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Shields and Lodges, Warriors and Chiefs: Kiowa Drawings as Historical Records

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Abstract. Nineteenth-century Plains drawings and paintings on paper are potentially rich ethnohistoric sources. This paper explores the kinds of information which can be gathered from ledger art, discussing the images both as vital documents of their creators and users and as records of specific events and portraits of known protagonists. Varying subjects explored in drawings dating from the reservation era raise questions concerning potential influences on the development of the art form.

Plains heraldic drawings and paintings, whether on hide, muslin, or paper, are potentially rich sources of historical information. Such representational images are contemporaneous documents of nineteenth-century native viewpoints. Aligning specific events illustrated by Plains artists with other accounts of battles or raids allows primary voices, all too often not otherwise recognized, to expand contemporary understanding of the past. Winter counts have long been afforded an important position as historical records, but other types of Plains drawing and painting have received less attention as sources of information about specific events. Ledger drawings or images rendered on paper were prevalent from at least the 1860s to the first few years of the reservation era, yet contemporary audiences have used them only sporadically as historical accounts. Like heraldic hide robes, the predecessors of drawings on paper, ledger drawings served as adjuncts to the war honors system of Plains life.

While there was a keen sense of competition within the system of assessing a warrior's achievements on the Plains, public recounting of coup also served as a social check on the falsification of such accomplishments. Grinnell reported frequent disputes among the Cheyenne as men pro-

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claimed their deeds following battles. Warriors settled such disagreements through discussions which relayed the various versions of the incident or tested the truthfulness of accounts in more formal ways, including swearing on a pipe or the Sacred Arrows (Grinnell 1972 [1923], 2: 32–34). In a dispute over assessment of coup, the warrior made supplications to the spiritual powers, recounted the deed and declared: "If I tell a lie, I hope that I may be shot far off" (ibid.: 34). The Cheyenne people held this oath sacred and believed that if a man lied during the ceremony, either he or his family would soon die. Similar emphasis on the necessity of honesty in relaying battle deeds can be found in various other accounts of Plains cultures (e.g., Mishkin 1940: 37–41).

Heraldic hide painting functioned within the established system of war honors for many Plains people. Men who wore hide robes or owned lodge covers or tipi liners filled with representations of battle encounters or the capture of horses had earned the right to portray these scenes or to have the episodes portrayed for them by another artist. Representational images on hide robes had the same requirements for authenticity as public proclamation of coup. During George Catlin's 1832 visit to the Mandan people, the Mandan chief Four Bears gave the artist a painted robe covered with representations of Four Bears's brave accomplishments. Upon the receipt of the robe, Catlin observed that

> in this country, where, of all countries I ever was in, men are the most jealous of rank and of standing; and in a community so small also that every man's deeds of honour and chivalry are familiarly known to all; it would not be reputable, or even safe to life, for a warrior to wear up on his back the representations of battles he never had fought; professing to have done what every child in the village would know he never had done. (1973 [1844], 1: 148)

Gradually throughout the 1860s and 1870s, sources of paper became available to Plains warrior-artists through trade, gift, and capture. Lined accountants' ledgers were the most common paper sources used in recording battle heraldry; both lead and colored pencils, often black or blue and red, were the most frequently used early media. Warriors often shared drawing books, sometimes with several different artists recording images within a single book. While some artists chose to use only one side of a drawing page, other artists covered every available space, including pages previously used for accountants' records, with views of valiant deeds.

As an extension of heraldic painting on hides, ledger art created on the Plains during the pre-reservation era was also related to the recognition of war honors or coup. Men recorded their own brave actions and

those of fellow warriors on newly available sheets of paper just as they had on hides, lodge covers, and tipi liners. Rendering his images within the covers of a book, the ledger artist was not making the obvious public proclamation the hide painter was, but it is unlikely that the artist gave himself undue honors.

Ethnographic information concerning the creation and use of ledger books as accurate records of battle exploits is admittedly slight. Colonel Richard I. Dodge, who spent the late 1850s through the 1880s in active service on the Plains, indicated the prevalence of the drawing books:

> Almost every warrior makes a picture of each prominent event of his life, and many of them keep a book in which their acts are thus recorded. But his pictures are not symbolic. The fight or other act is depicted as nearly as possible. . . . Their pictures of fights in which numbers are engaged, are the representation of individuals who were prominent either for courage or from being killed or wounded. (Dodge 1882: 143)

Observations by soldiers and trading post personnel from the nineteenth century underscore the reliability of incidents depicted. Captured ledgers were used as after-the-fact evidence against Plains warriors, including those from Black Kettle's camp at the Battle of Washita (Berthrong 1963: 329). Another Lakota ledger, taken from a member of Big Foot's band after Wounded Knee in 1890, included the following commentary written by the soldier who collected the book: "These sketches are made on winter evenings and handed around the gathering for inspection while the warrior recounts the story with eloquent gestures and animated language" (Morning Star Gallery n.d.). Thus, the suggestion is offered that ledger drawings were part of an ongoing history, a history that was not simply something that occurred in the past but also continued into the present by recounting and reliving important events (Szabo 1992: 20–21).

Ledger artists frequently used name signs and detailed renditions of shield designs, body or horse paint, or other personal paraphernalia to identify the protagonists involved in various encounters illustrated on drawing pages. Enemies, while not identified by individual name, were differentiated by clothing. Artists also used the well-developed system of picture-writing conventions to provide specifics concerning the sequence of action in individual encounters. Footprints or hoofprints told of the previous location of participants, partial figures could be utilized to suggest the whole, and gun blasts, flying bullets, and floating lances or quirts told of volleys already fired or coup already counted. Gun blasts positioned along the edge of a drawing page carried the clear indication of greater

forces bearing down on the figures actually portrayed. Multiple pages often refer to the same incident or provide varying moments of specific actions.

Battle-oriented images fill the few extant ledger books known to date from the pre-reservation era. Early reservation-period drawings often recount battle exploits in vivid detail as warriors recalled their own encounters and those of their fellow tribesmen. However, as the reservation years progressed, fewer ledger drawings of traditional battle exploits were created. Warriors with such personal histories to recall were growing old, and young men within the reservation environment had no firsthand association with battle encounters. Reservation-era drawings more frequently turn to subjects removed from war, as young men court young women and dancing or riding figures parade across the pictorial space of the drawing page. Gradually, ledger art, no longer the vital part of a warrior's life that it had been during the pre-reservation era, ceased to be created by any but a few artists.

Reservation ledger art offers a difficult problem in interpretation of represented events. Remembering the past and focusing on social aspects more frequently removes the specificity of events and leaves identification of illustrated episodes uncertain. Men courting young women are frequently not denoted by name signs; dancers appear without identifying shields or war accoutrements; and the impression created by many reservation-era drawings is one of general action, not specific events. While tribal affiliation can often be suggested through clothing worn by protagonists or the variety and style of depicted objects, the absence of name signs also adds to the already difficult task of identifying individual artists by name. Occasionally a specific artist is known either through his own hand or by collection records, but most reservation ledger artists, as pre-reservation ones, remain anonymous. Such drawings, however, offer rich documentation of the attitudes and views prevalent during the early reservation years.

The history of the artist and the influences on his choice of subjects and the manner in which he relayed those subjects is but one aspect of the history of any individual group of ledger drawings. The drawings themselves have various histories; the record of their subsequent ownership is one. Handwritten captions, frequently found applied to drawings, whether pre-reservation or reservation-era ones, can also be a possible source of information—yet they are often misleading. Subsequent collectors of ledger drawings sought interpretation of events from others, not necessarily the artist himself, and captions are sometimes blatantly false or impossible to verify. The examination of a specific set of Plains drawings illustrates the

extent to which the images, their captions, and their various histories can add to the ethnohistoric record.

The Hanna Drawings

During the late fall of 1990, the School of American Research in Santa Fe, New Mexico, added sixteen Plains drawings to their collection of Native American art. Visual analysis of the style, medium, and subject matter of these drawings demonstrates readily that they are either late-nineteenth- or very early twentieth-century works that offer important information to both art historians and ethnohistorians. Aesthetically, the drawings are the work of an accomplished artist who used both faces of eight sheets of paper to experiment with figurative postures and varying compositional schemes to record views of Plains life. Ethnographically, they provide images of ceremony and warrior society gatherings as well as carefully detailed renditions of lodges, shields, and military paraphernalia to add to the record of heraldic designs from the Plains. The range of clothing and objects depicted, including the varying styles of warbonnets or headdresses and clothing, but especially the vibrantly painted lodges, makes it certain that these are Kiowa drawings. The images, together with cursive handwritten descriptions that appear on many of the pages, provide clues to the historical content of the drawings, including identities of illustrated figures, the events portrayed, and the artist himself.

The drawings were collected by Edwin P. Hanna, who lived from 1850 to 1909. Hanna served as the personal secretary to Secretary of the Interior Carl Schurz, who held that cabinet position from 1877 to 1881, and to his two successors, Samuel Kirkwood (1881–82) and Henry M. Teller, who served from 1882 to 1885 (Kvasnicka and Viola 1979). The drawings were presented to the School of American Research by David Hanna Fairbanks, the grandson of the original collector (SAR n.d.). According to family memory, the elder Hanna obtained the drawings while he served as secretary to the secretary of the interior, thus suggesting that the drawings were, in fact, collected between 1877 and 1885. While that information is no guarantee that the drawings were created at or near the time of their collection by Hanna, the eight-year period between 1877 and 1885 was the primary era during which Plains ledger-style drawings on paper were created on reservations. Within a few years of the end of Hanna's tenure in government service, ledger drawings would have been difficult to find.

The drawings appear on unlined pages from a commercially produced drawing book measuring seven-and-one-quarter by nine-and-one-half inches. Pencil, ink, crayon, and opaque watercolor fill the pages. The

materials themselves add credence to the possible date of the drawings. Rich and varied sources of color and the commercial drawing book suggest a reservation date of creation: these were not materials readily available to the mobile pre-reservation-era artist still battling on the Plains. The subject matter explored in the book argues strongly against an earlier date as well. Drawings made prior to the reservation era were almost exclusively battle- and horse-capture-oriented (Szabo 1983: 88). The Hanna book is filled with a few images apparently concerned with war but, far more frequently, attention to ceremony and paraphernalia rather than actual combat dominates its pages. Only one specific battle scene appears (Plate 1). While not directly a battle image, a second drawing shows the return of a successful war party, the riders appearing with faces painted black, one man carrying a scalp while the lead rider holds an upraised pipe (Plate 2).

The media, and to some extent the varied subject matter, might also suggest that the drawings were created between 1875 and 1878, when seventy-two southern Plains warriors were exiled at Fort Marion in Saint Augustine, Florida. During the Fort Marion years, many of the prisoners created drawings on the pages of commercial drawing books.[1] Battle imagery was not promoted in the Florida prison and, by comparison to pre-reservation drawings, few Fort Marion images make obvious reference to battle or horse capture (ibid.: 177–95). This was undoubtedly because of the captive situation of the artists who, either on their own or through urging by their teachers and captors, generally chose not to explore images of the very reasons why they had been sent to prison. Prisoner-artists at Fort Marion created drawings for many different reasons, including personal expression and nostalgic longing for the life from which they were exiled. Many Fort Marion drawings were created directly for outside sale, which affected their subject matter: imagery other than that of specific battle encounters was more marketable. Lieutenant Richard Pratt, who was the jailer in charge of the Fort Marion contingent, exploited the drawings as goodwill propaganda to demonstrate the positive industriousness of the prisoners (Pratt 1964: 167–79; n.d.). Pratt gave many of the Fort Marion drawings to humanitarians and others who might be of future benefit to the Indians; the secretary of the interior and specific members of his staff would likely have merited such gifts. Edward Hanna's tenure in office overlapped the last half of the Fort Marion period.

While it was a frequent practice for men on the Plains to share drawing books, Fort Marion artists, with comparatively ready access to drawing materials, shared books less frequently; each artist in Florida more typically filled an entire drawing book himself. An examination of the style of the sixteen Hanna images, the manner in which objects and, in par-

ticular, humans and horses were rendered, and the draughtsmanship and use of color, confirms that one artist was responsible for all of the images within the book. This is an artist whose linear control was sure and precise, who aproached the drawing book with a practiced hand certain in its handling of the relatively new materials employed, confident in his abilities to explore diverse representational schemes. The artist's skill and flexibility are particularly evident in the variety of facial positions explored in a detailed warror society gathering (Fig. 1). In this striking example, some men appear in full-frontal positions, others in varying profile to three-quarter views. The relatively simple image of a war leader on horseback, complete with his full-feathered warbonnet, its long feather trailer, and the painted horse of the rider, offers an important illustration of the artist experimenting with the human face as well (Fig. 2). Beginning with a facial profile, the artist added a section of the opposing side of the face to provide, in effect, a three-quarter view.

Various handwritten captions appear within the pages of the Hanna book (Table 1). Brief legends also occur with frequency on Fort Marion drawings. The wording of the Hanna captions, with broken grammar and often awkward phrasing, suggests that the writer—or the speaker whose words were being recorded—did not learn English as a first language. Captions added to drawings created in Florida differ from those found in the Hanna book. Fort Marion explanations, generally either in Pratt's handwriting or in that of the fort's interpreter, George Fox, provide just enough information to clarify the activities portrayed or the location illustrated; often the name of each artist plus a brief descriptive phrase such as "Kiowa Camp" or "Visiting the Wichitas" accompanies the drawings. Pratt's use of the drawings and his goal of openness between the Fort Marion prisoners of war and the tourists and people of Saint Augustine promoted captions that explained the basic action, and sometimes identified the actual artist, but only provided brief titles. Participants other than the artist himself were not identified for an audience unfamiliar with the personages of the Plains. The nature of the Hanna legends, with their broken English and their specificity concerning the illustrated protagonists, is unlike the abbreviated form of Fort Marion titles. The Hanna captions, as well as the subjects explored in the drawings, argue strongly against a Fort Marion attribution.

Three individual names of Kiowa chiefs and warriors are included within the captions: Tohausen (Dohausen or Little Bluff) is identified as the owner of the striped lodge with shields placed on tripods at the rear of the tipi (Plate 3); Poor Buffalo is one of the single figures on horseback returning from war; and White Horse is recorded as a great war chief. Of

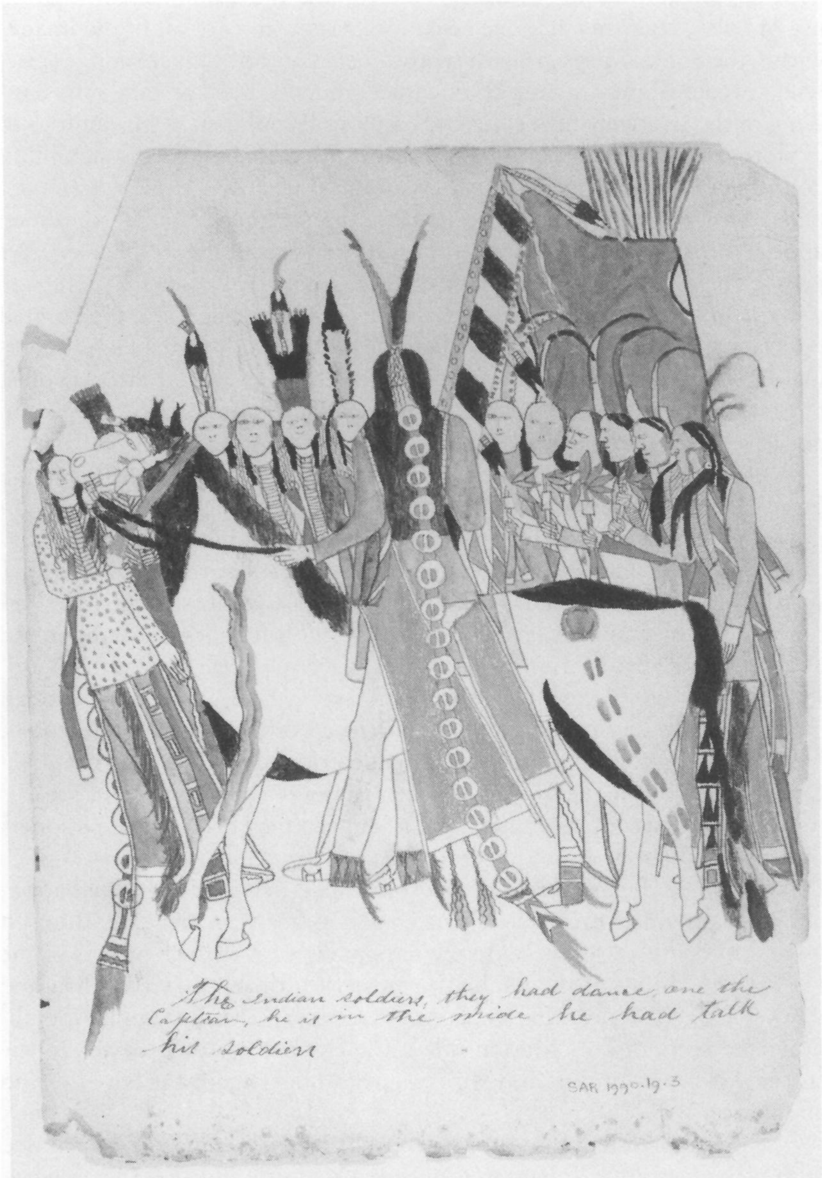

Figure 1. SAR 1990.19.3. Pencil, ink, crayon, and watercolor on paper, 9½" by 7¼".

Figure 2. Detail of SAR 1990.19.5. Pencil, ink, crayon, and watercolor on paper.

Table 1. List of captions found on SAR 1990.19

Handwritten Captions from SAR 1990.19	
SAR 1990.19.1	This is Kiowa chief, his name is White Horse
SAR 1990.19.1r	The young Kiowa man had ride his own horse, he went out after girls
SAR 1990.19.2	This is a great chief
SAR 1990.19.2r	This is a great Indian medicine
SAR 1990.19.3	The Indian soldiers, they had dance, and the Captain, he is in the mide he had talk his soldiers
SAR 1990.19.3r	This camp (?) to Tohausen, he chief
SAR 1990.19.4	This Indian was went to fight
SAR 1990.19.4r	Those Indians come from the war
SAR 1990.19.5	This is a great chief, he come from the war
SAR 1990.19.5r	One Ute & Kiowa to fight them self, the Ute got killed, the Kiowa got taked all the things, took them home
SAR 1990.19.6	This Comanche Indian he had been at war
SAR 1990.19.6r	Indian & his wife they (?) buffalo cut meat all
SAR 1990.19.7	An Indian hunting Buffalo
SAR 1990.19.7r	This is a great man, he was standed at his door, called the chiefs to meetee at his camp
SAR 1990.19.8	Poor Buffalo, Kiowa chief, he went after the Pawnee
SAR 1990.19.8r	A camp, one Indian was stand at the door, he was chief

these three, only White Horse was at Fort Marion, and comparison of the Hanna images to works known to be by White Horse clearly demonstrates that he was not the artist of the drawings under question.

Because these Kiowa drawings are so vividly detailed with precisely rendered lodges and shields, comparisons to information, both visual and written, collected by James Mooney are inevitable. Several of the lodge designs from the book offer immediate correlation with heraldic imagery and tipi models that Mooney collected between 1891 and 1904 (Mooney n.d., vols. 1, 12; Ewers 1978). These specifically detailed tipis suggest identities of figures represented within the Hanna drawing book and may, ultimately, connect the drawings to their specific artist. The selection of lodges and paraphernalia depicted also suggests the drawing book's concern with war leaders and war exploits, despite its apparent social focus.

The most famous painted lodge of the Kiowa people, and the last painted cover existing in the tribe, was the Coup Picture Tipi of Dohausen

or Little Bluff. This tipi had been given to Dohausen approximately five years after the Kiowa and Cheyenne people made peace at the 1840 Alliance, which had brought the Cheyenne and their Arapaho allies into peaceful accord with the Kiowa, the Comanche, and the Kiowa-Apache people. The subsequent prominence of this lodge among the Kiowa was visually apparent not only in its location as the first lodge within the tribal camp circle but also in its size. Created from fourteen buffalo cow skins, Dohausen's lodge was slightly larger than the ordinary Kiowa lodge (Mooney n.d., 1:56a).

The asymmetrically designed cover of Dohausen's famous lodge was striped on one half and filled with pictographic images of brave warriors on the other. Although perhaps more aesthetically memorable for its representational battle scenes, the lodge appears in a Hanna drawing presented with only the alternating black and yellow stripes of that view apparent (Plate 3). The black stripes, which represented successful war expeditions led by Dohausen, were the most important element of the family lodge; the yellow stripes were on the cover when it was given to Dohausen by the Cheyenne chief and were assumed to represent war exploits of the original owner of the lodge (ibid.; Ewers 1978: 15–16).

The Coup Picture Tipi also served as a continuing proclamation of the valor of Kiowa warriors, with the pictographic half including an oval or circular section in which the recent exploits of a Kiowa warrior were recorded. This ongoing tribal history changed throughout Dohausen's ownership as the lodge was regularly renewed; thus, the Kiowa man given the special honor of representation on the lodge changed with frequency during the pre-reservation era (ibid.).

The noted warrior Big Bow's Tail Picture Tipi also appears in the Hanna book (Plate 4). The famed war leader gained access through marriage to that lodge, with its red upper and lower borders and groups of feathers outlined in black pendant from the lower border and flanking the doorway (Mooney n.d., 1: 61a–63a; Ewers 1978: 18). However, Big Bow was also connected to the Coup Picture Tipi, for his own battle encounters were, at times, detailed in the ongoing historical representations. Mooney details one encounter in which Big Bow, his wife, and Black Bear defended themselves all day against a party of Mexican troops, finally making their escape at night. Big Bow had received several severe wounds during the battle, and the warrior was subsequently honored on the Coup Picture lodge cover (Mooney n.d., 1: 55a).

The Artist of the Hanna Drawings

The artist who created the Hanna drawings focused his attention on several noted Kiowa warriors and chiefs who were of particular prominence during the last days of the southern Plains wars. Some of these men were leaders of various warrior societies as well as tribal leaders with larger followings. In several cases, the artist chronicled various lodges and shields which are thus identifiable as belonging to specific individuals while, in other cases, the lodges, shields, and ritual paraphernalia he rendered are impossible to align with known historical figures. The precisely rendered lodges of Dohausen and Big Bow, however, make their identification possible.

When Mooney commissioned the miniature lodge covers he collected from the Kiowa people during the late years of the nineteenth century, he was careful to ask that someone who owned the rights to that lodge design be the one either to create the cover or to direct its creation by another artist (Ewers 1978: 10). Such lodge covers were highly valued personal and family possessions; to ask someone to render one without the owner's permission might well have caused a breach in Mooney's relationship with the Kiowa people. Such restrictions may also have initially applied to the recording of lodge designs in other media by Kiowa artists themselves; however, if such a restriction did at one time exist, it may well have faded in the reservation period as various ledger pages and commissioned hide and muslin paintings recorded numerous specific lodge designs (Fig. 3).

While it is, therefore, not necessary that a member of the immediate family rendered the Hanna images of specific lodges, two of the three people mentioned by name within the Hanna book were related to two well-known Kiowa artists of the latter nineteenth century. Ohettoint, a Kiowa prisoner at Fort Marion, and his younger brother Silverhorn were relatives of Dohausen and Poor Buffalo. Dohausen I or Little Bluff, the original Kiowa owner of the striped lodge, was Ohettoint's and Silverhorn's great-grandfather; Dohausen II, the first man's nephew, was their great uncle; Dohausen III was their father (Petersen 1971: 162). Poor Buffalo was Ohettoint's and Silverhorn's uncle (ibid.). The connection with the other two named figures, Big Bow and White Horse, is uncertain, but both of these men were chiefs and war leaders who were active in many battles of the late pre-reservation years; White Horse was sent to Fort Marion for his part in various raids while Big Bow was granted immunity for convincing other Kiowa warriors to come into the agency during the late winter and early spring of 1875 (Mooney 1898: 211; Pratt 1964: 93–94).

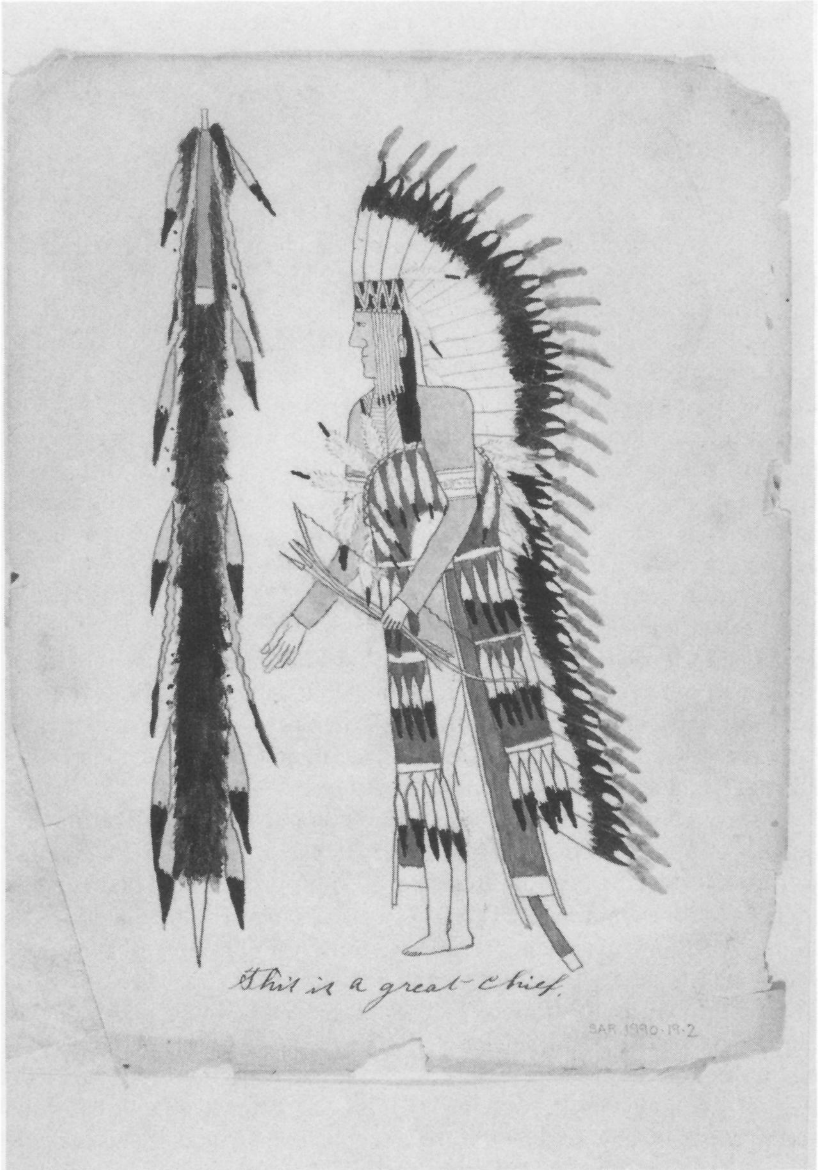

Figure 3. Silverhorn, *Battle between Kiowas and Osages*, Oklahoma Historical Society 4396, n.d. Ink, colored pencil, and lead pencil on muslin, 69.5″ by 92″.

Silverhorn lived from approximately 1861 to 1940 and was a prolific ledger-style artist.[2] Although too young to have been a major participant in the southern Plains wars and therefore not among the Fort Marion exiles, Silverhorn did render many images of Kiowa life on hide, cloth, and paper throughout a long career. The range of his work is vast and includes hides depicting Medicine Lodge ceremonies and peyote gatherings, works on paper exploring Kiowa mythology, and a detailed calendar collected by Lieutenant Hugh Scott and now in the National Anthropological Archives (Silverhorn n.d.). Dohausen himself had been a calendar keeper; his great-grandson continued his role as a visual historian of his people.

The earliest concretely dated Silverhorn drawings come from the 1890s; throughout a long career, the artist altered his style considerably. However, a comparison of details from Silverhorn's calendar, created during the artist's service as a military scout between 1891 and 1894, and from a painting on muslin dating perhaps slightly earlier (Fig. 3) suggests their proximity. In each case, the manner of rendering human facial features, especially noses with curving nostrils, rounded chins, straight foreheads, and the clear linear control is the same. Corroborating evidence is found, as well, in a comparison of handwriting known to be by Silverhorn with the captions found on the Hanna drawings. Stylistically and genealogically, Silverhorn is the probable artist of the Hanna drawings. If Hanna obtained the drawings prior to 1885, they would, then, become the earliest known set of Silverhorn drawings. Despite that contention, these drawings are most certainly *not* Silverhorn's first attempt at creating such images; the experimentation, the precision, the detail, and the varied composition all suggest an artist of considerable experience.

Throughout his career, Silverhorn explored many subjects not frequently examined by other ledger artists. In part he was encouraged to do so through the efforts of anthropologists, both professional and amateur, such as Mooney and Scott. The Kiowa artist rendered detailed lodge designs for Mooney, and his previously known explorations of the Kiowa Medicine Lodge are precisely executed (Ewers 1978: 10–12; Scott 1911). Those Sun Dance illustrations he created for Scott, in particular, record the details of the ritual shields, body paint, and various activities. The Hanna image of the Medicine Lodge adds to that body of knowledge (Fig. 4). The lodge itself, described by Thomas Battey in 1875 as "a wall of green trees," is suggested by the green rectangular structure, and the poles above the lodge carrying offerings of cloth are represented in a manner that allows the dancers to be seen from the rear, with one white feather in their dark hair indicated on each head. The composition resembles a segmented and framed pictorial space, the human figures becoming ab-

Plate 1. SAR 1990.19.5r. Pencil, ink, crayon, and watercolor on paper, 9½″ by 7¼″.

Plate 2. SAR 1990.19.4r. Pencil, ink, crayon, and watercolor on paper, 9½″ by 7¼″.

Plate 3. SAR 1990.19.3r. Pencil, ink, crayon, and watercolor on paper, 9½″ by 7¼″.

Plate 4. SAR 1990.19.7r. Pencil, ink, crayon, and watercolor on paper, 9½″ by 7¼″.

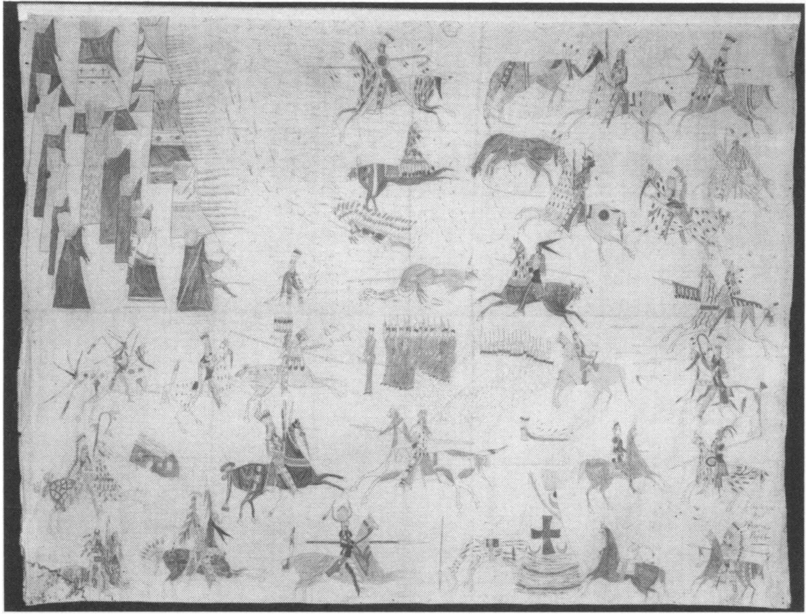

Figure 4. SAR 1990.19.2r. **Pencil, ink, crayon, and watercolor on paper, 9½" by 7¼".**

stracted shapes within the boundaries of the doorway, the multiple lines of footprints leading to the lodge a suggestion of both time and space. However, Silverhorn's rendition is not the result of pure artistic license. As Battey described a portion of the ceremony, so Silverhorn recorded it here: the space, two or three feet wide, left between the enclosing wall of the lodge and a screen of green foliage; the dancers coming from behind the screen, their faces, arms, and bodies painted; the men's soft, white, buckskin skirts and blue breechcloths descending nearly to the ground; and dancers facing the medicine with arms stretched upwards (1972 [1875]: 174–75). Silverhorn's compositional format, with the blocked view into the lodge and the partially obscured ritual objects, suggests an early exploration of these ceremonial themes. By the time he drew for Scott in the 1890s, Silverhorn was rendering far more detailed ritual paraphernalia, including vivid images of the Taime figure and the accompanying shields. The sacred figure *is* included in the Hanna image, but it reads as an abstract form well within the interior space of the lodge; the Taime shields are also partially obscured. For Scott, Silverhorn drew specifically detailed

images, the inventive exploration of composition giving way to more scientifically precise information. The change in format and specificity of scenes apparent in these works by Silverhorn suggests the potential influence of turn-of-the-century anthropologists who gathered information on the Plains.[3]

Portraits and Chiefs, Raids and Warriors

In addition to the lodge designs of both Dohausen and Big Bow that Silverhorn rendered in detail within the pages of the Hanna drawing book, the artist also provided other visual clues to the identity of the people and events he recorded. Each of the eminent leaders whose lodges appear in the Hanna drawings also has a shield or shields positioned on tripod or tripods next to the painted lodges. The shield designs, too, align with those known to belong to both Dohausen and Big Bow. Dohausen's shield, bearing a yellow surface with a green center disk surrounded by black dots, appears in triplicate while Big Bow's shield, vibrant as a red circular field against which both a green crescent and a green disk are painted, appears in front of the leader's lodge. Mooney recorded descriptions of both these shields—the shield of Big Bow differing somewhat from the representation offered here but, in the main, combining the vibrant red and a green or blue-green crescent (Mooney n.d., 12: 18a–18; Metcalf 1968).

The selection of Dohausen and Big Bow for representation in these two drawings suggests the men's importance within the tribal structure. Dohausen, who died in 1867, was the last Kiowa chief to have the "unquestioned allegiance of the whole tribe" (Mooney 1898: 233). His significant role in Kiowa history included his participation in both various battles and treaties during a time of growing unrest on the Plains.

While not a chief with the standing of Dohausen, Big Bow, who lived until 1901, was a renowned Kiowa warrior, particularly active during the 1860s and early 1870s in fighting various enemies of the Kiowa people. Thomas Battey's assessment of him as a man of "treacherous and ferocious countenance" and the raider who had probably "killed and scalped more white people than any other living Kiowa" may well be tainted (1972 [1875]: 149, 150); Big Bow was, nonetheless, arguably the most prominent Kiowa war leader of the late pre-reservation years.

Additional figures depicted within the Hanna drawings carry shields but none as visually distinctive as the red field with green crescent and disk of Big Bow's shield. A second drawing includes a shield of the same design and, therefore, that second drawing bears examination as a potential episode from Big Bow's life (Plate 2). Here the red shield owner leads a

war party returning from a successful raid. The riders appear with faces painted black, thus indicating a successful raid resulting in the taking of enemy lives, and one warrior carries a scalp while the lead rider holds the upraised pipe demonstrating his position as the leader of this war party. The artist took this opportunity to provide details of a Mexican-style serape worn by one warrior and other clothing elements while, at the same time, focusing his attention on the manner in which war parties returned to their village. Big Bow took part in many raids during the 1860s and 1870s. No specific encounter can be assigned here, but the identification of the war party leader as Big Bow seems certain through the visual alignment of the shield design.[4]

One specific battle in which Big Bow took part, however, may be precisely identified from the Hanna drawings. During an 1869 war party undertaken against Ute enemies to avenge the death of Many Bears or Set-daya-ite which had occurred the previous year, Big Bow fought a Ute chief, killed his enemy, then took his feathered warbonnet home. Big Bow's captured Ute headdress was displayed as a trophy over the Medicine Lodge that same summer. The summer of 1869 was known as the warbonnet sun dance; the Anko, Set'tan and Big Tree calendar entries for 1869 all include the image of the Sun Dance lodge with a feathered warbonnet positioned above (Mooney 1898: 326; Boyd 1983, 2: 151). The Hanna caption for the drawing under examination, the single specific battle image within the book, explains that one Ute and one Kiowa fight, the Ute is killed, and the Kiowa gets all of his things and takes them home (Plate 1). The artist of the Hanna drawings has placed great emphasis on the vibrantly clad enemy warrior; the distinctive clothing design of the Ute chief and the composition are graphically arranged to allow the display of details such as the warbonnet, shield, Saltillo-style shirt, and other clothing, which seems compositionally far more important than the actual engagement or counting of coup. Throughout the Hanna book, the artist elaborated clothing and details of paraphernalia, but here the emphasis seems pronounced; these objects of the Ute warrior's position are vital to the historic importance of the scene presented. Big Bow cannot be identified in this illustration by his shield, but the warbonneted figure who lances the enemy chief is wearing a distinctive military-style jacket and a peace medal. The artist has, in fact, painstakingly rendered the peace medal suspended from the Kiowa warrior's neck. Various Kiowa leaders, of course, had peace medals, but Big Bow is known to have worn his prominently.[5] This, taken in combination with the enemy warrior and his accoutrements so carefully portrayed, gives weight to the suggestion that the battle illustrated here is that in which Big Bow took part in 1869, a battle whose importance to

Kiowa history is established through its inclusion on three Kiowa calendar records as the most important event of that summer.

Big Bow is, thus, represented within the pages of the Hanna drawing book at least three times: once standing in front of his lodge, a second time as the leader of a returning war party, and third as the protagonist in a vivid encounter with a Ute chief. The great chief Dohausen is not as immediately apparent. The representation of Dohausen's Coup Picture Tipi does not include an image of the chief himself. Yet, by closer examination of that drawing and comparison to a second image within the Hanna set, the likelihood that Dohausen is, indeed, represented comes to light.

The Coup Picture lodge appears together with other paraphernalia associated with Dohausen's position within Kiowa ranks. Images of three shields bearing the design to which that chief had the right are positioned on tripods to the rear or west side of the chief's lodge. The western or back face of the lodge was a primary location for placement of a man's medicine bundles or shields during the day; such ceremonial objects would be brought into the lodge at night. Another important object and indicator of social standing also appears in the drawing. A long sash or trailer, black with pendant feathers, stands on a pole to the east of Dohausen's lodge, in front or just to the side of the entrance. The position of this sash at the front of the lodge, in an illustration so clearly focused on prominent paraphernalia suggesting the owner's status, establishes its importance as well. This sash is, in all probability, the identifying emblem of the leader of the Kiowa warrior society, Kaitsenko, translated by Mooney as Chief Dogs or Real or Principal Dogs, by others as Kiowa Horses (Lowie 1916: 848). This was the prime military society of the Kiowa, a society whose membership was limited to ten of the bravest men of the tribe (Mooney 1898: 284–85). Three members of the society wore red neck sashes while six others wore sashes of elk skin dyed red. The distinctive collar sash of the leader of the society was black-colored elk skin, approximately six inches wide and of sufficient length to allow one end to encircle the neck of the warrior while the other end could be staked to the ground (Lowie 1916: 488–89). The Real Dogs all

> pledged to lead every desperate charge and to keep their place in the front of battle until they won victory or death. With this purpose or view, their leader carried a ceremonial arrow, with which he anchored himself to the ground by means of a broad sash of elk-skin, which encircled his neck like a collar and hung down at his right side to the earth; at the lower end, where it trailed upon the ground, there was a hole, and when forming a line for the charge it was his duty to dis-

> mount in front of his warriors, and, by thrusting the arrow through this hole, to fix himself in this position, there to remain until his party was victorious, or until, seeing all was lost, they gave him liberty to retreat by pulling the arrow from the ground. Should they forget this in the hurry of their flight, he must remain and die at his post. (Mooney 1898: 284)

The position of this distinctive sash in front of Dohausen's lodge in the Hanna drawing proclaims the occupant of the lodge to be the leader of the Principal Dogs. Dohausen was a member of that renowned military society prior to his death in 1867; Satank or Set-angya held that society's leadership position at the time of his death at Fort Sill in 1871 (ibid.: 285).

The same sash appears a second time in the Hanna drawings, this time in front of a standing figure (Fig. 5). Identified through a handwritten caption as "a great chief," the man wears a full-feathered warbonnet with a long, feathered trailer and carries both a bow and arrow and a shield. His shield design is not visible; the disk is rendered as a white form largely obscured by red cloth trailers with attached feathers. The figure could be either Dohausen or Satank but, given the sash's previous position in front of Dohausen's Coup Picture lodge and the caption's identification of the figure as "a great chief," this is, in all probability, a portrait of Dohausen and, thus, the only known Kiowa portrait of this leader to exist from this era.[6]

The sash of the leader of the Principal Dog Society is not the only military society emblem apparent in the Hanna book. An additional drawing may represent members of the Kiowa warrior society known as the Berries or Skunkberries (Fig. 1). Lowie recorded that every member of this society "had a rattle, originally of rawhide and of either spherical or square shape, but later baking-powder cans were used" (Lowie 1916: 847). The Hanna image, previously noted for its experimental range of facial positions and figurative postures, presents a warrior society gathering. A line of soldiers faces or turns towards the leader, mounted on horseback, presented from a foreshortened rear view. Each of the twelve standing soldiers whose upper body is not obscured holds upright in one hand a red, can-shaped rattle complete with attached red feathers or streamers. Lowie further noted that the warrior society "had one arrow (ze bo) as long as a spear. . . . Only one man had it. . . . In battle the owner stuck it into the ground and then was pledged to stand there unless released by someone else" (ibid.). The warrior society leader who faces his men in the Hanna drawing holds in his hand one lance with pendant feathers and vibrantly red-painted shaft. The long shaft of the Skunkberries' arrow-staff was prominent for being painted red

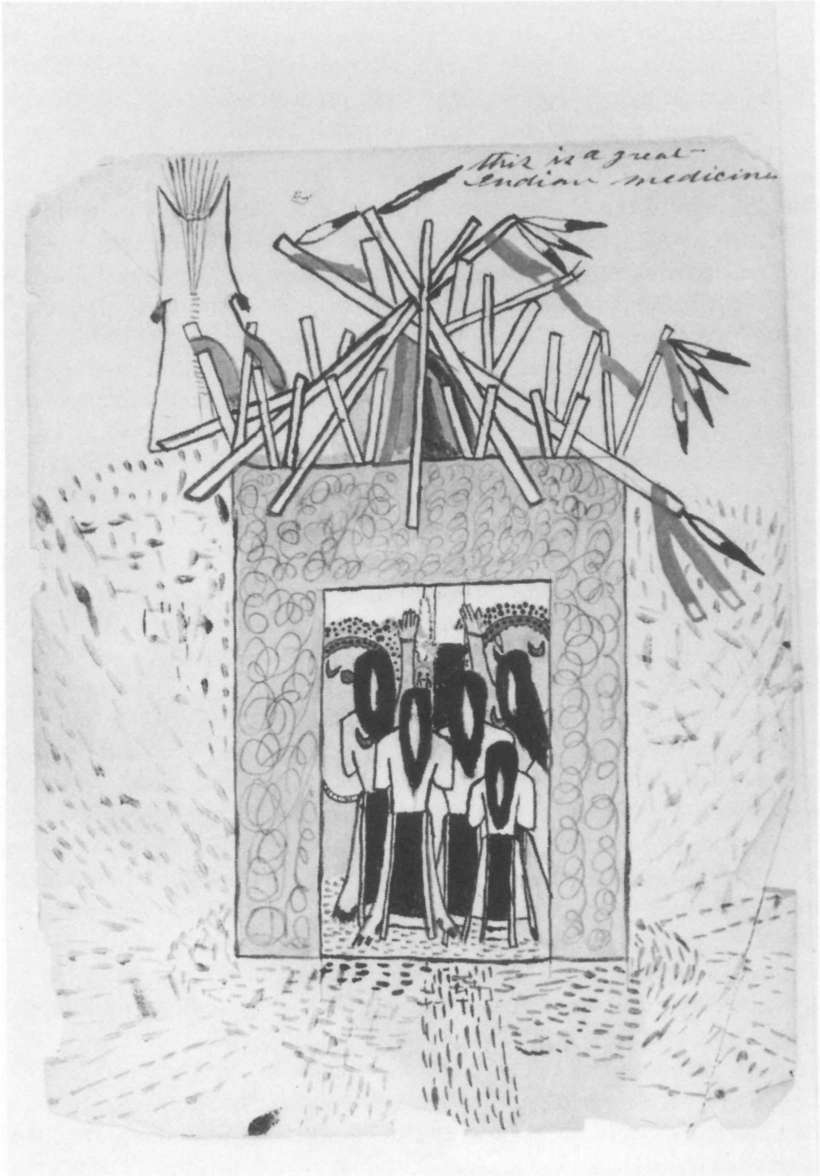

Figure 5. SAR 1990.19.2. Pencil, ink, crayon, and watercolor on paper, 9½″ by 7¼″.

(ibid.). Since Dohausen was a member of the Principal Dog Society and Big Bow was a leader of yet another Kiowa society, the Shepherds (ibid.: 845), the leader here is another man yet to be identified.

History Recorded and History Revealed

In the Hanna drawings, the Kiowa artist has offered an important chronicle of reservation-era concerns. He used the pages of the drawing book, or at least those which remain, to record portraits and details of important tribal figures. While only one is actually shown engaged in combat, the other warriors or chiefs ride home from battle or appear as noted individual members of the tribe next to their lodges or ritual paraphernalia. The lodges, shields, sashes, and other warrior society emblems are detailed; in the case of the Dohausen tipi and shields, no figure appears with them in the drawing, yet the identity of the owner of that famous lodge is clear. The shields and lodges are themselves sufficient suggestions of historically important Kiowa leaders.

The artist, however, clearly worked during a time of transition in the history of representational painting on the Plains. Pre-reservation-era artists would have turned their attention almost exclusively to battle and horse capture scenes, using the drawings as a primary voice in the recalling of heraldic deeds. The artist of the Hanna ledger did not recount his own battle exploits; as a young man on the reservation, Silverhorn did not have battle encounters of his own to record. Here he followed in the family tradition of recording Kiowa history. This focus on the achievements of past leaders echoes Battey's observations about Kiowa oral accounts: "Exploits of former chiefs form a large portion of the evening entertainment, and are greedily listened to by the young. . . . Hence the deeds of former times far exceed those of the present degenerate days" (Battey 1972 [1875]: 326). Yet Silverhorn also used the drawing pages of the Hanna book to explore new subjects that were not an established part of pre-reservation-era ledger drawings. Men and women engage in the buffalo hunt and in the butchering of game following the hunt; a man rides off, dressed in his social finest, to court a young woman; one group of Kiowa men joins in a warrior society gathering while another takes part in the important yearly renewal of the Medicine Lodge. The sixteen individual images from the Hanna collection offer a strong visual document of the changing position of representational art during the reservation years.

The Hanna drawings are an important group of Kiowa works and a rich resource of information concerning shields and lodges, ceremonies and other activities, chiefs, and leaders. They serve as vivid illustrations of the transition from pre-reservation heraldic-exploit drawings to the diver-

sity of reservation-era ones. They are also a potential source for visual confirmation of, or added information about, specific historic events. Finally, they are a record of a young artist's early exploration of the vast range of possibilities made available by pencil, ink, crayon, watercolor, and paper.

Notes

1 Detailed studies of Fort Marion art and the climate of its production include Petersen 1971 and Pratt 1964.
2 See examples of Silverhorn's work in various published sources including Scott 1911, Hail 1980, and Maurer 1992.
3 At least one anthropologist had a substantial effect on the style and subject-matter explored by a southern Plains artist. In stories of his youth, the Arapaho artist Carl Sweezy (ca. 1881–1953) recalled James Mooney's visit to the Plains during the 1890s. Although only fourteen years old, Sweezy served as the artist for some of Mooney's field sketches because no one else could be found. The influence that Mooney had on the young Arapaho's art was strong. In addition to his well-received encouragement, Mooney advised Sweezy to always draw like an Indian. As Sweezy himself recorded: "Mr. Mooney was the only art teacher I ever had. When he left Darlington at the end of that stay he gave me advice: Keep on painting and don't paint rocks and trees and things that aren't there. Just paint Indian." Sweezy followed Mooney's advice throughout the remainder of his long career and, as he called it, painted in the "Mooney way" (Bass 1966: 63).
4 While no certain alignment can be made here, it is possible that the figure, second from the left, who wears the Saltillo-pattern poncho and, alone among the four participants in this war party, neither carries a shield nor wears a feather warbonnet, might be identified. Andres Martinez, according to Mooney the most influential captive among the Kiowa tribe, was adopted by Many Bears (1898: 319). Given the death of Many Bears at the hands of the Ute in 1868, Martinez would have been a likely participant in the revenge raid led the next summer by Big Bow (ibid.: 326). It can only be suggested and never proven that this figure, differentiated by his Mexican-style garment and traveling with the war party without other elaborate signs of Kiowa rank, might be Martinez.
5 William Soule's famous photographic portrait of Big Bow, taken during the photographer's stay at Fort Sill between 1869 and 1874, shows the war leader wearing just such a peace medal (Belous and Weinstein 1969).
6 George Catlin's portrait of Little Bluff, painted during the artist's visit to the southern Plains in 1834, is well known (Catlin 1973 [1844]: 74, Plate 178), but other identifiable images of the chief actually drawn by nineteenth-century Kiowa ledger artists are unknown.

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