
Decorative Art of the Sioux Indians.

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BULLETIN

OF THE

American Museum of Natural History,

VOL. XVIII, PART III, pp. 231-278.

New York, Dec. 17, 1904.

The Knickerbocker Press, New York

DECORATIVE ART OF THE SIOUX INDIANS.

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PLATES XXXVIII.—LVI.

INTRODUCTION.

THE following paper is a brief description of the decorative art of the Dakota, based on data secured by the writer while engaged on a Museum expedition in the summer of 1902, a part of the general research in aboriginal American art. The primary object of this expedition was to secure for comparative study a collection of typical decorative designs, with information as to the ideas and motives involved in their execution.

The Dakota, under the more general name of the Sioux, are so well known, that no preliminary statement of their history and present life is needed. Their decorative art consists of geometric designs in quill-work and beads, and in painted designs on robes and bags.

The general study of primitive decorative art has made some progress in tracing out the successive steps by which a realistic design is reduced to a mere decoration. The success of such concrete studies as those of Haddon has led to the working hypothesis that all designs, however geometric in character, have originated in realistic representation. This is equivalent to the statement that every design was once a freehand drawing or modelling of a real object. No matter what the ultimate fate of this hypothesis may be, it defines one of the important problems in the development of art. Research upon the archæological remains of extinct cultures has been of necessity a method of matching designs, or an attempt to arrange the specimens in a sequence between the realistic and the conventional geometric forms. Naturally the limitations of material, and the uncertainty of the serial relations between the specimens themselves, interfere with

progress. Only in the most obvious cases can the results be satisfactory. In the study of existing art, the method has been to work backward from the conventional design, as interpreted by the artist, to the realistic original. The assumption in this case is, that the current name of the design, or the motive that led to its production, defines the concept of the whole series. For illustration, if a mere geometrical form were used by a primitive artist as a symbol of the frog, it would be regarded as having been in its first inception the representation of the frog. The final proof would then be sought in the agreements between the respective contours or other demarcations. This would become positive if some of the intervening steps could be found. The difficulty is that such steps are seldom extant.

The assumption that the law of growth in decorative art is from the representative to the conventional reduces the process to one of analysis. It is conceivable, however, that the same result could be reached in the reverse order; viz., by synthesis. Random strokes in ornamentation will produce geometric forms in which the artist sees a resemblance to some well-known or cherished object, whence a symbol is created. In course of repeated executions the figure may be rounded out into a realistic representation, — a result outwardly conforming to the first assumption, but really contradictory to it. In any event, the investigation of the problem becomes psychological, because it is necessary to know what ideas the artists have of their designs, and what motives lead to their execution. The assumption that all primitive decorative designs are executed with the consciousness that they symbolize some definite object or relation in nature, is fairly supported by the facts so far accessible; but the deeper assumption is the real problem, Does it follow that these symbolic designs were produced by a gradual transition from the realistic representation? That some of them were so produced has been satisfactorily demonstrated; but is this the law of growth for decorative art? The published statements of the symbolic religious art of the American Indians indicate an interesting correlation between the nature

of the design and the ideas associated with it. It appears that the more abstract the idea, the simpler and more geometric the design. On the other hand, it is obvious that a vigorous conventionalization of representative forms must tend to reduce them all to a few simple geometric designs. In such an event, confusion as to the symbolic aspect of similar designs must arise in the minds of the artists, necessitating re-interpretation or creation of new symbols. Thus the ultimate interpretation can have no certain relation to the origin of the design itself.

While the study of the art of a single tribal group cannot be regarded as an important contribution to the general problem of primitive art, the facts presented in the following pages are of some significance when considered in connection with the art of other American tribes. The general result has been stated by Professor Boas in a recent paper¹ as indicating the secondary character of the ideas associated with designs, and the impotence of information as to what interpretations are given designs, in dealing with the question of their realistic or non-realistic origin.

This paper aims at a brief statement of the associations between the ideas and decorative designs of the Sioux, or of the subjective aspect of their decorative art. A large number of concrete examples are given, that the reader may have some basis for his own independent estimate of the case. The full-page plates are photographic reproductions of specimens from the collections in the American Museum of Natural History. The other illustrations are from drawings by Mr. R. Weber. The colors in the originals are indicated in the drawings as follows: vertical shading, red; horizontal, blue; diagonal, green; dotted, yellow; black and white have their respective values.

DECORATIVE DESIGNS AND THEIR ELEMENTS.

An interesting point in the decorative art of the Sioux is the use and recognition of pattern-names for the most

¹ The Decorative Art of the North American Indians (Popular Science Monthly, October, 1903).

elementary geometric designs, and the use of these as elements in the composition of complex designs. Such compositions may be merely decorative in motive, arranged to express some scene or incident, or used as the symbol of some mystic idea.

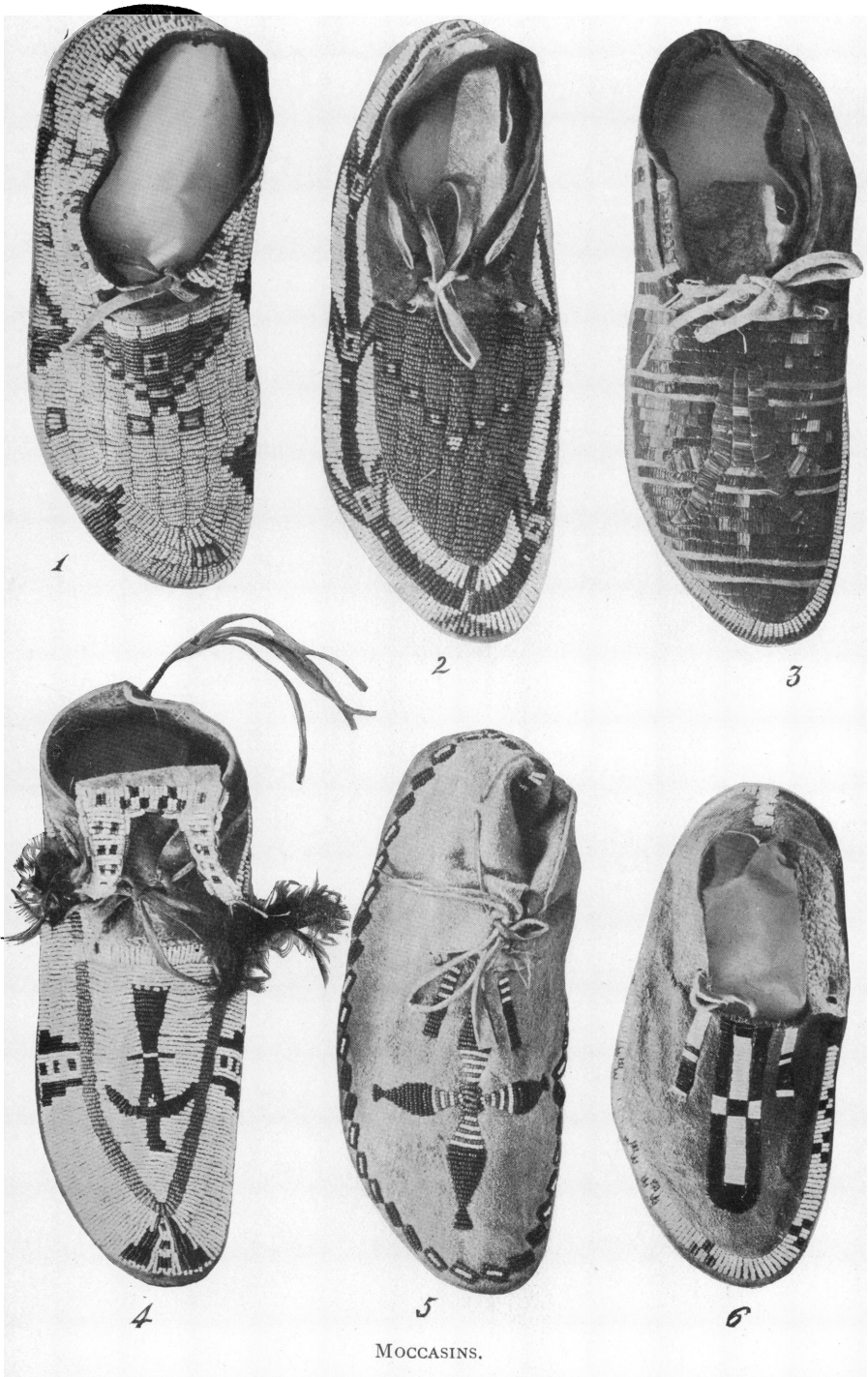
Bearing these statements in mind, we pass to an examination of specimens. In Plate xxxviii we have a series of decorated moccasins collected from the Dakota. These specimens were all ornamented in compliance with the decorative motive. The women were positive, that, while they did make designs with other motives, in this case they had nothing in mind except the beauty of the moccasin.

In one particular these moccasins are all similar, — ornamental borders follow the uppers along the edges of the soles. In every case these borders consist of small geometric designs arranged symmetrically on a ground of uniform color. The most frequent border design is triangular, with the apex pointing upward. This design is usually spoken of as the "tepee pattern," or "tent design." In some cases a rectangular area rests upon the base of the triangle. This is said to be an elaboration of the realistic character of the design, in that it represents the door or entrance to the tent. Another variation of this triangular design is the block-like pattern illustrated in Fig. 2, Plate xxxviii. This figure is associated with the pointed border of the tent design on Fig. 6 of the same plate. This is designated as the "cut-out" or "step" pattern; but, curiously enough, this variation does not prevent the whole figure from being spoken of as a tent design. The moccasins shown in Figs. 1 and 6 of the same plate present rectangular border patterns called "the bundle," "the bag," "the box," etc. This pattern I shall name the "box" design. In Fig. 4 appears a double-cross design always recognized as the dragon-fly pattern.

While the moccasins shown here all have borders, the decorations of the insteps differ. In the case of the specimen shown in Fig. 1, Plate xxxviii, the transverse bands are classed as the "road," "trail," or "path" pattern, — trail designs. The design in Fig. 2 is given the name of "the three-row" pattern. The longitudinal band on the insteps of Figs. 3, 4,



MOCCASINS.



and 6 is called "the middle-row" pattern. The pointed area between this middle row and the border is not given a specific name, but is spoken of as a "space," or "the part between." The three-row and the middle-row patterns are names for the general style, or the larger design unit. Fig. 6 bears the same designs on the middle row as upon the border. Figs. 3 and 4 have a series of small triangles down the middle row: these pointed designs are designated as *vertebræ*. Fig. 2 is ornamented by an arrow design, the box design, and a third design for which no name was given. The lateral stripes in Fig. 6, forming the ground for a series of rectangles, are the "filled-up" patterns.

In Plate xxxix other forms of moccasin decoration are presented. In Fig. 1 we find the box pattern and the step pattern. In the case of this specimen the maker asserted that the latter design was the specific representation of the steps at the door of a white man's house. Fig. 2 shows a wide striped border upon which appear representations of birds flying. On the instep of this specimen we find a row of rectangles arranged diagonally: this is given the name of "twisted" pattern. In Fig. 3 the designs not previously mentioned are the head of an elk and the simple cross figure. Fig. 4 bears the figure of an eagle and a complex border-figure produced by halving the triangular step design and inserting three rectangles arranged like the filled-up design. There seems to be no special name for this compound design as a whole. Fig. 5 shows the prevailing style of decoration for women's moccasins. The border is again the twisted pattern. The rayed figure on the instep is the feather design, each ray being a feather. The two bars above this design suggest the three-row type of decoration, as appears in the compound design in Fig. 6.

So far we have considered the names and arrangement of the simple designs found on moccasins. In practically every case the names for these designs are expressions of some of the geometric relations between the designs and the objects giving the names. The same relation exists for the decorative designs on other articles.

In Plate XL occur some typical designs for small pouches carried by women and girls. Fig. 1 is a simple pattern of squares of alternating dark and light colors, and designated as "tripe." Fig. 2 bears a simple pointed design symmetrically arranged on the decorated field. Designs of this kind are given different names, as "pointed," "arrow-point," etc. As we shall see later, they are also considered forms of leaf patterns. The two pointed designs at the base of Fig. 3 are of the same type. The three upright figures are said to represent the whirlwind. The cause of the whirlwind is said to emanate from the power of a moth, the chrysalis of which is represented in the conventional design. The pointed designs on Fig. 4 represent feathers. Fig. 5 presents a number of the design elements combined in a typical manner, and introduces a new element in the form of a trident, to be discussed later.

Pockets in which strike-a-lights are carried are represented in Plate XLI. Here we find the complex designs often seen on such articles. The diamond-shaped centre of the design in Fig. 1 is given the name "kehu'ke," which is used to designate arrow-points of a diamond shape; but the design is spoken of as a mere form, so that "diamond" seems a good translation of the idea. The triangular projections at the sides are considered to be leaf designs, though sometimes spoken of as points. The forked design above and below the diamond is said to be the fork of a tree, the spreading of two leaves from a twig, or the form of a single leaf. A similar pocket (Plate XLI, Fig. 2) presents a design element of a trident form. This is called the "full-of-points" design. The design on Fig. 3 presents the general aspect of a cross, but is made up of tent patterns, the small rectangles being again the bag or box pattern. Fig. 4 presents the same elements as described above, and needs no further mention.

In decorative work the cross designs are spoken of as the "crossing of lines;" but if the ends of the lines are tipped, as in arrow designs, the figure becomes simply the "crossed-arrows," or arrow pattern.

A summary of the principal design elements is given in Fig. 71, p. 227.



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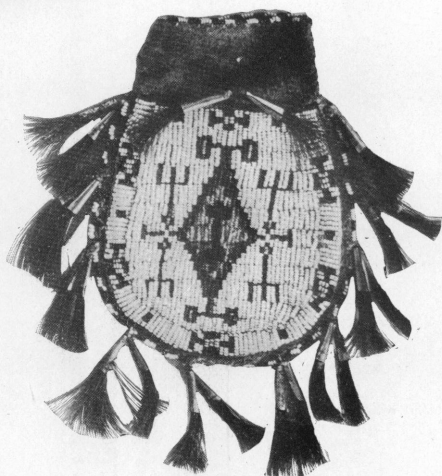
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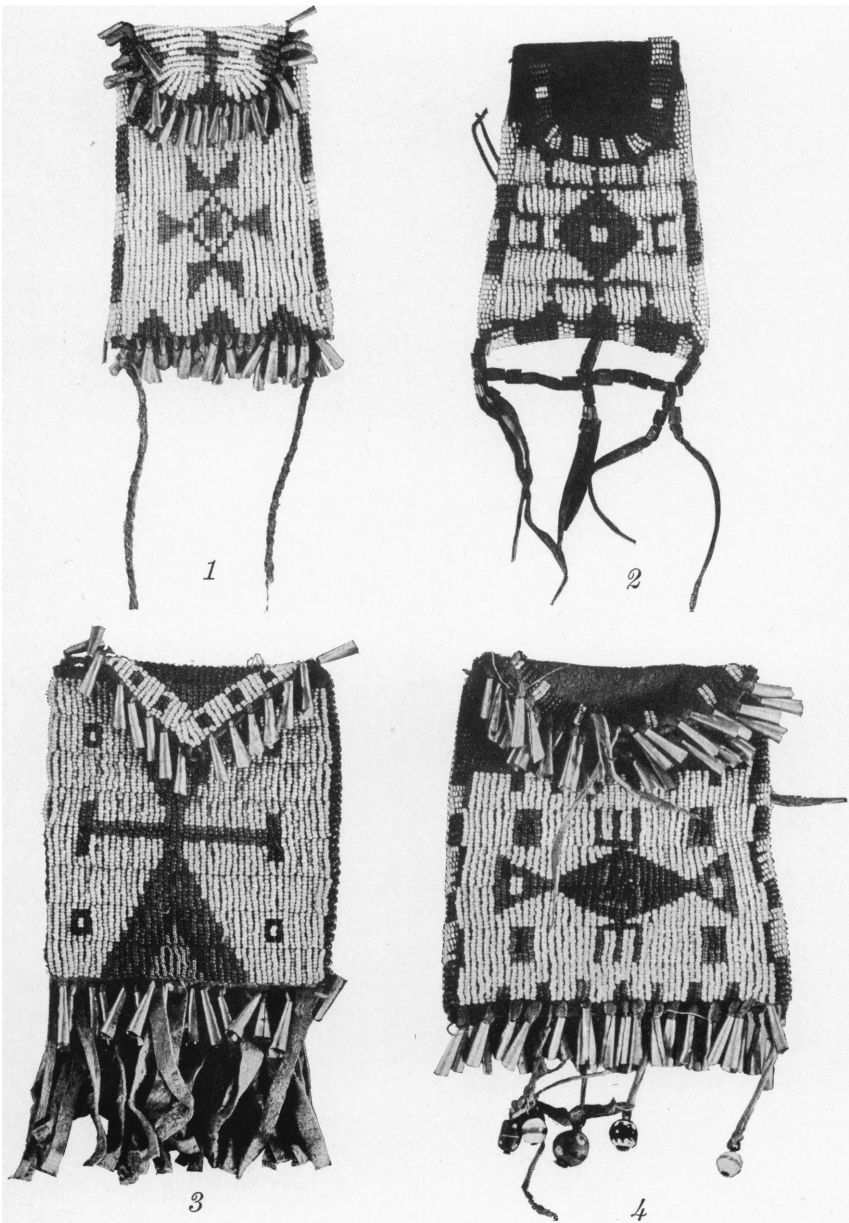
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5

SMALL POUCHES.





STRIKE-A-LIGHT POUCHES.

It is evident, from the types of beaded designs so far presented, that the more complex figures are compositions built up from the design elements according to conventional modes.

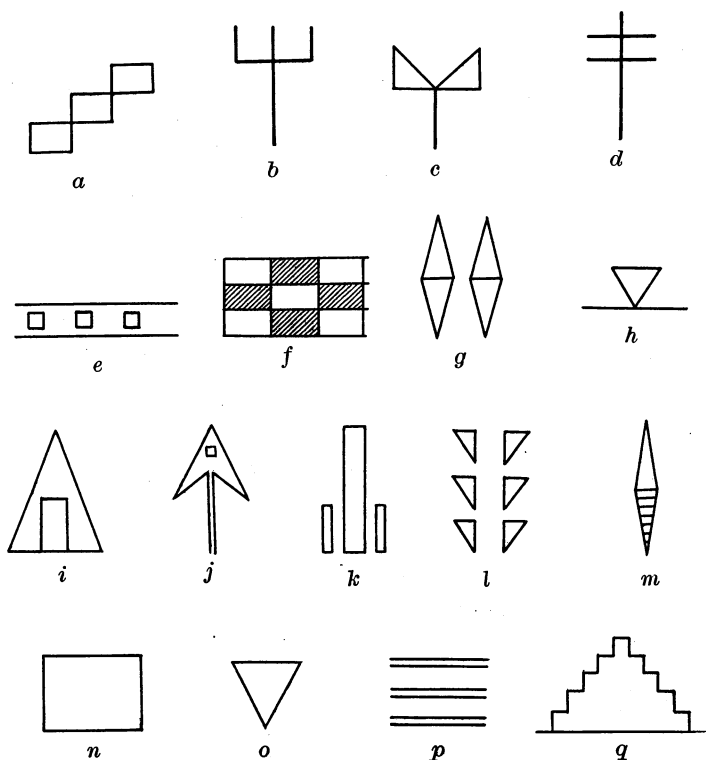


Fig. 71. Design Elements.

a, Twisted.
b, Full-of-points.
c, Forked tree.
d, Dragon-fly.
e, Filled-up.
f, Tripe.

g, Feathers.
h, Leaf.
i, Tent.
j, Arrow.
k, Three-row.
l, Vertebrae.

m, Whirlwind.
n, Bag.
o, Pointed.
p, Trails.
q, Cut-out.

The Indian women are aware of this themselves, and speak technically of producing a complex decoration from the conventional elements at hand. Compositions of purely decorative motives are well illustrated by a series of pipe-and-tobacco bags. All things considered, these bags are the

culmination of Dakota decorative design. They are used solely by men, but made by women, and both regard them as works of art. Their practical value is *nil*. For ordinary use the men carry plain pouches of the same general form, reserving the highly decorated ones for formal social functions and ceremonies. For these reasons a series of types in decorated pouches is presented as an illustration of the mode of design composition.

The design elements entering into these composite designs have been mentioned in the preceding pages, so they may pass without comment. It is obvious that certain combinations of elements will become as fixed and definite as the elements themselves, to the end that certain complex designs will be used over and over with such small variations as may be necessary in adjusting the whole to the space to be decorated. The general forms of the designs on the specimens shown in Plates XLII and XLIII are very common indeed. However, there seem to be no special names for these combinations. The general type illustrated by Figs. 2 and 3 of Plate XLII is a design of very frequent occurrence. Fig. 3, Plate XLIII, bears a complex tent design in which one tent is deftly enclosed within another by reversing it over the door. Fig. 2, Plate XLIII, deserves special mention. Designs of this type are usually less pleasing to the eye than those of simpler composition. There is always a suggestion of confusion of eye-movements when looking at them. The designs of this type are spoken of as "looking-glass" patterns, or "reflected" patterns. No one seemed able to give a rational explanation as to the applicability of this term, but it is possible that the effect of such a combination of lines and areas upon the observer was noted by the Indian and expressed in the terms given above. The experience is certainly somewhat analogous to the flashing of a mirror in the face.

An interesting type is seen in Fig. 1, Plate XLIII, in which the general form of the designs on Figs. 2 and 3, Plate XLII, is used in combination with other design elements. The addition of the "many-points" design often gives the whole a new name, "the shooting of arrows from between the hills."

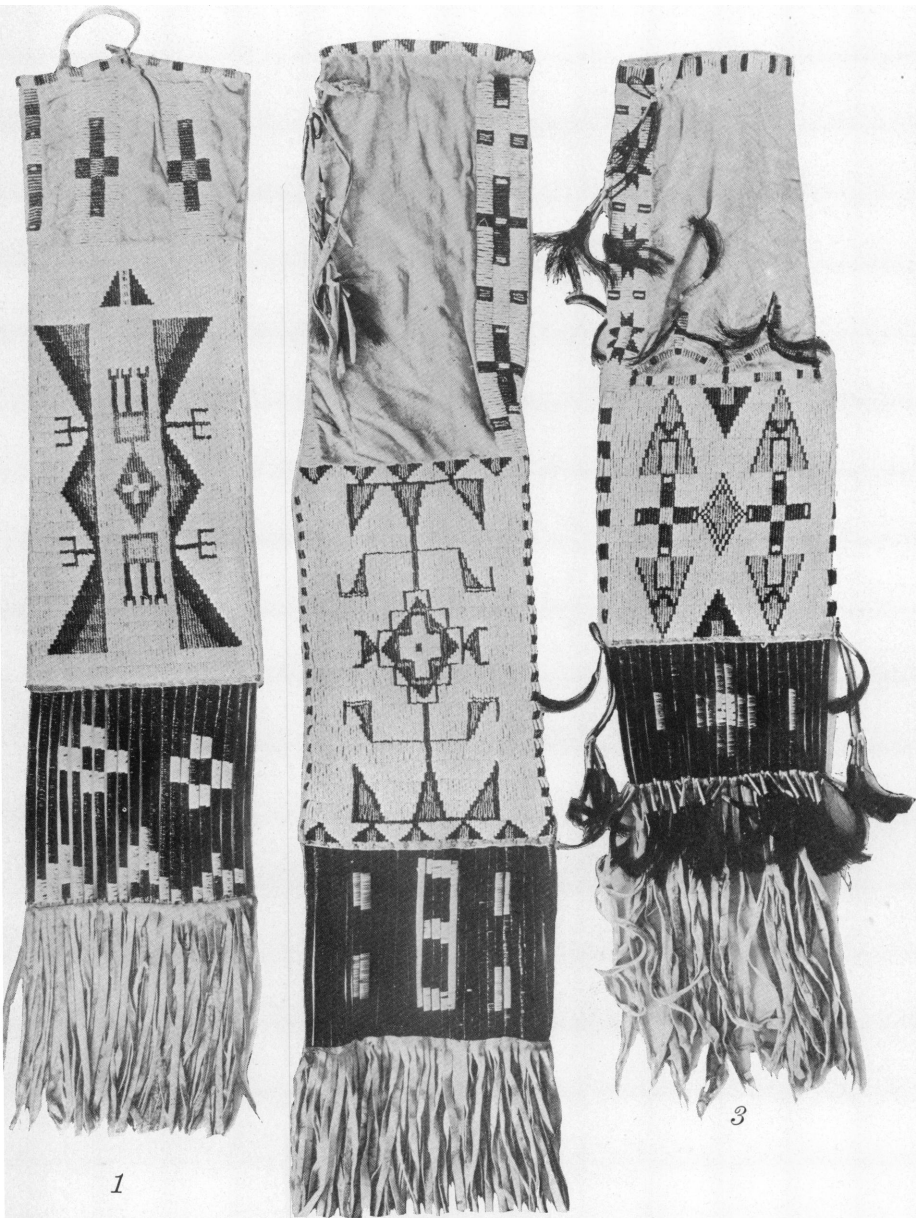


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2

3

PIPE-AND-TOBACCO BAGS.



PIPE-AND-TOBACCO BAGS.

So far we have considered the designs used in bead and quill work in their objective aspect. The motive with the Indian worker is taken as entirely decorative, *i. e.*, the designs are wrought to please the eye. While these decorations are compositions of elements in themselves conventionalized realistic forms, they are as wholes rarely considered other than nameless designs in conformity to æsthetic motives. Such a relation between designs and motives may be regarded as abstract decoration, or artistic endeavor in which the æsthetic aspect as such is the supreme motive. This is pure decorative art. The foregoing is sufficient proof of the existence of a school of such art among the Dakota. The ideals of this art seem to be the use of conventional elements in compositions of conventional types. Another peculiarity of this art is, that, in so far as its production goes, it is the work of woman. While the decorative motive seems simple and fundamental, and hence sufficient for the basis of pure decorative art, there are other phases of Dakota decorative art that suggest a much broader and more complex origin of the school of art just described. We find many decorated objects with designs that have motives other than decorative or in which a decorative motive has displaced a symbolic motive.

CONVENTIONAL DECORATIONS WITH SYMBOLIC ASSOCIATIONS.

In the matter of decoration we find convention prescribing particular designs for certain objects. This is well illustrated by the conventional ornamentation of the buckskin dresses worn by women and girls. These are all of the same type, as may be seen in Plates XLIV and XLV.

These garments are quite simple in cut. A dress for a small girl can be cut from a single piece, folded along the shoulder line, a hole cut for the head to slip through, and completed by sewing up the sides of the skirt. The oblong area across the shoulders, breast, and back is beaded with designs on a blue ground. The women speak of this technically as the "blue breast beading." Taking up the specimens in

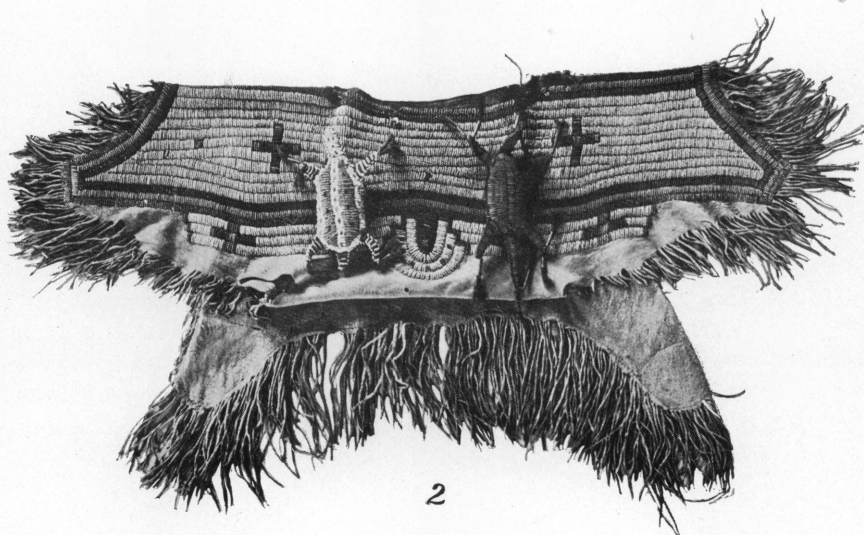
detail, we find simple designs of the same types as described above, but forming a composition essentially symbolic. The U-shaped figure on the breast of Fig. 1, Plate XLIV, represents the breast of the turtle, and the wing-like extensions to the same represent the sides of the shell. The large beaded area represents a lake or body of water in which we see the reflection of the sky. The designs within this area traditionally represent the reflections of objects in the sky or on the shore. In this specimen the stars are represented by the five-pointed star design; clouds, by the triangular designs and their appendages. The cross was put in for its decorative value alone. The small beaded areas to which the strings are tied represent the knots of the string. The beaded border is a repetition of the border to the large beaded area, and represents the shore of the lake.

It is said that conventionally the U-shaped design on the dress represents the turtle; the beaded area, the water; and the designs on the latter, reflections in the water both of the seen and unseen world. But when a woman beads a dress, she is concerned primarily with the æsthetic effect, and works such designs into the beaded area as her taste may dictate. She knows the traditional significance of these forms, but gives this no consideration. If asked about the names and import of her designs, she explains that she uses the various patterns on the beaded area "to please her eye," but that they are, according to the testimony of her ancestors, reflections in the water. Thus her composition is not consistent in its symbolic phase, since she may have the "crossing of trails" or the simple trail pattern represented as a reflection in the bosom of a lake. In discussing designs of this character, Indian women often say these are reflections in the water; but if questioned as to the designs taken singly, they declare that they have no symbolic significance whatever, but that they are merely decorative. In this there is only an apparent contradiction, yet it illustrates the resultant of two tendencies in Indian art, — the decorative and the symbolic.

No information is available as to specimens Fig. 2, Plate XLIV, and Plate XLV; but the writer saw many similar designs,

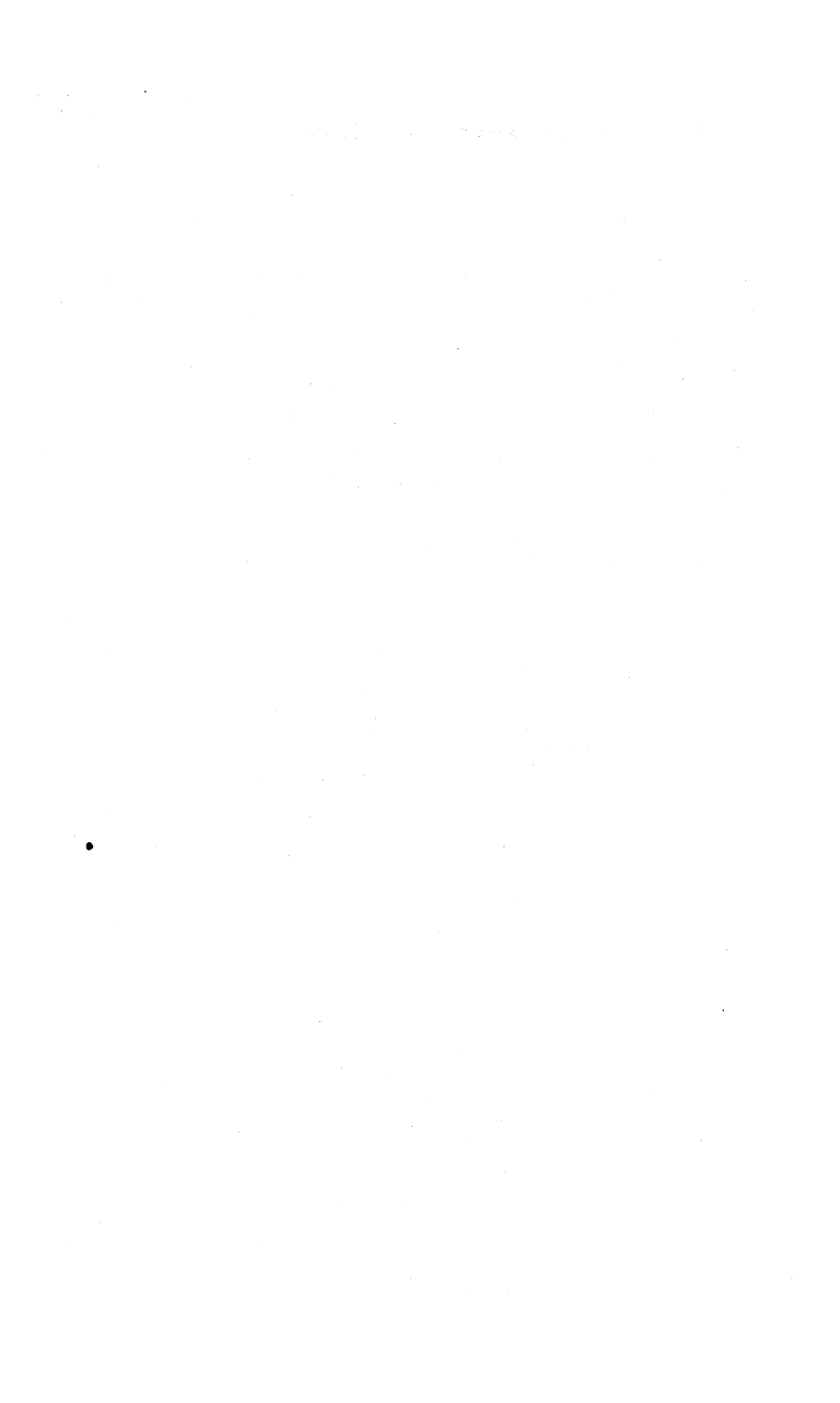


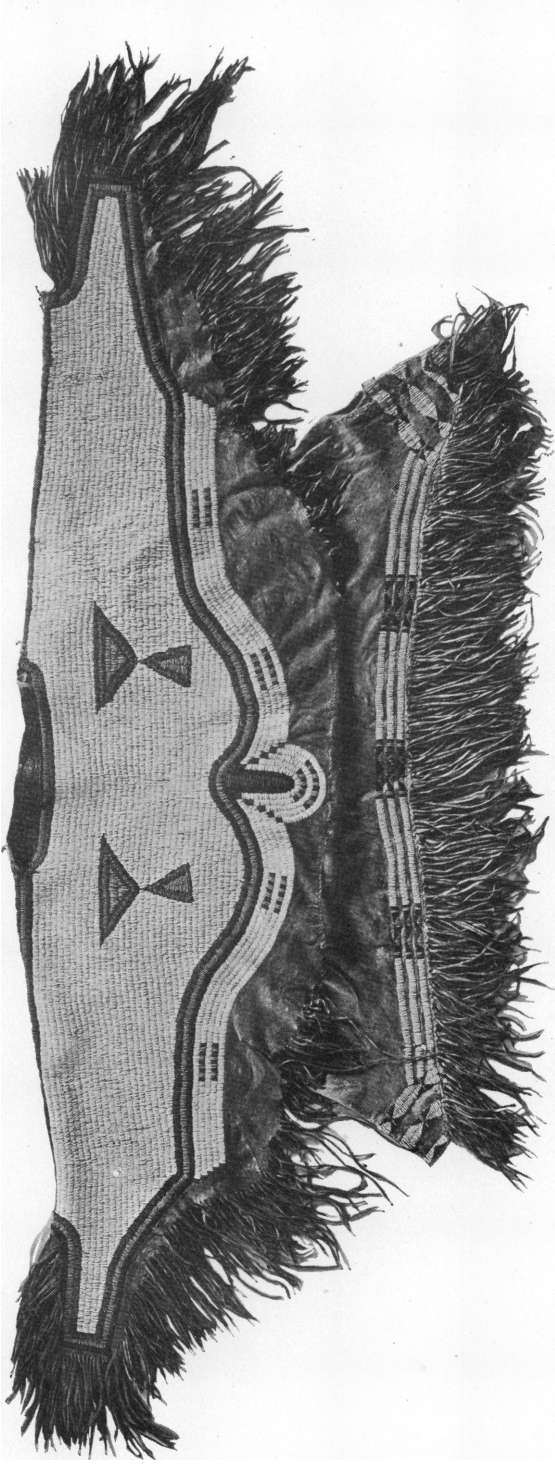
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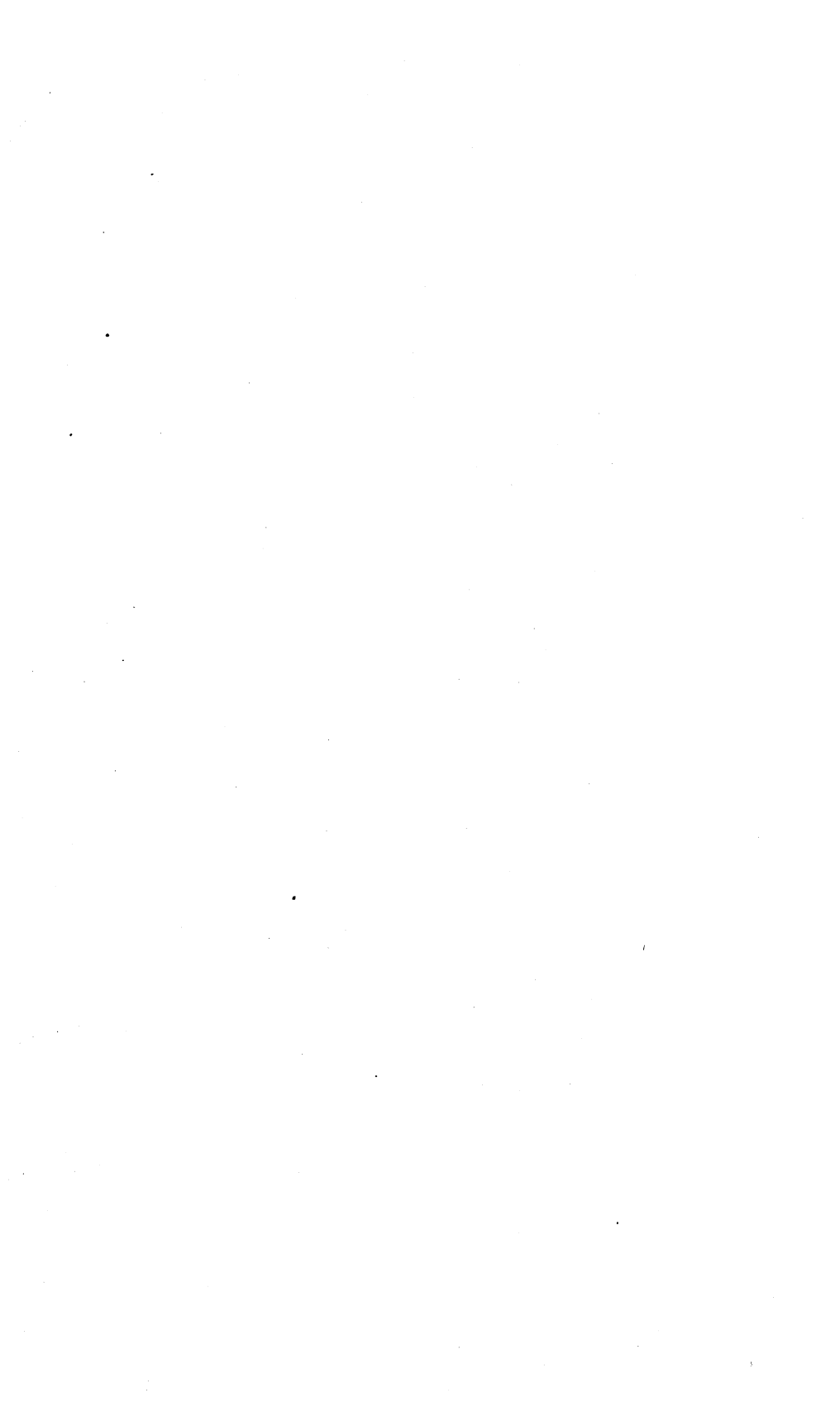
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GIRLS' DRESSES.





WOMAN'S DRESS.



and was informed that they had the same significance as in the previous specimens.

The design of the turtle is often placed on baby-carriers or, cradles. A specimen of the old type of beaded cradle is ex-

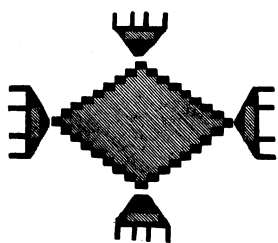


Fig. 72.

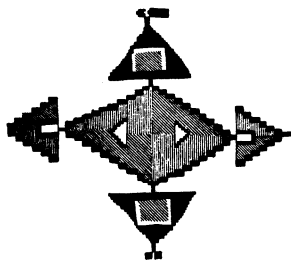


Fig. 73.

Figs. 72 (1884), 73 (1888). Designs from Cradles.

hibited in the Museum. The sides are decorated with the box and step patterns, according to the maker's statement, but the design at the head is the symbol of the turtle (Fig. 72). On other specimens the same type of design appears on the sides of cradles as well as at their heads.

The design in Fig. 73 is from a cradle of recent make, and it also represents the turtle.

A design of the form of Fig. 74, often found on women's leggings, represents the turtle, and will be seen to resemble the preceding cradle designs.

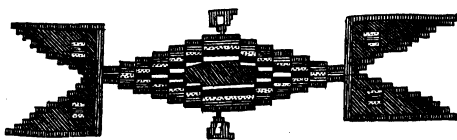


Fig. 74 (1887). Design on a Woman's Legging.

An elaborate design from a small rawhide bag (Fig. 75), taken as a whole, represents the breast of a turtle.

Navel amulets and charms are often made in the forms of turtles, as in Fig. 76 and in Plate XLIV, Fig. 2. It should be borne in mind that all of the geometrical designs are said to represent the breast or under side of the turtle's shell.

The symbolic basis for the representation of the turtle in this connection is found in the belief that the turtle has

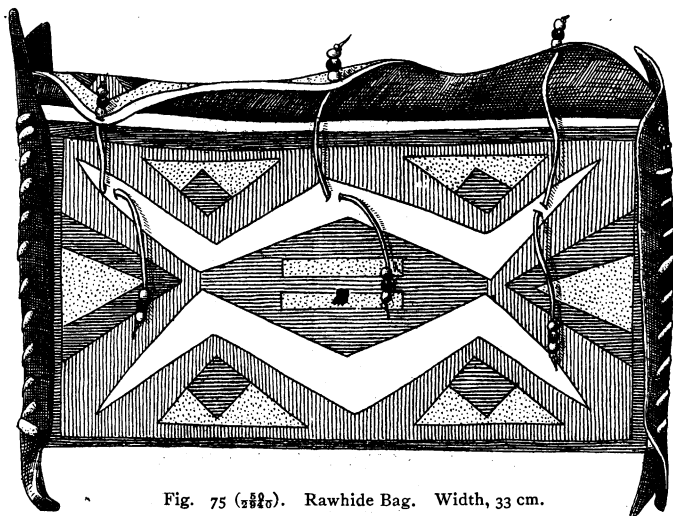


Fig. 75 (5820). Rawhide Bag. Width, 33 cm.

power over the functional diseases peculiar to women, and likewise conception, birth, and the period of infancy. The eating of the living heart of the turtle is regarded as a positive cure for menstrual disorders and barrenness.

Another type of decoration that seems to have a symbolic basis is that of the red lines or stripes found on articles used and worn by women. This type of decoration is almost universal for saddle-bags, as illustrated by Fig. 77. It is also used on saddle-cloths of young women (Fig. 78). In the puberty ceremonies for girls the red line is the symbol of the life span, or rather that portion of a woman's life in which children may be born. In the figurative language of the Dakota, it represents "the trail on which woman travels." Now, as in case

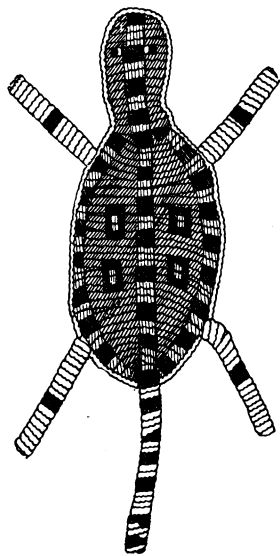


Fig. 76 (5927). Navel Amulet. Length, 14 cm.

of the designs of the turtle, we find these red lines forming the decorations for various objects. It was said that in former times these lines were often placed on the cradles of the

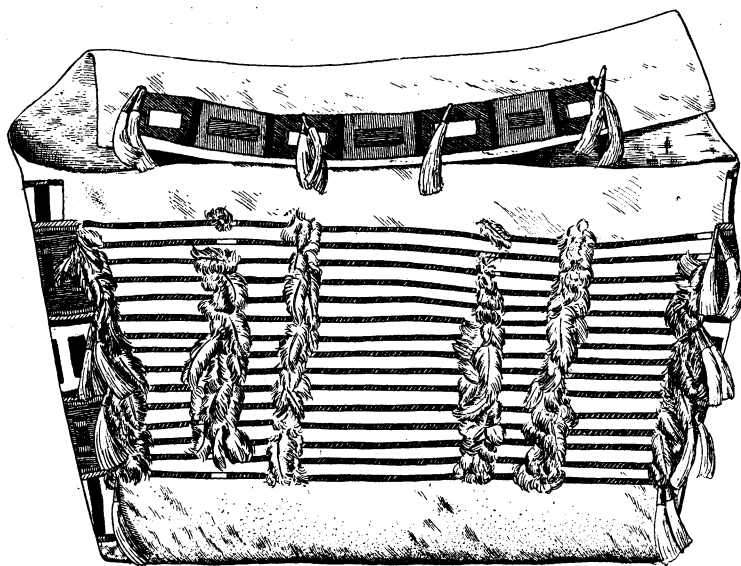


Fig. 77 (3891). Red-Line Decoration on a Bag. Length, 51 cm.

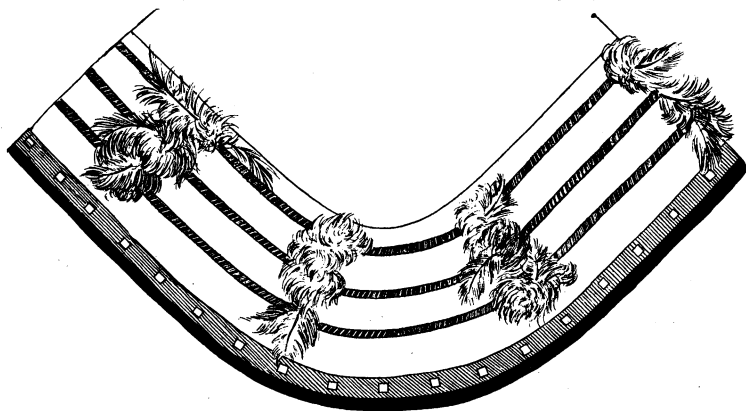


Fig. 78 (3889). Red-Line Decoration on a Saddle-Blanket. Length, 68 cm.

first-born, regardless of the sex of the infant, and that in course of time this became one of the conventional types of cradle decoration (Fig. 79), in which the symbolic value

of the design was all but lost; but in the use of this design on objects made for girls and young women the symbolic motive is usually predominant.

Fig. 80 represents the moccasin of a girl; Fig. 81, the robe of a girl; and Fig. 82, a small parfleche on which the lines are painted within the oval areas. The puberty ceremony in which these line symbols play an important part is a formal

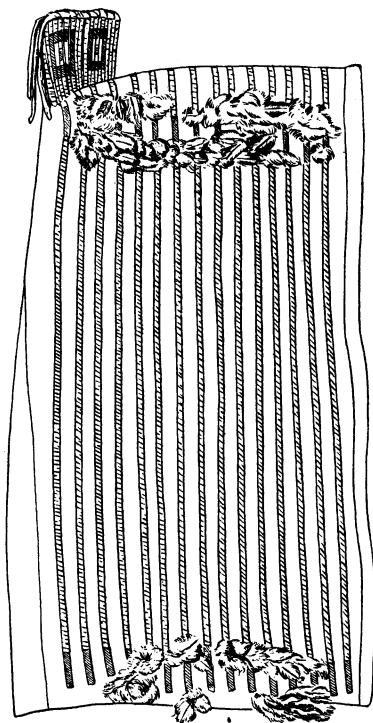


Fig. 79 ($\frac{5}{16}$). Red-Line Decoration on a Cradle. Length, 64 cm.



Fig. 80 ($\frac{5}{16}$). Red-Line Decoration on a Moccasin.

recognition of the sexual maturity of the girl and an elaborate prayer for the proper function of her new physiological activities. Once through this formal ceremony, the girl adopts the decorations of a woman. She often paints the red lines on her face as a public statement of the fact that she has reached sexual maturity and taken the necessary steps recognizing the religious aspect of the case. The lines are

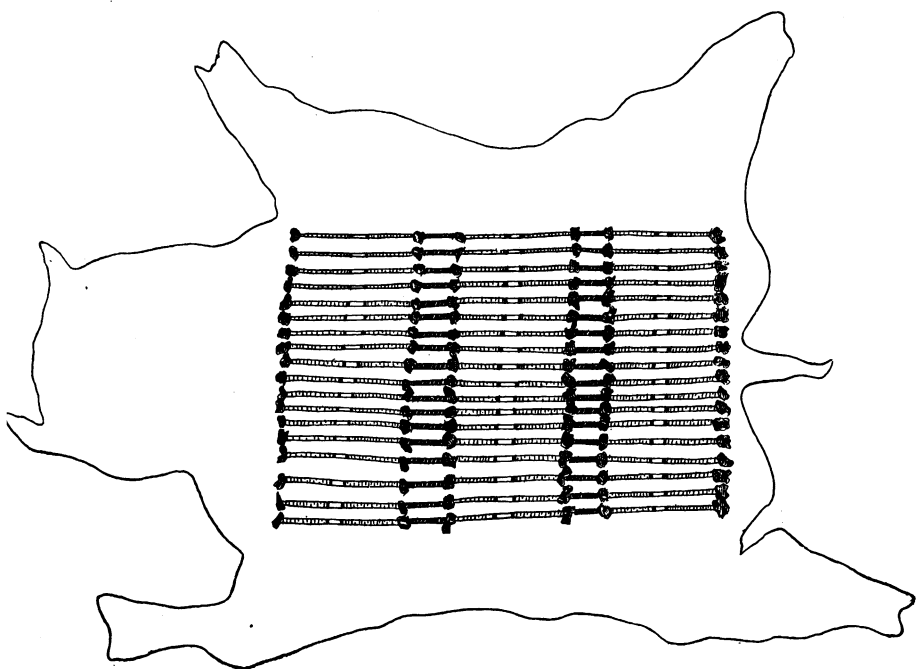


Fig. 81 (3888). Red-Line Decoration on a Small Robe. (Collected by R. Cronau.)

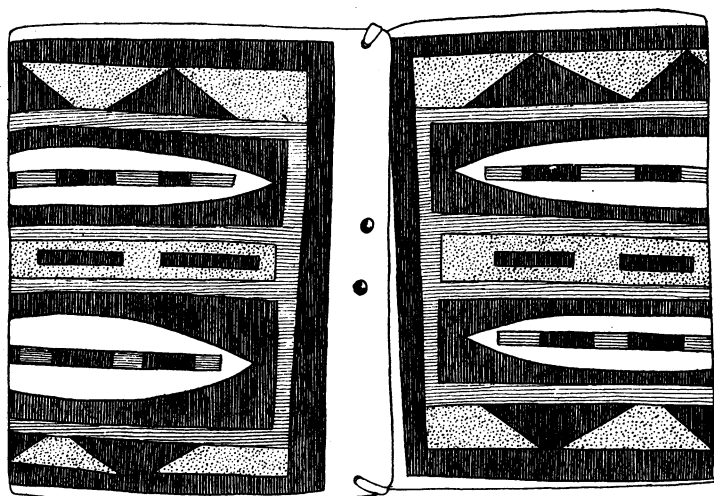


Fig. 82 (3889). Design on a Small Parfleche.

also the symbols of the so-called "Four-Pipe Dance," in which honor is shown to favorite children.

Before the adoption of white men's clothing, the buffalo-robos of the Dakota were painted with conventional designs. The robes of women were decorated in the general style of Fig. 83. In such designs the lines again appear on the upper half of the robe, and are recognized as of the same significance

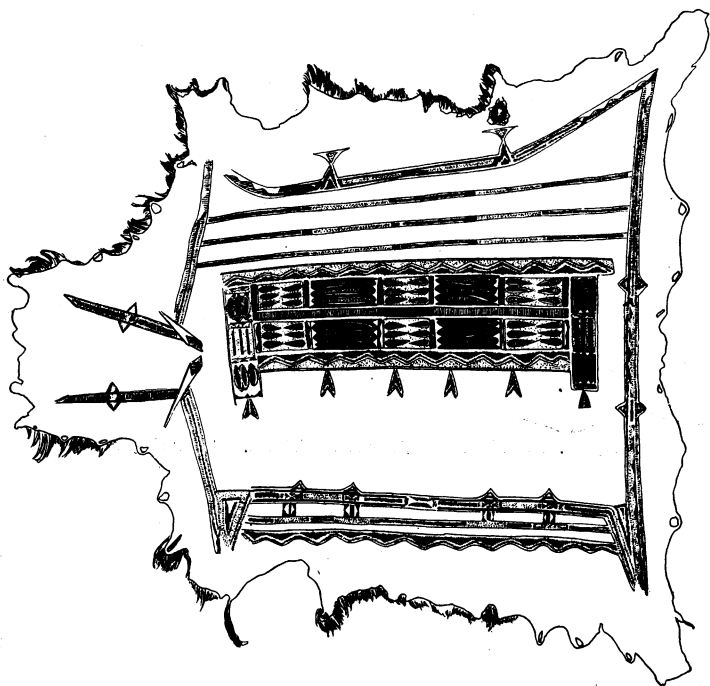
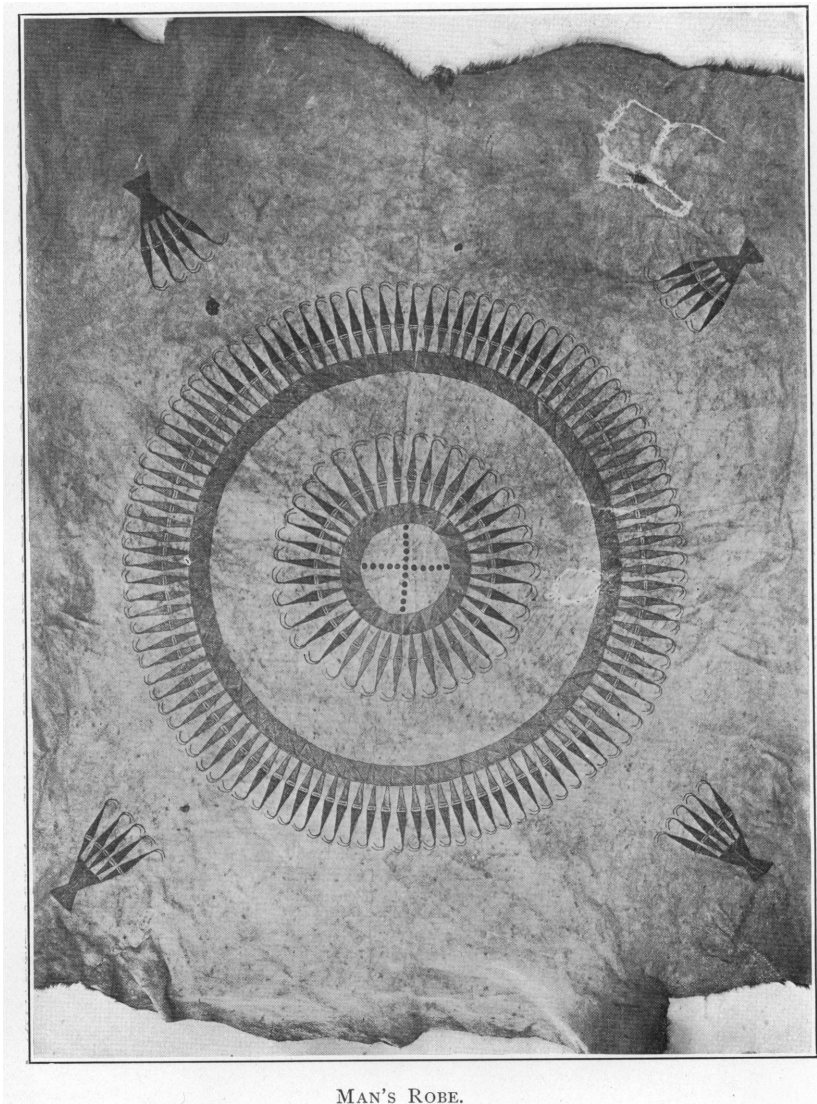


Fig. 83 (1875). Design on a Buffalo Robe.

as stated above. The rectangular figure is subject to great variation of detail, but its relative position is always the same. The belief of the Dakota is, that this once had a symbolic value, but that it has now passed into the conventional and its significance lost. The robes of men are of the type illustrated by Plate XLVI, the design as a whole being spoken of as the "black war-bonnet." It goes without saying that the Dakota possessed symbolic robes; but these are still recognized as such, and have not become conventionalized.



MAN'S ROBE.

There is another type of decorative design compositions in which the symbolic aspect is remote but positive. The women say that they sometimes dream out complex designs. In these dreams the design usually appears on a rock or the face of a cliff, though dreaming of an entire piece of work in its finished state is not rare. Such experiences are regarded as the work of the feminine culture-heroine, who seems to have been one of twin sisters. Often these twins are spoken of as two women tied or fastened together. Aside from their other mystical functions, they are supposed to have originated the art we are discussing by instructions given a Dakota woman through dreams. It is believed that this woman dreamed in this way many of the designs now in vogue. Since her death it has been common for twin sisters to dream similar designs. Such designs are always regarded as the work of the culture heroine herself. But women other than twins sometimes dream

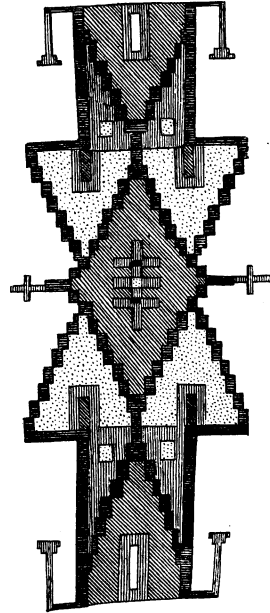


Fig. 84 ($\frac{8}{11}$ 7). Design on a Pipe-Bag.

out designs, which are also believed to emanate from the same sacred source. Such designs are copied by other women, and thus become a part of the art common to all. I have seen a few dream designs of recent origin, and find them in no way different from other designs, as in Fig. 84.

Now, it seems that a dream design is, after all, not so much a distinct type of design as an illustration of the manner in which Dakota philosophy accounts for the origin of the present styles of decorative art. It is sufficient evidence that these traditional "holy women" are still an active force in the development of art; and this, in connection with the other traditions of their power and the unreal aspects of art, tends to give every design a vague symbolic background.

For the sake of completeness, a few symbolic designs will be considered here. The symbol of the medicine-hoop, which is in itself the symbol of the great Mystery, is usually a circle and its centre.

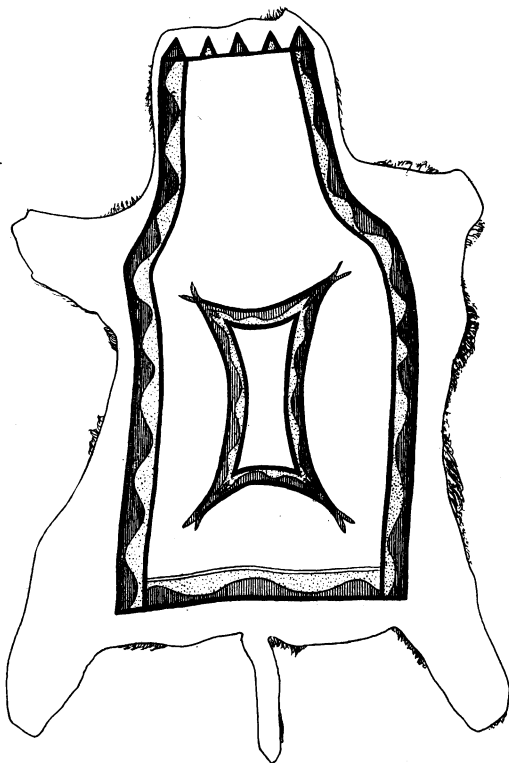


Fig. 85 (5897). Spider-Web Design on a Child's Robe.

This symbol is too sacred to use for mere decoration; and whenever it is employed, the motive is other than that of decoration. Another symbolic design is that of the spider-web. Its usual form is shown on the robe of a child (Fig. 85). This robe was made by a medicine-woman as a symbol of the power she invoked for the future good of the wearer. A full presentation of the significance

of this symbol can be given only in connection with a discussion of Dakota religion, into which we cannot enter here. The Thunder, the Four Winds, the Earth, and the Sky are often represented in this symbol, the former being its primary association. The four corners of the design on this specimen represent the four corners of the heavens and the earth, and the homes of the Four Winds. The projections from the corners represent the visible aspect of the Thunder, *i. e.*, lightning. The border of the robe represents the lightning

as a symbol of the supernatural power behind the symbolic ideas expressed.

The same four-pointed design without appendages is often used as a symbol of the sky or heavens, also as a star symbol. In the religious ideas from which this symbol emanates, the Spider, the Web, the Sky, the Star, the Winds, the Thunder, and the Earth are closely associated, and may be said to form a composite type of power, or of the Wakan.¹ I have never seen this design used purely as decoration, and in but one case concerning which there can be any doubt as to its absolute symbolic value. In this case it was in quill-work upon a bag. The owner of this bag said that while she knew this to be a very sacred emblem, she placed it there as a matter of propriety, because the bag was intended as the temporary receptacle for some mementoes from the funeral rites of a favorite child. The relation between the decorative and the symbolic motive, in this case, may be left to the judgment of the reader.

In ceremonial and religious designs colors often have a symbolic value. Usually red represents the sunset or the thunder; yellow, the dawn, clouds, or earth; blue, the sky, clouds, night, or day; black, the night; green, the summer.

The lightning is sometimes green to represent the summer-time, and sometimes blue to represent its deadly effects, but usually its color is incidental.

EXAMPLES OF THE IDEAS ASSOCIATED WITH DESIGNS.

In the first part of this paper the general analysis of Dakota art was presented, with such illustrative material as seemed necessary to the end in view. The present section takes up the description of typical specimens in which there are at least some evidences of symbolism. From what precedes, it is obvious that greater diversity exists in the symbolic aspects of the designs than in the designs themselves; and that while sufficient examples of the latter have been given to form an idea of their general type, more material is needed for the

¹ This should not be confounded with another design in the form of a square with projecting corners described by Miss Fletcher (Peabody Museum Report, Vol. III). The primary idea in that symbol is the mystery of the buffalo, the winds and the earth being closely associated, however.

exposition of the general symbolic type, or the type of thought that prevails among the Dakota in respect to symbolic art.

In addition to the pipe-and-tobacco bag designs illustrated in the preceding section, a number were collected bearing designs with symbolic values.

The large design on the specimen shown on Plate XLVII, Fig. 1, represents feathers with tips. The four horseshoe-shaped figures in quill-work represent horse-tracks. The other designs have their usual pattern-names.

Fig. 2 represents the buffalo. The bar in quill-work is the tail. The divisions of the beaded design are respectively the head, hump, and hind quarters. The other designs are merely decorative.

On the specimen Fig. 3 the diamond area within the central rectangle represents a butte; and the rectangle, the grass around it. The appendages to the rectangle are again trees or a "forked tree."

The centre of the design seen in Fig. 4 represents a hill, and the four appendages represent trees around the hill.

The crosses on Fig. 1, Plate XLVIII, represent the four directions, and the horse-track designs represent horses stolen from the enemy.

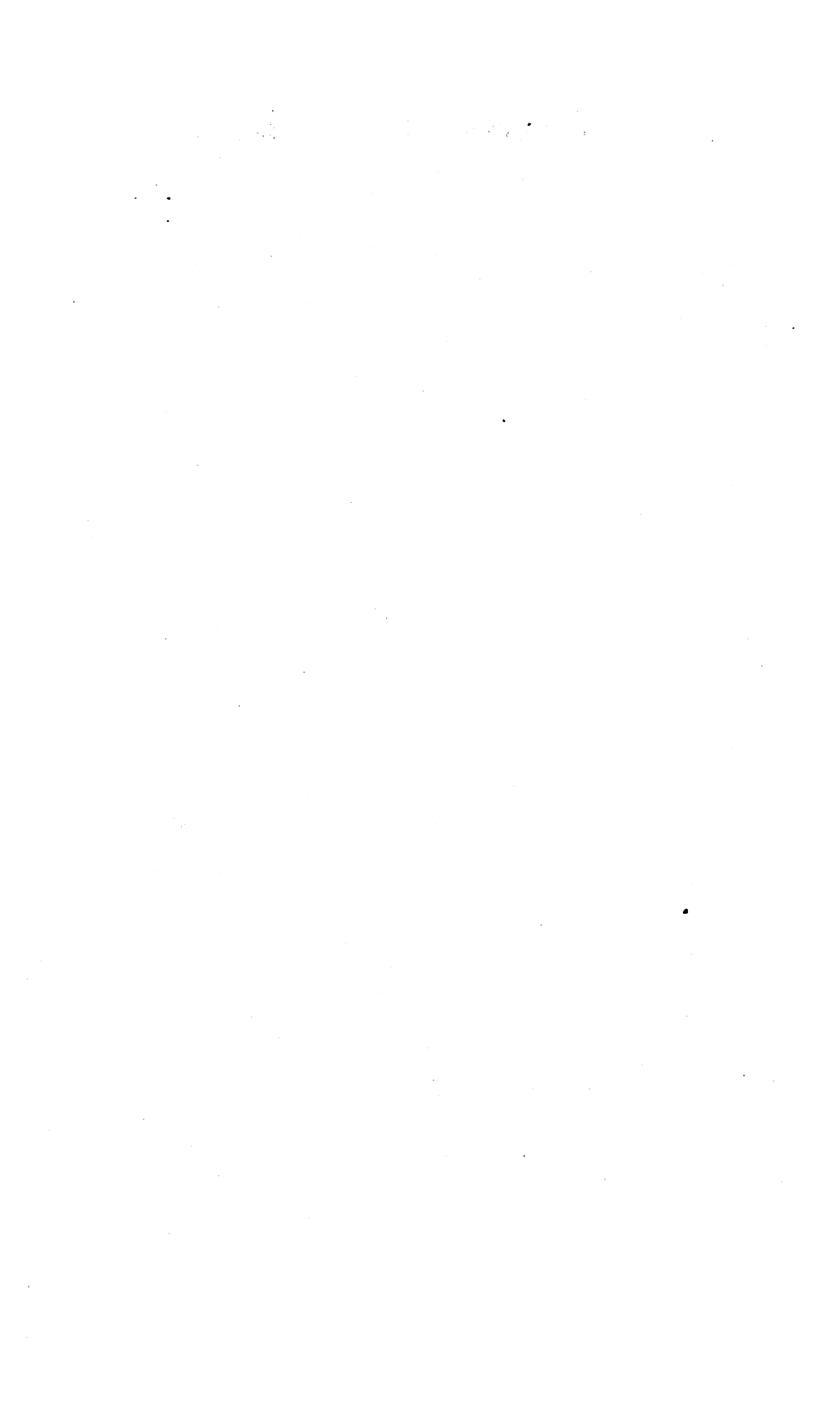
The design in Fig. 2 represents a flat between hills; the line-like extensions from the central area are channels worked out by the water when it rains. The different colors in the hill designs represent the colored earths in a cut-bank. The tri-dents represent arrows being shot from between the hills.

Fig. 3 is quite symbolic. The owner offered a pipe to the Thunder, and prayed that he might capture horses in the next raid: hence the horses and the pipes in the design. The horses were taken, according to the account, and the hand represents the hand that took them. The stars are a matter of propriety, since raids for stealing the horses of the enemy are made in the night. The design on the quill-work represents the lightning or power.

Beaded knife-cases are sometimes worn by women and girls, but are usually gift objects or tokens. The knife-case in daily use is of leather, plain or studded with brass nails.

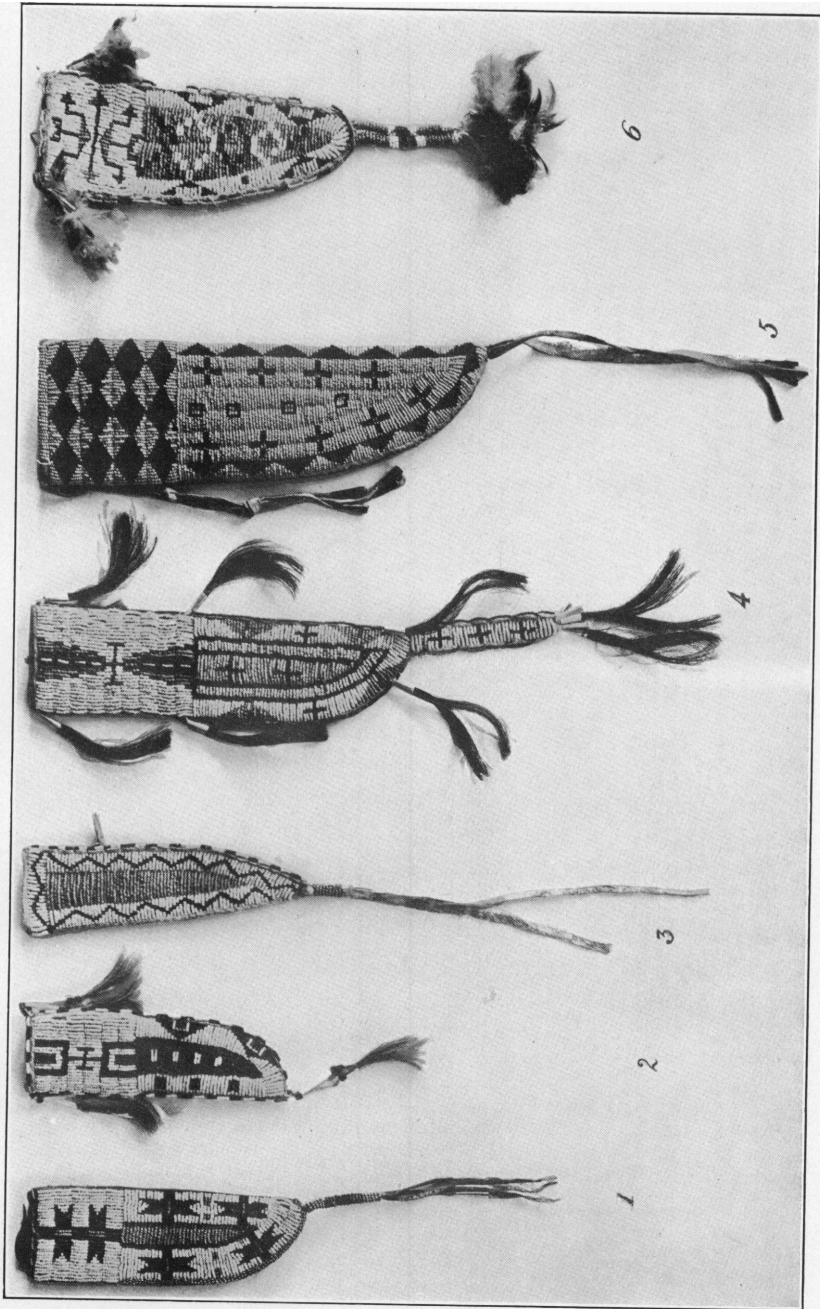


PIPE-AND-TOBACCO BAGS.





PIPE-AND-TOBACCO BAGS.



The design on Fig. 1, Plate XLIX, is typical. The knife is represented in proper position. The blade is quite realistic, but the handle is fanciful. The design employed in representing the handle is repeated in the border figures. The three cords at the end are beaded together for a part of their length.

In Fig. 2 we see again the blade and handle of the knife. The handle design is made up of the cross and another geometrical figure. The blade of the knife is in blue interspersed with simple designs in white. The interpretation of the handle design was, that it represented the body of an enemy among flying arrows. The red rectangles down the side indicate wounds made with the knife.

Fig. 3 is quite simple. The blue zigzag line represents the lightning. The central green area is said to be the blade of the knife.

In Fig. 4 the handle is made up of cross and tent designs. These are also repeated on the other parts of the specimen.

The design Fig. 5 is quite interesting in that it differs slightly from the general style of decoration in knife-cases, but unfortunately there is no information as to whether it is entirely decorative or symbolic.

The design Fig. 6 is evidently a mixture of modes. The figure at the top is said to be the spider. The part below represents a battle. The blue area is a village at night, the small triangles representing tents. Around the sides are figures of tents, and red squares or symbols for wounds.

Rectangular bags of various sizes are made and used by women as receptacles for the many objects necessary to daily routine. These are seldom entirely plain. Where they are not especially decorated, a little bead-work on the flap and down the ends is common.

Fig. 86 is an old bag of undressed skin with a beaded top. In the beaded figure the zigzag line represents tents in the camp, while the horizontal line through the middle of the figure represents a river, and the short diagonal lines its branches.

Paint for the face and body is kept in bags of the general type shown in Plate L. In many cases the designs on these

are purely decorative, but occasionally a specimen is found with symbolic decorations. For example, the rectangles on Fig. 2 were said to represent boxes. The bands on Fig. 4 are

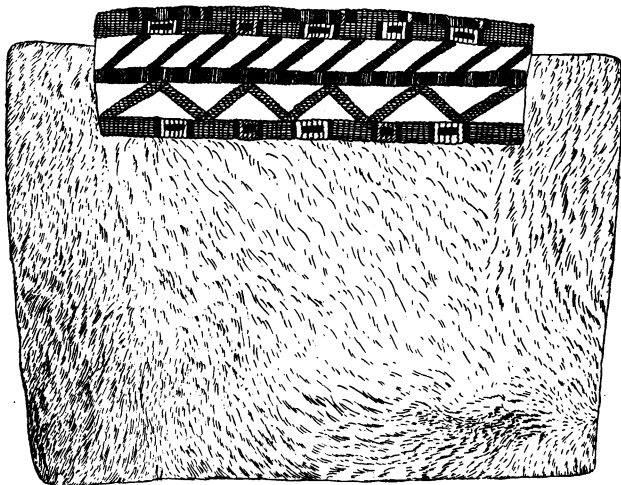


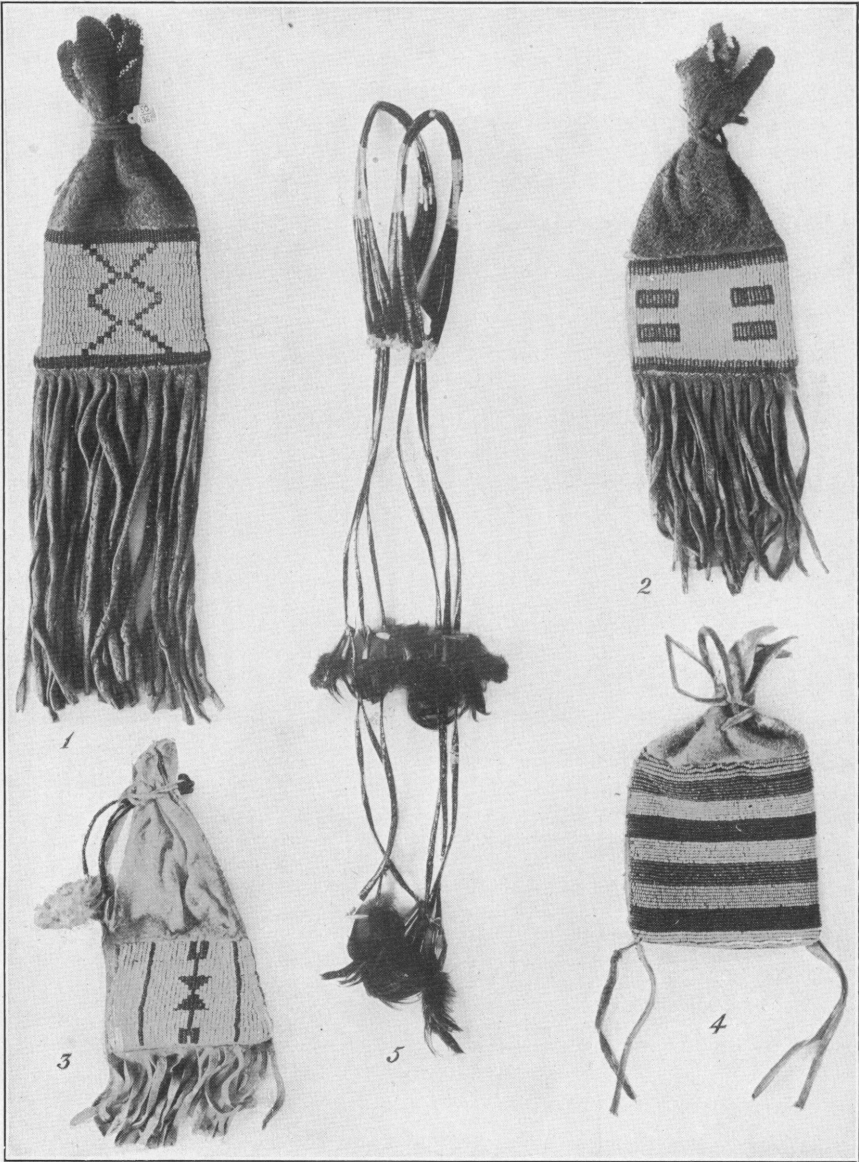
Fig. 86 (3887). Bag of Undressed Skin. Width, 23 cm.

colored: the light blue representing the sky; the dark blue, the night; the red and yellow, the winds.

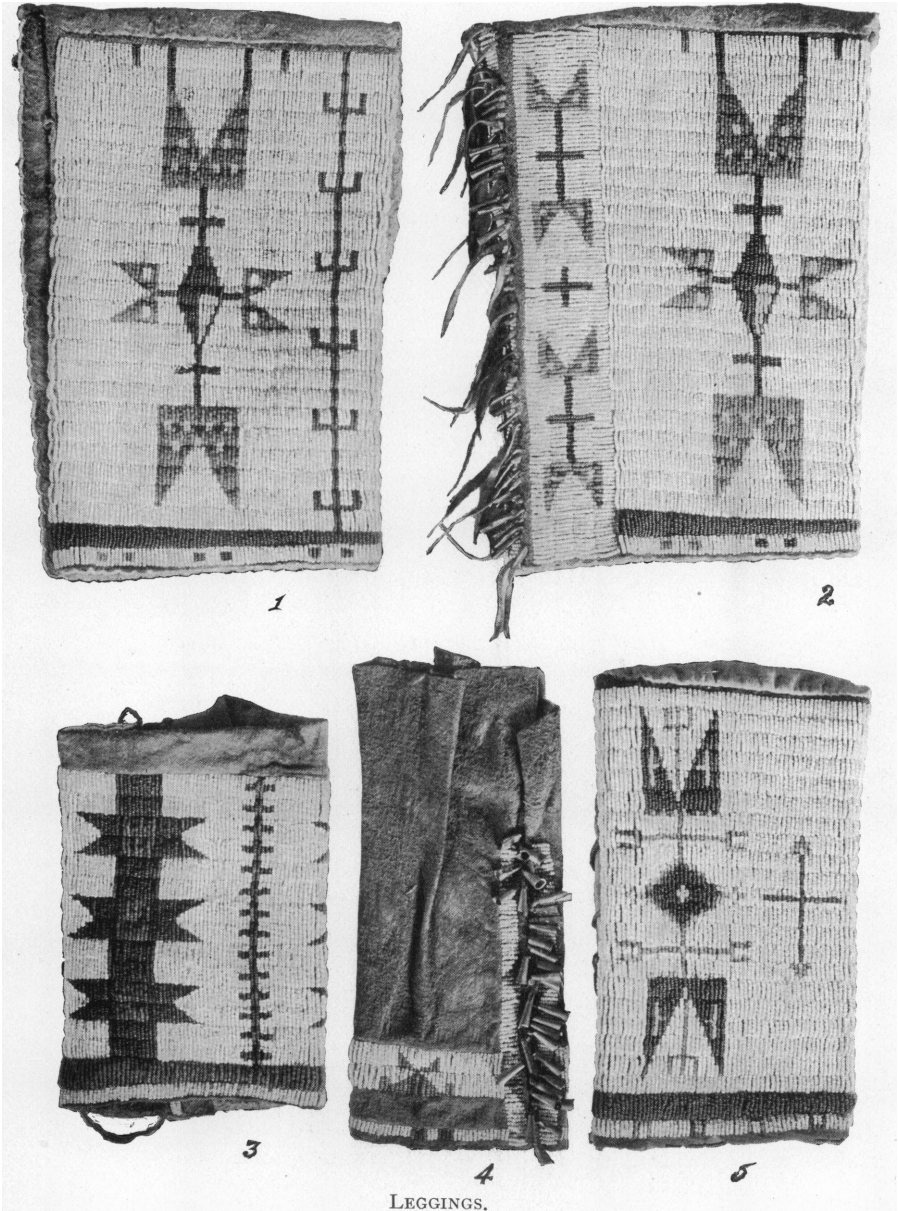
Armlets of porcupine-quill work are worn, after the style of the illustration Plate I, Fig. 5. Three or four long slender cords ornamented with feathers are the most conspicuous part of these pieces. The general color is always red, representing blood. The appendages in particular represent flowing blood. The band about the arm often bears simple ornamental designs.

This use of cord-like appendages to represent blood or bleeding is almost universal among the Dakota. I saw a bag made of the skin of a calf's head from the nose of which hung four quill-worked cords. The maker, who was a Yankton, informed me that these cords represented the blood that flows from the nostrils of a calf that has been killed. The red appendages to pipe-bags are usually blood symbols.

Beaded leggings are worn by young girls and unmarried



PAINT-BAGS.



women. The designs on these are usually complex, the broad expanse of uniformly curved surface affording exceptional opportunity for elaborate detail of design. While the designs themselves are of the same general character, they show great variation in detail, and none of them approach the rigid conventional character of the designs on dresses. The surface of the legging is always broken up into two areas, — a narrow oblong area extending up and down the side of the leg, and a larger area extending around from the front to the back of the leg. The design on the larger area is duplicated, so that the same figure appears on the front of the leg as on the rear. Between these figures, on the inner side of the leg, is usually a longitudinal stripe of some sort. There is also a stripe or border around the bottom of the legging.

The two sides of a woman's legging are illustrated in Figs. 1 and 2, Plate LI. The diamond-shaped centre of the large figure is made up of red, green, blue, and yellow triangles, and is said to represent the breast of a turtle. The green lines forming the cross represent the four directions. The large blue areas interspersed with small white rectangles are the forks of trees being struck by hail-stones. The long stripe with numerous symmetrical projections was said to be purely ornamental. The border, or side figure, is again the forks of trees and the four directions. Around the bottom is a plain stripe, below which are several pairs of small colored rectangles.

The specimen shown in Fig. 3 has very little interest aside from the decorative. The designs have the regulation pattern-names. The triangular projections are said to be arrow-points, and the long line with cross-marks is the dragon-fly design.

Fig. 4, according to the statements of old people, is typical of former styles in leggings. The designs are decorative, but the tin rattles represent arrow-points. This is a child's legging, and its entire length is shown in the figure.

The large design in Fig. 5 represents a battle. The diamond-shaped centre is here the body of a man. The large triangles are the tents of the village in which the battle took place. The pronged figures represent wounds and blood;

the straight lines supporting them, the flight of arrows. The crossed lines are said to represent arrows or lances. It is worth while to note that the general style of this design is the same as in specimen Fig. 1 of this plate, but the ideas represented are entirely unrelated.

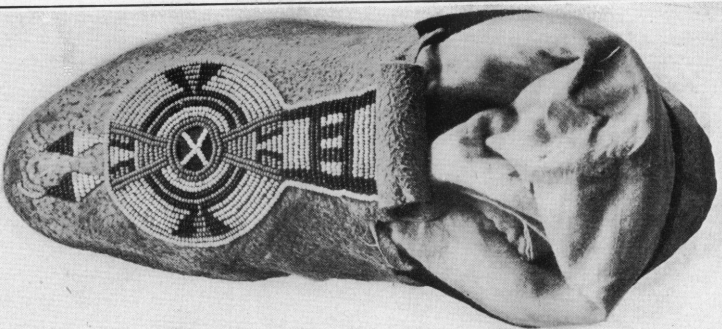
Some types of moccasin decoration are presented in Plate LII.

In Fig. 1, the design on the instep represents the head and neck of a person. The detail of the circular part of the design represents the paint on the face. The feather design represents two tipped eagle-feathers worn on the head.

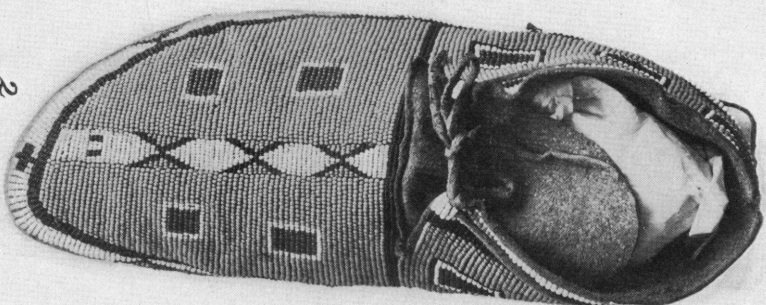
On the specimen shown in Fig. 2 the large areas are green in color, and represent grass-covered earth. The border bands are in white and blue, and represent roads. The rectangles represent rocks near the roads; and the triangles, patches of red earth near the road.

The triangular designs on Fig. 3 represent mountains; and the bar resting on the apex, a road or trail. The small squares at the side of the foot represent tracks made by people walking. The background of the designs is beaded in blue to represent the sky. These moccasins were collected from the Assiniboine by Dr. Kroeber. While these people are not considered a part of the Dakota, they are apparently a recent offshoot of the main body. In many respects their ideas of art are similar to those of the Dakota, but some differences appear in the kinds of ideas associated with the designs. However, these are not so great as to obscure the similarities.

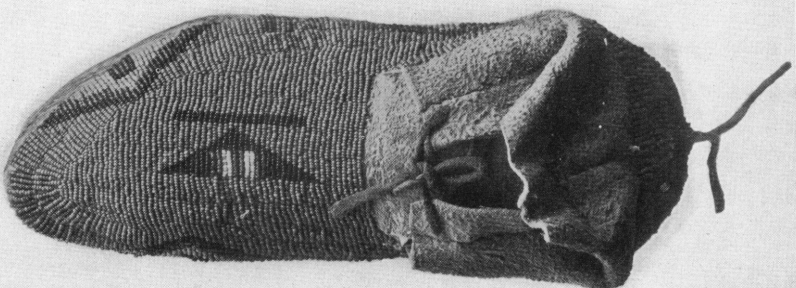
Among all the tribes of the Plains the parfleche and the rawhide bag have a style of decoration peculiar to themselves. The designs are always painted, and are never pictographic. In construction the parfleche is extremely simple, being nothing more than a sheet of hide folded up into a package after the usual manner of the powders prepared by a physician. The ends that have been turned over, and in some cases also narrow strips along the edges, become the fields for decoration. The chief use of the parfleche is as a receptacle for pemmican and other dried foods



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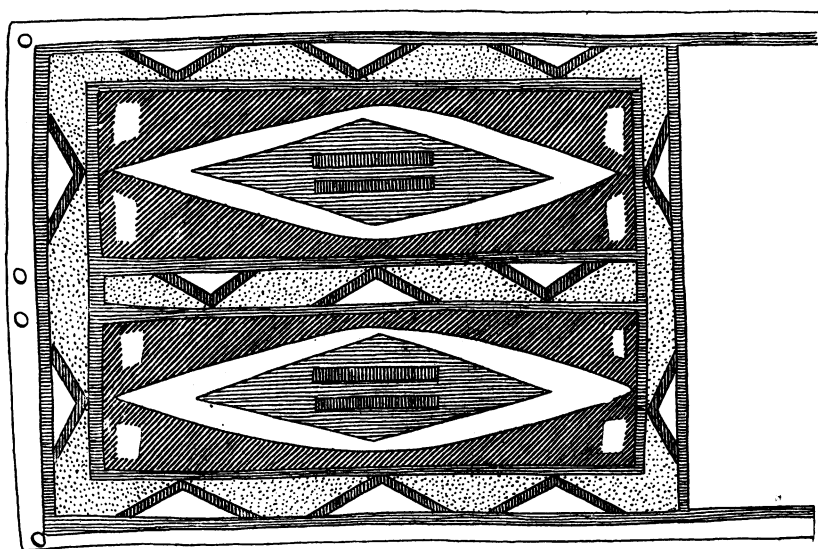


Fig. 87 (2387). Design on a Parfleche. (Collected by J. R. Walker.)

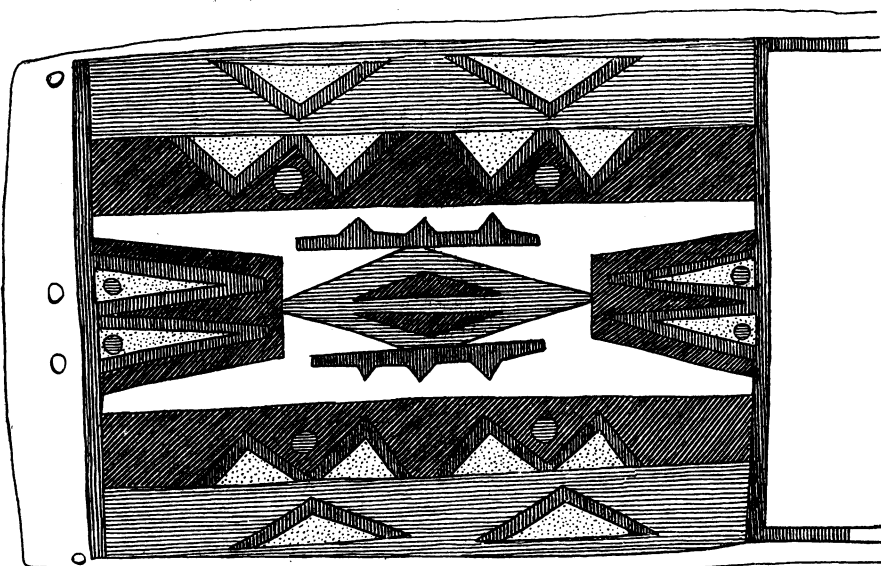


Fig. 88 (2388). Design on a Parfleche.

prepared for winter use, and the number of these stacked up in the lodge was the chief certificate of the industry of the family, or especially of the women. Naturally the painting of the parfleche adds to the force of this exhibit. There is, however, a saying among the Dakota women, that the designs on the outside insure the preservation of the contents. According to tradition, the first parfleches were not painted, but the hair of the buffalo was carefully removed so as not to mar the pigmented layer of the skin. The color of this layer is a dark brown. The designs were then produced by scraping away portions of this layer, giving effects in light and shade. The Field

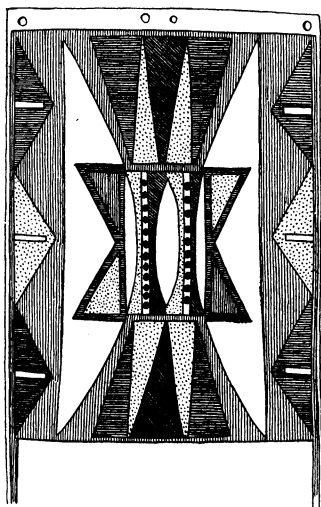


Fig. 89 ($\alpha\beta\gamma\delta$). Design on a Parfleche.
(Collected by J. R. Walker.)

Columbian Museum owns a few parfleches from the Columbia River region that are ornamented in this way. The American Museum of Natural History has among its collections the mummy of a Chinook Indian, the outer wrapping of which is a buffalo-skin ornamented with designs produced by the removal of a portion of the surface of the skin. It is interesting to note that the usual method of ornamenting a parfleche or a robe was to take a piece of bone with a smooth point, heat it over the fire, and, applying it to the

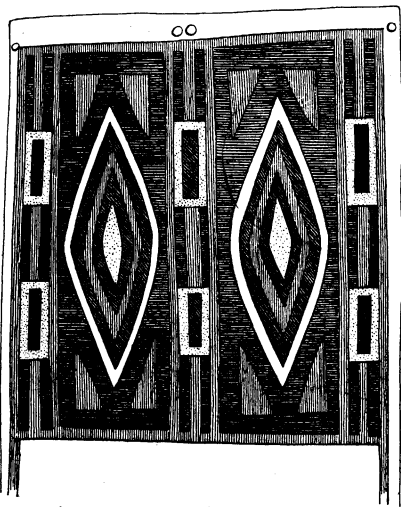


Fig. 90 ($\alpha\beta\gamma\delta$). Design on a Parfleche.

surface with pressure, trace out the designs. This left an indented smooth line, lighter in color than the surrounding surface. These tracings may usually be seen on an examination of the robes of the Sioux and Blackfeet, the painting with pigments following their outer edges. The robe of the mummy is peculiar in that the tracings are the primary elements of the design. The old parfleche decorations of the Dakota, according to tradition, were first traced out with the heated bone, giving them bold outlines independent of the color effects produced by scraping away portions of the intervening surfaces.

However this may be, the painted designs are evidently old enough to have become highly conventionalized. The typical parfleche design of the Teton is illustrated in Fig. 87. The

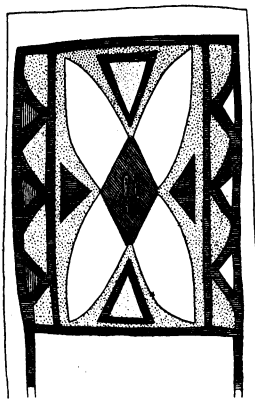


Fig. 91 (x88a).
Design on a Parfleche.

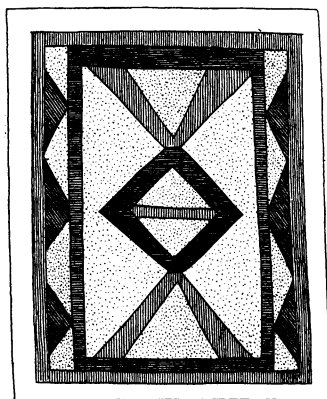


Fig. 92 (x88r). Design on a Bag.

chief element is the diamond enclosing two parallel bars. This figure is generally known as the parfleche design. The type of design here is comparable to that of Fig. 75, p. 242, in which the whole design symbolizes the breast of the turtle.

The specimen illustrated in Fig. 88 is similar. The central figure on this specimen represents the turtle. The toothed figure represents a rake or toothed hide-scraper. The triangular figures are tents. The backgrounds are in red and blue, and represent clouds of the respective colors. The red disks represent hail-stones.

Fig. 89 is an unusual type, and may represent external in-

fluence in the arrangement of the central design. Figs. 90 and 91 are illustrations of the variations in ordinary parfleche decorations, and show the persistence of the general type. No particular symbolic significance was attached to these designs.

Fig. 92 is a small rectangular bag of rawhide, with painted designs on the back and front. The edge of the bag is faced with a single row of beads. The design on the back is simple,

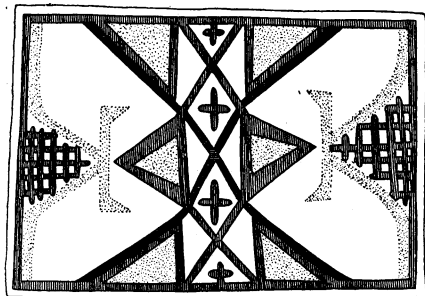


Fig. 93 (3882). Design on a Rawhide Bag.

and is said to represent tents in the four directions. On the front of the bag is a border of tent figures in green on a background of yellow, the latter representing the earth. The blue border enclosing the central design represents the sky. The large design

in the centre is said to represent the turtle.

Figs. 93 and 94 represent the decorations on the two sides of a very old bag. The edge of the bag is beaded with a blue border bearing a simple figure in red. This was said to be ornamental and without meaning. The face of this bag (Fig. 93) is painted in red and yellow. The only information obtainable was that the whole complex was a dream design; that in a dream the maker saw a bag painted in the same way.

The back of this bag (Fig. 94) does not represent a dream experience. The crosses signify the four directions, the curved lines represent rainbows, while the diagonal lines simply divide the space to be decorated.

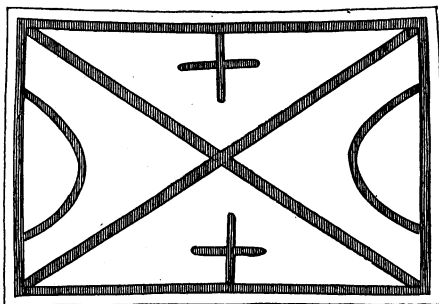


Fig. 94. Design on Back of Bag shown in Fig. 93.

This side is merely decorative in motive, while the former is symbolic in that it represents a dream.

In conclusion it should not be forgotten that a great many designs are made without any association of ideas other than the design-names. Of the previous examples, it is probable that many designs are said to represent certain objects in deference to the naming instinct alone. It is also probable that in some cases the informants had not thought of the significance of their work until drawn into a conversation on the subject; but, in that event, they are likely to fall back upon known associations, and so reflect the type of the tribe.

In the foregoing, care has been taken to present the cases concerning which there is the least reason to doubt the integrity of the artist as to the motive at the time of production. Thus they may be taken as representative. No effort has been made to classify the examples according to the preceding sections of the paper, for their relations are obvious. In many cases the information at hand is not sufficient to treat the designs expressing a group of ideas in as full a manner as was done before (pp. 239 *et seq.*): but it is evident that the same principle holds for other designs; viz., that their interpretations fall under certain concepts, and that such concepts are few in number. In case of knife-scabbards the idea of the knife is the prevailing motive in the decoration. In case of the parfleche we have a narrow range in design, the general concept of which has been lost, though there are some associations between this and the turtle concept. The most evident aspect of the case, however, is the use of the same design elements and even the same complex designs in association with the different groups of ideas.

MILITARY SYMBOLISM.

Under this head are discussed those decorations that are primarily military in motive. No pretence of completeness is made, since the object in view is the presentation of a type of interpretation distinctly peculiar to warriors, or a phase of Indian art that is masculine as opposed to the work of women.

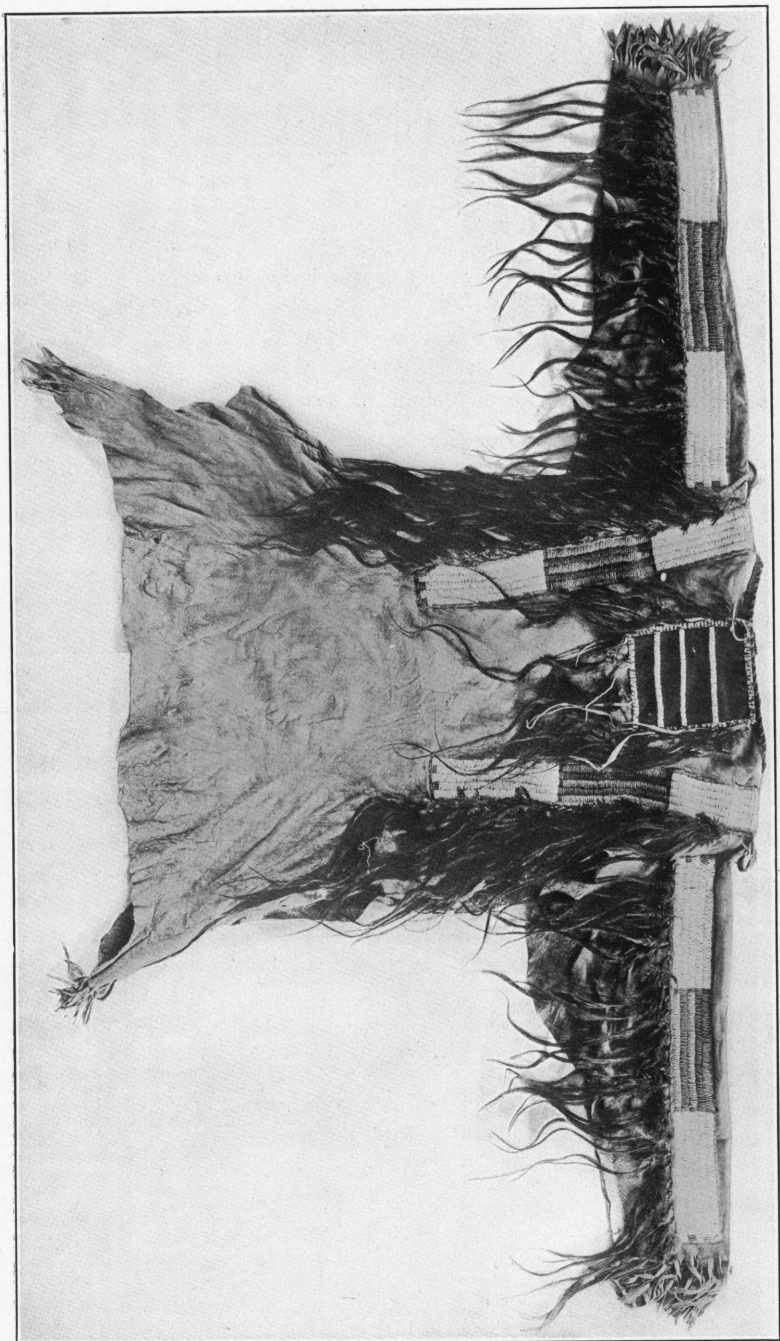
The scalp shirt of the men is now highly prized for its decorative value, and has become a conventionalized garment similar to the dress of women. The justification of its consideration here is its well-known military origin. According to the

testimony of the older men, the original scalp shirt was a part of the regalia of societies organized and maintained as soldier bands. Each society owned from one to four such shirts, which were worn by recognized leaders. At that time no one was permitted to wear such a shirt on his own account, and no one was delegated to wear one except he possessed the prescribed qualifications agreed to by the society concerned. When the days of fighting began to wane, the societies disintegrated, and the coveted scalp shirt gradually assumed the rôle of conventional attire. With this conventionalization came the name "scalp shirt," since the societies often placed small braids of hair upon these shirts as trophies of victory.

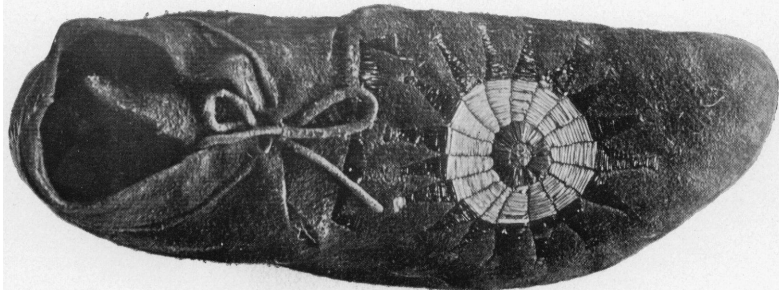
A fine specimen of the older type of this shirt is represented in Fig. 95. Plate LIII represents a specimen of the present type. It bears numerous locks of human hair as scalp symbols. The upper half of the body of the garment is painted blue to represent the sky, the lower half yellow to represent the earth. The appendage at the collar represents the sun.

All such shirts worn at the present time bear the beaded bands over the shoulders and on the sleeves, fringed with scalp-locks. Usually an image of the moon or of a star is placed within the blue area. Occasionally the thunder-bird is painted on the front, back, or on both. The status of the designs on these shirts as regards their decorative and symbolic value is analogous to that of the decoration on women's dresses.

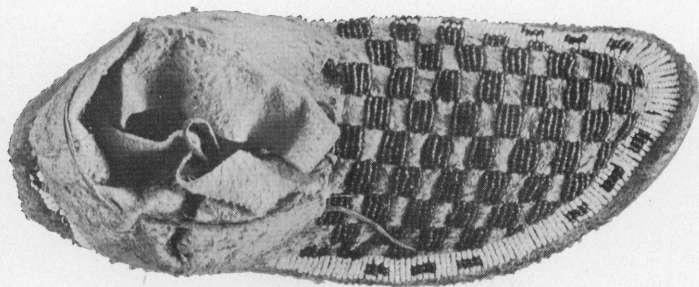
Forty, thirty, and even twenty-five years ago the Dakota went on the war-path. In 1891 many of them saw actual service against the United States soldiers. Thus, many men living at the present time have deeds to recount, and receive social recognition in consequence. The former custom of wearing or displaying pictographic and symbolic representations of such deeds still survives. Moccasin decorations are often of this type. For example, a man who has been wounded in the left foot will often paint part or all of the left moccasin red. In addition to such simple moccasin heraldry, we find examples of geometric designs used as symbols of deeds. Plate LIV illustrates this.



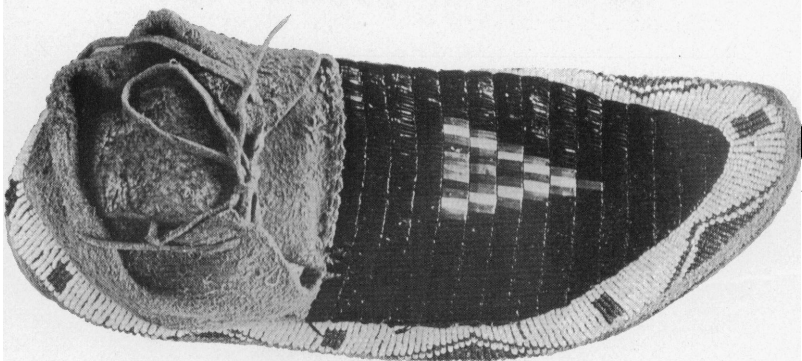
SCALP SHIRT.



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Fig. 1 of this plate shows a moccasin adorned with the figure of a shield worked in porcupine. The rays represent the feathers usually hung to the shield. The bar figure above

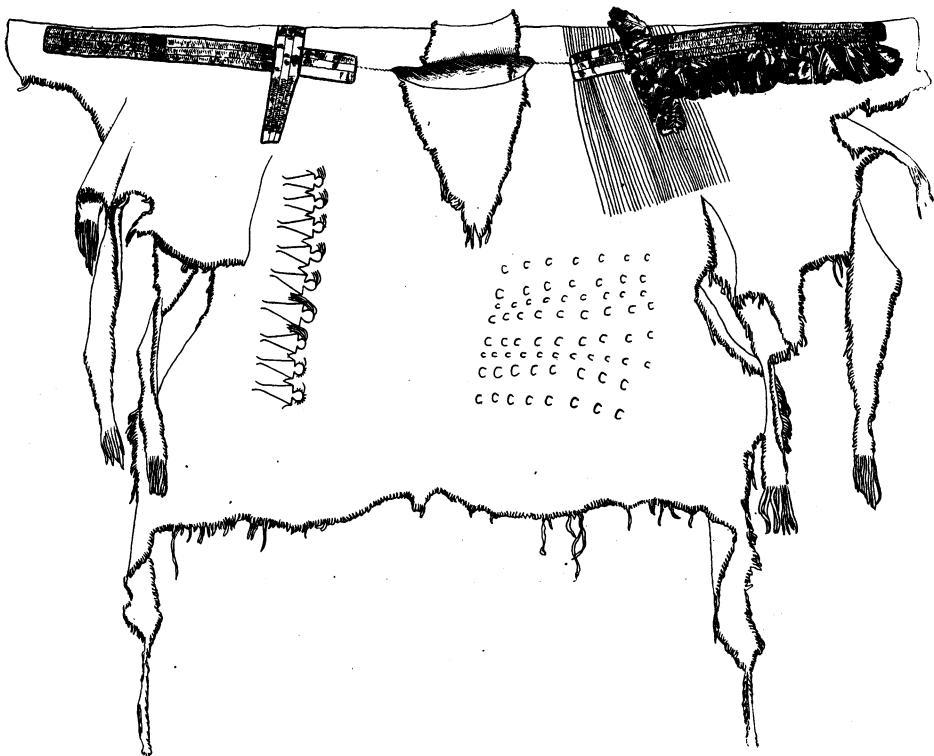


Fig. 95 (⁸⁹⁰/₈₁₁). Scalp Shirt. (Collected by Col. Swords in 1838.)

the shield is said to have some magic power. The surface of the moccasin is painted green, and implies that the wearer went on the war-path in summer, bearing a shield similar to the design.

On the moccasin represented in Fig. 2 we have the tripe design, but here the squares are said to be counters for horses captured from the enemy. Some of the squares are yellow, which implies that some horses of that color were captured. In the yellow squares are small spots of red, signifying that some of the horses were wounded by the pursuing owners. On

the border are small rectangles in groups of three, one red between two green, indicating the wounding of the wearer's horse.

In Fig. 3 the large area is red to represent blood, and the triangular figure within it indicates an arrow-point. The triangular figures around the sides represent hills; and the small spots in them, the places where bullets strike the hills. The

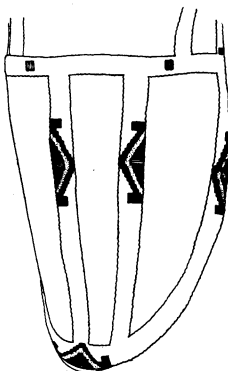


Fig. 96.

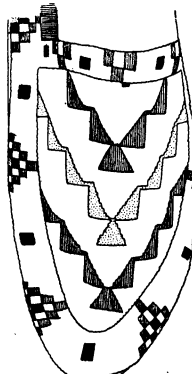


Fig. 97.

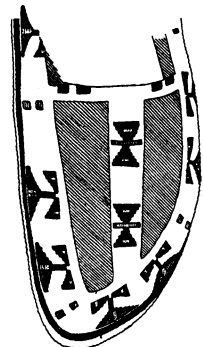


Fig. 98.

Figs. 96 (x888z B), 97 (x888z A), 98 (x888z B). Moccasin Designs.

small rectangles represent men looking out from between the hills.

The design on another moccasin is shown in Fig. 96. The white beaded bands represent the war-path in winter. The triangular figures represent tents. The small red square on the band across the instep implies that the wearer was wounded while on the war-path. On the heel of this specimen are two blue squares with a red one between them, implying the killing of an enemy when the wound was received. The whole design is to herald the fact that the wearer went on the war-path in winter, killed an enemy, and received a wound.

The design represented in Fig. 97 represents a battle. The background of the design is in blue to represent night. The connected triangles are rows of tents, — a village at night. The white border about the village represents snow. The triangular figures on the sides are tents. The small blue

rectangles indicate that enemies were killed. The whole idea is that the maker participated in a successful night attack on a village.

In Fig. 98 the green areas indicate a victory or the death of enemies. The hour-glass figures represent a struggle for the possession of a wounded man, the two triangular parts represent the opposing parties, and the red cross-bar the wounded man on the ground. Around the sides of the moccasin we find figures said to be the same symbol. By structure they seem to be combinations of parts of this symbol and the tent design. This is a form of what is known as the "rescue" symbol, to be discussed later. A red tassel on the tongue of the specimen implies that the wearer was wounded in a fight while on foot.

An important point to bear in mind is that the mode of such military symbolism follows a certain sequence common to the tribe, and that any one acquainted with the mode can read the designs with fair accuracy. It is also obvious that this mode can be applied to the compositions employed in the pure decorative art of the women.

Another article of dress often bearing military symbols is the pipe-and-tobacco bag. Although types of this article have been presented in the preceding pages, a brief description is necessary in this connection. Figs. 99 and 100 give us sketches of both sides of a typical specimen. To the bottom of the specimen is fixed a double fringe, — the upper part quite rigid, made of strips of rawhide bound or wrapped with porcupine-quills; the lower part, not shown in the figure, merely a fringe of soft buckskin. The upper or quill part of the fringe is said to represent flowing blood; the lower or string part is called "the rope," meaning a lariat. According to the beliefs of the old men, "the rope" was suggested by the old custom of carrying the lariat and the pipe-bag in the same hand or of hanging them to the saddle. Naturally the pipe-bag was always placed in front of the lariat, but the latter often extended below the bag. However this may be, the two objects are associated in the minds of the Indians. The rectangles on the quill-worked fringe are found on most

pipe-bags. In this specimen they are said to refer to the deeds of the owner. The red of the fringe signifies that he was wounded; the purple, that he killed an enemy; and the white represents the time of year, the snow-time.

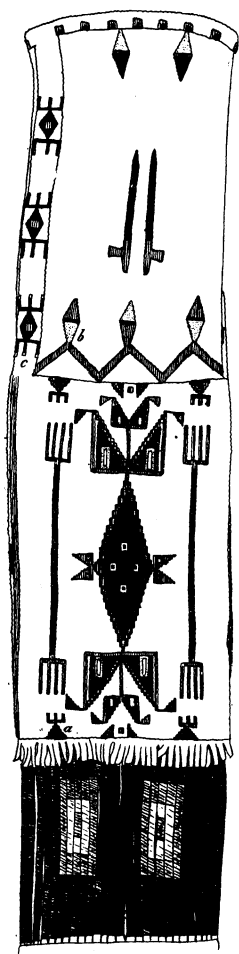


Fig. 99.

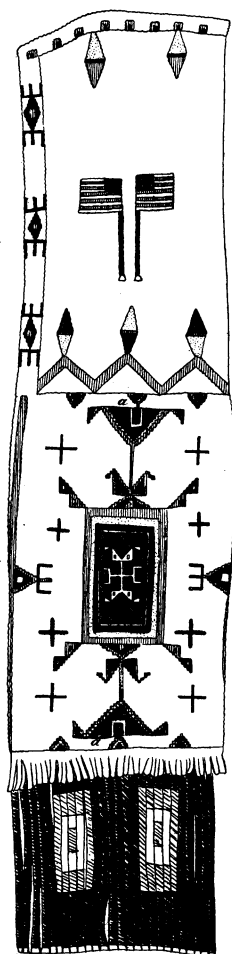


Fig. 100.

Figs. 99, 100 (x88s). Designs on Front and Back of Pipe-and-Tobacco Bag. Length, 72 cm.

The beaded design Fig. 99 represents a battle-scene. The white is snow. The two long green lines are to indicate the flight of arrows. The projecting red lines at the end represent



PIPE-AND-TOBACCO BAGS.

the wounds made by the arrows. The arrow-point is represented by the triangular figures opposite the projecting lines, these being shown again as attached to the point of the arrow (*a*). The large central figure is the body of a man: the diamond-shaped portion representing the trunk; and the appendages, the head, arms, and legs. The dark-blue color of the trunk-figure implies that the man is dead. The small white rectangles enclosing a red spot represent the hits or wounds that brought the man down. On the upper part of the bag the border-figure (*c*) represents a victory in which the owner's horse, represented by the green diamond-shaped figure, was wounded, as shown by the red area within the horse symbol; *b* represents a feather, and implies that the owner of the bag was entitled to wear an eagle-feather in his hair as a sign that he had killed an enemy. The figures of the pipe indicate the owner's right to carry the official peace-pipe.

The other side of the bag (Fig. 100) is similar in interpretation. The two flags at the top imply that the owner fought United States soldiers. The figures on the top border have the same meaning as before. The crosses represent the dead, — the blue for men, the green for horses. The tent figures (*a*) imply that the owner was tendered a "victory dance" by the people in commemoration of some deed. The central design was not clearly explained, but the idea seemed to be that it represented the scene of an important incident in a battle. One of the party fell wounded, and a struggle took place for his possession. The corner projections represent the "rescue" symbol, or the rushing-in of the contestants; the crossed figure in the centre, the body of the wounded man over whom the combatants struggled. The blue part of the rectangular figure represents the dead; the red, the wounded and the blood.

Other examples of the same motive are presented in Plate LV. The bag shown in Fig. 1 differs from the preceding in that red beads are substituted for the quill part of the fringe. At the top of the bag on either side we find the feather design. The red cords at the sides represent blood. On one side of this bag four hands appear, — two red and two blue. The

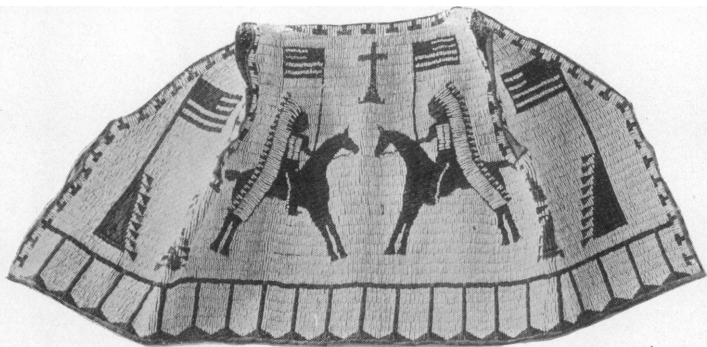
red hands indicate that an enemy was wounded in a clinch or bare-handed struggle. The blue hands are symbols of the owners having forcibly carried away some of the enemies' women and children.¹ The crosses in the palms of the hands and on other parts of the bag were said to be ornamental. The triangular border is also ornamental.

A pipe-bag decorated with quill-work instead of beads is shown in Figs. 2 and 3. The large design at the top of Fig. 2 represents a woman, or, more particularly, her dress. It is understood that the bearer killed a woman. The red cords represent the blood, and the small bells the bullets. The red ground in the main design is blood; the green area, grass or summer. On the other side of the bag (Fig. 3) is a rectangular dream design.

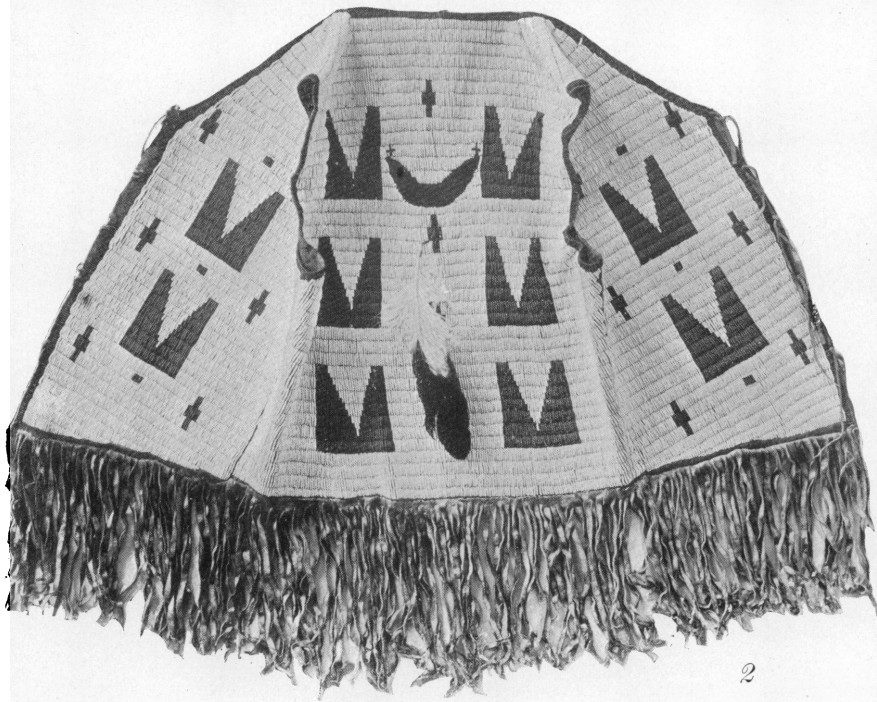
This bag has an interesting use. Formerly at dances a man would enter in the trappings of a warrior, bearing a pipe-bag, symbolic of his having killed a woman. This always excited great mirth, it being understood that the bearer pretended to be a great warrior, but was only able to kill one of the enemy's women. The jester usually made a bombastic speech, describing the great deed, etc. Strictly construed, the bag pertains to the outfit of a clown.

A good example of the symbolization of a complex event is seen in the decoration of a beaded waistcoat (Plate LVI, Fig. 2). The whole design is intended to give a schematic representation of a battle, in which the owner participated. The background is of white, and informs us as to the time of year in which this particular engagement took place. The time of the month is indicated by the stage of the moon; and the color of the moon, dark blue, informs us that the battle was fought at night. The triangular figures are tents, the implication being that an attack was made upon the camp of the enemy. A number of crosses are symmetrically placed on the white field. These represent the bodies of the fallen. A red cross is to be understood as a wounded warrior; a blue cross, as a dead one. The small rectangles of red and blue

¹ Wherever a pair of hands is represented, the thumbs extend outward, as they would appear to a person looking at the palms of his own hands. There is no apparent reason for this peculiarity other than mere convention.

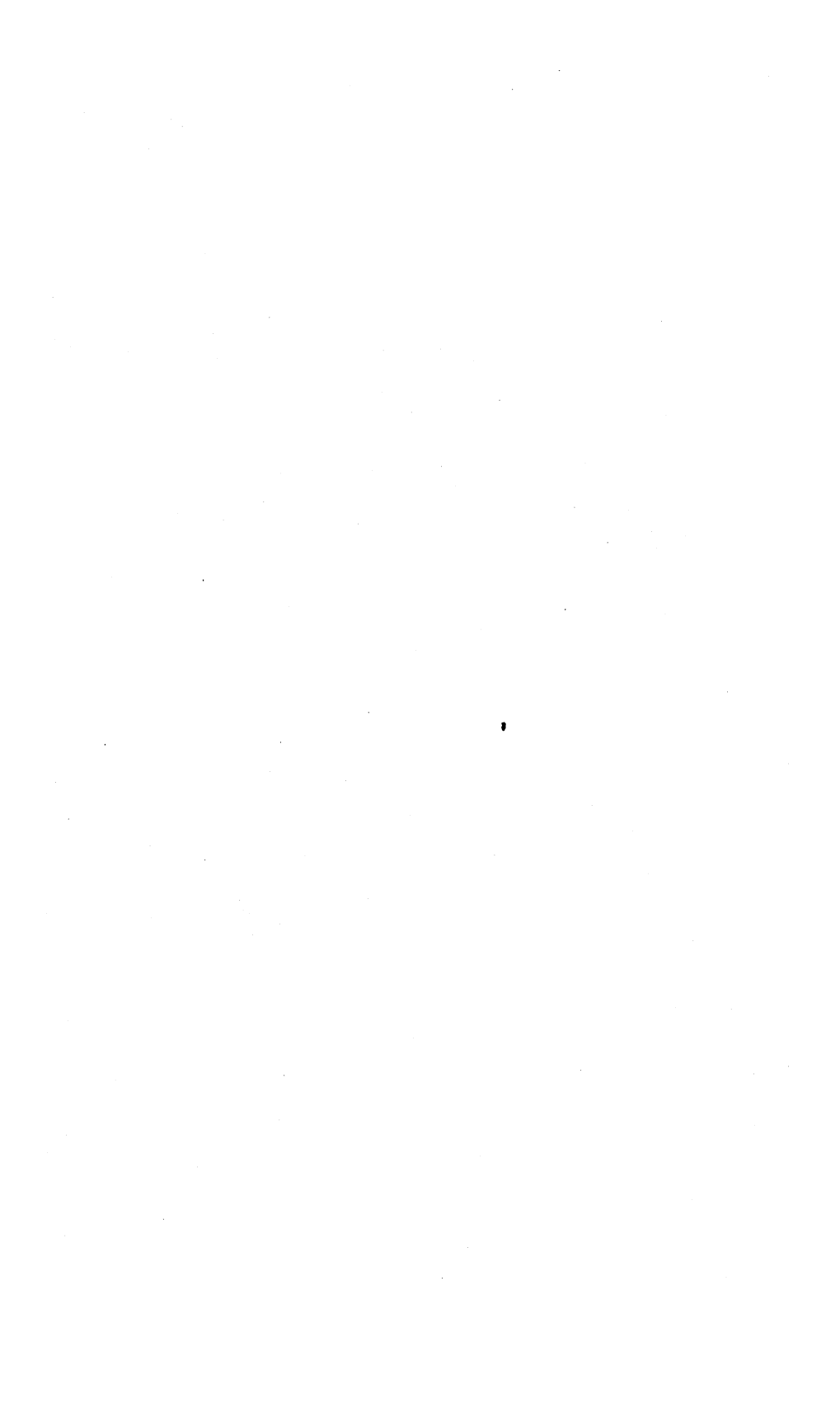


1



2

WAISTCOATS.



represent hits that wound and kill respectively. The eagle-feather attached to one of the crosses refers to the deeds of the owner of the waistcoat: he struck one of the enemy. At the horns of the moon are small crosses said to represent stars. This is interesting in itself, since the use of the cross for star representation seems rare in the symbolism of these people. The entire edge of the coat is bordered by a plain red stripe.

A boy's waistcoat (Plate LVI, Fig. 1) is also made the object of military decoration, though the motive is almost purely decorative in contrast to the other specimen, whose motive is the heralding of the deeds of the owner. The interpretation of this decoration is as follows: the tents bearing the flags indicate camps of United States soldiers. The small projections on the tents are the signal-flags used by the soldiers. The border around the edge of the garment bears half of the cross figure found on the larger waistcoat. Around the bottom is an ornamental border in red and green. It was explained that the mounted men represent two expeditions against United States soldiers, but that they were uneventful, as is implied by the absence of victory or spoils symbols. The figure of the cross was said to have no meaning on this piece. This waistcoat was worn by a small boy, and claimed to reflect the deeds of the family.

The cross as a military symbol is a design of special interest. Its original form, according to the Indian, is that on specimen Figs. 101, 102. This specimen is nothing more than a coat of muslin, on which the most important deeds of the owner are represented by painted pictographs and symbols, the work of his own hand. The X-shaped design heralds the fact that the artist saved the life of a friend, and is the rescue symbol met with in the preceding designs. Indian warfare was a kind of game, in which the taking of a scalp or the counting of a coup was a score. When a man fell or was disabled, the enemy rushed upon him to gain a point, while his friends came to his support. A friend who would rush in and bring out a comrade really performed a great service at great personal risk. This man rendered such service on three occasions, — once for each symbol painted on the garment. Around the

bottom of the coat, serving as a border, are ten human figures. These represent Crow Indians, the enemies encountered by the wearer. Four of them bear wounds inflicted by him; and five carry lances, emblems of rank or merit. Above the figures of the Crow are fourteen horse-tracks, the total number of horses stolen during the life of the wearer. On the

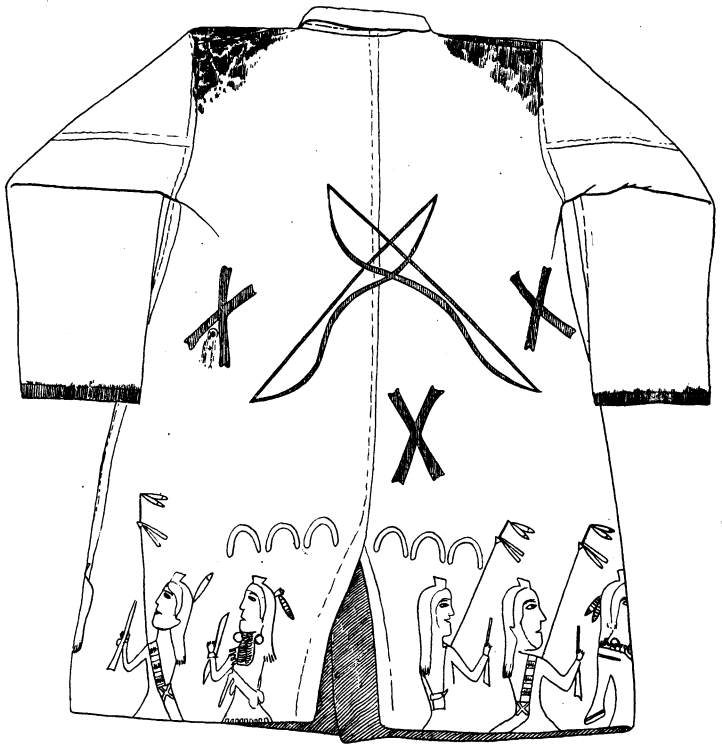


Fig. 101 (9898). Back of Decorated Coat.

back of the coat are two bows crossed, referring to the occurrence of a hand-to-hand encounter in which the combatants clubbed each other with their bows. Two wound-marks are painted on the left sleeve and two on the body of the coat, to indicate the number and place of the injuries sustained by the owner. The hands on the front indicate that

an enemy once struck the spot with his bare hand as he passed in a charge. This specimen is typical of its class. But to return to the rescue symbol. The belief of the Indians is that this cross-like figure is a diagrammatic representation of the rush of the opposing parties toward the fallen; in other words, that is what it expresses.



Fig. 102. Front of Decorated Coat shown in Fig. 101.

In Fig. 98, p. 262, we observed another design representing the same idea. Instead of the X-shaped cross, the arms are often at right angles, the simple cross form. In complex symbolic designs the cross usually represents the body of a man, but any cross-like figure taken alone implies the rescue of a comrade.

Colors have a general symbolic value independent of geometric form. In military symbolism they have the following significance:—

Red indicates blood or wounds; blue or black, victory or enemies killed; yellow, horses; white, snow or winter-time; green, grass or summer.

The Sioux have a preference for blue. So far as the writer was able to learn, blue pigment was not known to them until the coming of the trader, but was at once adopted as a substitute for black. When a war party gained a victory or killed enemies, they painted their bodies black. So when blue was substituted for black, it acquired the same meaning. In bead-work, where there is opportunity for variation, purple and green are sometimes used with the same significance.

Yellow is used as the symbol of the war-horse, because tawny or dun-colored horses were especially prized.

Green is a new color in the same sense as blue. It is occasionally substituted for blue or yellow, but generally refers to summer. Sometimes it is used to designate a chief.

These colors, however, derive their chief significance from their position. Red on a coat may imply that the owner was wounded in the body; red on a weapon, that he wounded an enemy, etc., as may be seen in the explanations given for the specimens.

It is obvious that we have here a mode of using the design elements of woman's decorative art as symbols, though it may be that the men were the first to use the symbols. In either case one sex has appropriated the designs used by the other to express divergent ideas, and thus we see how even within the same tribe two or more modes of expressing symbolic motives may make simultaneous use of the same graphic designs.

Since the women did the beading and the quill-work, they must have been an important factor in developing the objective type of symbolic designs. According to the traditional belief of the Sioux, painted designs preceded all others. Moccasins were painted by the women in conventional styles; later they learned to work them in quills. At

first small designs were placed on the instep; but when a man returned from the war-path, he painted symbols of his deeds on the remaining space. When these had acquired a fixed form, the women began to work them in quills, making such changes as technical and æsthetical requirements demanded. Thus it came about, according to their belief, that the men ordered certain symbols placed upon their garments. At the present time a man may dictate the design to a woman, or he may simply objectively select designs already made that conform in a general way to the mode of heralding his deeds. On the other hand, a woman may wish her boy to be a hero in many battles, and work out a symbolic composition of what he might accomplish, or she may indulge her own imagination and produce military symbols for her own adornment. In such cases she follows the mode of the men. It is interesting to observe that the suggestion of such symbolic use of geometrical designs is found in pictographic art. The ideal way, to the Sioux, of representing the events of war, is by pictographs. The general reverence for the deeds of the war-path makes this phase of their art the most serious of all decoration.

From the foregoing it seems probable that the custom of using the geometric designs for such representation is an incident in adaptation, a compromise or concession to another type of art, for the examples are clearly a reading-in of resemblances to the more realistic graphic forms. There is every reason for assuming that the pictographic mode in this case is the older, and, though there are a few geometric symbols in use that seem to have originated within the mode, there is no evidence that the geometric designs are conventionalized forms of the men, horses, weapons, and camps they sometimes represent.

The limits of this paper forbid a presentation of illustrative material on this point, and the subject must be dismissed with the general statements offered. The importance of a study in detail is apparent to the student of primitive art. Here, again, we must look beyond the mode of interpretation for the origin of the decorative design.

CONCLUSION.

In general, the chief interesting aspects of the decorative art of the Sioux may be summarized briefly. There is a technique of decoration that makes use of design elements and combines them into wholes in conformity to æsthetic motives. Probably this is the result of analysis on the part of the workers. The simple designs have names, — pattern-names, which are similar to other names in that they define one object in the terms of another. These designs are geometric, and the types of combination are limited in number. Style and convention rule here as elsewhere. The workers use the same designs over and over. In general, we have something like a primitive school of design. On the other hand, we find interpretations of art or of motives that lead to the use of these same designs as symbols of ideas and emotions. This is the expressive aspect of their art. That a mode or style of interpretation exists, is evident in cases like the turtle concept, where the turtle design is the symbol of a power governing certain activities.

The interchangeability of the fixed designs between æsthetic and symbolic motives gives an interesting insight into the laxity of interdependence between the type of design and the type of interpretation or symbolization. In addition, we have an illustration of the decay of associations between specific designs and symbolic motives, where it appears that the interchangeability is concomitant with such decay, and that when the association is practically lost, the decorative impulse is free to choose designs according to no other limitations than its own; but we cannot be sure that any of the geometric designs used at any stage of the transition were derived from the objects associated with the present underlying concept, since the present designs may have been substituted for the original, more realistic ones in response to practical or æsthetical resistance. The psychological motive alone seems certain.

The men, or rather the military interests which they represent, furnish the chief symbolic motive in decorative art.

With them the ideal expression of deeds, actual or potential, is by pictography. The stains of blood on the person or garments are reproduced, and events in battle are shown by pictographs. Yet the men have a number of simple symbolic designs to convey ideas, as in the rescue symbol. The symbolic value of colors is an important element in such symbolism. But they also, for the representation of deeds, make use of the geometric designs employed by the women. In these cases they read into the designs their ideas, finally adopting a system or mode of interpretation by which these are quite intelligible to every one familiar with the method. It is probable that this mode of interpretation is an adaptation of the pictographic motive to the new material of art, — something introduced from sources external to the tribe. The chief point of interest is, that within the same tribe at least two distinct modes of interpretation exist for identical designs.

The reader should bear in mind that the preceding is a discussion of decorative art, and that such art activity, even with the Indian, presents varying degrees of seriousness. The æsthetic motive seldom reaches the intensity of the religious motive, and most of the work of the women here discussed is an expression of the more playful of the two. Any one who has studied Indian life knows that a great deal of such decoration is in imitation of others, and that originality and productiveness are extremely rare, — so rare that their appearance is explained after the traditional manner of a myth. The product is looked upon with awe, for it is something from the great Mystery. As before stated, this of itself gives a general basis for the association of ideas and designs.

While it is beyond the limit of this paper to discuss the religious symbolism, it may be expedient to make a general statement. The red-line decoration found on many objects gives us an instance of an association between a symbol and certain general religious ideas. These lines are not always red, but usually so. They are placed upon objects used in the lodge for the spirits of the dead; they are very prominent in the puberty ceremonies for girls, as well as in the Four-Pipe

Dance; they are associated with the white buffalo and with virtue and the good life. Naturally the Indians themselves are not clear as to the real significance of the symbol, but it is usually associated with ideas of woman's functions and virtues. For decorative purposes these lines have come to have a place on certain objects. How this came about no one seems to know: it may have been independent of the above; but the resemblance is so obvious, that practically every Indian thinks of them as associated with these sacred ideas. The symbols are consciously used as decorations. Thus we find certain types of designs vaguely but strongly associated with a similar type of religious and philosophic concepts. This is the character of the real symbolic art of the Sioux. Obviously the origins of the symbols are uncertain.

Since the ideas read into the designs are not closely related to the designs as such, we may expect the dominant ideals of the people to appear in their art. The chief associations for the men are those of the war-path, wounds received, scalps taken, and coups counted. Although the men are not the artisans in decoration, they are in many respects the creative artists: hence we find military interpretations predominant in Siouan art. Until quite recently blue was a favorite background for beaded work, and this color is regarded as the white man's substitute for the aboriginal black-earth paint, the symbol of enemies killed. The idea is so firmly associated in their minds, that it is doubtful if the warriors ever look upon this color without the consciousness of killing. White backgrounds are now preferred; but they are emblems of the snow; and the only time to go on the war-path to achieve glory was in mid-winter, from which it follows that most of the deeds worth recording took place in winter. If we introduce the example of another tribe, the relation is more in evidence. Among the Blackfeet the great idea was to get horses by raiding other Indians. Fighting was a mere incident. The man who achieved renown was he who had penetrated the camp of the enemy and brought away his horses: consequently the pictographic work of the Blackfeet represents this ideal. These ideals are alive to-day. The

Sioux prays for power and success in a possible future war, while the Blackfoot prays and conjures that he may get many horses by means within the limits enforced by the police. That women share in these ideals need not be demonstrated. In a less degree they also have ideals and motives of their own that sometimes find expression in art; and among the Sioux these are more often ideals of technique than otherwise. Thus the higher productions in art seem to have been masculine in origin. Nevertheless we find two distinct groups of ideas associated with the same designs.

On the interesting question as to whence came these geometric designs, no data are available. That the Sioux produced all of them, or even a considerable number of them, is very improbable, since they are distributed over a large area, and bear a stronger resemblance to Southwestern art than to any other.

APPENDIX.

DECORATIVE ART OF THE BLACKFEET.

Since writing the foregoing, the author visited the Blackfeet in the United States and Canada. The decorative art of these people is so simple that it may be disposed of in a few words. Beaded and quill-worked designs are relatively infrequent, and do not possess the variety and complexity of those of the Dakota. Moccasins are either plain, or marked on the instep with a small design, — a U-shaped figure, — which is decidedly conventional and has no known significance. Paint-pouches are usually of plain leather; tobacco-pouches are small, and, when beaded, are of simple design. Women's leggings are beaded in stripes or in designs similar to the step pattern of the Sioux; while their belts, in design and color, are precisely like those of the Gros Ventres. As a class, the women of the Blackfeet take very little interest in such decoration, confining their efforts to a few copies of existing designs.

Painted designs are found on parfleches and bags. These are very much alike, the chief element of the decoration being a diamond-shaped figure, the pattern-name of which is "the spavin." As a rule, the other parts of the decorations are without pattern-names. It seems quite significant that parfleche decoration is usually referred to as "Gros Ventre painting," probably meaning that the whole was copied directly from that tribe. The entire absence of the symbolic motive in such decoration is well illustrated in the cylindrical cases for ceremonial material. These are always decorated with the diamond-shaped designs; and afterwards the entire surface of the bag is given a thin coat of the paint, symbolic of the sacred contents. Thus the design is a matter of convention as much as the form of the bag itself, and just as necessary, while the coating of paint is the important

feature. Robes and tents bear a few painted designs of conventionalized form, but these are usually religious symbols.

In general, the native art of the Blackfeet is pictographic, and the few highly conventionalized forms they have adopted are important religious symbols. The idea of employing graphic forms for decoration does not appeal to them as strongly as to the Sioux. The latter show a tendency to love art for art's sake, while the former love art for the sake of their religion.

(Continued from 4th page of cover.)

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