

Nineteenth Century Southern Cheyenne Drawings: Documenting Tsistsistas History and Culture Final Report for WNPAA Research Grant 16-07

Executive Summary

Collections-based research was conducted at nine repositories, which are listed below. The researcher analyzed seven sets of drawings, three tipi liners, and one miniature tipi. Please note that upon examination an eighth set of drawings in the collection of the Oklahoma Historical Society was determined to have been created by Cheyenne prisoners at Fort Marion in San Augustine, Florida. As the focus of the project was on reservation-era drawings, the OHS material was excluded from the analysis.

Analysis of the drawings was conducted with the assistance of graduate students enrolled in ANTH 5323 Cultural Heritage. A total of 626 drawings on paper, forty-six drawings on hide, and five drawings on canvas were analyzed. To ensure consistency, a uniform set of procedures was developed for the analysis. For each drawing, the following information was collected:

- Object number – If the museum or archive assigned each drawing a unique number, the number was recorded.
- Image number – Each drawing was photographed either by the researcher or the collections staff. To ensure that the entries could be correlated with the images of the drawings, the image numbers were recorded.
- Page number – Some drawings on paper appear on pages with printed page numbers. In these instances, the page number was recorded.
- Subject matter – The subject matter of each drawing was recorded. Prior to analysis, the researcher compiled a list of fifteen possible subjects.
- Enemy – For warfare related scenes, researchers recorded the identity of the enemy force. This included recording whether the figures represented U.S. military personnel or Euro-American civilians. When intertribal warfare was depicted, the researchers recorded the distinctive elements of the enemy warrior's dress and adornment, which may serve as ethnic markers.
- Prey species – In the case of hunting scenes, the species of the hunter's quarry was recorded.
- Name glyph – Any name glyphs were noted.
- Inscription – All inscriptions were transcribed.
- Keywords – A list of thirty-four key words was developed. Most of the key words correspond to objects of material culture. Researchers noted the presence of these objects, such as a shield or banner lance, was recorded.
- Notes – Any additional relevant information was recorded under this heading. For example, if a warrior is depicted with a shield that appears in multiple drawings, a note was made to this effect.
- Two-page drawing – A notation was made if the drawing was part of a two-page drawing.

An Excel spreadsheet was created for each collection of drawings or object (tipi liner or model tipi). For quality control purposes, the researcher reviewed all student entries.

Outreach and engagement formed an important component of the project. The researcher participated in two ledger art workshops organized by the Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes Culture and Heritage Program – one on July 26, 2016 in Watonga, Oklahoma and one on July 27, 2016 in Clinton, Oklahoma. The workshops provided an opportunity to share information on the WNPA funded research with members of the Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes. On November 6, 2016, the researcher presented a guest lecture at the Washita Battlefield National Historic Site, summarizing the results of his research. Prior to the presentation, he briefed WBNHS personnel on the status of the project. In addition, the research formed the basis for two scholarly presentations. In 2017, the researcher presented a talk at the Native American Art Studies Association meeting in Tulsa, Oklahoma. The paper – “Nineteenth Century Southern Cheyenne Drawings: Documenting Tsistsistas History and Culture” – advocated for a new approach to the study of Plains Indian drawings, arguing that an approach that focuses on the connections between sets of drawings offers an advantage over one that takes as its unit of analysis a single book of drawings. On October 25, 2018, he presented a paper titled “Tracing Connections Between Nineteenth Century Southern Cheyenne Drawings: Expanding the Unit of Analysis in the study of Plains Indian Ledger Art” at the Plains Anthropological Society conference in San Antonio, Texas.

A major goal of the research was to identify Cheyenne depictions of the Battle of the Washita. Collections-based research yielded three drawings, all of which focus on the same episode - the Cheyenne warrior Roman Nose Thunder counting coup on Major Joel Elliott’s detachment. The episode is depicted on the 1906 Cantonment Curtain, a hide tipi liner in the collection of the Field Museum. The scene is also depicted in the preliminary drawings for the Cantonment Curtain. These drawings, executed on paper, are in the collection of the National Anthropological Archives. Analysis of a set of drawings in the collections of the Sam Noble Oklahoma Museum of Natural History (SNOMNH) revealed another depiction of Roman Nose Thunder’s exploit. This is the earliest known Cheyenne depiction of the Battle of the Washita, having been collected in 1890 or 1891. As a result of the current project, SNOMNH exhibited the drawing during the 150th anniversary of the battle. The exhibit – Attack Along the Washita – was on display from November 15 – December 15, 2018.

Another goal of the project was to provide the staff of the Washita Battlefield National Historic Site (WBNHS) access to museum and archival collections so that they could identify drawings that might be incorporated into interpretive materials. The researcher has furnished the park with 1,576 digital images taken during the collections-based research. The photographs include detailed images focusing on individual figures, as well as distinctive elements of dress and adornment. The WBNHS staff can draw on this stock of images when selecting illustrations for future exhibits and interpretive brochures.

Research Objectives

- To determine if Southern Cheyenne drawings depicting the Battle of the Washita provide new information on the engagement.
- To investigate Southern Cheyenne artists' depictions of their encounters with Euro-Americans.
- To understand the relationship between Southern Cheyenne people and the physical environment.
- To investigate the persistence of Southern Cheyenne cultural beliefs and practices in the reservation period.

Collections

- National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution
- National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution
- Field Museum
- Sam Noble Museum of Natural History
- Southern Plains Indian Museum
- Gilcrease Art Museum
- Kansas City Museum
- Frontier Army Museum
- Oklahoma Historical Society

National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution

Object: E165931 "Voth Tipi Liner"

Description:

The object is a painted bison hide tipi liner (244cm x 305cm). (The original catalog card describes the object as a "bed screen.") Tipi liners were suspended inside the tipi and hung like a curtain. Ties along the top of the liner would have been used to attach the liner to the tipi poles. Tipi liners served multiple functions. The space between the liner and the tipi cover could be used for storage. In the winter, insulation could be placed within this space. In addition, men might publicize their war deeds by illustrating them on their tipi liner. Emblazoned on a tipi liner, the warrior's deeds would be on display, visible to any visitors to his lodge.

This tipi liner features drawings created during two distinct episodes. The original drawings occupy the central portion of the liner. These drawings are slightly faded. They consist of seventeen scenes, all but one of which depict war deeds.

Provenance:

The tipi liner was collected by Rev. Heinrich R. Voth. In 1893, Voth either donated or sold a large collection of Cheyenne objects, over twenty-five pieces, to the NMNH. In addition to the tipi liner, the collection included several items of clothing, pouches, a parfleche, and a tipi. It is unclear whether the tipi and tipi liner were collected together. The fact that they appear in

separate entries in the accession records suggests that they were not. The tipi liner and other objects were accessioned by the National Museum of Natural History on December 25, 1893 (Smithsonian 2018a). Voth arrived at Darlington in late 1882 and departed in 1892 (O'Dell n.d.). It was during this ten-year period that he collected the Cheyenne material now at NMNH, including the tipi liner.

Subject Matter:

Of the seventeen scenes, sixteen scenes deal explicitly with warfare. Fourteen of these depict Cheyenne warriors counting coup on their enemies using an assortment of weapons, including lances, sabers, and quirts. One scene (Scene 4) depicts a mounted Cheyenne warrior knocking a dismounted cavalryman down with his horse. The nineteenth century Cheyenne regarded riding over a dismounted enemy in this manner as a war deed. Another drawing (Scene 16) shows a mounted Cheyenne warrior using his lance to strike a mule that is hitched to a wagon. In many Plains Indian societies warriors laid claim to enemy stock by touching the animals and that appears to be the warrior's intent in this scene.

Additional drawings were added to the liner later. These later additions are positioned around the perimeter on the sides and bottom of the tipi liner. They are executed in ink and are much more vibrant than the initial drawings. In addition, the color palette employed in these drawings is more diverse and includes red, yellow, purple, and green. The subject matter of the drawings is quite varied and includes depictions of the following: animal dance, painted tipis, hunting, courting, grass dance, Ghost Dance, and assorted animals, including a depiction of an African lion. It seems likely that these drawings were added after the liner ceased to function as such. They are not in keeping with the martial scenes typically depicted on tipi liners and may have been added in the belief that they would make the liner more marketable to potential collectors.

- Combat: 1
- Coup Counting: 14
- Diplomacy: 1
- Trampling: 1

Names:

There are no names inscribed on the tipi liner nor do any name glyphs appear in any of the scenes depicted on the liner. The only name associated with the object is that of the collector, Rev. Heinrich R. Voth. Voth was a Mennonite missionary. He was born on April 15, 1855 in Alexanderwohl, Russia. In 1874, he and his family immigrated to Kansas. He trained to serve as a missionary and in December 1882, he was given charge of a Mennonite mission school on the Cheyenne-Arapaho Reservation. The school, which was located in Darlington, served Arapaho children (Brown 2003:11; Berthrong 1976:87-88, 140, 148; O'Dell n.d.). Voth continued to work at the mission until 1892 (O'Dell n.d.). In the early 1890s, the Mennonite Mission Board requested that Voth serve as a missionary to the Hopi. Voth subsequently relocated his family to the Hopi village of Oraibi (Brown 2003:11-12). He died on June 2, 1931 (O'Dell n.d.).

Inscriptions: There are no inscriptions on the tipi liner.

Discussion:

Scene 15 is the only vignette that does not depict a violent encounter. In the scene, a dismounted Cheyenne man appears to be moving to shake hands with a dismounted Euro-American wearing a sky-blue overcoat. Two additional Euro-American men are lined up behind this one with their arms extended. A fourth Euro-American figure is positioned behind and slightly above the Cheyenne man and appears to be walking away. Perhaps the artist was attempting to convey that the man had shook hands with the warrior and is now moving aside to allow his comrades to do the same. Interestingly, the man in the overcoat has a pistol holster on his belt but has not drawn the weapon nor are the three other Euro-Americans armed.

National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution

MS 4653

Description:The manuscript consists of 104 loose pages. These were formerly part of a bound volume. The paper is ruled and features printed page numbers. The pages measure 19cm x 32cm. The drawings are executed in graphite, crayon, and colored pencil.

John C. Ewers initially believed the drawings to be the work of a single artist. However, analysis of the drawings reveals them to be the work of at least two artists. One artist appears to have created most of the drawings. The second artist drew three drawings. His work can be distinguished from that of the first artist based on his sparser style. Furthermore, the second artist employed a more limited color palette.

In addition, there are seven graphite drawings in the book that do not appear to have been created by a Native American artist. These drawings consist of geometric shapes, depictions of buildings, and one drawing of a sailing ship. Unlike the vast majority of the scenes of Native American life, these drawings are not colored.

Provenance:

The Smithsonian Institution purchased the book of drawings from Mr. Dorsey Griffith in 1962 for \$225. Included with the book is a drawing and plan of the N. W. Evans and Co. trading establishment dated March 1882 (Smithsonian Institution 2018c). Neal Evans operated a store at Fort Reno, Indian Territory from the 1870s to the 1890s (Greene 1998:14). Mr. Dorsey indicated that the book was originally collected by Evans (Smithsonian Institution 2018c). Evans is known to have acquired another set of Cheyenne drawings, the 1887 Fort Reno Ledger in the collection of the Gilcrease Art Museum (Greene 1998:14-15). Therefore, it is possible that he collected these drawings as well.

Subject Matter:

- Combat: 34
- Coup Counting: 15
- Courting: 2
- Diplomacy: 3
- Horse Raiding: 8

- Horses: 1
- Horse Raiding: 8
- Rescue: 2
- Trampling: 2
- Warrior Society Gathering: 1

Names:

The following names appear in the inscriptions: White Eagle (2), Iron Shirt (1), Mad Bull (1), White Calf (1), Bald Eagle (3), Old Whirlwind (1), White Shield (1), Roman Nose (1), Horse Road (2). The numbers in parentheses indicate the number of times each name appears. Only one name glyph appears in the drawings and it belongs to Bald Eagle.

Inscriptions:

Just over half of the drawings (55/104) are inscribed. Forty-nine of the inscriptions are simply labels indicating the tribal affiliation of the figures. However, twenty-eight inscriptions provide descriptions of the scene depicted. Several of the captions refer to specific engagements or the location where events occurred. These are:

- “Running off cav horses, Ft. Dodge 1865”
- “Snake Scout, Powder River”
- “Cheyenne killed on Smokey Hill by Lt. Henley 6th Cav”
- “White Calf charging soldiers to help the women off Smokey Hill”
- “Old Whirlwind charging on Shawnees and Sac and Foxes on the Solomon River”
- “Roman Nose Cheyenne fight at Beecher Island with Forsythe”
- “Cheyenne ‘Horse Road’ in fight with Gen. Miles near Red River”

The captions should not be accepted on face value and more research is needed to assess their veracity. Consider the figure identified in one caption as Old Whirlwind. In the drawing the figure appears alongside a name glyph that resembles the head of a mature bald eagle. The same name glyph appears in three other drawings, where the warrior is consistently identified in the accompanying captions as Bald Eagle.

The caption that identifies Roman Nose and the fight at Beecher Island is likewise suspect. The enemy forces appear to be Native Americans and not Euro-Americans. Beecher’s command was comprised of the latter. Furthermore, accounts of the battle identify Roman Nose, who died in the engagement, as wearing a distinctive bonnet that featured a single bison horn affixed to the front. In contrast, the warrior in the drawing is depicted wearing a civilian hat.

Discussion:

The overwhelming majority of the drawings depicted combat scenes. The focus appears to be on intertribal warfare. The drawings depict Ute, Pawnee, Osage, and Snake (Shoshone) warriors.

Based on analysis of the inscriptions and the warriors’ dress and accoutrements, four of the men appear in more than one drawing. White Eagle and Horse Road each appear in two

drawings. Bald Eagle appears in three drawings. White Calf appears in seven drawings. Although he is only identified by name in one of these, his distinctive clothing and weapons enable his identification.

MS 7463

Description: This is a bound book of drawings executed in graphite and colored pencils. It is comprised of 152 ruled pages, measuring 14cm x 21cm. The book contains 94 drawings. Twenty of these are two-page drawings. The overwhelming majority of the images (77/94) deal with martial themes.

Provenance:

An affidavit accompanying the book of drawings provides information on the circumstances surrounding its collection. The affidavit was written by A. Wernhous of Fort Leavenworth, Kansas and is dated September 10, 1892. It reads:

This book was presented to me in 1879 by Hermann Hauser of the Q.M. Dept. at Fort Reno, Ind. Terr. Hauser was affiliated by marriage to the Cheyenne Tribe of Indians and assured me that the book represented in sign language the outbreak of Cheyenne Indians at Fort Reno Ind. Terry. and their road through Kansas to the North in September 1878, written by the Cheyenne Indian "Little Skunk."

Research has confirmed that a Herman Hauser served as a quartermaster's clerk at Fort Reno in Indian Territory (Hoig 2000:145). Hauser was married to an Arapaho woman. In 1876, he received permission from the Cheyenne and Arapaho agent John D. Miles to establish a farm outside the reservation's eastern boundary, indicating that he had resigned from military service sometime previously. Hauser and his wife had six children. The family was still occupying the homestead in 1889 (Berthrong 1976:176-177).

While the affidavit's statements regarding Herman Hauser can be confirmed, its description of the drawings' content and attribution of the drawings to a Cheyenne artist named Little Skunk cannot be verified. Indeed, both the description of the subject matter and the attribution are likely incorrect. First, the drawings do not appear to represent the Northern Cheyenne exodus of 1878. For example, forty of the drawings depict Cheyenne warriors engaged with various intertribal enemies, including Pawnee and Crow warriors. No such skirmishes took place during the Cheyenne's flight north. In addition, the drawings are not the work of a single artist, as the affidavit suggests. A stylistic analysis of the drawings indicated that the book contains work by at least three artists. While it is possible that Little Skunk was one of these artists, there is no evidence to support this. For example, of the eleven name glyphs that accompany the drawings none depict a skunk.

Subject Matter:

- Ceremony: 2

- Combat: 25
- Coup Counting: 48
- Diplomacy: 2
- Grass Dance: 2
- Horse: 1
- Horse Raiding: 1
- Portrait: 3
- Rescue: 2
- Trampling: 1
- Unfinished: 7

Names:

The single inscription does not contain any Cheyenne names. However, a total of 11 different name glyphs appear in the drawings. All of the name glyphs are associated with Cheyenne men. Four of the name glyphs appear more than one time. For example, a bison name glyph belonging to one of the men appears four times in the drawings.

One of the name glyphs consists of a bison with a front leg that terminates in a bear paw with long curved claws. Comparison of the glyph with the names of nineteenth century Cheyenne warriors led to the conclusion that it is a graphic rendering of the name Bull Bear. Bull Bear is documented as having served as a headsman or chief of the Dog Soldiers. He was present during the councils with General Hancock in April 1867. He was also one of the leaders of the Dog Soldier village located on a branch of the Pawnee Fork River which General Hancock captured and subsequently burned. In 1867, Bull Bear signed the Treaty of Medicine Lodge In November 1869, following the Battle of Summit Springs and the destruction of the Dog Soldier village, Bull Bear and his followers joined the Southern Cheyenne camped at Camp Supply. When the new agency was established at Darlington in the spring of 1870, Bull Bear and his people refused to relocate there, opting instead to travel back to the Central Plains. However, in March 1871, Bull Bear and his followers returned south and settled near Camp Supply (Berthrong 1963:168, 273, 276-298, 351, 354, 360-361).

As a Dog Soldier chief, Bull Bear was an individual of some renown. Both Euro-American and European visitors to the Cheyenne and Arapaho Reservation seem to have sought out the aging statesman. Bull Bear met with the Dutch ethnologist Herman F.C. Ten Kate in 1883 and five years later he entertained the artist Frederick Remington (Berthrong 1963:103, 169; Hoig 2000:49).

Inscriptions: A single inscription appears on the first ruled page of the book. The inscription occupies three lines and reads “Herman Hauser/ Fort Reno/ Ind Terry.”

Discussion

Four drawings contained in MS 7643 depict episodes that are also represented in Cheyenne drawings from three other collections. One drawing features a Cheyenne warrior using a tomahawk to count coup on a dismounted Pawnee. This warrior is depicted performing the same act in a drawing from the Bethel Moore Custer Ledger at the Frontier Army Museum. In

addition, two drawings from MS 7643 – one depicting a mounted Cheyenne warrior rescuing a comrade and another depicting this same warrior counting coup on two mounted cavalry troopers or scouts – commemorate episodes that also appear in MS 4653 at the National Anthropological Archives. Finally, both MS 7643 and the Keeling Ledger at the Nebraska State History Museum contain depictions of a Cheyenne warrior engaging several mounted Pawnee warriors. Thus, three of the warrior’s whose deeds are depicted in MS 7643 were also involved in the production of at least one other set of drawings.

Field Museum

A107621 “Cantonment Curtain”

Description: Object A107621 is a tipi liner constructed of cow hide. The liner features fourteen scenes. These are organized into three rows. The drawings are rendered in what appears to be tempera paint and natural pigments.

Provenance:

Ethnologist James Mooney commissioned the tipi liner while conducting research in the Cheyenne community near Cantonment. In an April 7, 1906 letter to George Dorsey of the Field Museum, Mooney notes that his Cheyenne consultants were apprehensive about revealing their participation in battles against the U.S. military. Mooney notes that it took him three years to persuade them to relate their role in these battles, concluding that, “All the wearisome urging and persuasion in face of threats and opposition to get the soldier battles cannot be estimated.” The tipi liner was completed and was shipped to the Field Museum on April 7, 1906. It was subsequently accessioned into the museum’s collection.

Subject Matter: All fourteen scenes focus on warfare.

- Combat: 3
- Coup Counting: 10
- Rescue: 1

Names:

The names of the warriors whose deeds are depicted in the drawings are not inscribed on the tipi liner, nor do any name glyphs appear in the drawings. Furthermore, the names do not appear in Mooney’s correspondence to James Dorsey regarding the tipi liner. However, Mooney carefully recorded information on the warriors and their martial exploits. His notes are preserved at the National Anthropological Archives. In addition, the warriors’ initials appear on the preliminary drawings for the tipi liner, which are also located at the National Anthropological Archives.

Eight men narrated their deeds so that they could be depicted on the tipi liner. These men were: Roman Nose Thunder, Little Man, Iron Shirt, White Shield, Lone Wolf, Mower, Elk River, and Lone Bear. The drawings on the tipi liner are the work of two artists. Crow Chief depicted Roman Nose Thunder counting coup on Major Elliot’s detachment during the Battle of

the Washita, as well as other scenes. The identity of the other artist is not known. However, Powell argues that it may have been Bear Wings, aka Charles Murphy, a Cheyenne artist who created other works for Mooney (Powell 2013:225).

James Mooney, the ethnologist who commissioned the painted tipi liner, was employed by the Bureau of American Ethnology. He conducted extensive research among both the Kiowa and the Cheyenne and Arapaho. His major publications include works on the Ghost Dance and Kiowa calendar histories. Much of his research focused on the painted shields and tipis of the Kiowa and Cheyenne (Greene 2001:190-201; Marr 2015; Mooney 2013:226). At the time he commissioned the tipi liner, his research among the Cheyenne was being funded by the Field Museum and he was collecting objects for the museum's collection. Having exhausted his Field Museum funding, Mooney's fieldwork among the Cheyenne came to a close in April 1906 (Mooney 2013:218-226). For a comprehensive discussion of Mooney's career, see Moses 1984.

Inscriptions: There are no inscriptions on the tipi liner.

Discussion:

Although, two scenes on the tipi liner celebrate Roman Nose Thunder's exploits, most relevant to the current study is the depiction of Roman Nose Thunder counting coup on Major Elliot's detachment during the Battle of the Washita. Grinnell (1995:293) writes that, "Among the Indians there was a difference of opinion as to who it was that counted first coup on Elliot's men. Some people declare it was Roman Nose Thunder, a Cheyenne, who rushed in among the troops and was shot in the arm..." The drawing on the tipi liner corroborates, Grinnell's account. Roman Nose Thunder is shown dropping his saber after being wounded in the hand.

Sam Noble Museum of Natural History

NAM 9-6-327 "Whirlwind Ledger"

Description: The "Whirlwind Ledger" is a bound notebook containing forty-nine drawings. The book consists of ruled pages with printed page numbers. The book measures 35cm x 21cm. The drawings are executed in ink, graphite, and colored pencil.

Provenance:

The book of drawings was collected by 2nd Lieutenant Samuel Goode Jones of the 5th U.S. Cavalry. An inscription in the book dates the drawings to 1890-1891. Jones reported for duty at Fort Reno on October 9, 1890, so he must have acquired the book after this date (Anderson 2010). In another inscription, dated, April 15, 1937, Jones describes how he acquired the drawings, stating that he received them from the Cheyenne chief Whirlwind. Discussing the drawings, he writes, "They originally cost me several sides of bacon, as Chief Whirlwind was fond of hog-meat, and when he came for a visit and to smoke the pipe of peace and brought me a present – in Indian society that called for a swap."

In 1937, Samuel G. Jones transferred the book of drawings to Walter B. Jones of Montgomery, Alabama. Walter B. Jones relationship to Samuel G. Jones is not clear. In a note

to Walter, Samuel wrote “Possibly this sample of artistry by a vanishing race may be of sufficient interest as to warrant their preservation by the Museum in which you are so interested, if so, they are at your disposal.” Sometime after 1937, the book was donated he drawings to the Montgomery Museum of Fine Arts. Presumably, Walter B. Jones donated the drawings to the museum.

In 1985, Candace Greene, a doctoral candidate in the University of Oklahoma’s Anthropology Department contacted the Montgomery Museum of Fine Arts to inquire about the book of drawings. The museum indicated that it had deaccessioned the book in 1983 and transferred it to Montgomery Library. Greene then sent an inquiry regarding the book to the Montgomery Library. The library responded by mailing the book to the Anthropology Department, stating that it lacked the resources to conserve the book. The Anthropology Department subsequently donated the book to the University of Oklahoma’s Stovall Museum of Science and History. The museum accessioned the book on June 26, 1985. In 1994, the museum’s name was changed to the Sam Noble Oklahoma Museum of Natural History. Description: The book contains 49 drawings. Five of these are two-page drawings. The drawings were executed in graphite pencil, colored pencil, wax crayon, and watercolor. The overwhelming majority of the drawings (46/49) deal with martial themes.

Subject Matter:

- Combat: 11
- Coup Counting: 30
- Courting: 2
- Horse Raiding: 1
- Portrait: 1
- Rescue: 1
- Trampling: 3

Names:

Only one Cheyenne name appears in the inscriptions that accompany the drawings. The individual is identified as Mr. Starr. The inscription identifies Mr. Starr as both the protagonist of the drawing, as well as the artist responsible for creating it. A comparison of the dress and accoutrements of the warrior identified as Mr. Starr with other figures in the drawings revealed that he appears in two other drawings. It should be noted that a Cheyenne man named Star enlisted as a scout in Company A, 22nd Infantry and his name appears on the unit’s muster rolls for 1887 (Greene 1998:10). In addition, the 1887 Fort Reno Ledger at the Gilcrease Art Museum contains a drawing of a warrior whose accompanying name glyph is an outline of a five-pointed star. The Mr. Starr depicted in NAM 9-6-327 is likely the Cheyenne scout Star. If this is the case, Star’s martial exploits are celebrated in two books of drawings.

An inscription states that the drawings were “presented to 2nd Lient. Samuel Goode Jones, 5th U.S. Cavalry by ‘Whirlwind’ Hereditary Chief of Southern Cheyennes.” Whirlwind, also known as Old Whirlwind, was a well-known Cheyenne figure. During an 1854 battle with the Sac and Fox, Whirlwind repeatedly charged the enemy’s defensive position. His exploits in the engagement earned him considerable renown (Grinnell 1995:99-100). He participated in the

attack on Julesburg, Colorado on January 7, 1865. He was a signatory to the 1867 Treaty of Medicine Lodge, indicating that he had arisen to a position of power by this time. During the Red River War of 1874-1875, Whirlwind advocated for peace and induced his followers to remain on the Cheyenne and Arapaho Reservation (Halaas and Masich 2004:193, 240, 281). In 1877, Whirlwind was the leader of the Hevhaitaneo band and a small group of Sutaio. His village was comprised of fifty-two lodges and was located on the North Canadian River, west of Watonga (Moore 1987:241, Map 15). Throughout the reservation period, he represented his people in dealings with the U.S. Government. For example, in 1885, he objected to the practice of granting licenses that allowed cattle raisers to graze their stock on the reservation and requested that the existing licenses be revoked (Berthrong 1976:103, 108-110).

Inscriptions in the book indicate that 2nd Lieutenant Samuel Goode Jones, 5th Cavalry received the book of drawings from the Cheyenne chief Whirlwind. Jones graduated from the United States Military Academy on June 12, 1890. He was subsequently appointed a 2nd Lieutenant in the 5th U.S. Cavalry. He reported for duty at Fort Reno, Oklahoma Territory on October 9, 1890. Except for a brief stint between August 25th and September 11, 1891, Jones was stationed at Fort Reno until May 22, 1893, when he took a leave of absence. When he returned from leave on July 23, 1893, he joined the 5th Cavalry at Fort Brown, Texas, its new post. Jones would enjoy a distinguished military career, retiring from the United States Army on November 19, 1929. He died on September 17, 1944 in Montgomery, Alabama (Anderson 2010).

Inscriptions:

Jones heavily annotated the drawings, adding captions or comments to all but two of the 49 drawings. However, a comparison of Jones's inscriptions with the content of the drawings reveals that the collector's captions are frequently incorrect. For example, he is sometimes unable to differentiate between male and female figures. In addition, he was unfamiliar with certain aspects of Cheyenne material culture. In one instance, he confuses a forked coup stick for a graphic representation of bullet trajectories. These inaccuracies suggest that the information contained in the captions was not obtained from a Cheyenne consultant, but instead represents Jones's personal interpretation of the drawings.

Discussion:

It is unlikely that Chief Whirlwind drew any of the scenes in the book. By the time the drawings were created, Whirlwind was an elder, well beyond the age at which Cheyenne men typically ceased producing drawings. In addition, an analysis of the drawings did not identify any scenes depicting Whirlwind's martial exploits. By comparison, Whirlwind appears as the subject of two drawings in the Dog Soldier Ledger in the collection of the Colorado Historical Society. One drawing depicts his participation in the attack on Julesburg, Colorado, while the other shows him counting coup on a teamster. Whirlwind is known to have possessed a Bear Paw Shield and he is shown with the shield in the first drawing (Afton et. al. 1997:164-165, 172-173, Plates 81 and 83). None of the Cheyenne warriors depicted in NAM 9-6-327, are shown in association with a Bear Paw Shield, nor do any of the incidents depicted match the two scenes from the Dog Soldier Ledger.

NAM 9-6-298 “Surr-Stiles Ledger”

Description: The “Surr-Stiles Ledger” is only partially bound, several leaves having become unbound. The pages are ruled and feature printed page numbers. The ledger consists of 81 drawings. The drawings are executed in ink, graphite, and colored pencil.

Provenance:

The book of drawings was collected by Mr. Vernon W. Stiles. Mr. Stiles was employed by Hemphill and Woy, Indian Traders in Darlington, Indian Territory. When he left the firm’s employment on September 7, 1885, he had been employed by Hemphill and Woy for two years. It is during this two-year window that Mr. Stiles acquired the drawing book, as well as several other Cheyenne objects. It is unknown whether he purchased the book or drawings or received it as a gift. In 1973, Mrs. John R. Surr, daughter of Vernon W. Stiles, donated her father’s collection, including the book of drawings, to the University of Oklahoma’s Stovall Museum.

Subject Matter: Only three of the drawings deal with martial themes. The majority of the drawings (50/81) concern courting. The complete absence of coup counting scenes is unusual.

- Ceremony: 1
- Courting: 50
- Domestic: 8
- Grass Dance: 1
- Horse: 9
- Horse Raiding: 1
- Hunting: 6
- Portrait: 3
- Rescue: 1
- Warrior Society Function: 1

Names:

The names of one woman and two men appear in the inscriptions. The men are named Job and Little Bird and their names each appear once. The woman’s name – Little Woman – appears twice. In addition, the name Little Woman occurs in conjunction with a name glyph, which appears eight times in the drawings. This suggests that Little Woman appears in nine different drawings.

A total of 21 different name glyphs appear in the drawings. Of these, 3 denote men’s names and 18 designate women’s names. Six of the name glyphs appear more than one time. For example, a bison name glyph belonging to one of the women appears 4 times in the drawings.

Inscriptions:

Only two of the drawings are inscribed. Each inscription consists of two names and identifies a courting couple.

Discussion:

In terms of subject matter, the Sturr-Stiles Ledger most closely resembles the 1887 Fort Reno Ledger at the Gilcrease Museum (Object #4526.11). Courting scenes comprise the majority of drawings in both ledgers. However, there are significant differences between the two books. While the 1887 Fort Reno Ledger contains fifty-three warfare related scenes, the Sturr-Stiles Ledger contains only two – a horse raiding scene and a rescue scene. The dearth of martial scenes sets the Sturr-Stiles Ledger apart from the other works on paper considered here.

Both the lack of inscriptions and large number of name glyphs suggest that the book was initially produced for internal consumption. While members of the Southern Cheyenne community would have recognized the name glyphs and the individuals they represented, members of a non-Native audience would have been unable to decipher them.

Southern Plains Indian Museum

Object: 49.193 “Red Bird Tipi Liner”

Description: Object 49.193 is a hide tipi liner. The hide appears to be bison. The straps by which the liner would have been suspended are attached along the top of the liner. The liner is constructed of four vertical panels which have been sewn together. In addition, a horizontal strip of hide has been sewn to the bottom of the four panels, lengthening the liner. It appears that at some point the bottom of the liner was trimmed and this new piece was added. There are fifteen discrete scenes depicted on the tipi liner. These are arranged in four rows.

Provenance: The Southern Plains Indian Museum was unable to provide any information regarding the circumstances under which the tipi liner was collected or acquired by the museum.

Subject Matter: Fourteen of the fifteen scenes depict martial exploits.

- Capturing a Weapon: 1
- Combat: 2
- Coup Counting: 11
- Diplomacy: 1

Names:

Rosemary Ellison, former curator of the Department of the Interior’s Southern Plains Indian Museum, identifies the liner as “the war record of Chief Red Bird,” writing that:

This early masterpiece is devoted to the exploits of an individual warrior whose heroic encounters with the U.S. Cavalry, as well as his enemies among other hostile tribes, are vividly portrayed in exquisite detail. This personal war record appears to be the work of several artists who collaborated in creating the autobiographical encounter signs. [1972:10]

However, there is no clear basis for this attribution. It should be noted that no name glyphs appear in any of the scenes nor are there any inscriptions on the tipi liner identifying any of the figures. It is possible that the name was derived from the hair ornament – a blue and red bird - worn by one of the figures on the tipi liner.

A review of the Cheyenne literature revealed a Northern Cheyenne individual named Red Bird. However, Grinnell (1995:411) identifies him as “only a boy” at the time of the Fort Robinson outbreak in December 1878. Therefore, he would have been too young to have amassed a significant war record or to have been one of the artists who created the drawings.

Among the Cheyenne warriors killed in the Battle of the Washita in 1868, George Bent lists a Red Bird (1968:322). As the tipi liner postdates 1868 and Cheyenne did not typically depict the exploits of deceased warriors, this individual is not likely connected to the liner, either as an artist or as the subject of one of the scenes. However, Bent’s statement raises the possibility that a Southern Cheyenne man may have inherited the name Red Bird from the deceased warrior. Indeed, Fowler (2002:63, 81) identifies a Southern Cheyenne headman named Red Bird who lived near Hammon in the 1910s. More research is needed to determine what, if any, connection this individual has to the tipi liner.

Inscriptions: There are no inscriptions on the tipi liner.

Discussion:

The tipi liner is adorned with fifteen scenes. All but one of these scenes depicts Cheyenne warriors counting coup on or fighting enemy combatants. The single exception is a scene (scene 2) that depicts a Cheyenne warrior facing a U.S. cavalryman. Both men are mounted. The Cheyenne warrior wears an eagle feather bonnet with a trailer. The cavalryman is an officer, as denoted by the shoulder boards depicted on his uniform coat. Neither man is depicted brandishing a weapon, which is typically the case in coup counting scenes. Given the absence of weapons, it is possible that the scene depicts a parley or conference of some sort. The prominent placement of this scene in the center of the top row raises the question of whether the tipi liner may have been commissioned by a military officer. The scene certainly contrasts with the others depicted on the liner.

The identity of the enemies can be determined in thirteen of the fourteen combat scenes. Six depict clashes with intertribal enemies. Another six depict clashes with U.S. soldiers, who can be identified based on their uniforms. One scene depicts a warrior counting coup on a Euro-American civilian. In the remaining scene, the mustached enemy figure is a Euro-American. However, his clothing is somewhat ambiguous, and it is not possible to definitively state whether he is a soldier or a civilian.

This last scene is particularly interesting. A close inspection reveals that the Euro-American is armed with a whip, suggesting that he might be a freighter. In addition, the Cheyenne warrior is not depicted counting coup on the man. The warrior is shown firing a revolver at his enemy, an act that carried no prestige in Cheyenne society. Cheyenne warriors typically depicted themselves or chose to be depicted counting coup on their foe. The other Cheyenne warriors whose exploits are depicted on the tipi liner are armed with short range weapons. Several warriors wield lances, while another employs a saber, and yet another uses a

spontoon tomahawk. In three of the scenes, Cheyenne warriors use their bows to count coup on their adversaries. The warrior armed with the spontoon tomahawk also carries a revolver. He eschews the pistol and instead uses his tomahawk to count coup. By depicting the warrior with both weapons, the artist makes clear that the protagonist opted to close with the enemy and employ a weapon designed for hand to hand combat. Just the opposite is true in the scene with the freighter. The warrior is armed with both a saber and a revolver and he chooses to use the latter.

A careful analysis of the dress and accoutrements of the Cheyenne protagonists revealed that six of the scenes depict the same warrior. He can be identified, in part, based on a distinctive medicine object – a red and blue bird with a yellow head and a red beak. The object could be a stuffed bird or a rawhide cutout of a bird. In scenes 2, 3, and 10 the bird is attached to the left front of the warrior’s bonnet, while in scenes 11 and 14, the bird is attached directly to the warrior’s hair. In five of the scenes (scenes 3, 6, 10, 11, and 14) the warrior rides a blue roan horse. In each of the scenes the horse is depicted wearing a red cord around its neck from which is suspended an eagle feather.

Gilcrease Art Museum

4526.19 “Fort Reno Ledger 1879”

Description: The bound volume contains 102 drawings. It features red marbled paper covers. The spine and corners of the covers are covered in red cloth. The pages are ruled. A printed number appears in the upper outside corner of each page.

Provenance:

According to inscriptions on the inside cover and flyleaf, Second Lieutenant Heber M. Creel collected the book of drawings in 1879 while serving at Fort Reno, Indian Territory. The date Feb. 20, 1879 appears in one of the inscriptions. Heber arrived at Fort Reno on December 9, 1878, so he must have acquired the drawings during his first few months at the new post. It is not known whether Heber purchased the book or received it as a gift.

It is unclear when Thomas Gilcrease acquired the book of drawings. Presumably, the book came into his possession at the same time as Creel’s Cheyenne manuscripts.

Subject Matter: Scenes of warfare predominate and account for over 78% of the drawings (80/102).

- Combat: 10
- Coup Counting: 66
- Courting: 2
- Domestic: 1
- Grass Dance: 2
- Horses: 14
- Portrait: 3

- Rescue: 2
- Trampling: 2

Names:

Heber M. Creel's name appears in two inscriptions. In both instances he is identified as a member of the 7th U.S. Cavalry, serving on detached service with the Cheyenne. Research indicates that Lieutenant Creel was assigned to learn the Cheyenne language. In 1878, he accompanied Little Chief's band of Northern Cheyenne when they were forced to relocate to the Cheyenne and Arapaho Reservation in Indian Territory (Hoig 2002:208-209). After arriving in Indian Territory, he continued to work closely with the Northern Cheyenne exiles. In the wake of Dull Knife's flight north, Agent Miles and the military worried that Little Chief's band might likewise abandon the reservation and attempt to make their way back to the Northern Plains. During this tense situation, Creel reported to his superiors, providing information on the Northern Cheyenne's disposition and plans. Creel also took his linguistic and ethnological research seriously (Berthrong 1976:41). Moore (1987:294) notes that Creel "though not a trained ethnographer, did a competent job of collecting information on Cheyenne history, customs, and kinship." Between 1879 and 1881, he produced several manuscripts on the language and culture of the Cheyenne. Today, his manuscripts (MC.1954.50) are in the collection of the Gilcrease Museum (Gilcrease Museum 2018).

The name American Horse appears in another inscription. Born in 1847, American Horse was a Northern Cheyenne chief. He was among those forced to relocate to Indian Territory in 1877. Thus, he was already living on the Cheyenne and Arapaho Reservation when Lt. Creel and Little Chief's band arrived. By that point, American Horse had already demonstrated a willingness to cooperate with representatives of the U.S. Government. When Dull Knife and other chiefs began preparing to abandon the reservation and lead their people back north, American Horse and his relatives relocated, establishing their own village. By moving camp, American Horse physically and symbolically distanced himself from Dull Knife. Indeed, it was American Horse who notified Agent Miles that Dull Knife and Little Wolf's people had escaped the reservation and struck north (Berthrong 1976:33; Moore 1987:98).

In addition, four different name glyphs appear in the book. Of these, one appears once, two appear twice, and another appears three times. None of the name glyphs appear to correspond to the name American Horse.

Inscriptions:

An inscription on the inside cover reads "H. M. Creel, 7th U.S. Cav. On detached Service With Cheyenne Indians, Fort Reno, Indian Ty, Feb. 20th 1879." Another inscription, this one on the flyleaf indicates that the book was collected by "Heber M. Creel, 7th U.S. Cavalry on detached service with Cheyenne." The Northern Cheyenne chief Little Chief is mentioned in another inscription on the inside front cover. The inscription reads, "This book contains history of American Horse." Part of the inscription is illegible, but the final portion notes that the drawings "illustrate the Cheyenne method of remembering history" and is signed "Heber." No other inscriptions appear in the book.

Discussion:

An inscription indicates that the book “contains [the] history of American Horse.” However, the drawings depict the exploits of a number of different warriors. Based solely on the number of shields depicted, the drawings document the deeds of at least twenty different warriors.

Although the ledger was collected at Fort Reno, Indian Territory, it is possible that some of the drawings depict the deeds of Northern Cheyenne warriors. Little Chief’s band, which Second Lieutenant Creel escorted to Indian Territory, included warriors who had fought alongside the U.S. army against the Lakota and Nez Perce (Hoig 2002:204, 208). Some of the drawings may depict these men’s service as scouts and auxiliaries.

Several the drawings appear to celebrate the exploits of Arapaho warriors. The shields depicted in several the drawings are Arapaho rather than Cheyenne, suggesting that the drawings depict Arapaho warriors and may have been executed by Arapaho artists. Comparison of the drawings in this collection with a published set of Arapaho drawings led to the identification of one individual. The warrior is depicted carrying the same shield and wearing nearly identical clothing in both sets of drawings. He appears in four drawings in the Fort Reno 1879 Ledger and seven drawings in the Edwards Ledger. In the latter, he is associated with a name glyph that consists of a bear with a series of tick marks in front of it. An inscription on one of the drawings identifies the man as Heap of Bears (Petersen 1990). Further research on Arapaho shield designs is needed before definitive tribal attributions can be assigned to the remaining drawings.

4526.11 “Fort Reno Ledger 1887”

Description: The book consists of 142 drawings. The pages of the book are ruled. The pages in the first section of the book feature alphabetical tabs, while the remainder have printed page numbers. The book is bound in cloth with red leather corners.

Provenance:

An inscription in the book indicates that the drawings were “Made by the Indian Scouts 1887.” The inscription is signed by Neal W. Evans of Fort Reno, Indian Territory and is dated July 25/87. The Indian scouts referenced in the inscription were members of Company A, 22nd Infantry, which was formed in 1885. The unit was comprised of men of the Cheyenne and Arapaho tribes. Members of the unit served both at Fort Reno and Camp Supply. Of the twenty-four Cheyenne and Arapaho men’s names that appear in the ledger, twenty also appear on the company’s muster rolls for 1887 (Greene 1998:13-14). Numerous drawings of Cheyenne men wearing U.S. military uniforms offer further evidence that the drawings were produced by the scouts.

Trader Neal W. Evans acquired the book sometime after its production. It was in his possession in 1906 when he allowed ethnologist James Mooney and several of his Cheyenne consultants to inspect the book (Greene 1998:15). While the names of two army officers who served with the Indian scout company are inscribed in the book, it is unclear what, if any, role Captain Wheeler or Lt. Rice played in acquiring the book. It is possible that Evans may have added the military officers’ names after acquiring the book (Greene 1998:13-15). However, it is

worth noting that Wheeler evidently had an interest in Cheyenne drawings. He is known to have acquired a book of Cheyenne drawings captured in the aftermath of the attack on Dull Knife's Northern Cheyenne village in 1876 and to have donated it to a museum in New York (Grinnell 1995:353) No information is available regarding when Thomas Gilcrease, patron of the Gilcrease Museum, acquired the ledger book (Greene 1998:13).

Subject Matter: The majority of the drawings (75/142) deal with courting. The next most prevalent theme is warfare, with scenes of combat, coup counting, and warriors trampling the enemy accounting for just over 37% of the drawings (53/142)

- Ceremony: 1
- Combat: 7
- Coup Counting: 44
- Courting: 75
- Domestic: 1
- Horses: 4
- Hunting: 4
- Portrait: 3
- Trampling: 2
- Warrior Society Gathering: 1

Names:

Only one name glyph appears in the book. The glyph consists of a five-pointed star. Greene (1998:10) argues that the glyph almost certainly identifies a Cheyenne enlisted man named Star. The names of twenty-four additional Cheyenne or Arapaho men are inscribed in the book. Twenty of these names appear on the 1887 muster rolls for Company A, 22nd Infantry. It should be noted that no names or name glyphs appear in any of the drawings related to martial scenes (combat, coup counting, trampling). Perhaps, the individuals whose deeds are represented in the drawings were reluctant to be identified outside their community.

The names of three non-Indians appear in an inscription on the frontispiece: Neal W. Evans, Captain Homer Wheeler, and Lieutenant 'Squid' Rice. Neal W. Evans was a businessman who ran a trading post at Fort Reno between the 1870s and 1890s. Captain Homer Wheeler assumed command of the scout company in 1890. Interestingly, Wheeler did not receive his promotion to Captain until 1893, so the inscription must date to 1893 or later. Lieutenant Sedgwick "Squid" Rice commanded the scout unit in 1885 and 1886 (Greene 1998:15).

Inscriptions:

Printed on the outer cover of the book is "NW. Evans. Ft Reno." The inside front cover is inscribed in cursive "Neal W. Evans, Fort Reno Ind. Terry, July 25/87." An accompanying inscription in pencil appears to reference the price of the book and reads "This book cost about cash," but lists no amount. Three inscriptions appear on the inside back cover. The first one is almost identical to the one on the inside front cover and reads "Neal W. Evans, Fort Reno, Indian Terry, July 25/87." Another inscription in a mix of cursive and print states "Made by the Indian

Scouts 1887.” In addition, an inscription printed below Evans’s name identifies two military officers “Capt. Homer Wheeler U.S.A.” and “Lieut. ‘Squid’ Rice U.S.A.”

Based on the spelling and grammar employed, three inscriptions appear to have been made by members of the scouting company. One inscription reads “The pictures war of many years ago in the year 1865. This picture book is belong to Indian Scouts of Ft. Reno I.T.” Another identifies a warrior as “Mark Arapahoe Chief he was war long time ago the year of 1874.” In addition to identifying the protagonist in this scene, the inscription suggests that the episode depicted occurred during the Red River War of 1874-1875. The third inscription appears on a drawing of the Animal Dance. It reads “The name of them marchin No. 1 Sergt. Tall Red Bird and No. 2 Warman [Woman] Heart.”

Inscriptions identifying the figures appear on fifty-seven of the drawings. These include the names of both men and women. The names are rendered in both Cheyenne and English, although English names predominate.

Discussion:

Both this ledger and NAM 9-6-327 at the Sam Noble Oklahoma Museum of Natural History contain depictions of the warrior Star. In drawing 4526.11.2, Star is depicted shooting a bear. His name is denoted by a name glyph that appears above him. In NAM 9-6-327, the name “Starr” appears in the caption of a drawing depicting a warrior riding away from a firing line of dismounted soldiers.

In addition, NAM 9-6-327 contains a courting scene in which the male figure wears a uniform coat with sergeant’s chevrons. In the accompanying caption the figure is identified as a “Sergeant of Indian Scouts.” Thus, both NAM 9-6-327 and 4526.11 evidence connections to the Cheyenne and Arapaho scouts who served at Fort Reno and Camp Supply.

Frontier Army Museum

66.50.1 “Bethel Moore Custer Ledger”

Description: The drawings were originally part of a commercial drawing book. A label on the inside of the back cover reads “For Lead Pencil or Crayon Drawing.” The unruled pages are rectangular in shape and it appears that the book was bound on the narrow edge. The collection contains fifty-four drawings. Nine of these are two-page drawings. The drawings are rendered in ink, colored pencil, and crayon.

Provenance:

An inscription on one of the drawings states, “Drawn by Cheyenne Indians 1881 for Capt. B.M. Custer U.S.A.” Custer received his promotion to Captain in June 1880. In the latter half of the year, his regiment, the 24th Infantry, was transferred to Indian Territory. Custer was stationed with the regimental headquarters staff at Fort Sill. At Fort Sill Custer would have had limited opportunity to interact with members of the Cheyenne tribe. However, elements of the regiment were stationed at Fort Reno, Camp Supply, and Cantonment, a post located on the Canadian River. Troops serving at these sites would have had ample opportunity to interact with

Cheyenne and Arapaho tribal members. As an officer, Captain Custer likely had occasion to travel to these posts and he may have obtained the drawings on one of these trips. Alternatively, he may have obtained them through the auspices of an officer or enlisted man stationed at one of the posts.

Based on the inscription, the drawings were created no later than 1881. However, the inscription states that the drawings were created “for” Custer, implying that he commissioned the drawings and that they were created at his request. If this is indeed the case, the drawings must have been created between Custer’s arrival in Indian Territory in late 1880 and the end of 1881.

Subject Matter: Martial scenes (eighteen drawings) and hunting scenes (fourteen drawings) combined account for over half of the drawings (32/54).

- Ceremony: 1
- Combat: 8
- Coup Counting: 9
- Courting: 8
- Diplomacy: 3
- Grass Dance: 1
- Hunting: 14
- Portrait: 4
- Rescue: 1
- Unfinished: 2
- U.S. Soldiers: 1
- Warrior Society Gathering: 2

Names:

The name “Tall Bull” appears in the captions and inscriptions on three drawings. While a text panel from an exhibition at the Frontier Army Museum suggests that the man identified in the inscriptions is the Cheyenne warrior Tall Bull who was killed in the Battle of Summit Springs on July 11, 1869, this is highly unlikely. First, the researcher knows of no other instance in which a Cheyenne artist posthumously memorialized the deeds of a deceased comrade. Second, in one of the drawings the man identified as Tall Bull carries a lance decorated with a banner comprised of black and white eagle feathers. This lance was an emblem carried by officers in the Bowstring Warrior Society (Jordan 2012:24-25; Petersen 1964:150, 164). The Tall Bull who was killed at Summit Springs was a well-known leader of the Cheyenne Dog Soldiers (Berthrong 1963:225; Petersen 1964:156). As such, it is highly unlikely that he would have been wielding a lance associated with another warrior society.

In Cheyenne culture, names, especially the names of prominent individuals, were often handed down from generation to generation within families. Its unlikely that the warrior killed at the Battle of Summit Springs would have been the only man to have born the name Tall Bull. Indeed, Grinnell (1995:332), identifies another warrior named Tall Bull who was killed during General Ranald S. Mackenzie’s attack on Dull Knife’s Village on November 26, 1876. However, an inscription in the Bethel Moore Custer book implies that the drawings were executed sometime between late 1880 and the end of 1881. If this is correct, then the drawings are

unlikely to represent the exploits of a warrior who was killed defending Dull Knife's Village in 1876.

A manuscript (MS 2828) in the National Anthropological Archives offers a possible clue as to the identity of the warrior identified in the drawings as Tall Bull. The manuscript is titled "Cheyenne and Sutaio Stories and Notes Collected by Truman Michelson." Michelson, an ethnologist, conducted research on the Northern Cheyenne reservation in 1910. Among his Cheyenne consultants was a man named Tall Bull who was born in approximately 1853 (Smithsonian Institution 2018b). This man would have been in his late teens and early twenties during the 1870s, old enough to have engaged in intertribal warfare. Furthermore, of the three warriors identified to date who bore the name Tall Bull, he is the only one who was alive in 1881 and able to either depict or narrate his exploits. However, there remains the question of whether this individual was living among the Southern Cheyenne in 1880 or 1881. If he was already living on the Northern Cheyenne reservation at this time he would not have been in a position to contribute his exploits to a book of drawings created in Indian Territory.

Inscriptions:

Inscriptions appear on forty-one of the fifty-four drawings. Eight of these inscriptions contain no additional information beyond the tribal affiliation of the figures depicted in the drawing. The remaining thirty-three inscriptions provide additional information in the form of descriptions of the scenes. These descriptions are consistent with the activities depicted in the drawings.

Two of the inscriptions offer tribal affiliations that are suspect. The first inscription accompanies a drawing of a mounted Cheyenne warrior counting coup on a dismounted opponent after vanquishing the warrior's comrade. While the inscription identifies the enemy warriors as Pawnees, the men's dress and adornment are not consistent with this identification. The second drawing depicts a mounted Cheyenne warrior counting coup on two mounted women. The inscription identifies the two women as Kiowa. However, the Cheyenne and Kiowa established a lasting peace in 1840. It would be somewhat unusual for a Cheyenne artist to depict an event that occurred forty years in the past. It seems more likely that the tribal attribution is incorrect. Indeed, the same event is depicted in a drawing in Ms. 4653 at the National Anthropological Archives. The inscription on that drawing identifies the two women as Shoshoni. This tribal identification is more likely given the time frame in which the drawings in both the Bethel Moore Custer book and Ms. 4653 were created, as well as the women's dress.

Discussion:

As noted above, one of the drawings in the Bethel Moore Custer book depicts an incident that is also depicted in MS. 4653 at the National Anthropological Archives.

Kansas City Museum

KC 40.229 Model Tipi Cover

Description: Catalog number KC 40.229 is a canvas cover for a miniature tipi. The cover measures 126cm long and 102cm tall. It is painted with a mixture of natural pigments,

commercial inks, and colored pencils. In addition, the cover is adorned with four beaded medallions. The medallions are executed in red, yellow, white, and black glass beads. One medallion is located at the top of the back of the tipi, between the smoke flaps. The other three are arranged in a row, evenly spaced around the midsection of the cover.

The artist conceptualized the tipi cover as consisting of three horizontal bands. A drawing of a mature bald eagle occupies the top band. The eagle is depicted with its wings outstretched. On the right wing is a carbine rendered in red. The left wing features a red arrow. The middle band is comprised of three scenes and the bottom band of two.

Provenance:

The tipi cover was collected by Ida Casey Dyer. Mrs. Dyer was married to Colonel Daniel Burns Dyer. In August 1884, Colonel Dyer was appointed to serve as the agent for the Cheyenne and Arapaho. He served in this capacity until July, 1885, when he was removed from office. During Col. Dyer's tenure as agent, the couple lived at Fort Reno. Mrs. Dyer amassed a considerable collection of Southern Cheyenne material during this time. She chronicled her experiences in her 1896 book *Fort Reno or Picturesque Cheyenne and Arapaho Army Life Before the Opening of Oklahoma* and the book contains a description of the production of the model tipi. According to Ida Dyer's account, the model tipi was painted by Yellow Nose

In 1897, the Dyers divorced. According to the divorce settlement, Col. Dyer took possession of the collection, including the model tipi. Following his death in 1912, the collection passed to the Kansas City Public School District. For many years, the collection was displayed at the Kansas City Public Library. In 1940, the collection was transferred to the Kansas City Museum Association (McGreevy 1978:69-70, 73).

Subject Matter:

- Combat: 3
- Coup Counting: 2

In her memoir, Mrs. Dyer asserts that Yellow Nose depicted episodes from the Battle of the Washita on the tipi cover. However, a careful analysis of the scenes reveals little to support her claim. First, two of the scenes – Scenes 1 and 5 depict intertribal warfare. These scenes feature Cheyenne warriors scalping intertribal enemies. While Osage scouts participated in the 7th Cavalry's attack on Black Kettle's Village, Yellow Knife's enemy warriors lack the markers typically employed by Southern Plains artists to denote Osage identity – roached hair, front tab leggings, finger woven turbans, or bear claw necklaces.

Another scene – Scene 2 - depicts a Cheyenne warrior using a lance to count coup on two Euro-American civilians. A third civilian lies on his back, possibly having been knocked down by the warrior's horse. No accounts of the Battle of the Washita mention a Cheyenne warrior counting coup on civilian scouts.

Scene 3 depicts Yellow Nose's participation in the Battle of the Little Bighorn. The scene consists of two parts, one of which celebrates Yellow Nose's most famous exploit. During the Battle of the Little Bighorn, Yellow Nose captured a cavalry guidon and used it to count coup (Grinnell 1995:339). Scene 3 features three mounted cavalymen, each shown being struck from

behind with a cavalry guidon. The other portion of the scene depicts a Cheyenne warrior, presumably Yellow Nose, pulling a man wearing a buckskin suit off his horse. Given his dress the man is either an officer or a scout and the U.S. brand on his horse suggests the former.

Scene 4 is the only vignette that could conceivably represent an episode from the Battle of the Washita. It features a firing line comprised of eight soldiers. Yellow Nose has depicted one of the soldiers with chevrons, indicating that he is a non-commissioned officer. An officer with a saber commands the firing line. Behind the line of soldiers is a cavalry trooper lying on his back. Unlike the other soldiers, this man wears a greatcoat. Opposite the firing line, Yellow Nose depicts a dismounted Cheyenne warrior. The warrior carries a carbine and wears an eagle feather bonnet with a trailer that extends to the ground. Behind this figure, three dismounted warriors fire at the soldiers. Accompany these warriors are five horses, two of which are wounded. Below the cluster of warriors and horses are two wounded soldiers. Both appear to have been shot through the abdomen and Yellow Knife depicts both entry and exit wounds. One of these soldiers also has a head wound.

While this composition might represent the attack on Major Elliott's detachment, it should be noted that this scene differs significantly from other Southern Cheyenne depictions of this episode, all three of which focus on the bravery of Roman Nose Thunder. If Scene 5 does depict the annihilation of Elliott's command, the figure of Roman Nose Thunder is conspicuously absent. Furthermore, in all three of the other Cheyenne depictions of the battle Elliott's men are depicted lying prone or fighting from cover. In Yellow Nose's composition the soldiers stand in a firing line. In brief, there is nothing to suggest that the scene is related to the Battle of the Washita.

Names:

No names are inscribed on the tipi cover and none of the drawings feature name glyphs. However, according to Mrs. Dyer, the drawings on the tipi cover were executed by Yellow Nose. A Ute by birth, Yellow Nose and his mother were captured by the Cheyenne warrior Lean Bear in 1854 or 1858 (Greene 1996:33 n.8; Grinnell 1995:189; Hyde 1968:297). At the time of his capture, Yellow Nose was four years old. While his mother escaped, Yellow Nose remained among the Cheyenne and was raised by Spotted Wolf, a northern Cheyenne (Hyde 1968:297; Grinnell 1995:189). According to George Bent, son of the trader William Bent and the Cheyenne Owl Woman, Yellow Nose rose to become "one of the most famous of Cheyenne warriors" (Hyde 1968:297).

Yellow Nose's extensive war record bears out Bent's assessment. On February 8, 1865, he was wounded in a skirmish that occurred near the confluence of Rush Springs Creek and the North Platte River. He was one of several warriors who was firing on Colonel Collins's command from the cover of the river bank. When cavalry troopers charged the river bank, Yellow Nose attempted to retreat, but was wounded before he could mount his horse (Grinnell 1995:189-190). Bent noted that at the time of the battle, Yellow Nose "was only a boy" (Hyde 1968:192). In 1867, he participated in an attack on Custer's supply train mounted by the Dog Soldiers and Pawnee Killer's band of Oglala Lakota. Yellow Nose joined a number of Dog Soldier warriors in an unsuccessful attempt to stampede the horses of Major Eugene A. Carr's column on July 8, 1869 (Hyde 1968:273).

Following the destruction of Tall Bull's Dog Soldier village at Summit Springs on July 11, 1869, Yellow Nose joined the Northern Cheyenne, marrying a northern Cheyenne woman (Hyde 1968:335). In 1876, he participated in both the Battle of the Rosebud and the Battle of the Little Bighorn. In the latter engagement, he gained fame for capturing a cavalry guidon and using it to count coup (Grinnell 1995:189, 339). Yellow Nose was present on November 26, 1876, when Colonel Ranald Slidel McKenzie's force attacked Dull Knife's Cheyenne Village. Yellow Nose was wounded in the defense of the village and captured. In 1877, he and the other prisoners from Dull Knife's Village were removed south to Indian Territory (Berlo 1996:120; Grinnell 1995:366; Hyde 1968:335).

Yellow Nose chose to remain in Indian Territory. In 1909, Grinnell (1995:192) reported that he was living in Geary, Oklahoma. In a letter written to George Hyde between 1905 and 1910, George Bent described Yellow Nose as "an old blind man" (Hyde 1968:192). Yellow Nose died in 1910 (Lester 1995:637).

Yellow Nose's war exploits were documented in a book of drawings by the Northern Cheyenne artist High Bull. The drawings were created on the pages of a memorandum book that was captured at the Battle of the Little Bighorn. Inscriptions in the book indicate that it had belonged to First Sergeant Brown of G Troop, 7th Cavalry, who was killed in the battle. High Bull was subsequently killed in the attack on Dull Knife's village and the book of drawings was claimed as a war trophy by one of McKenzie's soldiers (Berlo 1996:120).

Inscriptions: No inscriptions appear on the tipi cover.

Research Objectives

Objective #1 Depictions of the Battle of the Washita

To determine if Southern Cheyenne drawings depicting the Battle of the Washita provide new information on the engagement.

A major goal of the project was to identify Cheyenne depictions of the Battle of the Washita. Southern Cheyenne artists, and Plains Indian artists in general, rarely depicted the deaths of their comrades. In a genre intended to celebrate male martial achievement, depictions of the death of one's fellow tribal members or the destruction of one's village were uncommon. Therefore, the researcher contended from the outset that if any Cheyenne drawings of the Battle of the Washita existed, they were likely to portray the destruction of Major Elliott's command rather than the capture and sacking of Black Kettle's village. This proved to be the case.

Powell, who edited ethnologist James Mooney's fieldnotes, notes that the Cantonment Curtain at the Field Museum depicts Roman Nose Thunder's participation in Elliott's defeat (Mooney 2013, 2:225). When the researcher examined the tipi liner, he identified two scenes that might represent this episode. The first (Figs. 1 and 2) features a warrior who had been shot in the hand charging a group of soldiers lying prone. The soldiers, many of whom were wounded, were shown firing in two directions, giving the impression that the unit was

surrounded. The second scene depicts a Cheyenne warrior who has used his bow to count coup on two soldiers before dismounting and counting coup on the bodies of seven additional troopers. The warrior then pins another trooper's arms down while a second warrior disarms him, taking his carbine and pistol.

Ethnologist James Mooney commissioned the Cantonment Curtain on behalf of the Field Museum and Mooney's correspondence regarding his collecting activities is preserved in the museum's archives. Mooney describes the tipi liner, noting that it consists of fourteen battle scenes and the catalog card indicates that it depicts both the Battle of the Washita and the Battle of the Little Bighorn. However, neither clarifies which scene represents which battle.

Grinnell (1995:293) provides an account of the Battle of the Washita in his book *The Fighting Cheyenne*. He writes that there was a disagreement regarding who counted the first coup on Elliott's men. While some credited an Arapaho warrior named Tobacco, others afforded the honor to Roman Nose Thunder. According to Grinnell's consultants, Roman Nose Thunder was wounded in the arm as he charged the soldiers. The warrior on the Cantonment Curtain shown charging the troopers is depicted with a wound to the hand that causes him to drop his saber. Thus, Grinnell's account clarified which of the scenes on the Cantonment Curtain represents Roman Nose Thunder and the defeat of Major Elliott.

The preliminary drawings for the Cantonment Curtain (MS 233,124) and Mooney's notes (MS 2213) regarding the episodes it depicts are housed in the National Anthropological Archives. An inscription on the preliminary drawing (Figs. 3 and 4) for the scene depicting the wounded warrior charging the troopers provided confirmation that it represents Roman Nose Thunder counting coup on Major Elliott's detachment. The inscription reads "RN No. 1 Washita." Clearly, "RN" stands for Roman Nose.

Following the research visit to the National Anthropological Archives, the researcher decided to revisit the previously cataloged drawings. Having definitively identified one of the combat scenes featured on the tipi liner at the Field Museum as a depiction of Roman Nose Thunder engaging Major Elliott's command, the researcher wished to determine whether this episode was depicted in any other Cheyenne drawings.

Re-analysis of the drawings contained in the Whirlwind Ledger (NAM 9-6-327) at the Sam Noble Oklahoma Museum of Natural History revealed yet another depiction of Roman Nose Thunder's exploit. The drawing (Fig. 5) in the Whirlwind Ledger shared a number of details in common with the both the tipi liner and the preliminary drawing. These include a depiction of U.S. soldiers firing from a prone position. Even the wounds sustained by the Cheyenne warrior's horse (5 Fig. 6) are consistent, including the gunshot wound to the animal's foreleg and the gunshot wound to its head. In all three depictions, the Cheyenne warrior is shown dropping a saber, having sustained a gunshot wound to his arm.

In each depiction of the event, the artists draw a contrast between the weapons wielded by the cavalrymen and by Roman Nose Thunder. While the troopers rely on their carbines, Roman Nose Thunder eschews long range weapons, opting to wield a saber instead. He demonstrates his courage, exposing himself to enemy fire as he rides forward to close with his foes and strike a blow with the saber. The depictions contrast the warrior's willingness to expose himself with the troopers' preference to fire from a concealed position. Each of the depictions



Figure 1. Scene 13, Cantonment Curtain, A107621, Field Museum



Figure 2. Detail of Roman Nose Thunder, Cantonment Curtain, Field Museum



Figure 3. MS 233,124, 086008.00 National Anthropological Archives



Figure 4. Detail of Roman Nose Thunder MS 233,124, 086008.00 National Anthropological Archives

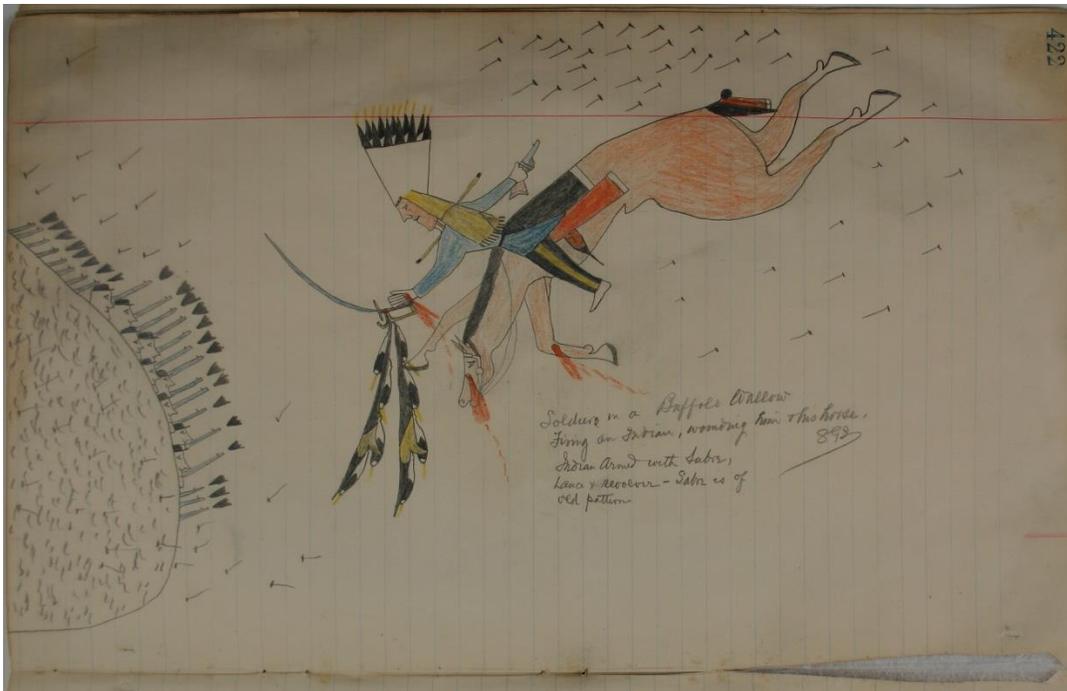


Figure 5. Roman Nose Thunder counting coup on Major Elliott's men.
Whirlwind Ledger, 9-6-327, Sam Noble Museum



Figure 6. Detail of Roman Nose Thunder.
Whirlwind Ledger, 9-6-327, Sam Noble Museum

celebrates the bravery and martial prowess of the Southern Cheyenne warrior, as well as his willingness to sacrifice himself in defense of his people.

Objective #2 - Encounters with Euro-Americans

To investigate Southern Cheyenne artists' depictions of their encounters with Euro-Americans.

Few peaceful interactions:

The majority of drawings depicting Cheyenne interactions with Euro-Americans document violent encounters. Of the ninety-eight drawings in which Euro-Americans are depicted ninety-five depict conflict. Only three scenes appear to depict peaceful encounters. A drawing (Fig. 7) in the Bethel Moore Custer Ledger (66.50.1) depicts a mounted warrior shaking hands with a mounted U.S. officer. A similar scene (Fig. 8) on the Red Bird Tipi Liner (49.193) depicts a mounted Cheyenne wearing a bonnet facing a mounted officer. While the men are not shaking hands, neither are they depicted brandishing weapons. The lack of discernable action suggests that this is not a coup counting scene, but rather a peaceful parley or meeting.

A drawing in MS 7463 offers another example. A row of soldiers' wearing forage caps is depicted along the left side of the page. Only the men's heads are visible. On the opposite side of the page is a row of Cheyenne men's heads. The Cheyenne men's heads are covered with red and black trade cloth blankets. In the center a Cheyenne warrior and a military officer shake hands. The soldier is depicted with shoulder boards, NCO stripes, and a red sash. The Cheyenne man wears an eagle feather bonnet with a trailer that reaches to the ground.

Attention to rank:

In several drawings, the Cheyenne artists carefully rendered the rank insignia of the opposing U.S. soldiers, identifying both non-commissioned officers and officers. Both the Whirlwind Ledger (NAM 9-6-327) at the SNOMNH and Red Bird Tipi Liner (49.193) document Cheyenne warriors' encounters with men who held the rank of Sergeant. In each instance, the artist depicts the three chevrons on the trooper's sleeve.

Another drawing in the Whirlwind Ledger depicts a Cheyenne warrior counting coup on a Captain of the 5th U.S. Cavalry. The artist depicted the officer's shoulder boards, which designate his rank, as well as the numeral 5 on his saddle blanket, which designates his unit. Clearly, the Cheyenne were aware of their opponent's rank.

That the artist deemed these details worthy of documenting is perhaps not surprising when one considers that the drawings themselves were created to promote the protagonists' martial achievements and bolster his social status. In this context, documenting the rank of one's adversary makes sense. However, it is interesting to note that the Cheyenne warriors were aware that the U.S. military used certain insignia to denote rank. At the very least, the protagonists and artists were aware that the chevrons and shoulder boards set individuals apart from the enlisted soldiers in their command.

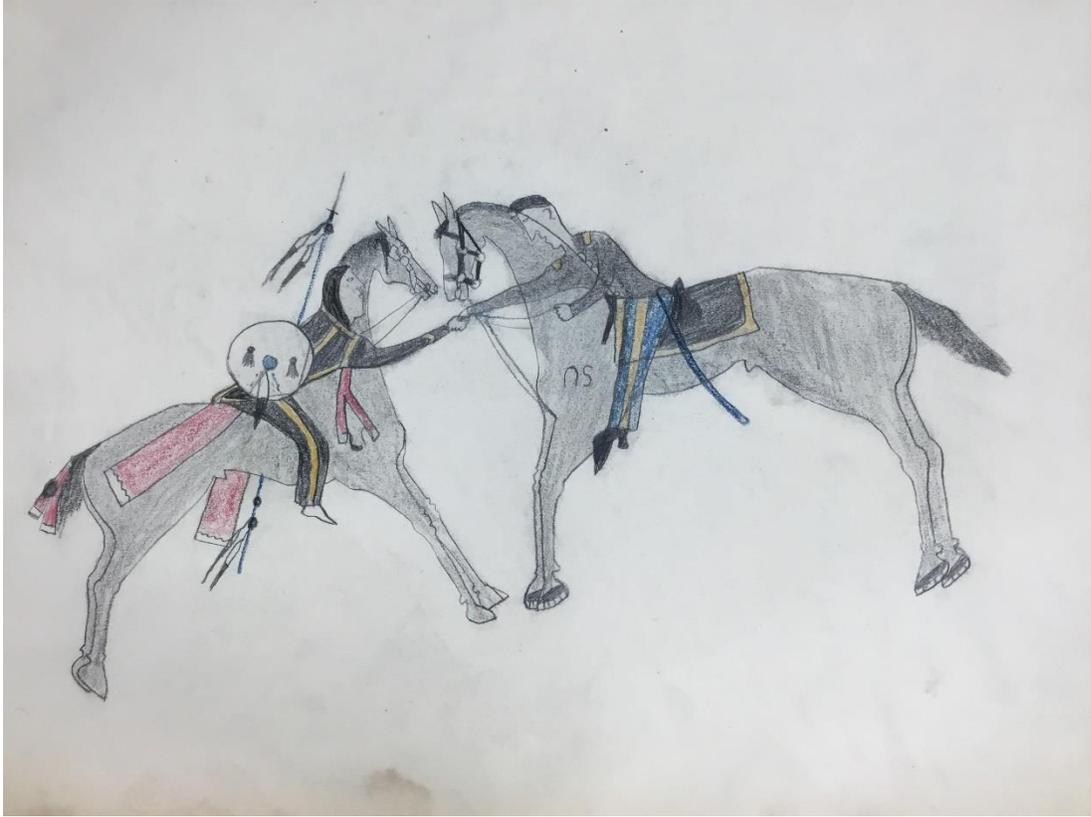


Figure 7. Bethel Moore Custer Ledger, 66.50.1, Frontier Army Museum



Figure 8. Scene 3, Red Bird Tipi Liner, 49.193, Southern Plains Indian Museum

Teamsters and Freighters:

Worth noting is the number of scenes which depict Cheyenne encounters with teamsters and freighters. The Whirlwind Ledger (NAM 9-6-327) contains four drawings (Fig. 9) depicting Cheyenne warriors engaging men associated with wagons. The Tipi Liner (E165931) at the National Museum of Natural History also includes a scene (Fig. 10) featuring a wagon. In addition, both the Whirlwind Ledger (NAM 9-6-327) and Red Bird Tipi Liner (49.193) contain scenes that depict Cheyenne men counting coup on Euro-American individuals wielding whips. It is plausible that the whips are intended to identify these men as teamsters or freighters.

These drawings could serve as a starting point for exploring multiple topics. First, they highlight Cheyenne efforts to disrupt trade and travel in the wake of the Sand Creek massacre. They also speak to Cheyenne tactics, which included resupplying at the enemy's expense. Mules were coveted by members of a number of Plains Indian tribes who viewed them as valuable pack animals and it is possible that the capture of the mule teams also motivated these encounters. The Cheyenne may have also disdained teamsters because of the negative impact which wagon trains wrought on the environment. Heavy traffic along trails disrupted the bison herd's migration patterns. Furthermore, grazing stock denuded the vegetation near the trails.

New War Deeds

Cheyenne warriors garnered prestige and status through the performance of martial exploits. The act of counting coup – striking a non-lethal blow to the enemy with a handheld object – was one of several formal war deeds recognized by the Cheyenne and other Plains Indian tribes (Jordan 2012). Analysis of the drawings led to the identification of two additional acts that appear to have been regarded as formal war deeds by the Cheyenne.

Trampling: The researcher identified twelve scenes depicting mounted Cheyenne warriors utilizing their horses to knock down pedestrian enemies. In these drawings (Fig. X), the enemy figure is positioned between the outstretched front legs of the horse. The pedestrian warrior is typically depicted falling backwards. Trampling scenes appear in all but one of the sets of drawings on paper, the sole exception being Surr-Stiles Ledger (NAM 9-6-298). Of the three tipi liners examined, the Voth Tipi Liner (E165931) contains a trampling scene.

Rescuing a Comrade: Nine drawings depict a mounted Cheyenne warrior rescuing an unhorsed comrade. During combat, a warrior's horse might become exhausted or be wounded or killed. Left afoot, the warrior was extremely vulnerable. Rescue scenes typically depict two warriors mounted on a single horse pursued by an enemy force. Hoofprints may indicate the rescuer's path as he rode back to retrieve his compatriot. The rescued man's winded or injured horse is sometimes depicted, and a dashed line may mark the path the unhorsed warrior followed as he ran to meet his rescuer. Rescue scenes appear in seven of the collections of drawings on paper. Turning back to save an imperiled comrade placed a warrior at considerable risk. The drawings document the courage and self-sacrifice exhibited in these episodes.

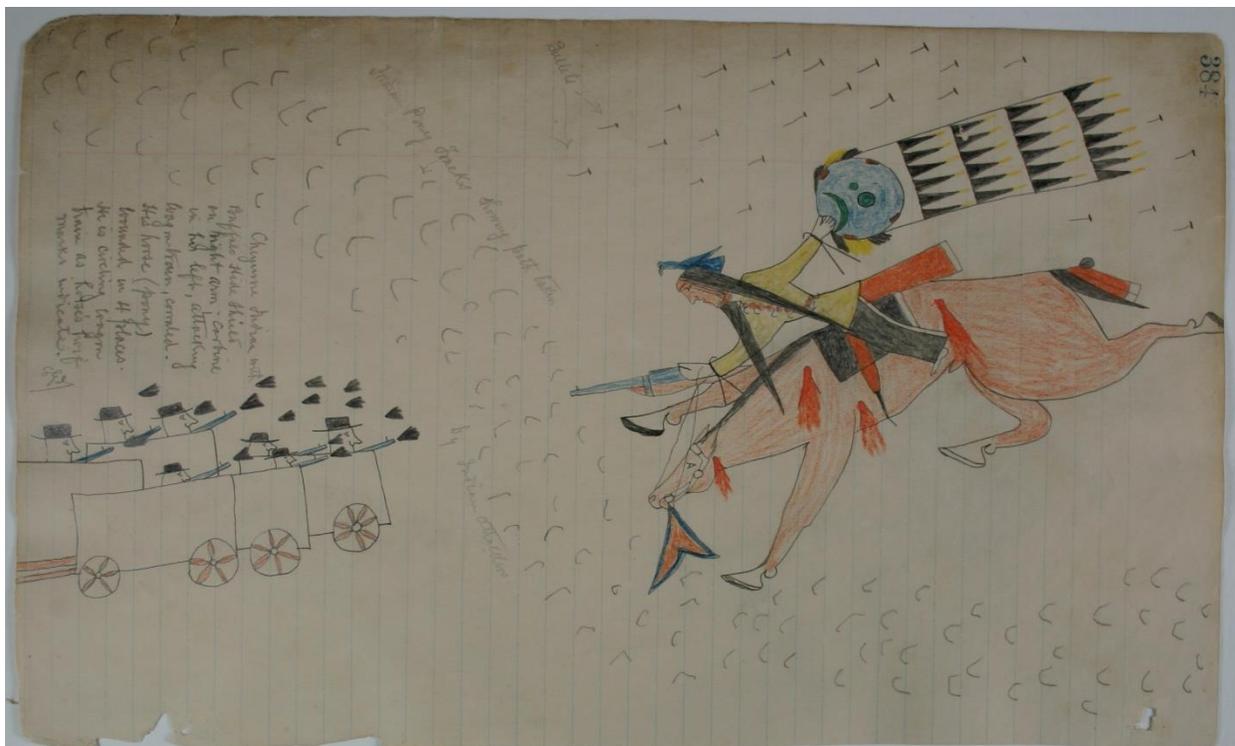


Figure 9. Whirlwind Ledger, NAM 9-6-327, Sam Noble Museum

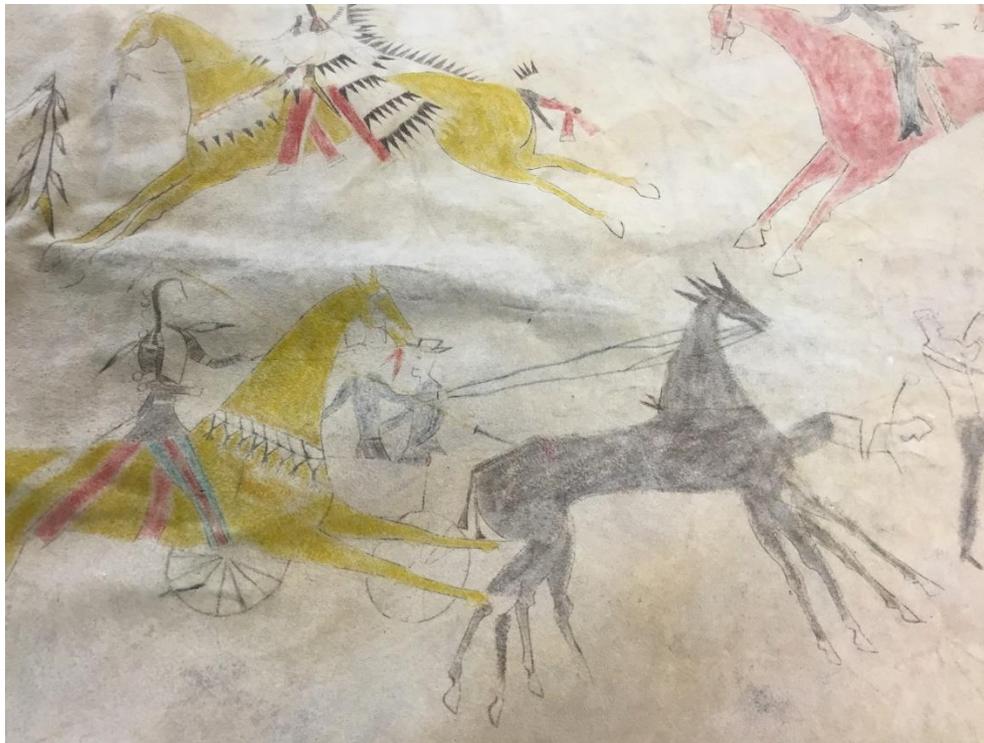


Figure 10. Detail of Scene 16, Voth Tipi Liner, E165931, National Museum of Natural History



Figure 12. A Cheyenne warrior trampling a Pawnee.
Fort Reno 1887 Ledger, 4526.11, Gilcrease Museum

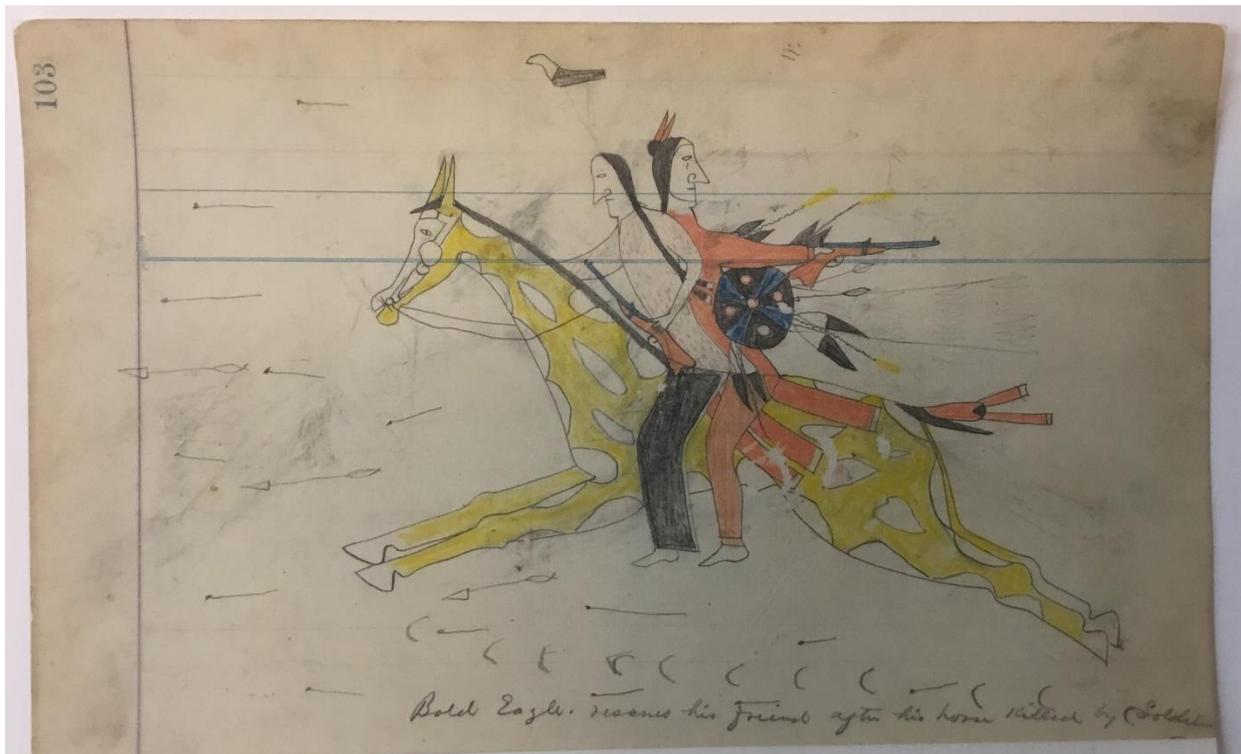


Figure 13. Bald Eagle rescuing a comrade.

Euro-American vs. Intertribal Enemies:

Table 2 provides a breakdown of the identity of the enemy figures depicted in the drawings. Depictions of intertribal enemies far outnumber depictions of Euro-Americans. Of the 369 drawings of violent encounters (combat, coup counting, trampling, etc.), 275 depict clashes with intertribal foes. A total of ninety-five drawings portray combat with Euro-Americans. Of these, fifty-four drawings depict battles or skirmishes with U.S. soldiers and thirty-eight depict clashes with Euro-American civilians. In three instances, the clothing worn by the Euro-American figures was not rendered in enough detail to determine if they represented soldiers or civilians.

Occasionally, an artist would employ a form of shorthand, depicting the muzzles of the enemy's weapons rather than the enemy warrior. For example, the drawings in NAA MS 4653 contain no depictions of Euro-American individuals, either civilians or soldiers. However, the captions for five of the drawings identify the opposing forces as U.S. military. In six drawings the enemy is represented by a line of carbines positioned along the edge of the page intended to represent a firing line or formation of soldiers. Based on the information contained in the captions and the military formations implied by the rows of carbines, the enemy in these drawings were classified as soldiers. However, in the case of four drawings there was insufficient information on which to base an attribution. The enemies in these drawings could not be identified as either Native Americans or Euro-Americans. Consequently, they were listed as indeterminate.

It is important to note that some of the scenes that ostensibly portray intertribal warfare may portray battles involving the U.S. military. Some of the enemy warriors depicted in the drawings could represent scouts fighting alongside the U.S. military. The U.S. army employed Pawnee, Crow, and Osage scouts in its campaigns against the Cheyenne.

Table 1 - Opposing Forces Depicted in Drawings

Collection	Intertribal	Euro-American	U.S. Military	Euro-American Civilian	Euro-American Indeterminate	Indeterminate
Whirlwind Ledger NAM 9-6-327 Sam Noble Museum	16	27	8	19	0	0
Red Bird Tipi Liner 49.193 Southern Plains Indian Museum	6	8	6	1	1	0
Voth Tipi Liner E165931 National Museum of Natural History	5	11	3	6	2	0
MS 4653 National Anthropological Archives	51	6	6			
MS 7463 National Anthropological Archives	40	31	21	10	0	4
Fort Reno 1879 Ledger 4526.19 Gilcrease Museum	77	3	2	1	0	0
Fort Reno 1887 Ledger 4526.11 Gilcrease Museum	52					
Bethel Moore Custer Ledger Frontier 66.50.1 Army Museum	16	2	2	0	0	0
Cantonment Curtain A107621 Field Museum	10	4	4			
Model Tipi KC 40.229 Kansas City	2	3	2	1		

Objective #3 – Physical Environment

To understand the relationship between Southern Cheyenne people and the physical environment.

Another objective of the project was to ascertain what the drawings might reveal regarding Cheyenne interactions with the environment. Initially it was posited that some of the drawings might depict the locations of Cheyenne villages vis-à-vis natural features such as rivers or hills. However, the drawings proved to be devoid of landscape features, the vast majority lacking even a ground line. In this sense, the drawings differ from those produced by Cheyenne prisoners at Fort Marion, who frequently depicted both the natural and built landscape in which actions occurred (Greene 1992:55). In contrast, the drawings analyzed in this study typically feature figures set against a blank background. While the drawings failed to illuminate how the Cheyenne situated their villages in relation to topographical features, they nevertheless provided information on their interactions with the local fauna.

Hunting scenes appear in three sets of drawings examined in this study. The following collections contain hunting scenes:

- Surr-Stiles Ledger (NAM 9-6-298)
- Bethel Moore Custer Ledger (66.50.1)
- Fort Reno Ledger 1887 Ledger (4526.11)

A total of twenty-four hunting scenes (Fig. 14) were identified during the project. These drawings represent less than four percent of the 626 drawings on paper analyzed. With so few hunting scenes, one must be cautious in drawing conclusions. It is unlikely that the drawings represent the full spectrum of Cheyenne hunting practices. In fact, several of the drawings depict atypical or unusual events, such as a drawing in the Surr-Stiles Ledger (NAM 9-6-298) of a mounted man attempting to club a turkey. Such episodes were likely recorded because they were viewed as odd or entertaining.

Drawings in the Bethel Moore Custer Ledger portray several such incidents. One drawing (Fig.15) depicts a hunting mishap. The hunter's horse has been injured and he has been thrown. A bison appears to trample the hunter, who lies on the ground. In another drawing, a hunter lassoes a bison calf. Two drawings depict animals that have been caught after wandering into a village. In one, a woman catches a doe, while in the other drawing a man ropes a pronghorn that is running through camp.

Hunting techniques: Hunting techniques appear to have varied depending upon the prey. For example, bison were typically pursued from horse back while pronghorn appear to have been hunted on foot.

Species hunted:

The twenty-four hunting scenes depict the harvesting of ten different species: bison (*Bison bison*), elk (*Cervus canadensis*), pronghorn (*Antilocapra americana*), mule deer (*Odocoileus hemionus*), black bear (*Ursus americanus*), mountain lion (*Puma concolor*), river

otter (*Lontra canadensis*), wild turkey (*Meleagris gallopavo*), and bald eagle (*Haliaeetus leucocephalus*). Table 2 summarizes the information contained in the drawings. It should be noted that the frequency with which a species appears in the drawings has no correlation to its importance to the Cheyenne. For example, black bears and bison both appear in six drawings. Nevertheless, the bison played a far more important role in Cheyenne subsistence.

Nevertheless, the six depictions of Cheyenne men pursuing bears call for an explanation. Grinnell (1972:290) notes that black bear hides were frequently used to wrap shields. Encounters with bears were likely deemed a suitable topic for depiction because of the risk involved. Greene (1996:32) notes that a Cheyenne man might gain prestige by counting coup on a bear, just as he would an enemy warrior. A drawing (Fig. 16) from the Bethel Moore Custer Ledger (66.50.1) depicts a man using his quirt to count coup on a wounded bear.

Other species were likely hunted primarily for their pelts, including otters and mountain lions (Fig. 17). Both otter and mountain lion hides were prized by the Cheyenne for making bow cases and quivers (Grinnell 1972:184; Jordan 2012:28). Both were used in the construction of quivers and bow cases. Otter hides were also used as braid wraps. The value placed on these hides is underscored in a drawing from the Surr-Stiles Ledger (NAM 9-6-298). The drawing depicts an inventory of a Cheyenne man's possessions. Included alongside the man's saddles, bridles, and eagle fans are five otter hides and one mountain lion hide, as well as an otter bow case and quiver. The Hood Museum of Art's collection at Dartmouth College includes similar drawing from the Old White Woman Ledger. In this drawing, the Cheyenne man is pictured with his possessions, which include two otter hides and a mountain lion hide (Jordan 2012:27). Examples of the use of otter and mountain lion hides can be found in all the drawing books consulted in the present study.

Weapons employed in hunting: Analysis of the drawings suggest that by the time the drawings were created firearms had almost completely replaced the bow and arrow as the preferred hunting arm. Of the seven hunters depicted in the Sturr-Stiles Ledger (9-6-298) five are armed with rifles or carbines, one uses a bow, and one wields a club. Analysis of the Bethel Moore Custer Ledger (66.50.1) revealed that six hunters utilize rifles or carbines, four employ revolvers, one wields a bow, and one, a woman, uses a club. The revolvers were likely selected because of their six-shot capacity. The drawings depict their use by hunters pursuing both bison and bears. The Fort Reno 1887 Ledger (4526.11) from the Gilcrease Museum contains four hunting scenes. Three of the hunters are armed with rifles or carbines, and the remaining one is armed with a bow.



Figure 14. A hunter pursues a bison. Surr-Stiles Ledger, NAM 9-6-298, Sam Noble Museum



Figure 15. A bison attacks a hunter. Bethel Moore Custer Ledger, 66.50.1, Frontier Army Museum

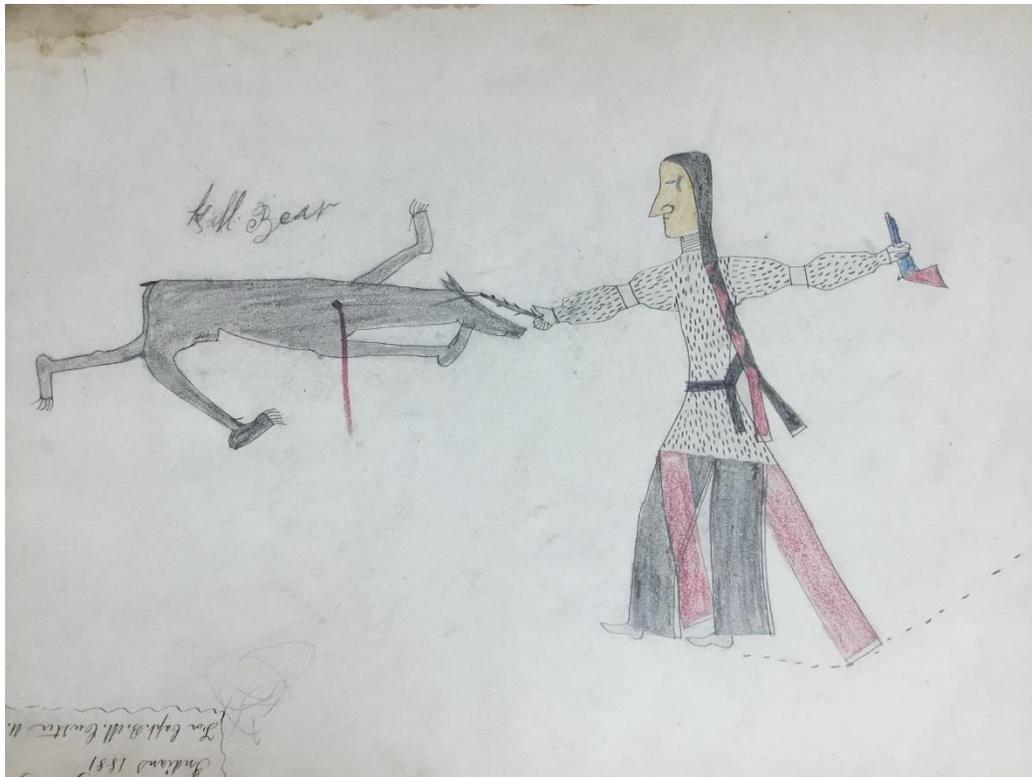


Figure 16. A hunter uses his quirt to count coup on a bear.
Bethel Moore Custer Ledger, 66.50.1, Frontier Army Museum

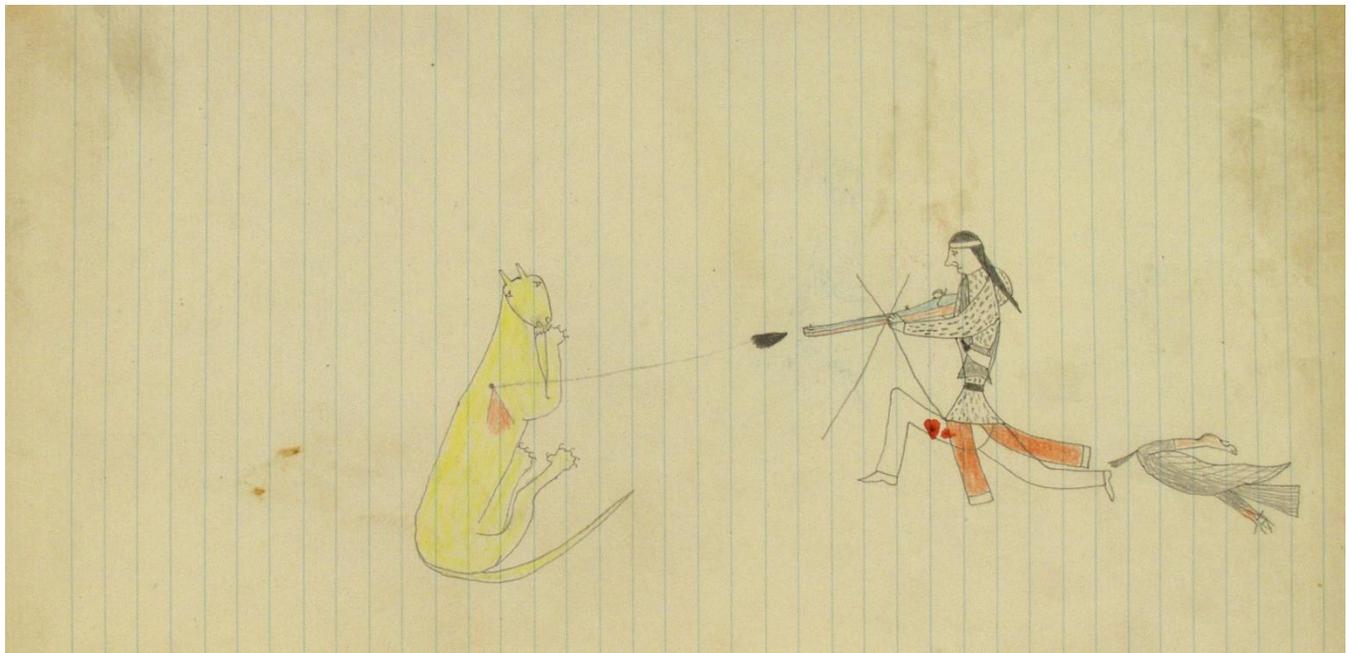


Figure 17. A hunter shoots a mountain lion.
Fort Reno 1887 Ledger, 4526.11, Gilcrease Museum

Table 2. Prey Species Depicted in Drawings

Collection	Bison	Pronghorn	Otter	Elk	Deer	Rabbit	Black Bear	Mountain Lion	Turkey	Bald Eagle
Surr-Stiles Ledger NAM 9-6-298 Sam Noble Museum	2	2	1						1	2
Fort Reno 1887 Ledger 4526.11 Gilcrease Museum				1			2	1	1	
Bethel Moore Custer Ledger 66.50.1 Frontier Army Museum	4	1			4	1	4		1	

Objective #4 – Persistence of Cultural Beliefs and Practices

To investigate the persistence of Southern Cheyenne cultural beliefs and practices in the reservation period.

Persistence of the Martial Ethos

For members of the public, drawings of Cheyenne men dressed in United States military uniforms (Fig. 18) may initially seem puzzling. Undoubtedly, some might question why Cheyenne individuals would be willing to serve in the U.S. military, a force that had waged war on the tribe only a few years before. Yet, oddly enough, drawings which depict Southern Cheyenne men's service in the U.S. military provide an opportunity to talk about the persistence of Cheyenne cultural values. These men's service as scouts underscores the persistence of the martial ethos that pervaded pre-reservation Cheyenne culture. Even in the reservation-era male status and martial achievement remained closely linked. However, the end of intertribal warfare and armed resistance to Euro-American encroachment deprived young men of opportunities to distinguish themselves in combat. Service in the U.S. military offered one of the few chances for young men to pursue the life of a warrior.

Furthermore, in the Fort Reno 1887 Ledger (4526.1) several individuals, including Tall Red Bird (Fig. 19) and Doby, are depicted wearing insignia associated with their rank as non-commissioned officers. Such drawings are comparable to those in which Cheyenne warriors depicted themselves with insignia that marked them as officers in their respective warrior societies.

Persistence of Religious Beliefs and Practices

Massaum or Animal Dance

Notable among the corpus of drawings are three depictions of the Massaum, also known as the Animal Dance or Crazy Lodge. According to Moore et. al. (2001:874) the ceremony reenacted "the story of Yellow Hair Girl (*heóvEstéáhé?e*), who taught the Cheyenne how to obtain the animals they needed for food, clothing, and religious purposes." The identification of these drawings was based on comparison with written descriptions and historic photographs of the Massaum (Grinnell 1923:285-336; Petersen 1964:146-147; Schlesier 1987).

A distinctive feature of the ceremony was the appearance of groups of men and women dressed as various animals. These individuals belonged to healing societies and, in their dress, they sought to depict their animal patrons, from whom they derived their spiritual power. Grinnell explains how these healing societies formed.

These different groups of animals usually had their origin in a dream. Some may have dreamed that he saw some animal – a deer, a buffalo, or some other mammal or bird- acting in a peculiar way, and that this animal gave him the power to perform certain mysterious (supernatural) acts.... The ceremonies attached to the different groups, their dress, and their painting were determined by the dream of the man who organized each. [Grinnell 1972:335]



Figure 18. A Cheyenne scout, dressed in his uniform, courts a woman.
Fort Reno 1887 Ledger, 4526.11, Gilcrease Museum



Figure 19. Tall Red Bird courting Woman Howling. Note the scout's NCO stripes.
Fort Reno 1887 Ledger, 4526.11, Gilcrease Museum

The healing societies made their appearance on the fourth day of the ceremony. When Grinnell witnessed the performance of the Massaum, the following animals were represented: buffalo, elk, deer, wolf, coyote, and fox (Grinnell 1972:323). Two of these groups are depicted in the drawings.

Two drawings in the Bethel Moore Custer Ledger (66.50.1) at the Frontier Army Museum depict episodes in the Massaum ceremony. The caption on the first drawing simply reads "Making Medicine," medicine being a term that refers to spiritual power. The drawing (Figs. 20) depicts three men engaged in the Massaum. All three of the men wear body paint and two of the men wear masks. One of the masks features branches fashioned to appear like antlers. The masked men represent elk. Grinnell (1972:328) described the yellow body paint, antlers, and two upright eagle feathers worn by elk impersonators. The third man appears to be blowing on a whistle, possibly imitating the sound of a bull elk bugling.

The second drawing (Fig. 21) depicts two men wearing body and face paint and armed with bows. Both men have their hair tied up in a knot over their forehead and both appear to be blowing on eagle bone whistles. These men represent hunters. Grinnell (1972:329), who witnessed a Massaum ceremony describes these figures, explaining that, "These members of the Contrary Society, represented hunters... They were the fun-makers or clowns of the occasion... They acted in an eccentric way, and darted hither and thither, unexpectedly. Their antics were highly enjoyed by the people." A third figure wears a bison mask and holds a hoop with a "man power" symbol suspended in its center. He represents a bison and is dressed as Grinnell describes, wearing black body paint, a bison headdress with horns, and carrying a wreath in his right hand. According to Grinnell, the hunters would approach the bison and shoot at them with their bows. Men portraying a bison bull would charge the hunters and attempt to drive them back. Occasionally, one would even feign catching and killing a hunter (Grinnell 1972:329-330). Perhaps, that is what the artist is portraying in this drawing, as the hunter at lower left appears to be falling.

An almost identical scene (Figure 22) is depicted in a drawing from the 1887 Fort Reno Ledger at the Gilcrease Art Museum. Here again, two hunters are depicted alongside a bison. As in the drawing from the Bethel Moore Custer Ledger, the bison appears to spit up red paint. This may have been intended to represent the way in which animals aspirate blood when wounded in the lungs. Grinnell (1972:334) notes that bison, specifically bison cows, sometimes feigned being wounded. However, he does not mention the use of red paint or the wounding of the men portraying bison bulls.

Sun Dance

Analysis of the drawings revealed only one Sun Dance scene. The drawing (Fig. 23), which appears in Surr-Stiles Ledger (NAM 9-6-298) at the Sam Noble Oklahoma Museum of Natural History, depicts the gathering of materials for the construction of the Sun Dance lodge. On the first day of the ceremony, members of the warrior societies would ride out to harvest cottonwoods and willows. Grinnell provides an account of the warriors' return, which culminated in a mock charge.



Figure 20. Elk Dancers. Bethel Moore Custer Ledger, 66.50.1, Frontier Army Museum

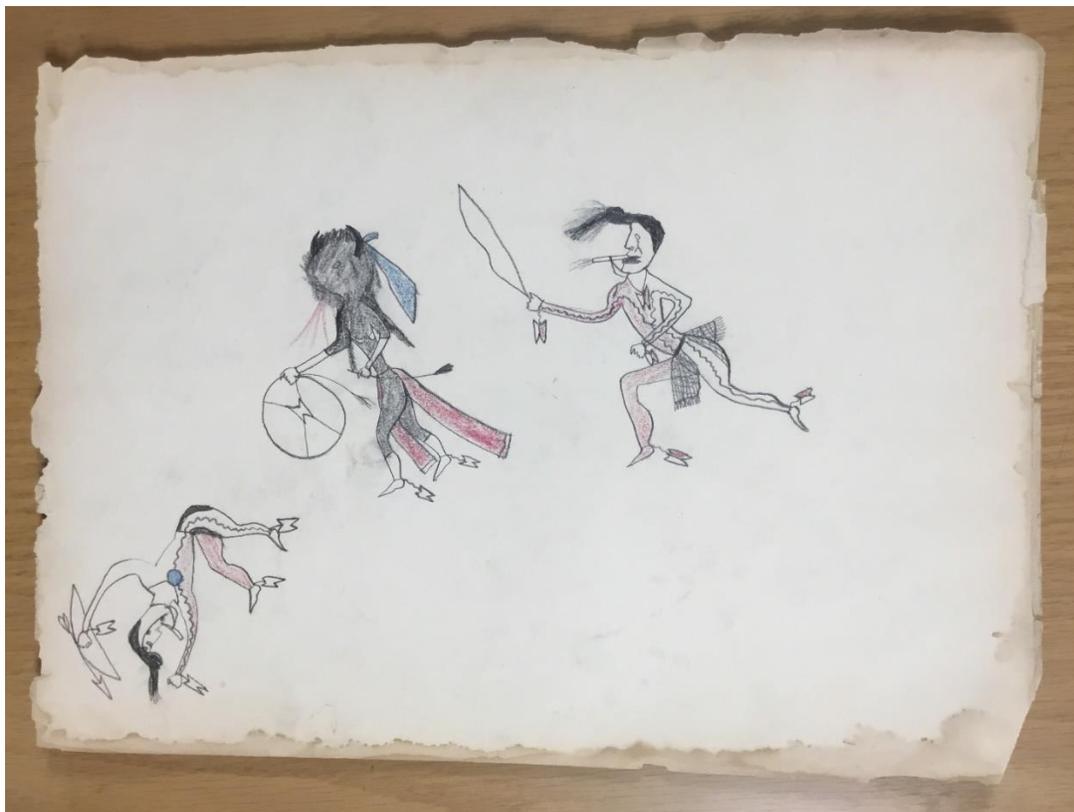


Figure 21. Massaum Ceremony. Bethel Moore Custer Ledger, 66.50.1, Frontier Army Museum

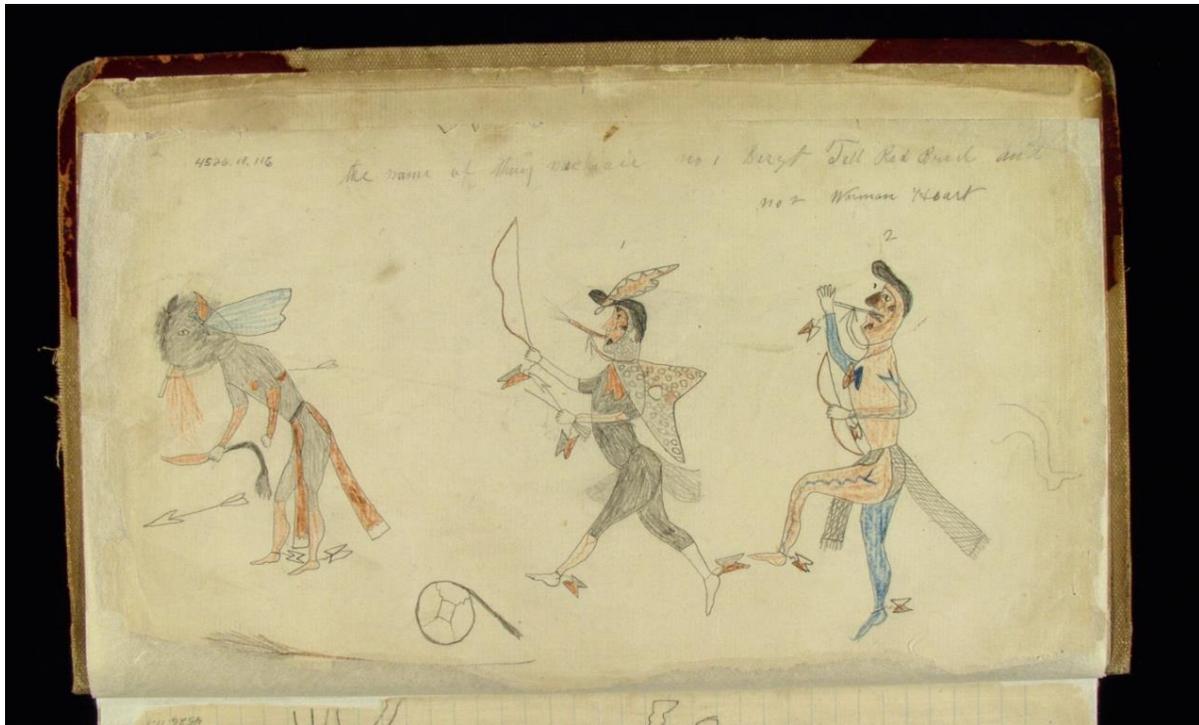


Figure 22. Massaum Ceremony. Fort Reno 1887 Ledger, 4526.11, Gilcrease Museum

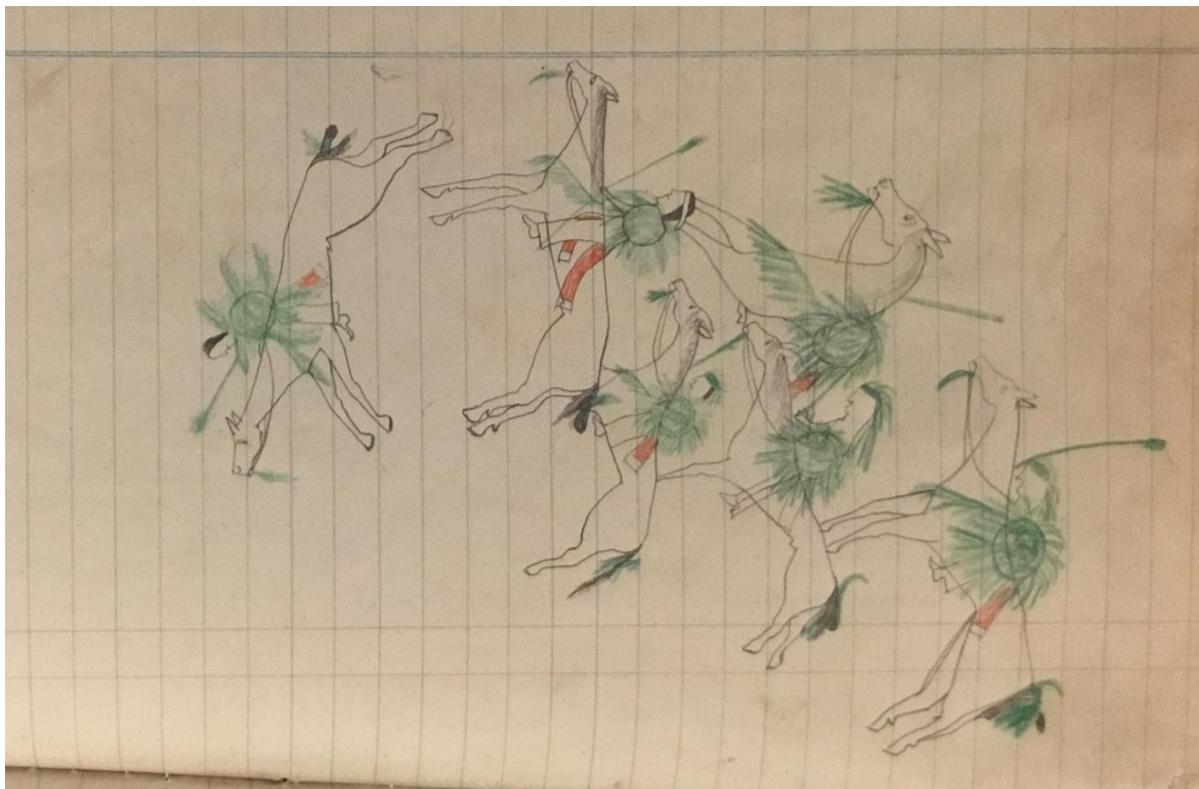


Figure 23. Sun Dance Scene.
Surr-Stiles Ledger, NAM 9-6-298, Sam Noble Oklahoma Museum of Natural History

Some of them held long straight willow branches with tufts of leaves on their ends; these represented lances. Many carried on their backs frames of willow twigs shaped like shields, the leafy ends of the twigs hanging down to represent feathers. Other bundles of twigs represented bows and quivers. Some of the men wore wreaths or bonnets of willow twigs about their heads, others were crowned with chaplets of vine leaves, from which long trailing leafy sprays hung down like the tails of war-bonnets. The horses wore collars of willow and cottonwood twigs. Each returning soldier band came on in a close body, pairs or trios of men dragging with their ropes cottonwood poles, either rafters or posts. At a point seventy-five or a hundred yards before they reached the place where a heap of buffalo-chips had been piled, they dropped their ropes, charged upon the pile, and touched it with the sticks in their hands. They then rode back, picked up their ropes, and dragged the poles to their places – where the lodge was to be built. [Grinnell 1972:229-230]

The artist depicts the warriors festooned with willows and armed with leafy weapons, preparing for the mock charge.

With regards to depictions of the Sun Dance, reservation-era Southern Cheyenne drawings stand in stark contrast to Cheyenne drawings produced at Fort Marion in San Augustine, Florida between 1875 and 1878. Cheyenne men imprisoned at Fort Marion produced drawings of the Sun Dance, including depictions of both the Sun Dance lodge and ceremonies taking place within the lodge (Berlo 1996:132-133 Szabo 2011: 166-168, Plate 59; Viola 1998:24-26). However, their reservation-era counterparts appear to have largely avoided depicting the Sun Dance. Further research is needed to explain why Southern Cheyenne artists operating in Indian Territory were hesitant to depict the Sun Dance. As noted above, drawings of the Massaum or Animal Dance appear in both the Bethel Moore Custer Ledger (and the 1887 Fort Reno Ledger. It is worth considering why artists chose to depict the Massaum, but not the Sun Dance.

Omaha Dance/ Grass Dance

Four drawings, including two two-page drawings, were identified as renderings of the Omaha Dance based on the distinctive material culture depicted. The Omaha Dance, also known as the Grass Dance or War Dance, was a cultural institution that diffused across the Plains during the latter half of the 19th century. Two objects – the porcupine hair roach and feather bustle - were closely associated with the dance. Anthropologist Clyde Wissler referred to the roach and bustle as the “two striking objective features” of the Omaha Dance (Ellis 2003:50). Similarly, Ellis (2003:50) notes that, “Across the Plains, these pieces of dance clothing would become universally used by adherents of the Omaha Dance.” Other items closely associated with the dance included otter hide breastplates and bells mounted on leather straps that were worn wrapped around the knee or ankle or suspended from the waist to the ankle (Ellis 2003:51). Many of these objects are depicted in the drawings.

The 1879 Fort Reno Ledger (4526.19) at the Gilcrease Museum contains two depictions of the Grass Dance. In the first drawing, two dancers, both wearing porcupine hair roaches, dance toward a feather bustle. The second drawing (Fig. 24) depicts two dancers, one wearing a bustle, approaching a kettle and a dog. The Kettle Dance was a ritual component of the Grass Dance or War Dance as practiced by many tribes. In the ritual, dancers removed boiling dog flesh from the kettle using either their hands or forked sticks (Meadows 2010:264; Wissler 1916:866). Indeed, Wissler (1916:864) describes the preparation and consumption of dog meat as one “of the more fundamental concepts and procedures” of the Grass Dance.

Depictions of the Grass Dance also appear in two other ledgers. The Surr-Stiles Ledger (NAM 9-6-298) at the Sam Noble Oklahoma Museum of Natural History and the Bethel Moore Custer Ledger (66.50.1) at the Frontier Army Museum contain similar representations of the dance. The two-page drawing from the latter (Fig. 25) contains nineteenth figures. In addition to the dancers, the artist also depicted two mounted officers of the society, as well as singers gathered around a large drum. The artist responsible for the drawing in the Surr-Stiles Ledger created a similar scene (Fig. 26).

Walking in Two Worlds

The Fort Reno 1887 ledger contains two interesting depictions of Sgt. Tall Red Bird. In one (Fig. 22), he is depicted as a participant in the Massaum or Animal Dance ceremony. In the other (Fig. 27), he is dressed in clothing that suggests his participation in the Cheyenne version of the Omaha Dance. He wears a porcupine hair roach and cloth front tab leggings. This style of legging was not commonly worn by the Cheyenne, but was used by the Osage, as well as other tribes who adopted and facilitated the spread of the Grass Dance. Gifts of clothing typically accompanied the transfer of the Grass Dance from one tribe to another, which could explain how Sgt. Tall Red Bird came to possess the leggings. These drawings suggest that despite working for the federal government, Tall Red Bird remained active in the religious and cultural life of his people. The example of Tall Red Bird could be incorporated into educational material at WBNHS to spur discussions of the persistence of cultural values.



Figure 24. Kettle Dance. Fort Reno 1879 Ledger, 4526.19, Gilcrease Museum



Figure 25. Omaha Dance. Bethel Moore Custer Ledger, 66.50.1, Frontier Army Museum

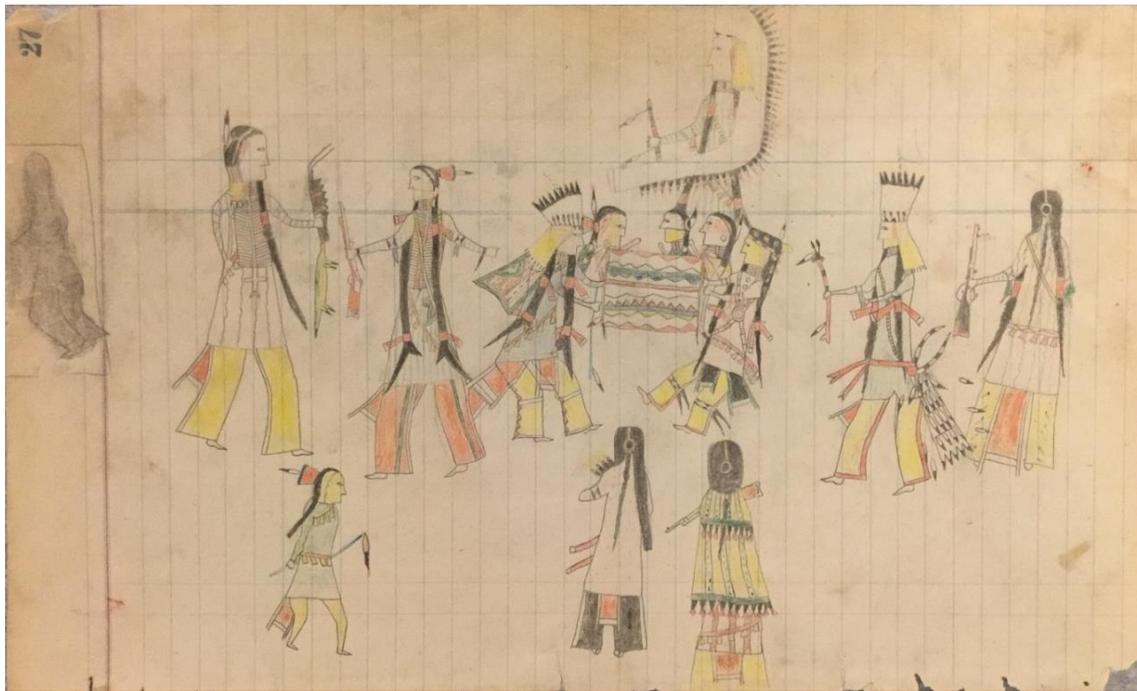


Figure 26. Omaha Dance. Note the dancer wearing the bustle and the drum.
Surr-Stiles Ledger, NAM 9-6-298, Sam Noble Oklahoma Museum of Natural History



Figure 27. Tall Red Bird wears Omaha Dance attire while engaged in courting.
Fort Reno 1887 Ledger, 4526.11, Gilcrease Museum

Conclusion

Research to date has led to the cataloging of reservation-era Southern Cheyenne drawings in the collections of nine public institutions. The researcher analyzed over 626 drawings on paper, as well as forty-six scenes depicted on hide and five drawings on canvas. The project has made a large stock of images available to the staff of the Washita Battlefield National Historic Site. The staff can draw on these images to develop interpretive materials that highlight Cheyenne perspectives on the 1868 battle, as well as the broader clash of cultures that took place on the Southern Plains. In addition, the drawings serve as a vehicle for exploring and discussing Southern Cheyenne culture both prior to and in the wake of the historic engagement.

A few of the drawings contain depictions of Southern Cheyenne religious ceremonies which may be deemed culturally sensitive, including the Animal Dance and Sun Dance. The researcher strongly encourages the National Park Service to consult with representatives of the Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes before utilizing these images in exhibitions or educational materials. It is possible that the tribe may object to the display or publication of these images.

While the researcher has contextualized the drawings, utilizing the ethnohistorical and ethnographic literature to situate the artworks within the framework of nineteenth century Southern Cheyenne culture, more work remains to be done. The next logical step would be to conduct ethnographic interviews with members of the Southern Cheyenne tribe. Contemporary community members will likely be able to offer insights into the drawings that cannot be gleaned from the literature alone.

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