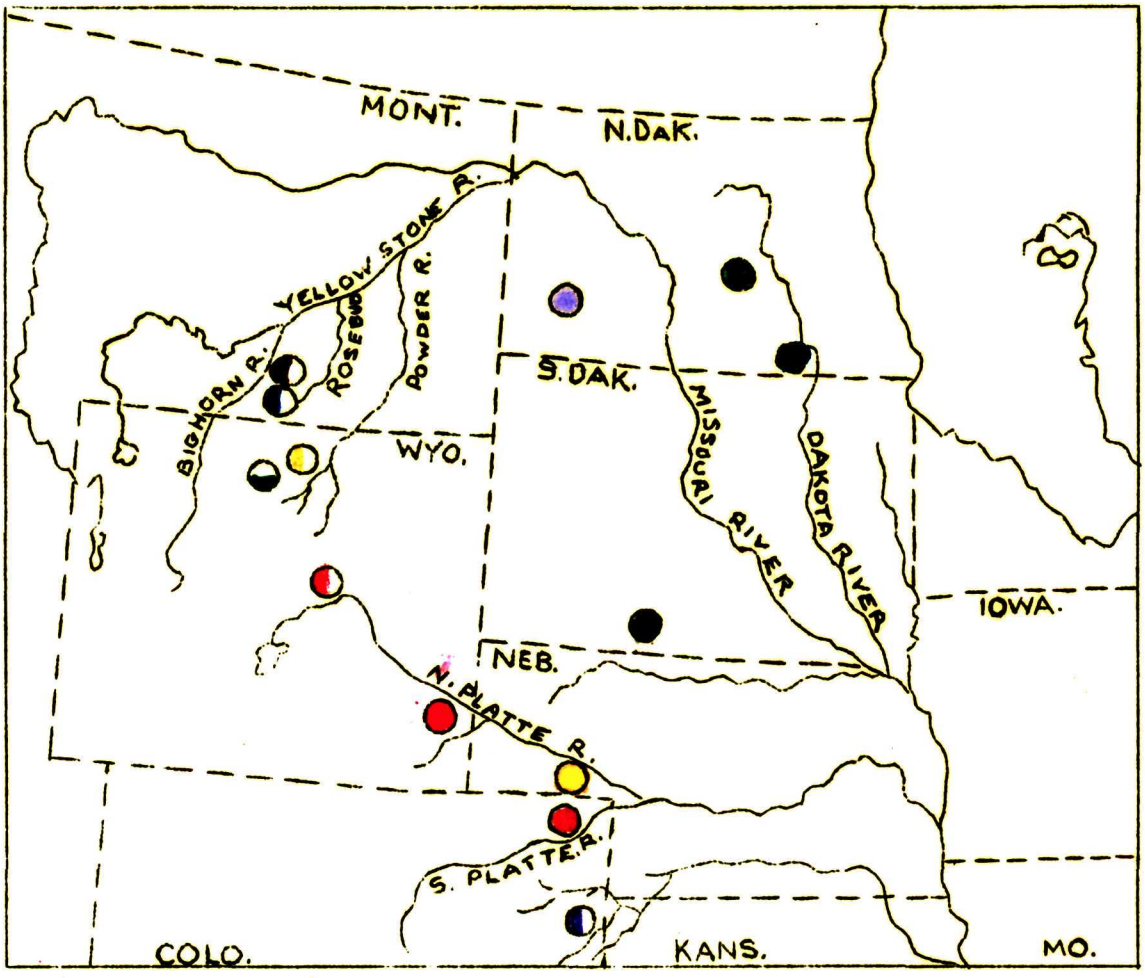
White desire for Indian land has been the principal reason for confining Indians on limited reservation areas in the United States. The land occupied by the Teton was not found desirable by whites until a relatively late date, less than 70 years ago, when the cattlemen of Wyoming desired to extend their activities north of the Platte and prospectors rushed to the Black Hills for gold.

The thousands of immigrants 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. It remained unceded Indian land until 1876, when this territory, 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 caused by minor land ces-

Map No. 13.

PRINCIPAL CONFLICTS BETWEEN TETON AND WHITES

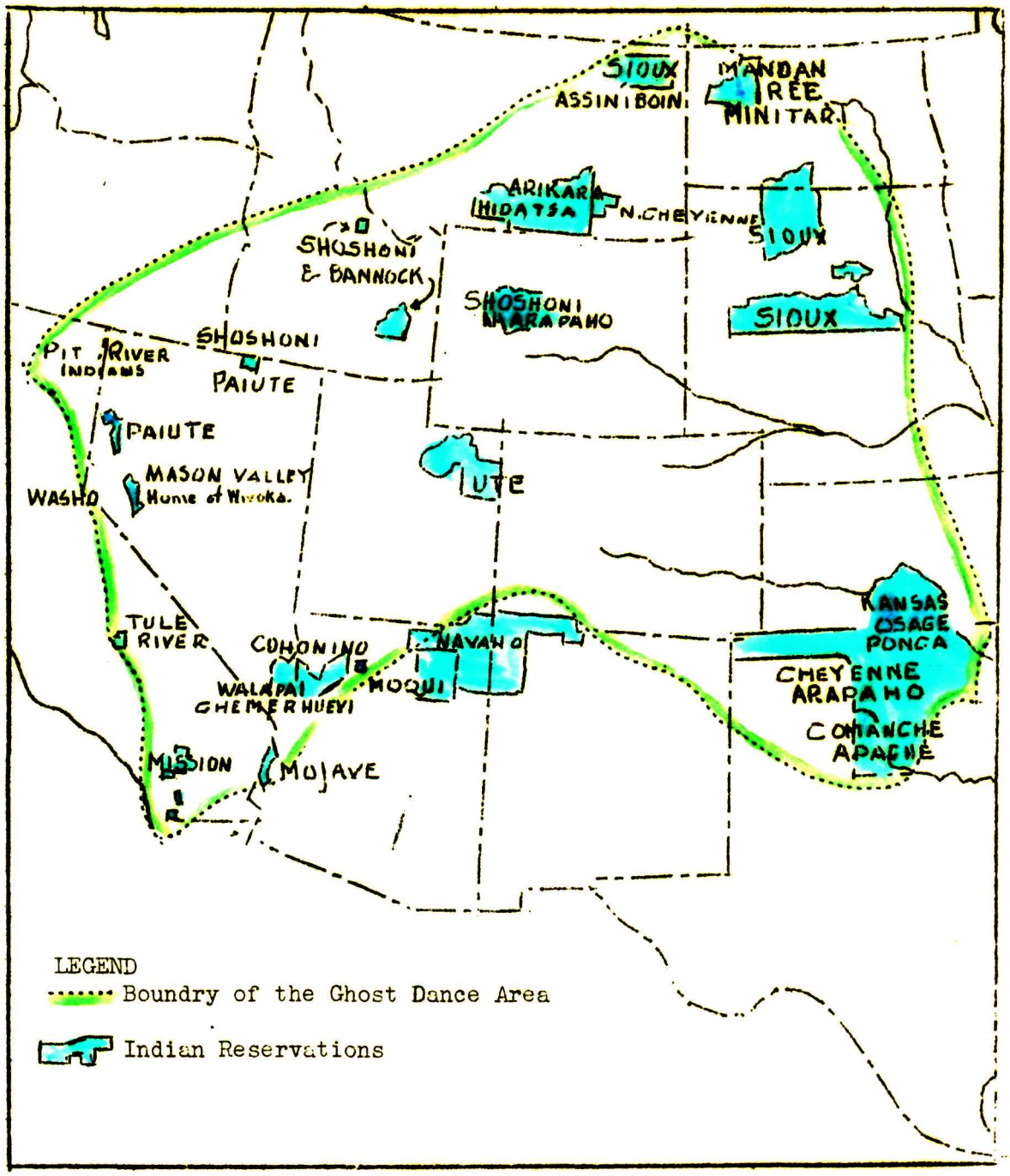
1854-1890.




- 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.

Map No. 14

DIFFUSION OF THE GHOST DANCE
RELIGION OF 1890.

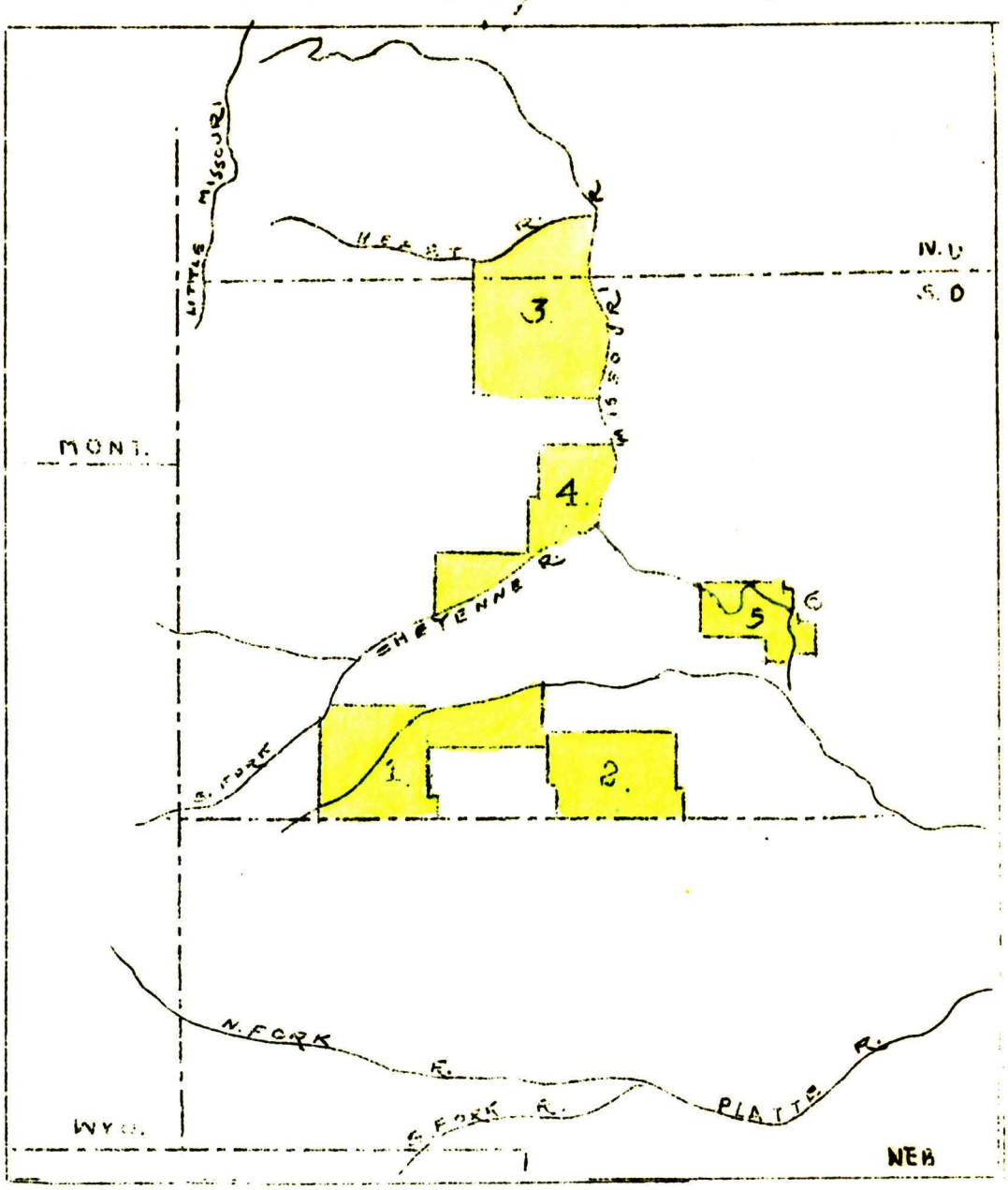


Map No. 15.

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)

sions since 1890, remain today. (See Map No. 16).

With their settlement on reservations, government attempts to civilize the Teton were intensified. They were encouraged to adopt the white man's clothing, language, shelter, religion, education, and methods of making a living. Agriculture was suggested, but the soil and climate combined with the Indians' 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 Indians' dislike for farming, unhappiness and defeatist attitude growing out of his parasitic existence.

The present administration, through certain sweeping reforms, is attempting to re-adjust 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 the excellent papers by Mekeel on the modern conditions on Pine Ridge Reservation: Mekeel, 1932, and 1936.

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## 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 Le Sueur met Teton on Blue Earth River, near present Mankato, Minn. His is first mention of 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 Le 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 entrance into Black Hills at this date.

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

1780 About this date the Yankton and Yanktonais, 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 S.D. Arikara forced to retreat up river 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 S. D.

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 further 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 U. S. Government, July 15, at Portage des Sioux, near mouth of Missouri River. Teton acknowledged allegience to U.S. No land claims concerned.

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

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 U. S. Government to assure traders authorized by U. S. monopoly in Indian trade and thus shut out British influence. 16 Teton signed.

1831 The Yellowstone, first steamboat on the Missouri, proceeded up river, thus revolutionizing the Upper Missouri Fur Trade.

1831 Fort Pierre founded, 3 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, made a number of portraits and scenes and gathered materials for later publication.

1834 Maximilian and Bodmer visited Teton at Fort Pierre, gathered information for Maximilian's publication.

1834 Fort Laramie founded near mouth of Laramie River, Wyo., 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 Rev. Stephen Riggs visited Fort Pierre and preached first sermon in S. D. 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 Ft. Laramie.

1846 Francis Parkman followed the trail to Ft. 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 S. D. up 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 as a military post on the overland trail.

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 Lieut. Grattan, 30 men, a sergent and corporal killed in misunderstanding over an immigrant's cow, 9 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 Gen. Harney revenged the Grattan Massacre by defeating the Brule at Ash Hollow, Neb., 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. Gen. Harney brought his force of 1200 men there following the Ash Hollow conflict.

1856 Gen. 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 Ft. Laramie and Ft. Pierre. Treaty never ratified.

1857 Lieut. Warren sent to make preliminary survey of the Black Hills. He was accompanied by the 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 Yanktonais 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 Gen. Sibley at Buffalo Lake (July) and Whitestone Hills (Sept) in N.D. In the fall they returned to the Black Hills to hunt buffalo.

1863 The Brule and Ogalala, 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, 6 miles below present town of Pierre.

1864 Gen. Sully with 2,200 men opposed combined force of Santee, Yanktonais and some Hunkpapa, Blackfoot, Sans Arc and Miniconjou in campaign during which the battle of Killdeer Mts. N.D. 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 provide a road from the overland trail to Bozeman, Montana, March 1. In early spring Col. Sawyer set out from Ft. Laramie to survey the route. Red Cloud sought to dissuade him through warning but no bloodshed. Unsuccessful.

1865 About 3,000 warriors of combined Sioux-Arapaho-Cheyenne attacked Platte Bridge near present Casper, Wyo., in late July. Soldiers succeeded in holding bridge and stockade with only 8 men lost.

1865 Treaty of Fort Sully. Separate treaties with each of seven Teton bands. Agreed to peace, submission on 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, 81 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 began to cross 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 in gallant stand.

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 S.D. with hunting privileges further 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 on a reservation near Fort Laramie 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 Yellowstone River, Mont.

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

1873 Red Cloud Agency moved to White River 80 miles northeast of Fort Laramie, near Ft. 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 Custer with 1000 men sent into Black Hills to investigate possibility of establishing an army post there for better handling of Teton problems, July. Indians incensed over this violation of the 1868 treaty, but no open conflict. Custer returned to Ft. 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 Gen. Crook's attempt to punish Indians for raiding white prospectors in the Black Hills, he met combined Teton-Cheyenne force on Rosebud River, Mont., 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 further 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 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. Represents last armed conflict between Teton and whites.

## BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

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 Oglala chief about 1840. Met by DeSmet at Fort Pierre in 1841, in which year he had suffered a severe defeat from the Crows 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 himself 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 own efforts; 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 Ft. Laramie; agreed to cession of Black Hills in 1876; opposed the Sioux outbreak of 1890-91; renowned as warrior and statesman. (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, which has several rare views. Capt. Cook of Agate, Neb. was Red Cloud's closest friend among the whites. He now has many personal articles of Red Cloud in his private museum at Agate).

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 Ft. Laramie in order to spare his people; was freed and favored the construction of Bozeman Trail and forts which 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: (1842-1877) Oglala chief; with Sitting Bull a leader of the hostiles in the seventies; opposed Crook on the Rosebud, and Custer on the Little Bighorn in ? ; pursued by Gen. Miles in following winter; surrendered in spring of _ 7 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: (1834-1890) Hunkpapa leader; his father a sub-chief; took active part in wars of 1860's in North Dakota; first became widely known when led raid against Ft. Buford in 1866; on warpath almost continuously from 1869 to 1876 against whites or Crows or Shoshoni; refused to go on reservation in 1876; leader with Crazy Horse in Custer Massacre; fled into Canada with a number of followers where he remained until 1881 when he returned to surrender at Ft. 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. 20, pp. 583-584; Dictionary of American Biography pp. 192-193, Vol. XVII; Vestal, 1932 entire, which 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 '70s, 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 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. Col. Vol. 1, p. 65;

Densmore, Plate 73).

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

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

Hollow-horn Bear (born 1850) see BAE-B 30, Pt. 1, p. 557, a Brule chief.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## MUSEUM EXHIBIT SUGGESTIONS.

Museum exhibits intended to portray a flat picture of an Indian culture at a given period are open to misinterpretation on the part of the musuem visitor who often fails to realize the limited period for which the culture traits portrayed were characteristic of the tribe in question. This would be especially true in regard to Teton culture. A flat picture of Teton culture of the period 1820-1840, when the old buffalo hunting culture was at its height, would be an inaccurate portrayal of this culture a half century earlier or later. It should be remembered too, that in the period 1820-1840 there were already a considerable number of traits which were not of native origin but were introduced by whites (i.e. firearms, iron arrow points, glass beads, iron kettles for cooking, to mention but a few).

It would be preferable if, instead of attempting a flat picture of Teton culture in museum interpretation, a dynamic, moving picture could be used which would bring out the modification of old traits and introduction of new ones with the passage of time. The data given in this paper is, so far as possible, written with this dynamic treatment in mind.

Some suggested exhibits 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: an introductory exhibit interpreting the origin, language, physical type, migrations and locations at various periods of the Teton. Decorative maps and charts together with photos 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 any suitable specimens of materials made from the buffalo which might be obtained.

3. Importance of the Horse to the Teton: its introduction from Europe, 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 any 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, etc.

5. The Teton Life Cycle: and exhibit interpreting by means of

illustrations of 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 amenable 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 diffucion 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, quillwork, and beadwork.

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

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 portrayal of aspects of women's work in 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, Nebraska, in 1873.

In all these exhibits 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 emphasis on aspects emphasized in those museums already established which deal with the Plains Indians.