

1. No Two Horns (1852–1942). Courtesy State Historical Society of North Dakota.

# JOSEPH NO TWO HORNS

## HE NUPA WANICA

David L. Wooley and Joseph D. Horse Capture

There is often insufficient data to identify the tribal origin of historic Native American art of the Plains conclusively, so most Plains art remains the work of unknown individuals. Occasionally, well-documented collections and significant scholarship allow us to identify specific artists and the products of their artistic endeavors. One such artist is Joseph No Two Horns (He Nupa Wanica), a Hunkpapa Lakota from Standing Rock Reservation, North Dakota.

No Two Horns was a prolific artist. His work includes carvings and weaponry as well as pictographs on hide, cloth and paper. The majority of the objects he created were made between 1890 and 1920. While the bulk of the existing objects were undoubtedly made for sale, the work (both drawings and carvings) remains consistent, both in terms of aesthetics and craftsmanship, with objects No Two Horns had previously made for his own use, either to remember specific events in his own life or to recall episodes in the lives of other Lakota people. Both the originals and the replicas are among the finest examples of Plains Indian art to be found.

According to the 1934 census at Standing Rock Agency as well as the Probate Department of the Bureau of Indian Affairs at Standing Rock, No Two Horns was born in 1852, although other sources suggest that he was born a decade earlier (West 1978; State Historical Society of North Dakota n.d.). The Probate Department reports that No Two Horns died on September 28, 1942. According to the census data, No Two Horns was also known as White Butterfly. His father was Red Hail and his mother was Woman in Sight (West 1978).<sup>1</sup>

While the details of No Two Horns's life are sketchy, it is known that he was an important warrior. It is said that by the age of fourteen No Two Horns had accompanied

a war party against the Assiniboine. In a short autobiography recorded by Henry Murphy in Shield, North Dakota, No Two Horns related additional war party experience:

I have been in nearly forty different battles. In one of the battles I killed two Crow Indians and one time a Pekala Indian was shot and I struck the enemy second, as is the Indian custom of doing, and another time I hit or struck the *Ha Hatonwan* Indian second who was shot in one of the battles (Murphy 1927).<sup>2</sup>

No Two Horns was also recognized for his ability at raiding enemy camps for horses. He stated, "I have stolen the *Ha Hatonwan* [Ojibwe] ponies and the ponies I brought to camp for relatives" (Murphy 1927). Additionally, No Two Horns told Murphy of at least three successful horse raids against the Crow.

In 1875 the government ordered the Lakota to come into the Great Sioux Reservation, Dakota Territory. Those not complying by January 31, 1876, were to be considered hostile and subject to military force to make them settle on the reservation. The military's push to force compliance resulted in numerous hostile engagements including the Battle at Little Big Horn on June 25, 1876, which ended in the death of Col. George A. Custer and 231 men under his command. No Two Horns was a participant at the Little Big Horn. Following the battle a number of Lakota, most notable among them Sitting Bull, fled to Canada. No Two Horns joined Sitting Bull and his followers in their flight. It is not known when No Two Horns returned to the United States and settled at Standing Rock Agency.

There are two different versions of how No Two Horns obtained a crippling injury to his right hand. Ronald Little Owl reported that No Two Horns's hand was





2. Shield cover by No Two Horns, Lakota, 1890-1900. Muslin, wood, pigment, feathers. 18" diameter (46 cm). Muslin shield stretched on a wood hoop. Collected from No Two Horns by Ed Milligan. Courtesy Bonanzaville U.S.A., West Fargo, North Dakota, Cat. No. 171.



3. Horse memorial, Lakota, c. 1880-1900. Wood, horse hair, leather, metal, pigment. 33" long (84 cm). This horse memorial exhibits the common features of No Two Horns's horse carvings. However, it departs from the straightforward head, and instead the head faces downward. From the collection of J.D. Allen, 1917, noted as having been made by No Two Horns. Courtesy State Historical Society of North Dakota, Cat. No. 1115.



crippled as a result of an injury he suffered in a battle in the late 1870s or early 1880s (Hollow 1985). But No Two Horns himself said that he sustained the disability at age seventeen during a buffalo hunt when it was so cold that his hands froze to his bow (Murphy 1927). Because of the injury No Two Horns was forced to carve his wooden horse memorials with his left hand, holding the stick between his knees (Hollow 1985). Despite his handicap, No Two Horns may have been the most prolific carver of horse imagery among Plains Indians.

### Carved Horse Memorials

A variety of terms have been used to describe the carvings of horses made by No Two Horns and other Plains Indians. Ewers (1986) refers to them as "long handled horse effigies." West (1978) states that they have been inappropriately called "horse dance sticks." The most appropriate label to describe the carved horses created by No Two Horns may be horse memorial. Rev. A. McGaffey Beede notes in his collection information on a horse carving in the State Historical Society of North Dakota that "when a warrior had a horse killed under him in battle he had the right to have this honorable memorial made and placed among his trophies."<sup>3</sup>

All of the known horse memorials carved by No Two Horns appear to have been made to recount the death of the same horse. Hollow (n.d.) assumes that the blue horse repeatedly depicted by No Two Horns represents a "grey" horse which he assumes was the horse reportedly killed at the Battle of the Little Big Horn. Horses were not always painted in a naturalistic manner in pictographs so one cannot say with certainty that the horse

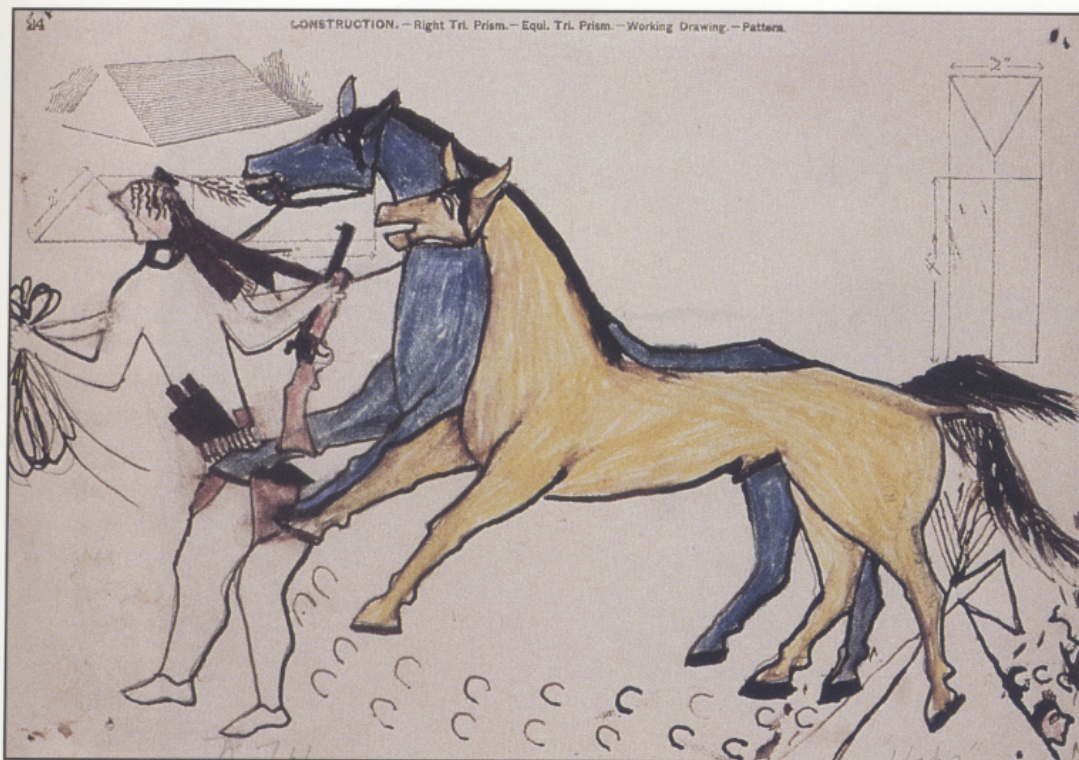
was in fact grey in color. This blue-colored horse is also depicted in a muslin painting by No Two Horns (Fig. 12) that has Indian combatants rather than U.S. military forces. While it is impossible to state with absolute certainty that all of No Two Horns's representations of a blue horse are indeed of the same horse, the horse recurs so often as to leave little doubt that it does indeed represent one specific animal. That horse, we believe, was a blue roan.

Hollow (1985) states that "the following features are necessary and sufficient to consistently identify horse memorials carved by No Two Horns: A. Shaft is blue ... horse has a white mask and is often, though not consistently, represented with stockings; B. Distal end of shaft is carved in the shape of realistic hoof (rather than a mere knob), the hoof is shod; C. Wound marks occur on the body of the horse — these are triangles and red, but vary in position and number; D. Inside of the mouth is stained red." Even as an old man, No Two Horns was a familiar figure at dances where he would dance holding a horse memorial stick at mid-section.

There are ten horse memorials that either have been attributed to No Two Horns or that can be attributed to him on the basis of style:

1. South Dakota Historical Society, Robinson Museum, Pierre, South Dakota, Cat. No. 2526. Illustrated in Coe 1977 and Maurer 1992. This horse memorial was collected by Mary C. Collings, a missionary to the Lakota at Oahe Mission, Dakota Territory from 1875 to 1884 and at Little Eagle Station on the Grand River, Standing Rock Reservation from 1884 to 1910. This horse memorial is attributed to No Two Horns on the basis of style. While this horse carving is in keeping with the others carved by No





4. Sketchbook drawing by No Two Horns, Lakota, early 1900s. Paper, pigment. 8" high (20 cm); 10" wide (25 cm). No Two Horns has entered an enemy's village and has been able to steal two horses. Collection of Rev. A. McGaffey Beede at Fort Yates, North Dakota. Courtesy State Historical Society of North Dakota, Cat. No. 9380-Z.

Two Horns — including traces of blue green pigment and carved and painted wounds — it differs in that the horse has a body.

2. Private collection; ex-collection Gold Seal Company, Medora, South Dakota; ex-Paul Ewald collection. This memorial was acquired from Col. A.B. Welch, agent at Standing Rock. It was acquired by Paul Ewald and by the Gold Seal Company in the 1960s. This horse memorial is attributed to No Two Horns on the basis of style. Like the previous example, this horse carving is in keeping with the others carved by No Two Horns — including traces of blue green pigment, and carved and painted wounds — yet differs in that the horse has a body. Illustrated in Coe 1977 and West 1978.

3. State Historical Society of North Dakota, Bismarck, Usher L. Burdick collection, Cat. No. 86.234.180. This memorial has no collection history but is attributed to No Two Horns on the basis of style. Illustrated in Maurer 1992 and Porsche 1987.

4. State Historical Society of North Dakota, Bismarck, North Dakota, Cat. No. 1403. This memorial was purchased from Rev. A. McGaffey Beede at Fort Yates, North Dakota. The collection history is undocumented, but it can also be attributed to No Two Horns on the basis of style. Illustrated in West 1978 and Maurer 1992.

5. Museum Für Völkerkunde, Vienna, Austria, Cat. No. 174, Muller 221888. The collection history is undocumented, but the memorial is attributed to No Two Horns on the basis of style. Illustrated in West 1978.

6. Plains Indian Museum, Cody, Wyoming, Adolf Spohr collection, Cat. No. 502.4. The memorial has no collection history but is attributed to No Two Horns on the basis of style. Illustrated in Ewers 1986.

7. Private collection; sold at Willis Henry on November 15, 1987 (*American Indian Art Magazine*, 13[2]:17,73). This horse memorial can be attributed to No Two Horns on the basis of style and because at the time of the auction there was an attached tag which stated that the memorial had been made and used in dances by No Two Horns.

8. State Historical Society of North Dakota, Cat. No. 1115. This horse memorial was collected by J.D. Allen from No Two Horns in 1917 (Fig. 3).

9. Private collection. This horse memorial has wood ears; all the other features except the shaft are consistent with the preceding examples. This item is attributed to No Two Horns on the basis of style.

10. Walker Wild Life and Indian Artifacts Museum, Walker, Minnesota, no catalogue number. Like the preceding example (#9), this horse memorial is unpainted except for the wounds and mouth, which are painted red. Although this horse memorial has no collection history, it can be attributed to No Two Horns on the basis of style.

### Sketchbook Pictographs

No Two Horns also created sketchbook pictographs. A total of forty-three drawings, on loose, single pages, can be attributed to him on the basis of their consistency of imagery: twenty-nine feature No Two Horns himself (Maurer 1992); four show his father, Red Hail; four depict the Hunkpapa Lakota leader, Sitting Bull; and the remaining six drawings feature other Lakota warriors — Sitting Crow, Bears Head, Running Wolf, Magpie, Flying Bear and one unidentified individual.

The No Two Horns sketchbook drawings are similar to other Lakota pictographs found in ledger books and to





5. Shield cover by No Two Horns, Lakota, 1890-1900. Muslin, pigment, feathers. 18" diameter (46 cm). A muslin shield cover that has been removed, probably from a wood hoop. The motif is found on this shield, in the sketchbook, the muslin drawings and the canvas tipi. Collected by J.D. Allen. Deposited in the State Historical Society of North Dakota in 1917, Cat. No. 1076.

exploit drawings that appear on robes and cloth. Encounters with traditional enemies of the Lakota generally dominate the drawings. With the high value placed on the obtaining of honor and prestige through war deeds, it is not surprising that a majority of the drawings reflect that value system by portraying episodes of combat. Of No Two Horns's forty-three drawings, more than half depict adversarial encounters; of these, sixteen are with Crows (Fig. 8); five are with the Assiniboines; three are with the Arikaras; three drawings depict the rescue of fellow tribesmen (Fig. 11), and three depict unfriendly encounters with unidentified Indian enemies.

Another favorite subject of the No Two Horns pictographs is raiding for horses. Raiding another tribe's

camp for horses was a sanctioned way of garnering prestige, and one also gained honor by giving away captured horses. Five of No Two Horns's horse raiding scenes depict raids against the Crows; and there is one each depicting a raid against the Assiniboines and Arikaras (Fig. 4). The remainder of the drawings show mounted warriors but no actual battle scenes. One drawing shows a scene in which No Two Horns's horse has been wounded or killed (Fig. 10) and another depicts No Two Horns sustaining a wound to his leg. There are no known drawings portraying social or camp scenes and none shows unfriendly encounters with Euramericans.

The No Two Horns drawings are on pages from sketchbooks rather than pages of lined ledgers. A clue to



their age is found on the drawing of No Two Horns scalping a Crow (Fig. 8). Written at the bottom of the page is the phrase "43 yrs. ago." Hollow (n.d.) sets the date of this encounter as 1874. This would put the date of the drawings around 1917, yet collection records at the State Historical Society of North Dakota suggest that the drawings were acquired prior to 1916. Analysis of the paper gives us a date ranging from 1890 to 1920. Therefore, a date ranging from 1910 to 1920 seems reasonable.

No Two Horns's sketchbook and cloth drawings are rendered in the traditional Plains style. They portray human and animal forms in profile; and flat color is applied without modeling, shading, shadows or backgrounds. Horses are drawn in a rocking horse or merry-go-round style. The colors used for the horses appear to be arbitrary, rather than naturalistic. Certain other details in the drawings are conventionalized in a visual shorthand; for example, hoofprints are used to indicate a horse or horses. Yet, great attention is paid to the individual warriors and the objects which adorn or are carried by them, such as shields and lances. The participants depicted would have been easily identified by fellow tribe members. As numerous authors have suggested (Afton 1989, 1977; Lessard 1992; Peterson 1971), these Plains pictographic drawings provide ethnographic and historical information about individuals and events. In the case of No Two Horns, the drawings help to confirm his membership in the Kit Fox Society, provide direct evidence of his personal property, and detail specific events in his life or the lives of others. Some of the drawings detail widely known historical events, such as the battle at White Stone, Dakota Territory, on September 3, 1863 between U.S. military forces, led by Gen. Alfred Sully, and bands of Lakota and Dakota.

### No Two Horns Shields

In the relatively short period of the horse culture of the Plains Indian tribes, one of the most important objects a nomadic warrior might carry into battle was his shield. These shields had to be small enough for the mounted warrior to manipulate on horseback, and while they could deflect arrows or glancing blows, it was the vision-inspired paintings on the shields or hide covers that the owners believed offered them the greatest protection (Wooley 1984). The imagery on shields was most often the result of a *hambleceva*, or vision quest, in which the individual was given instruction as to what should be painted on the shield and what other objects might also adorn the surface (Galante 1979).

No Two Horns is shown carrying a shield in nine sketchbook pictographs, two muslin drawings, and on two canvas tipis (Figs. 10, 11, 12). The shield has spiritual significance in that it represents No Two Horns's vision. Its prominent motif is a bird with undulating lines radiating from the top of its wings. The background is predominantly red and there is a blue rectangle at the top of the shield. Seven shields have been located that bear this



6. Sketchbook drawing by No Two Horns, Lakota, early 1900s. Paper, pigment. 8" high (20 cm); 10" wide (25 cm). The same scene as shown in Figure 7 with Red Hail and a Crow adversary. Courtesy State Historical Society of North Dakota, Cat. No. 9380-E.

heraldic imagery, two of them collected directly from No Two Horns. Aesthetically the No Two Horns shields are comparable to other examples of Plains heraldic painting. The visual impact of the central figure of the magical bird is enhanced by a color field composed with undulating lines that divide the composition.

Three of the shields have designs that are essentially identical to the shield shown in No Two Horns's artwork (Fig. 5). But significant variations can be found in the other four shields (Fig. 2). It is difficult to determine whether any one of these shields was No Two Horns's original battle shield; it seems more likely they were made for sale.<sup>4</sup>

The shields that are attributable to No Two Horns include:

1. A muslin shield cover, 1890–1900, 18" diameter, which has been removed probably from a wood hoop (Fig. 5). Collected by J.D. Allen from No Two Horns, 1900–1909. Acquired by the State Historical Society of North Dakota, Bismarck, North Dakota, Cat. No. 1076.

2. A painted hide shield cover, c. 1890, 17–3/4" diameter, collected by Natalie Curtis from Short Bull (Conn 1982; Feder 1965). Attributed to No Two Horns by the stylistic attributes of bird imagery, red background, blue rectangle, and an undulating line appearing repeatedly in No Two Horns's sketchbook pictographs. Denver Art Museum, Denver, Colorado, Cat. No. PS-3.

3. A muslin shield cover, stretched on a wood hoop (Fig. 2). Collected from No Two Horns at Standing Rock Reservation by Ed Milligan, 1890–1900, 18" diameter. The painted surface is identical to the previous shields



7. Tipi (detail) by No Two Horns, Lakota, early 1900s. Canvas, pigment. 7' high (213 cm); 7' wide (213 cm). No Two Horns's father, Red Hail, rides down on a Crow warrior. Red Hail has wounded his opponent with two arrows. The Crow returning fire has wounded Red Hail with an arrow in the foot. Courtesy Mandan Indian Shriners, Bismarck, North Dakota.



except in the treatment of the bird's head, which is not upright but rather points downward across the chest. Bonanzaville, U.S.A., West Fargo, North Dakota, Cat. No. 171.

4. A hide shield cover, Lakota, c. 1890–1900, 16–3/4" diameter. Collected by E.C. Clements, who was a railroad clerk in the Dakotas between 1883 and 1885. In 1890 he became a postal inspector, checking post offices from Pine Ridge in southwestern South Dakota to Fort Totten in northeast North Dakota. He also visited Standing Rock Agency which straddles north central South Dakota and south central North Dakota. This shield departs from the others with reptilian forms in the blue rectangle, horns or claws at the bird's shoulders, a crescent moon in the triangle on the chest, a square below with a four-pointed star, and a red and blue background. Sold at Sotheby's in 1992. Private collection.

5. A muslin shield cover, Lakota, c. 1890–1910, 18" diameter. Technically this shield is poorly executed, the paint either running at the time it was applied or later after being exposed to moisture. Attributed to No Two Horns by stylistic attributes. Mandan Indian Shriners, Bismarck, North Dakota, no catalogue number.

6. A painted hide shield cover, Lakota, c. 1890–1910, 18" diameter. This shield bears the image of the bird with the undulating lines from the top of the wings. Unlike the others, the background has been left unpainted. Private collection.

7. A muslin shield cover, Lakota, c. 1900–1910, 18" diameter. This shield is like the others. However, the bird is rendered from the side and it is posed as if flying. The bird is much smaller than in the other examples. Science Museum of Minnesota, St. Paul, Killy collection, Cat. No. 82.5.71.

## Tipis and Muslin Drawings

Two canvas tipis and two muslin drawings can also be associated with No Two Horns. A tipi of unusual size, only seven feet tall, depicts the exploits of No Two Horns as well as portraying fourteen other battle episodes. The drawings on the tipi include scenes with Sitting Bull and No Two Horns's father, Red Hail (Maurer 1992). The style of the exploit drawings and the appearance of a shield on this tipi identify it as the work of No Two Horns. While the artistic merit of the drawings is excellent, they also contain valuable historic and ethnographic information, and aid in confirming other objects as the work of No Two Horns.

At the top of this tipi is a rendition of No Two Horns's shield. Just below the shield is a battle episode which includes a depiction of No Two Horns's father (Fig. 7). This is essentially the same scene No Two Horns drew in his sketchbook (Fig. 6) and the scene is repeated again in a larger tipi, in the collection of State Historical Society of North Dakota. Red Hail — identified in writing and by his name glyph, a red dot about his head — is mounted, charging an unmounted Crow warrior. He appears to wound or kill his opponent, and he sustains an arrow wound to his own foot.

The second canvas tipi is referred to in the record as the No Two Horns tipi (Hollow n.d.) and was presented to A.B. Welch by the Yanktonai at Cannon Ball, North Dakota on July 7, 1959. Sixty-five pictographs are painted on the tipi representing the war exploits of forty warriors. The tipi is twenty feet high by twenty feet in diameter with the traditional thirteen poles. A horse tail, suspended from the top of the tipi, is said to represent one of No Two Horns's horses which was killed. West (1978), in a per-





8. Sketchbook drawing by No Two Horns, Lakota, early 1900s. Paper, pigment. 8" high (20 cm); 10" wide (25 cm). This drawing depicts No Two Horns scalping a Crow warrior. The encounter took place in the early 1870s. No Two Horns's Kit Fox Society bow lance is on the ground and he has also captured the Crow warrior's rifle. Collected by Rev. A. McGaffey Beede, Fort Yates, North Dakota. Courtesy State Historical Society of North Dakota, Cat. No. 9380-LL.

sonal communication from Lillian Iron Bull Martinez (1973), notes that No Two Horns had "horse tails of several colors which he wore in his belt at the back." West further noted this as a part of the paraphernalia worn by an Omaha or Grass Dancer who had a horse shot out from underneath him. In a photograph of Old Bull's tipi taken by Frank Fiske at Fort Yates on the Standing Rock Reservation, North Dakota (c. 1910), a horse tail can be seen suspended from the top of one of the tipi poles (Feder 1965: Ill. 31; Flint Institute of Arts 1975). No Two Horns is shown three times on the tipi.

These two tipis depict the only unfriendly encounter with Euramericans found in any of the No Two Horns drawings. The scene shows General Alfred Sully capturing the warrior Red Bow, which took place following the Great Sioux Uprising of 1862 in Minnesota. Many of the Lakota bands that fled Minnesota, including the Wahpeton Sisseton bands, sought refuge in the Dakotas where they were joined by the Cut Head sub-band of the Yanktonai. In 1863, General Sully, along with Harry H. Sibley, mounted a pincer movement to crush the Lakota. These U.S. military forces indiscriminately attacked Indian villages throughout Dakota Territory. One of these battles, the Battle of White Stone, located in present Dickey County, North Dakota, took place on September 3, 1863. One hundred fifty-six Indian males, including Red Bow, were taken prisoner and many of them were interred at Fort Snelling, Minnesota. Sully's campaign of revenge against the Sioux continued through 1864 and 1865.

The figures on the two tipis are significantly larger than those in the No Two Horns sketchbook and on his pictographic muslins. A close inspection of the tipi drawings reveals that several of the figures are the same size

and that several poses — the most obvious being one of running horse figures — are repeated. It appears that No Two Horns traced or used stencils to create several of these figures.

There are also two muslin pictographs that can be attributed to No Two Horns. The first of these muslin paintings (Fig. 12) shows several encounters with the Crow. While the majority of the events depicted can also be seen in No Two Horns's sketchbook drawings, they are rendered differently on the muslin, usually depicting additional action or details.

In the center of this muslin pictograph, No Two Horns is shown dismounted from a yellow horse and in the act of scalping a Crow warrior — a scene that is also shown in his sketchbook (Fig. 8). However, the space on the surface of the muslin allowed No Two Horns to expand upon the scene, adding his horse and his shield, changing the position of the weapons, adding details of clothing and, oddly, changing the direction of the action.

Another episode on this muslin pictograph which is repeated in the sketchbook drawings shows No Two Horns rescuing a wounded companion (upper left-hand corner). In what appears to be the corresponding pictograph (Fig. 11), significant details have changed — the color of the horse, the addition of a representation of the enemy, and the fact that No Two Horns's companion is carrying a society staff.

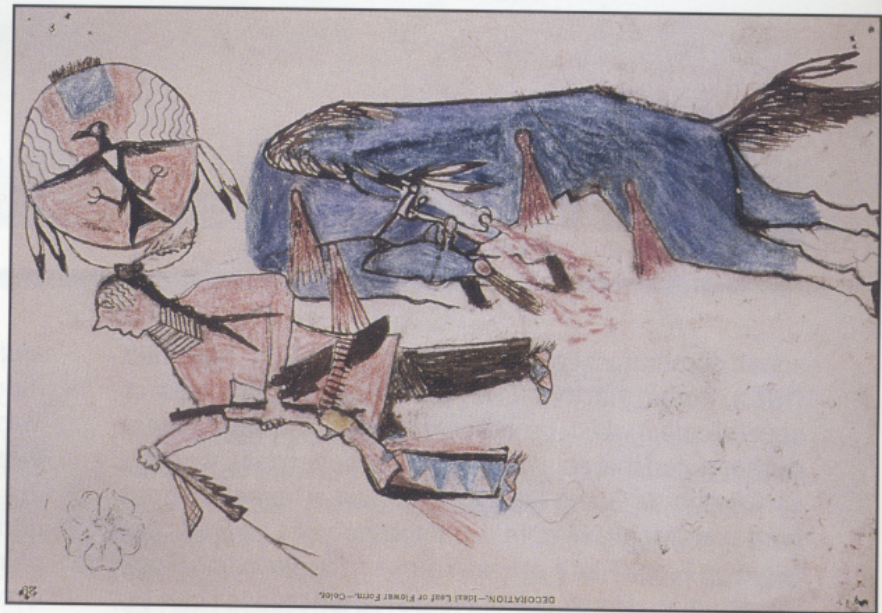
Like the previous example, a second No Two Horns muslin painting depicts a variety of battlefield encounters. It illustrates the killing of three of his horses by the Crow, including the blue roan horse. All three horses are drawn in basically the same pose with little variation in detail. Like several of the figures on the tipis, these horses also





9. Kit Fox bow lance by No Two Horns, Lakota, c. 1890-1900. Wood, feathers, metal, cloth. 58" long (147 cm). This society bow lance appears repeatedly in No Two Horns's drawings (see Fig. 8). Courtesy State Historical Society of North Dakota, David Fuller collection, Cat. No. 10491.

10. Sketchbook drawing by No Two Horns, Lakota, early 1900s. Paper, pigment. 8" high (20 cm); 10" wide (25 cm). This drawing of the death of No Two Horns's blue colored horse, prominently shows his shield, and a saw-toothed quirt. The position of the horse and the turn of its neck are beautifully portrayed. Collected by Rev. A. McGaffey Beede, Fort Yates, North Dakota, Courtesy State Historical Society of North Dakota, Cat. No. 9380-FF.



appear to be traced or stenciled. Interestingly, in the scenes of the killing of the red and yellow horses, the enemy is drawn upside down in relationship to the action of No Two Horns.

### **No Two Horns Winter Counts**

Along with the numerous events recorded by No Two Horns in his sketchbook, muslin drawings and on the tipis, he also recorded historic events pertaining to the Lakota people over a 137-year period.

Three Plains Indian tribes — the Kiowa, Blackfeet and Lakota — are known to have produced calendars. Typically these calendars were drawn or painted on hide, canvas or paper with one pictograph of a single important or unusual event used to record each year. The tribal historian, who produced and maintained the calendar, memorized the explanation of the pictograph, which served as a mnemonic aid.

Among the Lakota and Dakota these calendars are known as winter counts (*waniyetä yawapi*) since tradi-

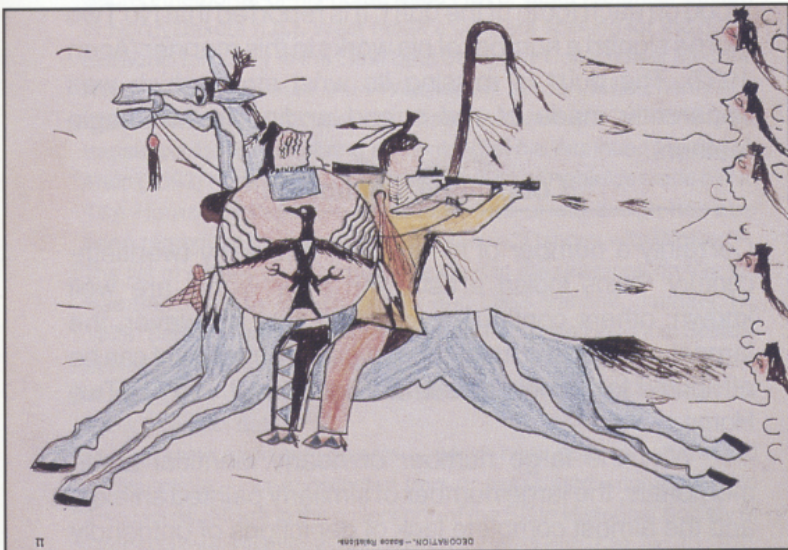
tionally years were counted from one winter to the next (Maurer 1992). No Two Horns made at least two winter counts. One is known only through the translation and notes made by the collector, Standing Rock Agent A.B. Welch, in 1922, now in the collection of the Mandan Indian Shriners, Bismarck, North Dakota, since the count itself has not been located. The translation shows that the count documents the years 1785 to 1922. According to Welch's notes, the written translations of the pictographs were made by a Dakota, Joe Jordan, who apparently worked for Welch and the Mandan Indian Shriners fraternal organization in Bismarck, North Dakota. This count was reportedly nine feet by three feet.

The second count and translations, covering the years 1785 to 1913, were also collected by A.B. Welch in 1912-1913 (Fig. 13). The translations for this count are significantly more detailed than those for the previous example, and there is some discrepancy between the two counts regarding the translations. These counts both appear to be variants of a count known as the Blue Thunder count (Maurer 1992), which also begins in 1785



11. Sketchbook drawing by No Two Horns, Lakota, early 1900s. Paper, pigment. 8" high (20 cm); 10" wide (25 cm). No Two Horns is riding a horse, his shield being prominently displayed. He has rescued a wounded companion who returns fire upon the enemy. The wounded companion carries a staff which may indicate his membership in the Strong-Heart Society. This appears to be the same scene depicted in the upper left-hand corner of the muslin painting (Fig. 12). Collected by Rev. A. McGaffey Beede, Fort Yates, North Dakota, Courtesy State Historical Society of North Dakota, Cat. No. 9380-DD.

12. Muslin drawing by No Two Horns, Lakota, c. 1890-1900. Muslin, pigment. 33" high (84 cm); 44" wide (112 cm). This No Two Horns drawing depicts a variety of his exploits including the killing and scalping of a Crow warrior as seen in one of his sketchbook drawings. Courtesy State Historical Society of North Dakota, Usher Burdick collection, Cat. No. 86234.250.



and ends in 1913. The No Two Horns and Blue Thunder counts have exactly the same images. Welch reports that he showed No Two Horns the count done by Blue Thunder and that No Two Horns remarked that the Blue Thunder count showed "there are too many words." While these two counts have the same images, they are not rendered by the same hand. The Blue Thunder drawings are stiff and lack the elegance of the drawings of the No Two Horns's count. The horse and human figures of the No Two Horns's count conform to the stylistic features of his other drawings.

Both the Blue Thunder and No Two Horns counts document a number of events pertaining to Hunkpapa and Standing Rock Reservation notables including Sitting Bull, Gall, Red Tomahawk, John Grass and Rain in the Face. Yet both specifically record events related to No Two Horns's family members and events at Cannon Ball, North Dakota, No Two Horns's residence.

Entry #100 for the year 1883-1884 of both winter counts notes that No Two Horns's sister died. The translation of following entry, #101, for the year 1884-1885, states that "No Two Horns gave a big feast in honor of his sister who died last winter time. All the people came. He had much beef and game. (This is the man who made this count — W.)" A.B. Welch notes in one of the translations that No Two Horns made his signature or name glyph on entry 101; and entry 114 for the year 1898 notes that "Louse Bear," No Two Horns's son, died.

It should be noted that both the No Two Horns and Blue Thunder counts depart stylistically from the method of drawing human and animal figures on most other Lakota counts. On other counts such as the Swift Dog (Maurer 1992) and Blue Horse Owner's (Karol 1969) the human figures are generally rendered from the waist up, while the No Two Horns and Blue Thunder figures are







13. Winter count by No Two Horns, Lakota, c. 1900-1922. Muslin, pigment. 11" high (28 cm); 3' long (91 cm). This calendar records the yearly events from 1785-1913. It is replicated pictograph by pictograph in one of four counts done by Blue Thunder. Courtesy State Historical Society of North Dakota, Cat. No. 942.

generally full-bodied, fully attired and generally more reminiscent of the drawing style found in most Plains sketchbooks or ledgers.

### Kit Fox Society

The State Historical Society of North Dakota maintains a number of objects associated with No Two Horns.<sup>7</sup> Perhaps the most significant among them is No Two Horns's *Tokala* or Kit Fox Society bow lance (Fig. 9) because it reveals No Two Horns's stature and bravery as a warrior. No Two Horns depicts the bow lance repeatedly in his sketchbook drawings and in his muslin drawings. Bliss (1967) notes: "The lances are the distinguishing feature of this organization. Unlike the lance of any of the other societies, these were made in the form of bows which strongly resemble the Sacred Bow of the tribe." Bliss goes on to remark about the bravery of these lance bearers: "*Tokala* bow carriers were men who had proved themselves among the bravest and who were expected to take their places unflinchingly on the front of the battle."

No Two Horns's Kit Fox bow lance is manufactured in a recurve style with a metal lance blade inset on one end. While the bow is strung, it is not functional as a weapon. The bow itself is wrapped with red and blue trade cloth and includes four pairs of eagle feathers attached at equal distances along the body of the bow.

Also among Kit Fox Society paraphernalia are wooden quirts. These quirts are shown by Amos Bad Heart Bull in his pictographic drawings of the Kit Fox Society trappings of office (Bliss 1987). No Two Horns depicts himself carrying such a quirt. It appears prominently in a sketchbook drawing in a scene showing the death of one of his horses. His whip is similar in style to other society whips. The bottom half is cut in a saw-toothed manner, and decorated with brass tacks on both sides as well as the top. The lash is braided native tanned hide. The entire surface of the whip has been painted red

including the lash. The initials NTH are engraved into the wood on each tooth of the quirt. It is reported that No Two Horns signed a number of his works in this manner (Anon 1992). The quirt is missing its wrist strap which was apparently made of red stroud ending in two eagle feathers.

### Concluding Comments

Certainly a number of nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century Plains Indian artists and their works are well known; others continue to come to light. However, the largest number and most varied types of objects that can be attributed to a single person are associated with No Two Horns.

Why the large number of nearly identical horse memorials, the large number of similarly painted shields, and the almost complete lack of depictions of unfriendly encounters with Euramericans? A number of No Two Horns's paintings and carvings were made for sale to non-Indians, some on commission. This conclusion is reinforced upon a close examination of some objects, which show very little wear. It is probable that No Two Horns sold or created a number of works for former Standing Rock agent A.B. Welch, who was noted as a collector, and apparently after leaving Standing Rock dabbled in the sale of American Indian material (Martinez 1992). It also appears that No Two Horns, like other Plains artists of his time, was sensitive to not portraying and selling work that showed his or others' involvement in combat against the U.S. military, such as the Battle of Little Big Horn, which was undoubtedly still fresh in the minds of the citizens of the Dakotas and the surrounding region. Again, it should be stated that No Two Horns was either replicating objects that were originally his property or recounting important events in his life or in the life of other Lakota individuals. No Two Horns also created pipes, pipe stems, flutes and canes, many with various zoomorphic carvings such as lizards (Martinez 1992). This commercial effort, however, does not detract from the histori-



cal, cultural or artistic impact of No Two Horns's work or its place in the history of the Hunkpapa Lakota people.

## Footnotes

<sup>1</sup>Hollow (n.d.) gives No Two Horns's mother's name as Ancient Woman. See No Two Horns's informational file, State Historical Society of North Dakota.

<sup>2</sup>Hollow (n.d.) speculates that *Pekala* may be a misprint in the original text and that the word intended was *Povaxloka* (Nez Perce). Gibson, Kills Enemy and Wounded Shield (1989) spell Nez Perce as *Pogeholoka* (pierced nose). Hollow speculates that the word intended could be *Palani* which he translates as Arikara. Gibson, Kills Enemy and Wounded Shield (1989) translate *Palani* as Pawnee (while it could also be Arikara); the more proper word for Arikara is *Hewaktoka*. Hollow translated *Ha Hatonwan* as Ojibwe; current accepted spelling for Ojibwe is *Ha hatunwan* (Gibson, Kills Enemy and Wounded Shield 1989).

<sup>3</sup>He gives the spelling as *Ta Sunka Kan Opi Wokiksuye* translated a Sacred-memorial-of-his-horse killed (1978; State Historical Society of North Dakota n.d.). West notes a different spelling for the horse memorial formerly in the Gold Seal Company Collection at Medora, North Dakota (*Ta-Sunkakan-Wokiksage*). Gibson, Kills Enemy and Wounded Shield (1989) spell it as *Thawa Sunkawakan Opi Wokiksuye*, translated as Remembering or Thinking of his Wounded Horse.

<sup>4</sup>Anon (1992) reports that an additional five muslin shields made by No Two Horns are in private collections. This shield design has also been reproduced as recently as the movie "Dances with Wolves."

<sup>5</sup>The list of names of individuals depicted in the drawings on this tipi was translated by Robert Hollow and Liess Vantine, January 17, 1979. See No Two Horns informational file, State Historical Society of North Dakota, for the names.

<sup>6</sup>Murphy (1927) writes that No Two Horns had two horses "killed by the Crow Indian in battle."

<sup>7</sup>The following additional objects — which have not been addressed in this article — were collected from or associated with Joseph No Two Horns. All are in the collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota, Bismarck: Springfield model 61 gun, Cat. No. 70-2278; Buffalo horn headdress, Cat. No. 71-0353; porcupine hair roach, Cat. No. 71-0364; stonehead tomahawks, Cat. Nos. 71-0373, 71-0374, 71-0375, 71-0376, 71-0377, 71-0378, 71-0384, 71-0385; buffalo horn tomahawks, Cat. Nos. 71-0387, 71-0388, 71-0389, 71-0390, 71-0391; pipe stem and tobacco bag, Cat. No. 71-0436; bow and four arrows, Cat. No. 71-0481; drum 86-0234-0359. There is also a pipe bag with beaded and quilled slats, painted pictographs and a No Two Horn Shield on the neck of the bag, collected by M.R. Harrington in 1923, in National Museum of the American Indian, Cat. No. 12/865.

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