

A Study of the Use of Color and Form among the Siouan Indians,
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Thesis presented for the Master's degree.

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A Study of the Use of Color and Form among the Siouan Indians.

When this study of the use of color and form among the Indians of the Siouan stock was first undertaken it was with the belief that it might be possible to arrive at the actual aesthetic preferences of these Indians. This object has not, however, been accomplished, for reasons which will appear as the paper proceeds. There are several reasons which led to the selection of the Siouan Indians for this investigation. The Siouan stock comprises a considerable number of tribes varying sufficiently in customs to make comparisons among them interesting. Moreover these tribes are not so far advanced in civilization as some of the other stocks, the Zuni and Moki of the Southwest for example, who are, one might say, better artists and would seem at first sight to afford a more favorable field for such investigations. The Sioux, however, being at a lower stage, seem to approach nearer to the primitive state of life which the anthropologist is always seeking to reconstruct. Accordingly their ruder productions may well be of more importance in the study of primitive psychology than the more elaborate achievements of their farther advanced brothers.

The materials used in this study have been gathered entirely from the Reports of the United States Bureau of Ethnology. Wherever other works are referred to it is to be understood that these references have been taken from the Reports and not directly from the works themselves. To the articles in these Reports by Mr. J. Owen Dorsey on "Omaha Sociology" and "Siouan Cults", and to those by Mr. Garrick Mallery on the picture-writing of the American Indians I am indebted for the greater part of the material used. In the tribes included in the Siouan stock I have followed Mr. Dorsey and also the table of tribes and stocks found in the appendix to Mr. Frederic S. Dellenbaugh's volume on "The North Americans of Yesterday". Putnam's, 1901.

It seems probable that the first use of color by savage or primitive peoples is to decorate the body. Afterwards the decoration is presumably extended to clothes, dwellings, and other common objects, until finally color is used to fill out and render more effective the rude picture-writings and drawings. The painting of the face and body is very common among all tribes of the Siouan stock. It is done in different ways and with different colors and combinations of colors, when going on the war-path, organizing the hunt, mourning the dead, and performing various ceremonies. Different tribes and clans have also their distinctive styles of painting.

Some of the best known and understood of these decorations come under the head

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of war-paint. When going to war the Dakota at Grand River Agency generally painted the face red from eyes to chin. (1). The Absaroka or Crow usually paint the forehead red when on the war-path. (2). Dr. Hoffman, (Yellowstone expedition of 1873), found on the bark of cottonwood trees in the valley of the Musselshell River a pictorial account of a hostile encounter between the Crow and Dakota. The bark was removed in the foreheads of the former and from eyes to chin of the latter, corresponding to their customs of painting. Pictures drawn by northern tribes of the Dakota also show this characteristic painting, (3), the Arikara and Gros Ventre or Hidatsa as well as the Absaroka being represented with reddened foreheads. (4). The Absaroka also have the custom, which the Arikara and Hidatsa have adopted, of decorating their hair with red ochre or vermilion. (5). The Osage redden the face before charging the foe, putting dabs of mud below the eyes on different sides for different gentes. This is known as the death paint. If any man dies with this paint on his survivors do not put on any other. Some also paint in what is called the wind style, others in the lightning style, and still others in the panther or puma style. Some who act like the black bear paint with charcoal alone. The horses are also dabbed with mud, those belonging to men of the Tsiu gens on the left cheek, shoulder and thigh, of the Hanka gens on the corresponding portions of the right side. When the same tribe set out to steal horses from the enemy they blacken their faces. (6). In time of war prayers used to be made about the fire, and the warriors of the Tsiu gens painted their faces red with the "fire-paint". Those of the Hanka side used the "young buffalo bull decoration" and probably offered prayer to be filled, as they attacked the enemy, with the spirit of their "little grandfather" the young buffalo bull. (7). In a pictorial roster of the heads of families in the band of Chief Big-Road of the Ogallalas obtained by Rev. S. D. Hinman at Standing Rock Agency, each figure carrying a war club has three red bands across the cheek, two figured without the club also having these bands. (8). The five chiefs who do not have the war-club but pipe and pouch have at least three bands with differentiations of color. (9). The other male

(1). Reports of Bureau of Ethnology, 1882-83, p.55.

(3). Ibid. 62.

(6). 1882-83, 55.

(9). 1888-89, 421.

(4). Ibid. 166.

(7). 1889-90, 381.

(2). Ibid. 231.

(5). 1888-89, 230-231.

(8). 1882-83, 174.

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figures in some instances seem to have but a single red band, in others two bands red and blue, but the drawing is so indistinct as to render this uncertain. (1). Dorsey says that when war parties of the Omaha start out the warriors blacken their faces with charcoal and rub mud over them, and that they wear, when they can obtain them, buffalo robes covered over with white clay. After being absent for four days, during which time they fast, they wash off the charcoal and mud. (2). Mallery says that the Omaha use red paint on their cheeks extensively, but does not state whether this is war-paint or not. (3). In the story of Ícibáǰí of the Je-sinde gens of the Omaha, the warriors when they saw an enemy approaching painted themselves with yellow earth and white clay. The war-chief made Ícibáǰí's back yellow for him in imitation of the sparrow-hawk, but this is evidently a personal, individual decoration such as will be considered later. (4). The banners or standards carried by the leaders of an Omaha war-party, or a party going on a dancing tour are decorated with strips of red and blue Indian cloth. (5). Dorsey in his article on "Omaha Dwellings, Furniture and Implements" gives a picture of a tent with these banners depicted on it. (6). As the party approaches a hostile camp the keeper takes the scarf from the pole and wears it around his neck when he goes to steal horses. (7).

In the ceremonies which take place on the return from the war-path, the color decoration is often elaborate. Belden (p.145) says that when Sioux warriors return from the war-path bringing back scalps, both men and squaws paint vermilion semi-circles in front of their ears and redden their eyes. (8). The term Sioux is probably not used in its widest extent here. Among the Omaha the return of a war party is signalled by different colored smoke. (9). The warrior who has been the first to take hold of a foe blackens his body and marks it here and there with spots of white clay. The second to take hold of a foe blackens his body from waist to shoulders and rubs white clay down the tops of his shoulders. He seems also to be allowed to wear white eagle feathers in his hair. The third may make black places as large as a hand on arms, elbows and ribs, or one side of the body black. He who disembowels a fallen enemy with his knife can redden it, stick feathers in his hair, and blacken his body from waist to shoulder and over the shoulder and down to the waist. He who kills a foe can wear an arrow shaft, scraped and reddened, suspended from his neck. He who strikes a foe with a weapon is allow-

(1). 1882-83, 174.

(2). 1881-82, 317.

(3). 1882-83, 168.

(4). 1881-82, 327.

(5). 1891-92, 273.

(6). *Ibid*, 274.






(7). 1889-90, 528.

(8).. 1888-89, 632.

(9). 1881-82, 328.

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ed to redden it and carry it in the dance. (1). In the Scalp Dance the wives of men who have killed enemies redden the partings of their hair. In the corresponding men's dance, the Hehucka dance, those who have killed foes with guns redden the barrels. Those who have struck foes but have not wounded them fatally make black impressions on their bodies with their hands, as signs of blows. Sometimes they blacken the body and make the impressions and with white clay. (2). Those who have been wounded blacken the body and mark upon it a red spot and stripe denoting the wound and dripping blood, and wear a red feather in the hair. (3). Among the Ojage the old men distinguished in war are painted with the decorations of their respective gentes. An old man belonging to the Tsiu gens has his face whitened, then a red spot painted on his forehead and the lower part of his face reddened. Then with the fingers the clay is scraped off forming dark figures where the natural color of the skin shows through. (4). Eagle feathers are worn by the Hidatsa to denote courage or success in war. A feather with a tuft of down or horse-hair dyed red attached to the tip shows that a warrior has killed an enemy and has been the first to touch him with the coup stick. The second, third and fourth to so touch a fallen enemy are denoted by one, two and three red bars, respectively, on the feather. A feather entirely red is worn by one who has been wounded. A man who has killed a woman of a hostile tribe wears a strip of rawhide or buckskin wrapped with porcupine quills dyed red, with sometimes a few white ones, perhaps merely to break the monotony. (5). Similar marks are said to be used by the Mandan and Arikara. With all three of these tribes red and blue marks on clothing and boat paddles denote certain brave deeds. (6). On festal occasions these marks are sometimes painted on the thighs. (7). They consist chiefly of horse-shoes and crosses referring to the capture of the enemy's horses and to warlike deeds. (8). These might be classed as pictographs or emblems and are considerably conventionalized. Among the Hidatsa the following mark  signifies that the wearer has captured a horse:  the first to strike a fallen enemy (9); , the second to so strike an enemy; , the third etc.: , the wearer has gained protection from his foes by throwing up a ridge of earth around himself. (10). Practically

(1). 1881-82, 329.

(2). Ibid, 330.

(3). Ibid, 331.

(4). 1882-83, 187.

(5). Ibid, 184, and 1888-89, 437.

(6). 1888-89, 437, 440 & 1882-83, 186-187.

(7). 1888-89, 437.

(8). Ibid. 442.

(9). 1882-83, 186.

(10). Ibid. 187.

the same signs are used by the Mandan and Arikara. (1).

Mrs. Mary Eastman in her book "Dahootah, or Life and Legends of the Sioux around Fort Snelling", gives the following signs used on feathers worn by the warriors. She does not designate colors, but, as Mallery says, red undoubtedly predominates. A spot on the larger web denotes that the wearer has killed an enemy. (2). When the tip is colored and the edge notched, (Fig. 1), he has cut the throat of an enemy and taken his scalp. If the tip is cut off and a band colored across the end, (Fig. 2), he has cut the throat of an enemy. The third to touch the body of his foe after he has been killed notches and colors his feather in the manner of Fig. 3. The fourth to touch the body cuts off the tip of his feather and colors the end, (Fig. 4), The fifth colors the tip and removes the feathers from the quill in the manner of Fig. 5. When the quill is split and the ends colored, (Fig. 6), the wearer has received many wounds. (3).



Fig. 1. Fig. 2. Fig. 3. Fig. 4. Fig. 5. Fig. 6.

Mallery says that among the Mdewakantanwan Sioux near Fort Snelling a plain feather signifies that the wearer has killed an enemy. A black feather is a sign that a woman of a hostile tribe has been killed. A warrior who has been wounded has a red spot on the side of his feather, and on his clothing over the locality of the wound. (4). Schoolcraft (v. II, p. 58) says that among the Dakota on St. Peter's River the mark of a red hand indicates that the wearer has been wounded, that of a black one that he has slain an enemy. (5). The mark of a black hand was found upon ~~some~~ some articles manufactured by a tribe of another stock, the Ojibwa, in the possession of Hidatsa and Arikara Indians at Fort Berthold in 1881. These Indians said that it was an old custom and meant that the man to whom the article

(1). 1888-89, 436.

(2). Ibid, 434, & 1888-89, 184.

(3). Ibid, 185.

(4). 1888-89, 435, & 1882-83, 186.

(5). 1888-89, 711.

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Belonged had killed an enemy. (1). Belden, (p. 277), says that a Sioux, probably using the term in the narrower sense, wears a feather with a red spot for every enemy killed, and that a red hand on a blanket denotes a wound and a black one a misfortune of some kind. (2). Boller, (p. 284), describes a Sioux wearing a number of shavings stained with vermilion in his hair, each a symbol of a wound received. Lynd, (p. 68), gives a different interpretation of the feather wearing. He says that a Dakota wears four feathers, one for each soul of the enemy slain in battle. (3). Among the Teton Dakota the mark of a hand means that that wearer has engaged in a hand to hand struggle with the enemy. Among the Mandan a yellow hand on the breast shows that the wearer has captured prisoners. (4). The Mandan also wear symbols of their deeds in their hair. Maximilian of Wied, (ps. 339, 388) describes one, Mato - Topé, who wore in his hair a wooden knife painted red, because he had killed a Cheyenne chief with his knife; six sticks painted red, blue and yellow, each with a brass nail at one end, indicating musket wounds; the wing feather of a wild turkey signifying an arrow wound; and a bunch of owl feathers dyed yellow with red tips, as the badge of the Weniss - Ochata (dog band). Half of his face was painted red, the other half yellow, his body reddish-brown with narrow stripes made by taking off the color with the tip of the finger, yellow stripes on his arms indicating his warlike deeds, and a yellow hand on his breast denoting that he had captured prisoners. A Mandan is not permitted to wear tufts of hair on his clothes unless he carries a medicine pipe and has been a leader of a war party. When a young man who has never performed an exploit is the first on a war expedition to kill an enemy he paints a spiral line around his arm of whatever color he pleases, according to Maximilian. If he has killed and touched an enemy he paints a line running obliquely around his arm and another crossing it in the opposite direction, also ^{three} transverse stripes. On killing his second enemy he paints his left leg reddish-brown. On his third exploit he paints two ⁹ longitudinal stripes on his arms and three transverse stripes. (5).

The following ^{are} Winnebago devices, according to Kane, (p. 393). A muddy hand upon body or horse indicates that the wearer or owner has killed a man. If a man has been wounded he covers that part of his body with white clay and indicates the spot with red paint. (6). Dorsey says that red is a war color among the Dakota,

(1). 1882-83, 187.

(2). 1888-89, 435, 712.

(3). Ibid. 435.

(4). 1888-89, 712.

(5). Ibid. 436.

(6). Ibid. 440.

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Omaha, Kansas, and Osage. The Tsiou orier receives in his left hand a knife with a red handle, the Hanka orier a hatchet with a red handle, in his right hand. Mr. Dorsey mentions that whenever he saw a certain one of the war chiefs of the Kansas the latter's face was painted red all over. (1). Dr. S. R. Riggs (ps. 188, 187), mentions bundles of red and black sticks which are symbols of power among the Dakota. The black bundle represents the men of the camp who have made their mark on the war path, the red, the boys and men who wear no eagle feathers. (2). Dorsey says that the Omaha "bent" spears are ornamented with eagle feathers, the end feathers at the top being white, the others white or spotted. (3). The war arrows have, or used to have, crooked lines drawn along the shafts from the point to the other end down which, the Indians said, it was intended the blood of the wounded foe should trickle. (4).

In all these cases red and black seem to be the colors most frequently used with an occasional white, blue or yellow. It is not difficult to understand the use of red in this connexion. Red is the color of blood. In every instance given where wounds are signified this color is used. Black also seems to be a frequent war color. In Battiste Good's Winter Count red and black lodges indicate war. (5) The use of black is more difficult to understand, although in some of the instances given its significance seems to be clear enough. The Osage custom of painting black when starting out to steal the enemy's horses doubtless originated from the natural connexion of black with darkness and night and accordingly with secrecy and concealment. When those who "act like a black bear" paint with charcoal it is evidently done in direct imitation of the appearance of that animal. The interpretation of the other cases is not so easy. As will be shown later black is widely used by the Sioux when mourning for the dead and it is natural to suppose that it is symbolical of death and misfortune when used in war ceremonies as well. An illustration from a tribe of a different stock is suggestive. According to Wallery the painting of the face black by a Modoc warrior before going into battle signifies victory or death, that he will not survive a defeat. (6). The Mandan mark of a yellow hand signifying that the wearer has taken a captive is puzzling. If the color has any significance in this case further investigation will be necessary to get at it.

(1). 1888-89, 535.

(2). Ibid. 258.

(3). 1891-92, 286.

(4) Ibid. 287.

(5). 1888-89, 292.

(6). 1888-89, 28.

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The same thing is true of the use of blue on Omaha battle-standards and boat ~~paddles~~ paddles. (1). According to Maximilian of Wied the Mandan youth who has been the first to kill an enemy paints a line of any color he pleases around his arm. If this is strictly true we have here a case where actual freedom of choice and personal preference may come in. As will be shown later, however, what seems at first to be mere personal taste in decoration may prove on further investigation to be rigidly determined by the wearer's visions, dreams or personal exploits or even by his name or totem. Such decorations are of course individual, but they are representative or symbolic in character and by no means matters of mere personal aesthetic preference. This distinction will be made clearer later ^{on} when we consider the so-called "mystery decorations". It may be that the colors used by the Mandan youth are of such a character, and are not a matter of mere taste at all. ~~We~~ We have seen from the instances given that the war painting of the Sioux seems to be done in certain definite ways, more or less fixed by custom, which appear to have definite significance, and that little if any place seems to be left for mere personal taste to come in. We have ~~also~~ seen that ~~the most common colors used are~~ red and black are the colors most commonly used, and have made an attempt to interpret their meaning in a general way, red being the color of blood, and black of darkness, and accordingly of secrecy and concealment, ^{also} and of mourning and misfortune.

Perhaps next in importance to the war customs are the customs and ceremonies connected ~~with~~ with the burial and mourning of the dead. According to Mallery some of the Dakota blacken the whole face with charcoal in mourning, but ashes are also frequently used. (2). The Wahpeton and Sisseton Sioux paint a dead warrior red across the mouth, or they paint a hand in black with the thumb on one side of the mouth and the fingers separated on the other cheek, the rest of the face being painted red. This latter decoration is a mark of respect to an especially brave man. The faces of women and children are also reddened. Sometimes this is done before death when the woman or child is expected to die. (3). Maximilian of Wied, (p, 153), says that a sign of mourning among the Sioux is the daubing of the person with white ~~clay~~ clay. He probably uses the term Sioux in a restricted sense to denote certain tribes of the Siouan stock. (4). Dr. L. S. Turner, U.S.A. makes ~~practically~~ practically the same statement about the Dakota, but says that the custom is not

(1). 1882-83, 55.

(2). 1888-89, 629.

(3). 1879-80, 107.

(4). 1888-89, 519.

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an universal one. (1). He also says that it is customary for the Dakota to paint the face, neck and hands of the dead with vermilion, or red earth, and that when it is available a bright red blanket envelopes all the other wrappings of the body. (2). A Dakota sometimes gains the right to paint the face red by providing the ceremonial requirements for a commemoration of the dead. (3). The Gros Ventre and Mandan wrap the body of the dead, unless a box is used, in red or blue cloth if they can afford it, if not in a blanket or piece of cheap white cloth. (4). Among the Brulé or Teton when a son dies the parents cut off some of his hair and put it in a white deerskin bag decorated with red and blue circular figures. (5). When the family are poor they may substitute for the case a blue or scarlet blanket or cloth. (6). When camp is moved this and other sacred objects are carried on a special horse rubbed over with yellow clay. (7). Bushotter, a part breed Indian, told Dorsey that when they prepare for the ghost feast they redden the sack. (8). The shield of the dead, ornamented to indicate his brave deeds, is suspended with or near the sack. (9). In the same tribe, according to Wm. J. Cleveland of Spotted Tail Agency, the women who are near relatives of the dead do not paint themselves during the ten days of mourning. (10). Among the Osage on the death of a man his comrade strips the bark from a post which he paints red. (11).

The burial lodge of a Crow chief is described by Col. P. W. Norris as painted in seven horizontal stripes alternately of brown and yellow, decorated with war scenes. Over the entrance was a large cross, probably placed there through the influence of white friends, the upright being a stuffed white wolf skin on a war lance and the cross-bar of scarlet flannel. (12). Among the Omaha a member of the Inke-Sabé or Hanga gens is painted with the privileged decoration of his gens. This is usually done when he is near death. (13). Catlin, (v. II, 5), gives an account of the funeral of Blackbird, a great chief of the Omaha. He was buried on the back of his favorite white war-horse. Each warrior painted the palm and fingers of his right hand with vermilion and pressed it on the sides of the horse. (14). G. E. McChesney, U. S. A., says that the wild plum stones with which the funeral games

(1). 1878-80, 184.

(2). Ibid. 163 & 164.

(3). 1866-69, 579.

(4). 1878-80, 161.

(5). 1880-80, 467.

(8). 1878-80, 160.

(7). 1889-90, 487.

(8). Ibid. 488.

(9). Ibid. 489.

(10). 1878-80, 159.

(11). 1868-80, 535.

(12). 1878-80, 153.

(13). 1881-83, 229 & 233.

(14). 1878-80, 139.

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are played by the Sioux are marked with black.(1). One statement differing widely from all the others is that made by Col. Dodge that the Sioux wrap their dead in green blankets. This can hardly be a general custom and indeed the statement differs so radically from all the others as to lead one to regard it with more than suspicion.(2).

In the instances described black or white seems to be in every case the mourning color. The hypothesis that the earliest form of mourning was the sprinkling or daubing of the face and body with earth or ashes, and that the use of black and white paint as more convenient, cleaner and more durable, grew out of this earlier custom seems a reasonable one. A survival of the older custom is found among the Dakota who sometimes use ashes instead of paint.(3). The Menomini also, a tribe of another stock, use either charcoal or ashes.(4). An interesting instance from a widely different stock is that of the YOKAIA widow who mingles the ashes of her husband with pitch making a white tar with which she smears a band around the edge of her hair.(4).

In every instance given red, sometimes alone and sometimes in conjunction with other colors, is used in the adornment of the dead or of ceremonial objects connected with him. Just why this is so is a little difficult to make out. After our consideration of war colors it seems natural that the dead warrior should be painted with red, but the custom is not confined to warriors but is extended to women and children. Mallery thinks that red or yellow may refer to the color of flames and accordingly ^{have reference} refer to cremation as an earlier custom, or that these colors sometimes proclaim that "the dead have gone to glory".⁽⁵⁾ Miss Fletcher believes that red expresses the idea of dawn and accordingly of hope and continuation of life.(6) It might be answered that red is also a prominent color of sunset and the close of day, as well as of sunrise and dawn, and may quite as reasonably be taken to symbolize the end of life. Indeed in the colors for the four quarters or winds, which will be referred to farther on in more detail, red is sometimes the color of the west, sometimes of the east, and the same is true of yellow. There can be little doubt, however, that such ideas as these are much too elaborate and artificial, if one may use the word, to read in ^{to} this use of red. Red as used in burial ceremonies is plainly a mark of honor. Its use as ^a war paint may have easily led to its becoming such a sign of distinction. It seems probable that the dead warrior

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(1). 1879-80, 196.

~~(2). 1899-90, 196.~~

(3). 1892-93, v. I, 241.

(4). 1879-80, 194.

(5). 1886-89, 685.

(6). 1889-90, 531.

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was first painted with red to indicate his bravery and heroic deeds and that the use of the color was afterwards extended to women and others who were not warriors merely as a mark of honor. Thus no far-fetched explanation seems necessary.

Blue seems also occasionally to be used in the adornment of the dead, as in the case of the Hidatsa and Mandan who wrap the body in blue or red cloth. I will not attempt to make a guess at its significance. The yellow and brown stripes on the burial lodge described by Col. Norvick may have quite possibly been a personal "mystery decoration", having some reference to the chief's own life, deeds or visions. The instances show plainly, it seems to me, a considerable fixity of custom in mourning and burial decoration, even in the cases where there seems to be no clear and satisfactory explanation of the significance of this decoration.

There are a number of other customs and ceremonies which it is worth while to examine. Before going on a hunting expedition, the Omaha choose four men as directors of the hunt. The principal director must provide a pipe with a red pipe-stone bowl and a standard of hickory wood reddened, and bearing rows of white and spotted eagle feathers. (1). The pipe and pole are carried by the two men leading the party and are also used in the ceremonies after the hunt (2). The Omaha sacred pole, which does not appear to be the same as the standard just mentioned, is rubbed with red clay, and presents ^{are} made to it. (3). In the dance following the hunt the young men and boys smear their bodies with white clay, and the women paint the partings of their hair and round spots on their cheeks red. (4).

Among the Osage when a child is named a certain old man takes four grains of corn answering to the four kinds dropped by the four buffalo in the Osage tradition, black, red, blue and white, and after chewing them passes them between the child's lips. (5). In the Deer-Head gens of the Omaha the infant, when it is named, has its face painted with the privileged decoration in red, and red spots are made down its back and on its breech-cloth in imitation of a fawn, and stripes are drawn by the tips of three fingers on its arms and chest. All the people also decorate their hair with red paint and make red spots on their chests. If the infant belongs to the Pipe subgens charcoal, verdigris, and the skin of the wild-cat are placed beside him as articles not to be touched by him in after life. The verdigris is supposed to symbolize the blue sky. (6).

(1). 1881-82, 286.

(2). Ibid. 289.

(3). Ibid. 293. & 295.

(4). Ibid. 298.

(5). 1893-94, 237.

(6). 1881-82, 245 & 246

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Dorsey gives descriptions of some of the principal Omaha dances, in which the use of color is sometimes very interesting. The calumet pipes used in the calumet dance have in place of the bowl the head and neck of a green-necked duck. Next come the yellowish feathers of the great owl, and the feathers of the war-eagle. Beyond these is a tuft of horsehair reddened and over it some fur of a white rabbit. There are two more of these horsehair tufts and near the last is the head of a woodcock(?) with the nose white and the head feathers red. (1). Next to this are suspended two feathers, eagle plumes, which the Indians call the "eggs". They compare them to the egg or the eaglet in the egg, to which the adopted child for whom the dance is given is also likened. Next are attached a number of eagle feathers; the white ones of the male eagle on one pipe, and the black and white ~~ones~~ of the female eagle on the other. The stems of the pipes are dark blue. Each dancer also carries a gourd rattle with a blue stripe encircling it and two blue stripes crossing each other at right angles and extending half way around, terminating when they reach the other stripe which divides the gourd into ^{two} parts. A buffalo bladder having three blue stripes is also used. Two sticks used in the same dance are red and have ears of corn, which must be perfect, fastened to them, the lower part of the ear being white, the upper green. The child has his face reddened, with blue stripes across the forehead and down the cheeks and nose. The decoration used by chiefs and other adults is of similar design except that there are stripes next the mouth and none down the nose. The dancers have this design in red. (2). The dance is a ceremony of adoption and the red in this case probably signifies blood and accordingly relationship. (3).

In the Omaha Coyote Dance, the warriors, before retiring for the night, whiten themselves. (4).

In the Wacicks Dance, performed by an Omaha dancing society of that name, the men wear red leggings and sometimes place a dozen red convoluted lines on the body, six in front and six on the back. Of those in front two are at the waist, two higher up on the chest, and two on the arm; on the back there are two near the nape of the neck, two lower down, and two just above the waist. Red stripes extend from each side of the mouth to the jaw, and similar stripes run down each side of the nose. Some wear white feathers in their head-dresses. (5). The women wear black

(1). 1881-82, 277.

(2). Ibid. 278-281.

(3). 276.

(4). Ibid. 323.

(5). Ibid. 344.

moccasins and red or black blankets, and paint the parting of the hair and a narrow stripe from temple to jaw red. The "wacicka", a sort of magic medicine, is white, and is shot from the mouth into that of the candidate. (1). The dancers carry bags made of the skins of various animals, the kind of skin each person is allowed to use being rigidly determined. As described by Dorsey the noses of all the animals on the bags were painted blue. Of the otter-skin bags two had each a red feather placed crosswise in the animal's mouth. (2).

In the I^m-kuggi Dance the men paint with Indian red or gray clay. According to Dorsey they have no regular patterns. The women redden the partings of the hair ^{and the cheeks} and wear red blankets. (3).

In the Buffalo Dance the men rub black or greenish-gray earth over their bodies, arm joints and faces. (4).

In the Horse Dance they whiten themselves, rubbing earth on their shoulders and Indian red on some parts of the bodies. (4).

In the Wolf Dance they redden the tips of the noses on the wolf skins they wear and paint their bodies, in imitation of the "blue wolves". Those who have had enemies or have cut them up paint hands and wrists red as if they were bloody. Others whiten their hands, wrists, ankles and feet. All whiten their faces from the right ear to the corner of the mouth. (5).

In the Grizzly Bear Dance they paint the body and hands and ^{at} sometimes the legs yellow. Sometimes they redden the legs. Some whiten themselves here and there, some redden in spots. Some wear white, some red plumes in the hair. (5).

A candidate for the Witcitâ Society is shot on the fourth day of preparation with red medicine. Some of the dancers in this initiation whiten their bodies and legs, or paint as deer, drawing white stripes on their limbs and bodies; other appear as bald eagles with whitened faces. Some wear caps or necklaces of the skin of the gray fox or necklaces of deer tails, while some carry on their arms red, others gray fox skins. Each singer carries a whitened bow. (6).

The Wase-jide ^{af}ma, "Those who have the Red Paint or Medicine", are women dancers, and paint with red, cheeks, chin and chest. A line is drawn from each corner of the mouth back to the cheek and one from the lower lip down under the chin and continued down the chest until about as low as the heart. (7).

(1). 1881-82, 345.

(2). Ibid. 348.

(3). Ibid. 346.

(4). Ibid. 348.

(5). Ibid. 348.

(6). Ibid. 350.

(7). Ibid. 351.

In th Make- No - Fight Dance, a bravery dance, the men blacken themselves all over with charcoal.(1).

In the Pedanka Dance they redd~~en~~ their bodies.(2).

In th Tukála Dance each carries a "wahé-kuzi" of which the end feather on the bent part of the pole is white.(3).

For the Mandan Dance or feast there is according to Dorsey, no special ornamentation of the face or body with paint. All the above dances are Omaha.(4).

Mrs. Z. A. Parker gives a description of the Sioux Ghost Dance, as she saw it at White Clay Creek, June 20, 1890. The dancers wore a white garment called the ghost shirt. Those worn by the women were painted blue at the neck in the shape of a three cornered handkerchief, and mod^s, stars, birds and other objects, interspersed with real feathers, were painted on the waist and sleeves. The men wore leggings painted in red stripes, some running up and down, others around. Their shirts wre blue around the neck but otherwise ornamented with red, and sprinkled all over with birds, bows and arrows, suns, moons, stars, and a variety of objects. Their faces were painted red with a black half-moon on the forehead or one cheek.(5). Other designs are said to vary but are done with ceremonial exactness of detail, the dancer adopting the particular style of painting which he has seen in a trance worn by some departed relative, or if he has not been in a trance the design is suggested by a vision had by the man who does the painting. These designs are elaborate, red, yellow, green and blue being used upon the face, with red or yellow lines at the parting of the hair. Besides the seven leaders, who wear the sacred crow feathers, as emblems of their authority, nearly all the dancers wear feathers variously decorated. The preparation of these is an affair of much concern. The dancer accompanied by six friends, goes to one who has been in a trance and learned the exact method in vogue in the spirit world. This man prepares a feather for each according to what he has seen in some vision. The feathers are painted in several colors, each larger feather usually being tipped with a small down feather of a different color.(6). At a Ghost Dance at No-Water's Camp, near Pine Ridge, described by J.F. Asay, the leaders waved over the heads of the dancers the "ghost stick", a staff trimmed with red cloth and red feathers. (7). Dorsey says that the Omaha

(1). 1881-82, 358.

(2). Ibid. 353.

(3). Ibid. 355.

(4). Ibid. 273.

(5). 1892-93, v.II, 916.

(6). Ibid. 919-920.

(7). Ibid. 915.

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paint their bodies gray for the Ghost Dance. (1).

Among the Ponka at the initiation of chiefs a tent is set up in which are placed the sacred pipes and buffalo skull, the latter being painted with the privileged decoration, lines across the forehead, down the cheeks and from the corners of the mouth to the jaws. The chiefs paint this privileged decoration on their faces and redden their elbows, armpits and the toes of their moccasins. They also redden their blankets next to elbows and armpits in imitation of the buffalo. Among the Omaha the custom is the same except that the privileged decoration is slightly different and the chiefs do not redden elbows, armpits and toes of moccasins. (2).

Long, (p. 207), reports that the Omaha on all occasions of festivals, dances or general hunts choose a certain number to ^{preserve order and} keep the peace. In token of their office those selected paint themselves entirely black. (3).

According to Belden, (p. 144), among the Yankton, Santee and other tribes a warrior when he wishes to be left alone smears his face with black, a sign that he is trapping, melancholy or in love. A Santee squaw when she wishes to appear particularly taking draws a red streak from ear to ear, passing it over the eyes, the bridge of the nose and along the middle of the cheek. According to the same authority the Sioux warrior when courting paints his eyes yellow and blue and the squaw he courts paints hers red. She has even been known to undergo the painful operation of reddening the eye-balls. A red stripe horizontally from one eye to the other means that the young warrior has seen a squaw he could love if she would return his affection. (4). The custom of young girls painting the cheeks sparingly with red ochre when in love prevails to some extent at least among the Sioux. (5). The women of the Heyoka Society at their feasts wear all blue or red and blue. (6).

The Teton paint the face of an infant, whether boy or girl, with vermilion. Should they neglect to do this the infant would become blear-eyed or suffer from some kind of sickness. (7). Among the Hidatsa, according to Maximilian, (p. 400, 401) before going on some enterprise there is a ceremony in which the war-captains and the youths who wish to become braves cover themselves with white clay. (8). Among the Omaha a boy when he reached the age of seven or eight used to be expected to fast for a day. He mounted a bluff and remained there praying to Wakanda. Dougherty said that he rubbed himself with white clay. (9).

(1). 1881-82, 353.

(2). Ibid. 359.-360.

(3). 1888-89, 420.

(4). Ibid. 633-634.

(5). 1882-83, 55.

(6). 1889-90; 471.

(7). Ibid. 482.

(8). Ibid. 504-505

(9). 1861-82, 299.

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Maximilian of Wied describes the customary painting of the Mandan in some detail. Sometimes they paint their bodies reddish-brown, sometimes white, and frequently draw red ^{or} ~~and~~ black figures on their arms. Their faces are for the most part painted all over with vermilion or yellow, in which latter case the circumference of the eyes and the chin are reddened. There are, he says, no set rules of painting but it depends on the ~~paste~~ ^{paste} of the Indian dandy. Yet a general similarity is observed. The bands in their dances and also after battles and ~~after~~ ^{when} some exploit is performed follow established rules. In ordinary festivals and dances and when they wish to look particularly fine they paint in every variety of way, each endeavoring to find out some new mode. If they have performed exploits their faces are painted black. ⁽¹⁾ There are some inconsistencies in this description and one inclines to doubt whether Prince Maximilian investigated the matter very closely.

In the ceremonies and customs described a great variety of colors and designs is to be noted. It is hardly possible ~~to even~~ even to guess at their meaning in many cases. The striking fact, however, is that in nearly all of these instances the modes of painting, both colors and patterns, are fixed by custom and ceremonial and do not depend upon the taste of the painter. This leads us to believe that they have, or once had, a definite significance if we could but get at it. Even in the few cases where the mode of painting is not fixed by the ceremonial itself but is an individual matter, it by no means ~~follows~~ follows that it is a question of personal taste ^{or} of aesthetic preference merely. Designs ^{or} or colors may be rigidly determined by the wearer's dreams and visions, by some notable event in ^{his} life, by the gens to which he belongs, the mythical ancestor from whom he is descended, ^{his} birth name, or various other considerations. The painting of body and feathers in the Ghost Dance serves as an example of the manner in which personal decoration may be determined. The next subject to be considered, tent and robe decoration, will serve to bring out this point more sharply. It is natural to suppose that in the decoration of tents, garments and objects of common use, the real aesthetic taste and personal preferences of the Indian may be discovered in a much clearer and more satisfactory way than in the study of his ceremonials. It remains to be seen whether this is the case or not, however.

The Omaha and Ponka have personal mystery decorations on their garments and tents. The makers and users must be members of the order of shamans, or medicine-men, and the right to use the designs originates with those who have had visions or

(1). 1888-89, 619-620.

or dreams in which the mystery objects are manifested, and who may bequeath them to their sons. Unless the son has a similar vision he can not transmit the right to one of the next generation however. (1). The being seen in the dream or vision is apparently ^{regarded} as the particular guardian spirit of the person. (2). If a man uses such a decorated robe or tent without having had a vision of the mystery object depicted, or having inherited it, he is in danger of calamity. If the object is connected with the Thunder-Being, for example, he is in danger of being killed by lightning. Every Omaha fears to decorate his robe, tent, or blanket with an object seen by another person in a dream. (3). A great variety of colors and figures are used in these decorations and sometimes the effect is very decorative. Broad bands of color seem to be popular. When a person has a vision of night, the Thunder-Being, or some other super-terrestrial object, he frequently blackens the upper ^{part} ^{portion} of his tent and a small portion on each side of the entrance. Sometimes blue is used instead of black. Night was represented by a blue band on a coyote skin worn by the elder *A-pā-skā*. One tent is described as having the upper part blackened with two stars below it. A tent belonging to Little Cedar, one of the Sun and Moon shamans, has a black band part way down, referring to night, and above it a circle containing a figure, representing the moon and a ghost which the owner of the tent saw in it. Dots above the circle refer to "the white which stands above the rising sun or moon". A red circle with a man in it on another tent belonging to the same man represents the sun. (4). A tent belonging to Distant-white Buffalo had a blue band near the top, below it the sun and a blue rainbow, and near the bottom two horse tails. Fire Chief had a corn-stalk decoration, the stalks and ears being green with the tips of the latter black. Corn is frequently regarded as a mysterious or sacred. (5). George Miller, an Indian or part-breed, when describing the tent decoration of Two Crow's father, a member of the Grizzly Bear shamans, said, "When they have had visions of grizzly bears they decorate their tents accordingly. When they see grizzly bears they behold them coming out of the ground, and so they paint the tents. They always (or usually) paint the ground blue, and part of the tent they paint in a yellow band." ⁽⁶⁾ This seems to show a fixed or conventional use of colors.

(1). 1889-90, 394-395.

(2). Ibid. 392.

(3). Ibid. 396.

(4). Ibid. 397-399.

(5). Ibid. 401-402.

(6). Ibid. 405.

The "nikie" and "nikie names" of the gentes of the Omaha and Ponka have a religious significance and there are also nokie decorations. (1). Dorsey says that the "nikie names are those referring to a mythical ancestor, to some part of his body, to some of his acts, or to some ancient rite which may have been established by him." (2). Ma^uze-guhe, an Omaha of the Waⁱgigi subgens of the Iñke-sabě gens had as a robe decoration the marks of the nokie of his subgens, spiral forms known as "waⁱgigi." The decoration of his tent, a buffalo head, referred to the nokie of the entire gens. Another member of this subgens wore a black blanket ~~with~~ embroidered with white beadwork in two rows of spirals between which was a ^{nikie robe} star. (3). A certain member of the ~~Waⁱgigi~~ of the Pipe subgens of the Iñke-sabě had an eagle as a decoration. The members of this subgens have eagle birth names. (4).

There are also decorations which are not nokie but the personal "qube" or sacred things of the owner. One such tent described by Dorsey had a circle at the top painted blue, representing a bear's cave. Below were four zigzag lines presumably representing the different kinds of thunders or lightnings, and below that prints of bears' paws, the lower part being blackened. (5). Another man had a boat and flag on his tent which were also qube but not nokie, not being transmitted from a mythical ancestor. (6) A considerable variety of forms is used by the Omaha and Ponka, some of the most frequent being circles, zigzag lines, bands and stripes. Some of the natural objects represented are animals, birds, the sun, moon, stars and rainbows. One tent described by Dorsey had a number of spots all over the upper part, supposed to represent hail, and two curved lines depicting a rainbow. Another had a cedar tree on each side. The cornstalk decoration of Fire Chief's tent, mentioned above, is not without considerable grace and effectiveness, as it is reproduced in the plate. Neither it nor the cedar trees are conventionalized. (7). Other objects represented are horsetails, tracks of various animals, buffalo tracks and wallows. When the Omaha dwelt near the present town of Homer, Nebraska, and Wacka^hi was a young child, he went out to play one day and fell asleep. He said that he was aroused by many chickens crowing and cackling. IN remembrance of this occurrence he painted his tent in after years with chickens. (8).

The Ka^usa say that when a man has danced the pipe dance twice, he may

(1). 1889-90, 407.

(2). 1881-82, 227.

(3). 1889-90, 407.

(4). Ibid. 409.

(5). 1881-82, 237.

(6). Ibid. 228.

(7). 1889-90, 400-402.

(8). Ibid. 404.

Decorate his tent with two cornstalks in front, one on each side of the entrance, and two at the back. Dorsey thinks it possible that there may have been a time when no man could undertake the pipe dance unless he had had a vision of some kind, (1) One Kansa tent decoration which he describes belonged to a man who had fasted and held mysterious communication with an eagle which gave him some feathers. He had also danced the pipe dance. At the base of the tent on each side of the entrance is a peace pipe. At the back are a large turtle and a black bear. Another tent described is that of a man who had danced the pipe dance three times. Buffalo tails are fastened to the tops of the triangular pieces forming the shelter of the smoke hole. Feathers hang from two shields and there are stars on the upper part and on the base. There are also feather stars and shields on the back. (2) The meaning of these last decorations is not clear but it is evident that they have a meaning of some sort. Some of the Kansa decorations are very elaborate. In the plates given by Dorsey there appears to be more conventionalising than in the Omaha and Ponka designs. Circles, lines, squares and spots are put together to form patterns such as figures 1 and 2. There is one really elaborate design, (Fig. 3), which, executed in colors, must be decidedly effective. It gives evidence of a marked sense of symmetry and proportion. (3)



Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.

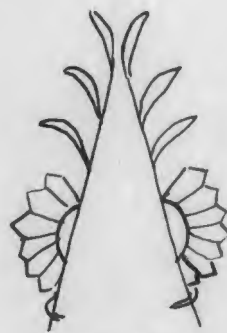


Fig. 3.

There are clan and gentile tent decorations as well as personal ones. These gentile decorations are, one might say, of a totemic character, and this is also true, to a degree at least, of those already described, especially the gentile decorations. Dorsey says that the Omaha have no totem poles but the tent of the principal man of each gens is decorated with the gentile badge, painted on each side of the entrance as well as on the back (4). The sacred tents of the Turtle subgens of

(1). 1889-90, 406.

(2). Ibid. 405-406.

(3). Ibid. 405.

(4). 1891-92, 274.

the *Catadze* gens have turtles on them. (1). The *Iñge-jide* gens' decoration consists of a circle on each side of the entrance within which is the body of a buffalo calf from the flanks up. A similar figure is on the back of the tent. (2). The sacred tents of the *Hañga* gens have a cornstalk on each side of the entrance and one on the back. (3). Corn is of great importance in the *Hañga* gens. (4). George Miller said that persons belonging to the Pipe subgens of the *Iñke-sabé* gens painted their tents with the pipe decoration. He did not know of any members of other gentes using this decoration. He thought that the *Iñke-sabé* ^{chief} decorated his tent in this manner and not as he pleased. There were several modes of pipe decoration. In one the stems were flat with porcupine work around them and heads of birds and tufts of horse hair reddened fastened on at intervals. In another the pipes had feathers attached at right angles. (5).

This latter class of tent decorations may fairly, I think, be called totemic and this leads us to a further consideration of the part totems play in Siouan decoration in general. Mallery classifies totems as: I. tribal designations; II. gentile and clan designations; and III. designations of individuals. He divides the last class into: (a) insignia or tokens of authority; (b) signs of individual achievements; (c) property marks; (d) signs connected with the personal name. (6) Many of the tent decorations just considered might be classed under II.

Our knowledge of tribal totems is obtained principally from the picture-writings and especially from the winter-counts ^{or} and calendars. These calendars are of very great interest from several points of view. In them the main events of a number of years are pictorially represented. The one which will be most frequently referred to here is Battiste Good's chart which contains thirteen figures for the period between 900 and 1700 and after that a separate character for each year to 1879-80. (7). In this chart the Kiowa (not Siouan) are represented by a man with his hands raised and opened, the gesture sign for the tribe. An ear of corn represents the Arikara. The same object also represents the Rec (Pawnee). Sometimes a Pawnee is represented with the lower part of his legs ornamented with slight projections resembling the husks on the lower part of an ear of corn. An Omaha is depicted with cropped hair and red cheeks. The word Assiniboine meaning voice, the sign for this tribe is an outline of the vocal organs as the Indians conceive them,

(1). 1881-82, 240.

(2). Ibid. 248.

(3). Ibid. 234.

(4). Ibid. 278 & 302.

(5). 1889-90, 408-409

(6). 1882-83, 128.

(6). 1888-89, 377 & 419.

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representing the upper lip ^{and} ~~the~~ roof of the mouth, tongue, lower lip, and chin and neck. (fig. 1) This view is lateral and resembles a sectional aspect of mouth and tongue. The Hidatsa are designated by long hair, sometimes striped, denoting the red clay they apply to it, and red foreheads. The red forehead applies also to the Arikara and Absaroka in other Dakota records, and ^{as} ~~is~~ was said in the first part of the paper, is probably a war paint. The Absaroka seem also to be represented with spotted hair. The word Arapaho, in Dakota, "magpiyato", means blue cloud, and in Red-Cloud's census an Arapaho, (not Siouan), is represented by a circular ^{cloud} in blue enclosing the head of a man. In the same document a black spot on the upper part of the thigh ^{represents} a Brulé, the idea arising from the burnt thighs which are supposed to have been the origin of the name Brulé. The marks on the arm which stand for Cheyenne, (not Siouan), represent the scars on their arms of stripes on their sleeves which also gave rise to the gesture sign. A Dakota is usually represented in American - Horse's Winter Count with a braided scalp lock and a feather at the crown of the head, or he is indicated by his manner of brushing back his hair and tying it with ornamented strips. In The-Flame's Winter Count the Mandan are represented by their peculiar arrangement of the hair. In American - Horse's Winter Count an eagle tail worn on the head represents both Mandan and Ree. (1).

Mallery says that each clan or gens took as a "badge or objective totem the representation of the tutelary daimon from which it was named". This is usually an animal but sometimes one of the winds, a celestial body or other impressive object or phenomenon. Sometimes the whole animal is designated and sometimes ~~some of~~ parts, such as the parts which the clan are forbidden to touch or eat. (2). Such totems are undoubtedly widely used although it is sometimes difficult to distinguish them from those referring to the user's personal name. His name, indeed, is often determined to a large degree by the clan to which he belongs.

Many of the devices representing personal achievements have been referred to in other places. Dorsey, (Am. Anthropol., II, 2, p. 147), explains those on the shield of a Teton Dakota. Red stripes indicate the number of enemies wounded and human heads those killed. Three pipes denote that he has carried a war pipe on so many expeditions. (3). A figure in the Ogallala roster has the whole of his face red-dened to indicate that he has put up a ghost tent. (4). Articles of the Indians'

(1). 1888-89, 150-~~146~~ 183 ; 1888-89, 213-228, 311-329. (2). 1888-89, 388.

(3). Ibid. 436.

(4). Ibid. 495


Fig. 1.

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such as arrows, are undoubtedly often marked in such a manner as to be distinguishable. (1). Dorsey says that Omaha ~~arrows~~ have no clan or gentile marks, but one set is distinguished from another by the order of the paint stripes, the kind of feathers used and the mode in which the arrowheads are made. When a man has arrows left in his quiver he compares them with that in the slain animal. When he has none he appeals to some one who knows his style of arrow. (2).

Indian names as formerly adopted or bestowed among themselves were generally connotative. They often refer to some animal, indicating some quality or position. (3). The products of the vegetable world are also frequently used. (4) Such names readily admit of pictorial representation and the extent to which they are used in ornamentation is probably much greater than we think. The large number of picked totemic characters which existed, formerly at least, on the ledges of rock at the pipestone quarry have given rise to considerable speculation. Professor N.H. Winchell, who has described them, says that they generally represent some animal such as the turtle, bear, wolf, buffalo, elk or human being. The mark known as the "cran^e's foot", "turkey foot" or "bird track" and which may refer to the snipe, is the most common, then images of men, and third the turtle. (5). The most reasonable theory with regard to these figures seems to be that each Indian obtaining stone there inscribed his totem on the rock before quarrying. (6). The most extensive use of totemic devices of which we know is that of an entirely different stock, the Haida of the Northwest Coast, whose elaborate tattoo marks and decorations on everything they use are throughout totemic. (7).

A few interesting instances of personal decoration remain to be noted. Dorsey tells the story of a man who dreamed of his death. Accordingly he decorated the legs, back and neck of his horse with zigzag lines in light gray ^{clay} and his own arms in the same manner. In the following spring he and his horse were killed by lightning, burned by the Thunder-Beings in the very places where they were painted. (8). One Dakota saw in a vision a bison going south with a hoop on his head. So he painted a small hoop red and wore it on his head. (9). It is an interesting fact that the Dakota "wakan" men claim that they are invulnerable when they are painted. (10).

(1). 1888-89, 441.

(2). 1891-92, 227.

(3). 1888-89, 442.

(4). Ibid. 458.

(5). Ibid. 87-88.

(6). Ibid. 87.

(7). Ibid. 217 & 1882-83, 67-68.

(8). 1889-90, 469-471.

(9). Ibid. 497.

(10). Ibid. 495.

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The legends in regard to the origin of the use of paints throw an interesting side-light on their importance in savage life. Lynd, (II, p. 80), says that according to the legends the use of paints was first taught the Indians by the gods. Unktehi taught the first medicine-men how to paint when they worshipped him and what colors Takushkanakan whispers to his favorites ~~and~~ what colors are most acceptable to him. Hayoka hovers over them in dreams and tells them how many streaks and what tinges to use. No ceremony is complete without the "wakan" or sacred application of paint. (1). The Unktehi, says Dorsey, prescribed the manner in which some of those pigments must be applied which are rubbed over the bodies of their votaries in the mystery dance, and on the warrior as he goes into action. (2).

Color apparently occupies an important place in the worship of sacred objects. The hide of the white buffalo is sacred among the Omaha, Mandan, and Hidatsa. Among the Omaha the white buffalo ^{hide} and sacred pole are in the keeping of the Haŋga gens and are regarded ~~as~~ "like Wakandas" or "partaking of the nature of deities". The Crow are also afraid of this animal (3) and the Hunkpapa Dakota have a White Buffalo Festival. (4). The white elk also seems to be sacred. (5). The Omaha, Kansa, Iowa and Osage all have a Red Medicine and the Omaha and Osage, at least, a Red Medicine Dance. (6). Dorsey learned at the Omaha Agency that Rocky Mountain beans which are scarlet and called ~~good~~ ^{red} medicine confer ~~good~~ ^{good} luck on their owners. He does not know whether this is identical with the red medicine of the tribes mentioned above. (6). These tribes, he says, used to obtain on the prairies towards the Rocky Mountains an object about the size of a bean or small hazelnut and of a red color. They said that it grew on bushes and believed it alive, a mysterious animal. The animals were killed by crushing and boiling the beans and the drink ^hus made was supposed to enable one to dance ^(p. 371, 382) along time. (7). Maximilian ^h describes a medicine establishment in the vicinity of a Mandan village where there were a number of skulls, both buffalo and human, placed in rows between four poles. Some of the skulls were painted with single red stripes, and bundles of sticks were fastened to the tops of the poles with a kind of ~~see~~ comb or rake painted red. (8). IN Keating's Long, (I, p. 334)) he speaks of a block of granite on the St. Peter's River in the Sioux country which was painted red and covered with a grass fillet in which were placed twists of tobacco

- (1). 1888-89, 512. (2). 1889-90, 440. (3). 1881-82, 235, 1889-90, 505, 510, 3888-89, 413. (4). 1889-90, 478. (5). Ibid. 488-485, 494. (6). 1881-82, 350-351, 1889-90, 428. (7). 1889-90, 429. (8). Ibid. 509.

offered up in sacrifice. Feathers were stuck in the ground all around the stone. Mrs. Eastman, (71), also describes a stone painted red which the Dakota called grandfather, in reverence, and placed offerings near. (1). The Mandans have trees and stones which are fetishes and near which they place red cloth, red paint and other articles. The Hidatsa have the same custom. (2). One of the sacrifices ^{the Dakota make to} the Unktehi is ~~the~~ down reddened with vermilion. Miss Fletcher in her article on ~~the~~ "The Shadow or Ghost Lodge,; A Ceremony of the Ogallala Sioux", says that two yards of red cloth are carried out beyond the camp, to an elevation if possible, and buried. "This is an offering to the earth and the chanted prayer asks that the life or power in the earth ^{will} help the father of the dead child, in keeping ~~in keeping~~ successfully all the requirements of the ghost lodge". (3). In a certain feasting society of the Omaha, now extinct, the giver of the feast placed a large bowl and a very red spoon in the middle of the lodge. It was not used by any one and may have been intended for some god. (4). Lynd (Minn. Hist. Coll. II, pt. 3, p. 71), believes that red is the color of sacrifice and says that the stone Tunkan, representing the god that dwells in the stones and rocks, is painted red as a sign of active worship. (5). Riggs, (Am. Antiq., II, p. 268), refers to large boulders painted ^{red and} green whither the devout Dakota go to offer prayers and sacrifices. Smaller stones are often found set upon end and painted, around which are placed eagle feathers, tobacco, and red cloth. They are connected with the worship of "Inyan or Toon-kan", according to Riggs, "the symbol of the great force or power in the dry land". The Rev. Horace C. Hovey, (Am. Ass. Adv. Sci. Proc. XXXIV, p. 332. Also Am. Antiq., Jan. 1887, ps. 35-36), describes a stone "Eyah Shah" (Red Rock), worshiped by the Dakota. Twice a year the particular clan that claimed it would meet and paint it with vermilion, "or, as some say, with blood", trim it with flowers and feathers and dance around it with chants and prayers. As renewed in 1883 there were twelve stripes on it. This stone was on the banks of the Mississippi about six miles below St. Paul. The north end was adorned with a rude representation of the sun with fifteen rays. Bushotter said the "sometimes a stone painted red all over is laid within the lodge and hair is offered to it". In case of sickness prayers and sacrifices of tobacco and other things were offered to it. (6). According to James' Long, (I, p. 278), the Hidatsa braves worship a stone. He washes

(1). 1889-90, 467.

(2) Ibid. 515.

(3). Ibid. 439.

(4). 1881-82, 342.

(5). 1886-89, 512.

(6). 1889-90, 447-448.

a part of its surface and goes a certain distance away to pray. Returning he finds hieroglyphics in white clay upon it ^hich he interprets. (1). According to Bushotter the Teton have a legend that long ago a strange thing was seen in the Missouri River "At night there was some red object, shining like fire, making the water roar as it passed up stream. Should anyone see the monster by daylight he became crazy soon after, writhing as with pain and dying." One man who said that he saw the monster described it as covered with red hair. The Teton believe that it is still in the river. (2).

White and black seem to be important colors as associated with supernatural things. The evil spirit Unktomi, according to Lynd, (p.88), is said to torture starving Indians by bringing herds of buffalo near the camp and then driving them away again by means of a black wolf and a white crow. (3). An Omaha told Dorsey a Yankton legend about the gods of the waters. When the wife of one of these gods drew a child under the surface of the river the father had to offer a white dog to the deity in order to recover it, and later when another child was stolen in the same way he had to offer four white dogs. (4).

One of the subgenres of the Omaha, the Wata^mzi-jide ^hataji, were the first to find the red corn. They do not dare to eat it for fear that they will have running sores around their mouths. (5). Dorsey thinks this ^h prohibition may have some connexion with the consecration of the seed corn. At harvest one of the keepers of the Haŋga sacred tents selects a number of ears of red corn which he lays by for the planting season. All the ears must be perfect. In the spring two or three grains of this sacred corn are given to each household and mixed with the ordinary seed corn. (6). By the le-sinde gens the buffalo and domestic calf are not eaten when the hair is red, but ~~the~~ ~~the~~ ~~the~~ may be when it turns black. By a sub-gens of the Ponka the buffalo calf can not be touched when the hair is "zi" (yellow or red). (7). These ^h prohibitions were probably in their origin something of the nature of game laws and later a religious significance was attached to them. A black bear skin can not be touched by the Black Bear subgens of the Omaha and Ponka. Charcoal is not touched by a subgens of the Iŋkē-sabē and the Pipe subgens of the Deer gens of the Omaha, and by the Hajaj gens and a subgens of the ixida gens of the Ponka. (8). One gens

(1). 1888-89, 509.

(2). Ibid. 441.

(3). Ibid. 472.

(4). Ibid. 439.

(5). 1881-82, 231.


(6). Ibid. 302.

(7). 1889-90, 411.

(8). Ibid. 412.

of the Omaha is called "Those who touch not black horns (of buffalo)" (1). The Omaha have sacred pipes of red pipestone, (2). Verdigris which is said to symbolize the blue sky is not touched by the Kansa gens and Pipe subgens of the Deer gens of the Omaha, and part of the ~~Cixida~~ ^{the} Cixida gens and ^{the} Pipe subgens of the Wajaja ^{gens} of the Ponka. (2).

The Omaha used to have sacred bags consecrated to the thunder or war god in which when on the war path they put the feathers of red, blue and yellow birds. (3). The magic arrow of the Cheyenne (not Sioux) which came into the possession of the Dakota is represented in Battiste Good's Winter Count as a red shaft with ~~yellow~~ blue feathers. (4). The Santee use in the Buffalo Festival a buffalo head, one side of which is painted blue, the other red. On the blue side tufts of white down are tied and on the red side tufts colored red. (5). The names in the Thunder-Being subgens of the Winnebago are Green, Black, White and Yellow Thunder. (6). The Thunder-Beings of the Wakinyan Dakota are black, yellow, scarlet and blue. Those of the Omaha myth have hair respectively white, red, yellow and green. (7). A representation of a Thunder-Bird in bead work which was blue with red breast and tail was found at Mendota. (8). Mrs. Eastman ^(p. 162) describes the dance to propitiate the Thunder-Bird. In the center of a ring a pole is erected at the foot of which stand two boys, ^h ~~w~~ represent war and are painted red, and two girls, representing peace, with faces painted with blue clay. There is placed at the foot of the pole a bowl of water colored ~~red~~ with blue clay which must be drunk by the dancers. (9).

In preparing for the Sun Dance among the Dakota a piece of soil is cut off at the back of the lodge of the devotee and when virgin earth is reached vermilion is scattered over the exposed spot. When the man in the lodge smokes the devotee empties the ashes on this place. No one steps on it and not even a hand, except that of the devotee, is stretched towards it. Miss Fletcher (Rept. Peabody Museum, III, 284, note) says it represents the life or power of the earth. The square or oblong with rays from the corners  made within it symbolizes the earth with the four winds. (10). The devotee goes hunting and if he kills a deer or buffalo he skins it and reddens the skin. (11). In ~~that~~ tent of preparation are placed a buffalo

(1). 1881-82, 231.

(2). Ibid. 222, 226.

(3). Ibid. 320.

(4). 1888-89, 503.

(5). 1889-90, 476.

(6). Ibid. 538.

(7). Ibid. 535.

(8). 1882-83, 189.

(9). 1888-89, 484.

(10). 1889-90, 451.

(11). Ibid. 452.

skin for each candidate, a new knife smoked, and a new axe reddened and smoked. This is probably the axe used to cut down the mystery tree from which the sun pole is made. (1). The devotees wear scarlet blankets and paint designs on their chests, sometimes a sunflower. (2). If a man has done nothing ^{may} worthy of commemoration he ^{can} paint designs referring to the brave deeds of his kinsmen. If he has killed an animal he paints its sign on his chest. Some show by designs that they have stolen horses. (3). The leader carries a buffalo skull painted red. Later in the dance the performers paint themselves anew with red. Some redden their hands and dance without touching anything. If a man has his horse take part in the dance it is painted red. (4). In an account of the Sun Dance as he saw it at Red Cloud Agency, Dakota, in 1881, Capt. John G. Bourke, U.S.A. says that the last strokes which brought down the mystery tree were made by a young girl of unblemished character dressed in a long robe of white antelope skin. Preparatory to scarification the men wore blue peticcoats. (5).

The fire-paint of the Oaage, applied when fire-prayers are said, is red. James' Long (I, p.240) says that an Omaha boy who goes to fast on the hill top ^{to see his guardian spirit} rubs his body with white clay. The Mandan believe that each person has ~~three~~ spirits, one black, another brown, the third "light-colored". The mysterious "Double Woman" of the legend is depicted as dressed in blue and yellow. When there is a blizzard the youngest son of one of the Ka^{ze} gens, the members of which are the Wind People of the Kansa, is painted red and rolls over and over in the snow, reddening it for some distance around him, to stop the storm. (6). During a fog a certain gens of the Omaha used to draw the figure of a turtle on the ground with the head towards the south. On head, tail, middle of back and each leg were placed small pieces of red cloth with some tobacco. This was a native custom and was supposed to make the fog disappear. (7).

From these instances red and white would appear to be the colors most intimately connected with the worship of sacred objects. Red being the color of blood might naturally come to be connected with sacrifice. Lynd, as stated above, calls it the color of sacrifice and active worship. It is also the color of fire

(1). 1889-90, 454.

(2). Ibid. 458-459.

(3). 460.

(4). Ibid. 459-460.

(5). Ibid. 465-466.

(6). 1889-90, 411.

(7). Ibid. 410.

and it seems reasonable to connect it with the fire-worship of an earlier period. The tremendous importance of fire in primitive life can hardly be over-estimated, and the survivals of fire-worship, even among civilized peoples are by no means uncommon. IN one instance at least, that of the Osage fire-paint applied when "fire-prayers" are said, we have direct evidence of the connexion of the color red with fire worship. Among the Dakota also the weapons of war, the spear and tomahawk, said to have been given by the Wakinyan, Thunder-Being or Fire Power, are painted red. Here the red may refer either to blood or to fire or possibly to both. (1). Red, as seen before, is a common war color. Blue on the other hand has often been supposed to symbolize peace. In one case mentioned, that of the two girls representing peace in the Sun Dance, it would appear to have this significance. Why this color should be taken to represent peace however is not satisfactorily explained. Lynd, (II, 80), says that blue is used by the women in many ceremonies in which they take part but is not a constant distinction of sex as they frequently use red. (2). Miss Fletcher regards white as it occurs in nature as the color of consecration or sacredness. (3). It must be remembered, however, that the white animals, such as the white buffalo and elk, which are regarded as sacred are rare in nature, and it seems probable that it is this rarity, and not any original significance of the color itself, which gives them this sacred character. It is quite easy to conceive that if buffalo and elk were ordinarily white, a black or brown one occasionally found would be regarded as something strange and therefore sacred.

We pass now to a difficult but interesting subject, the symbolism of the four winds or points of the compass. Four stones or grains of corn of different colors often appear in the legends. The Osage have a tradition that four grains of corn, black, red, blue and white, were dropped by four buffalo in the early days of the tribe. The use of these in child naming has already been alluded to. (4). The buffalo also dropped four pumpkins, red, spotted, "dark or distant-black", and white. In a tradition of the Tsiyuxwactax gens of this tribe four kinds of rocks, black, blue, or green, red and white are mentioned. (5). The Maⁿ Sika-Saxe gens of the Omaha has, according to some, two sacred stones, one red, the other black. Others say that the stones have been reddened. KFE (6). An Omaha tradition of the sacred

(1). 1889-90, 528.

(2). 1888-89, 512.

(3). 1889-90, 529.

(4). 1893-94, 237.

(5). 1889-90, 533

(6). 1881-82, 242.

pipes mentions this gens as divided, half being good and half bad. The bad ones had some stones in front of their lodge, which, together with their hair, they colored red. (1). According to La Flesche and Two Crows there are four of the Omaha stones, red, black, yellow and blue. One tradition says that these stones were made by the Coyote, a sacred animal of the gens, to be used for conjuring ~~spirits~~ enemies. (2). Green, black, white and gray are the ^{traditional} colors of the ancestral wolves of the Wolf people of the Winnebago. A Winnebago told Dorsey that white represented the north, red the west, green the south, blue, he thought, the east, but he was not positive. The Thunder-Beings of the Winnebago are green, black, white and yellow; of the Wakinyan Dakota, black, yellow, ~~scarlet~~ and blue; and of the Omaha, white, red, yellow and green. (3). Black, says Dorsey, is the symbolic color among the Omaha for the Wind-Makers, Takuskanskan, whose servants are the four winds and the four black spirits of night. (4). The Omaha Wolf gens has four sacred stones in the following order: red, east; black, south; yellow, west; and blue, north. These colors were found on the tent of an Omaha Black Bear man in another order: red, north; black, east; yellow, south; blue, west. (5). On the tent of Esapa were represented four kinds of lightning, blue, red, black and yellow which say have been associated with the four points of the compass. Dorsey puts them in the same order as the four Omaha stones mentioned above. The Santon regard the raven and a small black stone as the symbols of the four winds or quarters. Among the Tejon two pebbles, one white and translucent, the other probably opaque, are symbols of the Wind-Makers. In a Yankton legend two mystery men when about to visit the spirit of the water painted themselves, the one black, the other yellow, referring, Dorsey believes to the south and west, the wind-makers and water-spirits. He makes the following Dakota table:

Dakota gods	Colors	Symbolism.
Tunkan	blue	denotes the earth and the north.
Wakinyan	red	denotes the fire and the east.
Takuskanskan	black	denotes the wind-makers and the south.
Unktehi	yellow	denotes the water and the west. (6).

The first figure in Battiste Good's Winter Count dates from the appearance of "The-Woman-from-Heaven", A.D. 201. The legend is that a beautiful woman appeared

(1). 1881-82, 323.

(2). Ibid. 248.

(3)., 1882-83, 533/530.

(4). Ibid. 528.

(5). Ibid. 528.

(6). Ibid, 327-329.

to two young men of the Dakota. She gave them a pipe and a package in which were four grains of maize, white, black, yellow and variegated. She said "I am a buffalo, the White-buffalo-Cow. I will spill my milk all over the earth that the people may live." By milk she meant the maize. In the pictograph the color patches on the four sides of the circle enclosing the figure are supposed to represent the four quarters. Those at the top and bottom are blue. To the right are three lines, brown, red and blue, and to the left, in front of the buffalo cow, which occupies the center, are patches of red and yellow. The woman pointed in this direction and said, "When you see a yellowish (or brownish) cloud towards the north, that is my breath; rejoice at the sight of it for you shall soon see buffalo. Red is the blood of the buffalo and by that you shall live." Pointing to the east she said, "This pipe is related to the heavens and you shall live with it". Pointing south she said, "Clouds of many colors may come up from the south, but look at the pipe and the blue sky and know that the clouds will soon pass away and all will become blue and clear again." Pointing to the west, represented by the lower part of the circle, she said, "When it shall be blue in the west know that it is closely related to you through the pipe and the blue heavens and by that you shall grow rich." (1).

It is apparent from the cases given that there is little uniformity in the colors assigned to the different points of the compass. It is however an interesting fact that colors should be associated in any way with the four quarters. It is difficult to understand how such an association could have arisen in the Indian mind. It appears to be artificial and arbitrary and one is led to doubt whether it is really a primitive conception at all. So far as I know no satisfactory explanation of the use of the various colors for the four points has been given. That the east and west should be symbolized by red and yellow seems natural enough from the phenomena of sunrise and sunset, but these colors are by no means always used in this connexion as the instances show. Beyond this I should not venture to hazard a guess at the reasons for the association of colors with points of the compass.

There have been some interesting, if not always satisfactory, attempts to interpret Indian color symbolism in general and Siouan in particular. White when used as a funeral color Malley thinks may assert the purity and innocence of the departed. (2). This seems more than a doubtful, even an absurd, meaning to read into the Indian use of white, however. It has already been pointed out that this use of white may very naturally have arisen from an earlier use of ashes, and the instance

(1). 1888-89, 290-291.

(2). Ibid. 835.

of the Yokais' widow's mourning cited.

Miss Fletcher in a letter to Mr. Dorsey makes the following statement: "The almost universal appropriation of white animals to religious ceremonies is unquestionable; whether this selection rests wholly upon the rarity of this color is a little doubtful. The unusual is generally 'wakan'; this feeling, however, is not confined to a color, and although the white buffalo and the white deer are not often met with, other white animals, as the rabbit, are not uncommon, nor are white feathers. It is true these white feathers are often colored for ceremonial uses, but the added colors have their particular meanings, and these do not seem to override the primal significance that the feathers selected to bear these symbolic colors are white. The natural suggestion that a white ground would best serve to set off the added lines may have been in the distant past the simple reason why white feathers were chosen; and this choice adhered to for generations would at last become clothed with a mysterious significance. If this were ever true, this reason for choosing white feathers is not recognized to-day. I have been frequently told the feathers must be white." She also says that white is seldom artificially used.⁽¹⁾ It might be suggested that this use of white objects, which are not rare, as sacred or mysterious may be merely a case of extension of significance. White objects which were rare may have first been regarded as sacred because of their rarity and later the quality of mysteriousness or sacredness extended to the color white itself and so to other white objects. This ~~seems~~^{appears} to be a reasonable hypothetical explanation of this use of white. It does not seem necessary to infer that there is something about the color itself that suggests mystery and sacredness. Taking Miss Fletcher's explanation of the original use of white feathers in ceremonies as the true one, this ^{theory} would also explain the later apparent significance attributed to the color of these feathers.

According to Dorsey, Miss Fletcher and other writers, the Indian does not ordinarily regard blue and green as different colors but uses them interchangeably. (2). Malley says that the same word is generally used for both. (3). The use of verdigris to signify the blue sky and of blue to denote the earth in tent decorations go to support this theory. This does not mean, however, that the Indian does not distinguish ~~between~~ a difference between blue and green, but only that he looks upon them as different tints or shades of the same color. This does not seem surprising when one considers how greens in nature pass into blues and purples in the shadow and the distance. The primitive or savage man looking at nature with honest and

(1). 1889-90, 530.

(2). 1880-90, 527.

(3). 1888-89, 753.

and less sophisticated eyes than our own might easily regard them as variations of the same color. Col. Dodge said that the Sioux did not use green in life but wrapped their dead in green blankets. Rev. S.D. Hinman, up to his death probably the best authority on some tribes at least of the Sioux, contradicts this statement. He says that green is frequently used in face painting especially as a disguise as it changes the expression so strongly. It is seldom found in clays, however, but requires compounding, a fact which would in itself explain its less frequent use. (1).

Miss Fletcher, in the letter quoted above, says that "green and blue and black are related, and to a degree green and blue are interchangeable. Blue is regarded as a darkened green; that is green removed from the light, not deepened in hue. Blue, therefore, stands intermediate between green, which has the light on it, and blue shaded into black, which has no light on it. In some ceremonies green typifies the earth; in others blue is the symbol. The sky is sometimes represented by green, and again blue is used, while blue darkened into black stands for the destructive powers of the air." Dorsey also regards blue, black and green as symbolic of the earth. (2). Mallery says black is the color of gloom, blue represents the sky or heavenly home of the future, green suggests renewal. It has already been shown how black as a mourning color may have come from an earlier daubing with earth or ashes. In the plates given by Mallery from Battiste Good's Winter Count no green is used, but trees, grass and ice are all represented as blue. (4). According to Father De Smet's manuscript on the dance of the Tinton Sioux, "Grass is the emblem of charity and abundance; from it the Indians derive the food for their horses and it fattens the wild animals of the plains, from which they derive their subsistence." He said that the color green was used as the symbol of grass. (5). Among the Dakota the word translated iron or metal is connected with the color blue, the object called iron being always painted blue when colors are used. This color is also mysteriously connected with the water powers of the Dakotan mythology. (Dorsey, Pro. Am. Ass. Adv. Sci. XXXIV., and also Am. Anthrop., July 1890.) (3).

"Red," says Miss Fletcher, "not only represents the sun and the procreative forces (yet black is sometimes used in the latter), but the color carries with it the idea of hope, the continuation of life. The dawn of the day, the east, is almost without exception in these tribes denoted by red. This red line, forceful,

(1). 1888-89, 829.

(2). 1889-90, 530.

(3). 1888-89, 835.

(4). Ibid. 294, 319.

(5). Ibid. 534.

(6). Ibid. 446.

aggressive, yet life-giving and hope inspiring, starts from a war division of the tribal circle and fades into yellow as it passes into an opposite ^{peace} division in the west. Red and yellow bear to each other a relation somewhat resembling that of blue and black, only reversed; the red loses its intensity in yellow, the aggressive force symbolized in the red is not expressed in the yellow. If the Indians world were arched with his symbolic colors, we should see a brilliant band of red start from the east and fade into yellow in the west; while the green-blue line ^{frank} the north would deepen to the black of the south. In the first the intense color would rush from war into the mild light of peace; the second ^{bright} line would spring from peace to be lost in the darkness of war." This seems a rather elaborate interpretation. As was said before it is difficult to see why red should not symbolize the west as well as the east, and in the colors indicating the points of the compass we found that in one case at least it did so.

Red is undoubtedly the color most frequently used in the instances given. Its use as a war color is readily explained from the fact that it is the color of blood. Mallery ^{suggests} that it may also signify blood relationship and accordingly peace and friendship. (2). Its use in the ceremony of adoption would suggest this interpretation. It may also symbolize sacrifice and therefore worship. Red and yellow being the colors of flames may refer to cremation, as used in the burial customs, but this seems very doubtful. They may also refer back to an earlier fire-worship. The frequent use of red by savages has led many to the belief that there is something particularly attractive to the savage eye in this color. It seems however that there may be other explanations of this fact. Red being the color of blood must inevitably be connected in the primitive mind with man's life itself, for the blood as well as the breath seems to him the very essence and seat of life. It is easy to conceive that the first decoration of his body may have been the daubing of it with the blood of his fallen enemy or that from his own wounds. The connexion of the color red with fire and the importance and mysteriousness of the latter in primitive life have already been emphasized. Again the color red is connected with what are perhaps the most striking phenomena of nature, the rising and setting of the sun, and may easily become of importance in the ceremonies of sun worship. Moreover, except in these striking phenomena, red is comparatively rare in nature. As one looks out over nature he finds green, blue, brown and yellow to be the common colors. Red occurs

(1). 1889-90, 531.

(2). 1889-90, 535.

more rarely and in smaller patches. Because of this comparative infrequency it strikes the eye more forcibly when it is encountered. Thus it combines the importance of comparative rarity in the ordinary aspects of nature, with the importance derived from its occurrence in the striking and seemingly mysterious phenomena and from its connexion with the life of men and animals. It does not seem strange, therefore, that an immense significance should be attached to the color red in primitive and savage life. It thus comes to be connected with important ceremonials and to be regarded as a mark of distinction and honor when applied to the body or garments. That it is such a sign of distinction has already been proved ⁱⁿ by our consideration of war ceremonies and burial customs.

Yellow, according to Dorsey, symbolizes among some of the Siouan tribes at least, water, the west, and the setting sun. It symbolizes water because the Dakota, Omaha and Ponka were familiar with the muddy Missouri River. In the Yankton legend of the mystery men who went to visit the spirit of the water, the yellow paint referred to the water spirit. (1). The tent of a Turtle man of the Omaha has a yellow ground. A similar yellow ground on the tent of one of the Hañga gens may be connected with the tradition that the Hañga gens came originally from beneath the water. (2).

Miss Fletcher regards blue-black, rather than red and yellow, as the symbol of the thunder. "Although thunder is allied to the four quarters, to the four elemental divisions and partakes of their symbolism, still a study of thunder-myths, thunder-names and the tribal offices of thunder gentes seems to me, at my present understanding of them, to indicate the blue-black as the persistent symbol". (3) As far as thunder is symbolized at all by colors, blue-black would certainly seem more natural in this connexion than red or yellow.

In any study of the use of color among the Indians it must be remembered that this use was regulated to a great degree by the pigments and dyes obtainable. Before coming into contact with the white man they had to depend on the colors as they found them in nature. Ferruginous clays or ochres of brown, red, and yellow, red chalk, charcoal, black micaceous iron, graphite, whitish and bluish clays, were the principal materials and are still frequently used. An interesting instance of the manner in which the Indian's taste and choice has sometimes been influenced by these natural colors is given by Mallery. We ordinarily expect a savage to prefer bright colors, but Mallery says that among the wilder and plains tribes of the Dakota dead colors are preferred in beads, and those of a neutral tint are especially

(1). 1889-90, 528.

(2). 1889-90, 528-529.

(3). Ibid. 531.

in common use. He believes this to be due to the old and exclusive use of clays for pigments. (1). Some tribes such as the Dakota occasionally use vegetable colors for dying such things as quills. (2). The colors at present most commonly bought from the traders are: vermilion, red lead, chromate of lead (yellow), Prussian blue, chrome green, ivory black, lamp black, Chinese white and oxide of zinc, and of late years aniline dyes of all colors. (3).

There is something further to be said in regard to the Indian's use of form. Our information comes mainly from his picture-writings and drawings, drawn, painted or carved on bark, skins and rocks, and from the ornamentation of his clothing and tents. One important and interesting source of information is the group of calendars or winter counts already mentioned. The characters used in these counts might be designated as picture-writing, although many of them seem to be more elaborate than much of the ordinary picture-writing. The nature of Indian pictographs has often been misunderstood. To a large extent they are simply anemonic, not carrying ideas of themselves, but designed more to help persons to retain in their minds certain events which they already know through hearsay or tradition. They are to commemorate events rather than to communicate them to those unfamiliar with them. (4). There is accordingly great variety in the characters used, although there are of course numerous general lines of resemblance and more or less fixed ways within the tribes of denoting certain things. Indeed Mallevy says that it is a marked peculiarity of Indian drawings that within each particular system, such as a tribal system, of pictography, "every Indian draws in precisely the same manner." The figures of men, horses and every other object are made by all who attempt to draw such figures "with all the identity ^{of} which their mechanical skill is capable, thus showing the conception and motive to be the same". (5).

For the most part these characters are representative ^{of} the actual objects that ^{the draughtsman} wish ^{est} to call to mind, and ^{are} not symbolic. Conventionalization is accordingly slight, but by no means entirely absent. The conception intended to be conveyed is usually analyzed and only its most essential points picked out and indicated. If they are frequently repeated they are of course liable to become conventional and cease to be recognizable as portraits. (6). One of the most interesting things about Indian pictography is that it shows practically all the stages by which an object-

K&E. (1). 1888-89, 753.



(2). 1882-83, 30.

(3). Ibid. 52.

(4). 1879-80, 78.

(5). 1882-83, 17.

(6). 1888-89, 27; 1882-83

ive representation becomes a conventionalized symbol. Very few of the characters among the tribes we are considering have reached this latter stage, however. Often the Indians are very clever at seizing the characteristic lines of a figure and the simplified representation is very graphic. The Dakota represent a government issue of goods by a circle with lines drawn across it to signify the waiting Indians, and a rectangle in the center which represents the government building. Two perpendicular lines with arrows crossing them at right angles and pointing towards each other represent Indians shooting at each other from the river banks. (1). Some of the more conventional forms are interesting.  represents a dead man, among the Blackfeet.  is Hidatsa for man. (2). The Dakota use the circle as the symbol of time, a small one for a year and a larger one for a longer ^{period} ~~time~~ such as a lifetime. The continuance of time is indicated by circles joined together at regular intervals. (3). The circle also seems to mean much, quantity. (4). A curved line frequently represents the sky, and waving lines signify something mystic or sacred (5). Exaggeration is often used for emphasis. A loud voice, for example, is sometimes indicated by a face with an enormous mouth. A few of the devices to which a pretty constant meaning may be attached are: clasped hands, denoting peace and union; two arrows pointing towards each other, war, a buffalo hide on a drying pole, or sometimes the hide alone, indicating an abundance of meat; a bow in contact with or an arrow sticking into a man's head, representing a man killed. In Red-Cloud's Census a black circle enclosing a man's head with a bow in contact with it represents a man killed by night. (6). The Greek cross which is frequently used by the Dakota represents the four winds which issue from the four caverns where the souls of men existed before birth. The top is the north wind, the most powerful of all, and when the cross is worn on garments or the body this part points towards the ~~head~~ head. The left arm covers the heart and represents the east wind, blowing from "the seat of life and love". The foot is the melting, burning south wind, indicating the seat of fiery passions. The right arm is the west wind, coming from the spirit-land. It covers the lungs from which "the breath at last goes out". The center of the cross is the earth and man moved by the conflicting influences of the gods and winds. (7) This interpretation is taken from Mallery. It is so elaborate as to make its primitiveness

(1). 1882-83, 242.

(2). Ibid. 244-245.

(3). Ibid. 98.

(4). Ibid. 172.

(5). 1888-89, 483, 486 etc.

(6) Ibid. 649-650, 229.

(7) Ibid. 724-725.

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seem doubtful. The Latin word is said to signify the Mosquito hawk or dragon-fly, a supernatural being.(1). Indian drawings do not differ greatly from the photographs proper except that they are rather more elaborate and detailed. They do not appear to be made for the most part in the same spirit in which the civilized painter or draughtsman works, for their artistic worth, but their purpose seems to be, ~~practical~~ in the majority of cases at least, practical.

It has often been said that Indians are afraid to have representations of themselves made for fear that the pictures will steal their souls., but they certainly use the human figure constantly in their photographs and drawings. Although these figures can very rarely if ever be called portraits, they, nevertheless, frequently designate a particular map, as, for example, in the Ogallala roster of heads of families.(2). It has also been said that they were afraid to represent the whole figure, but we find that they draw front, side and rear views, presenting as far as each view allows, and even farther, all the limbs and features. The statement that the Indian does not understand the profile is manifestly false. Catlin (II, p.2) tells how he got into trouble trying to paint profiles of the Sioux, but gives several plates of Indian photographs exhibiting profile views. Grant Allen also makes the absurd statement in an article on the "Growth of Sculpture" that "negroes and North American Indians cannot understand profile; they ask what has become of the other eye."(3). There are a great number of profile drawings reproduced in the Bureau of Ethnology Reports. It has also been said that the Indian did not understand perspective or anatomy sufficiently to draw the whole body in profile but that like the ancient Egyptian he always drew it in its natural proportions. This is also incorrect to a great extent, for there are a large number of cases in these pictures where the profiles of both human and animal bodies are represented with surprising accuracy, although it may be true that in the majority of cases there is confusion of the profile and full front views, especially in the human figure, more rarely in animals. Where this confusion occurs the bodies are frequently not so squarely full front as in Egyptian representations but are impossibly twisted. Sometimes there is a full front view of the whole head and body but both feet are turned in the same direction. Often only one arm and leg of a man or only two legs of an animal are shown in the profile view, and when all four are represented they seldom show any knowledge of the necessary perspective of the limbs. This lack of perspective is also generally noticeable in the heights of figures in the background

(1). 1868-89, 724-725.

(2). 1882/83, 174.

(3). 1879-80, 84.

and foreground which is usually the same without regard to distance.

Sometimes the positions of the figures are complicated and are very graphically represented. Motion is frequently well indicated in drawings of running figures, men and horses especially. The animals in the Bureau of Ethnology plates are generally easily recognizable and sometimes are drawn in considerable detail. The majority of them seem to be in profile. Sometimes two animals of different nature or an animal and some other object are combined, especially in totems, to indicate the union of certain qualities or attributes supposed to belong to them. Examples are the eagle-horse and shield-bear in Red-Cloud's Census. (1). There is one great difficulty in studying these drawings as they are given in the plates in the Reports. One seldom has any means of finding out whether the draughtsman had received any education or had come much into contact with white men, circumstances which would be likely to change the character of his work.

As in the case of color there is very little evidence here of artistic portrayal for its own sake. The pictographs are intended to record events and the pictures seem for the most part to serve the same or some other practical purpose. The tent and other decorations are symbolic or totemic. Some of these decorations seem, however, to show considerable decorative feeling. Garrick Mallery thinks that the Indians when it comes to drawing have about the same faults and more talent than the average uninstructed persons of European descent. (2).

In the introduction to this paper it was stated that this study was undertaken in the hope of finding out something about the actual aesthetic preferences of the Siouan Indians. In reviewing the subject matter it at once becomes apparent why the search has failed of its object. The striking fact that has been brought out in the consideration of these various instances is the wide spread and often elaborate representative and symbolic use of color and form. We have not found a single clear instance of the use of color or form for their own sakes merely, for purely aesthetic purposes. Even where we have not been able to interpret the meaning of the various decorations we have usually found their form and color more or less rigidly determined by ceremonial and other considerations. We are not even permitted to conclude that the few doubtful cases really give any evidence of the domination of mere individual taste.

It is not to be hastily concluded of course that individual taste and preference play no part in all these decorations. Such a conclusion on the basis

(1). 1888-89, 735-736.

(2). Ibid. 739.

of our present knowledge would be quite unwarranted. To quote Mallory, "It may be admitted that what is now called fashion must have had its effect on the earliest as on the later forms of personal decoration. Granting that there was an ideographic origin to all designs painted on the person, the ambition or vanity of individuals to be distinctive and to excel must soon have introduced varieties and afterward imitations of such patterns, colors or combinations as favorably struck the local taste".

(1). Granting all this, the prevalence of ideography and symbolism, the selection of colors and forms for their meaning rather than for their beauty or effectiveness is none the less striking. It leads one to ask whether the use of color and form for purely aesthetic purposes may not be a much ~~later~~ ^{earlier} development than ~~its~~ ^{their} representative and symbolic use. This question is a widely important one not only for anthropology and psychology but for aesthetics as well. While such a theory of the origin of decoration and of aesthetic preference is a suggestive one and seems to be supported by the facts, I do not see how it is to be conclusively proved. Even if we were to discover that all primitive decoration was representative, ideographic, or symbolic, preference and taste are such subjective things and so difficult to get at that we could not be sure that they did not play some part in the selection. The conclusion to which this study of the Sioux inevitably leads us however, is that among the tribes of this stock ideography and symbolism play an enormous part in their use of form and color, and that it is probably that the majority of their designs, if not indeed all of those originating before they came into contact with the white man and his civilization, have or once had a definite meaning, that they are not decorative merely but representative and symbolic. Any further conclusions as to savage or primitive use of color and form in general, or as to the origin of personal aesthetic taste, or of decorative art, must be in the form of reasonable hypotheses, supported by the facts in so far as we are able to get at them.

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