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Article Summary: Lenger was one of several music men who provided a civilizing influence on the frontier. Best known as the leader of a Santee Sioux band, Lenger performed in an Indian costume decorated with late nineteenth-century Santee Dakota beadwork. The article includes detailed photographs and analysis of the costume.

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Photographs / Images: Lenger in the Indian costume he wore while leading his famous Santee Sioux band (Plate 1); Lengerøs personal letterhead; front of Lengerøs beaded coat (Plate 2); back of the beaded coat (Plate 3); trousers of the costume (Plate 4); Lengerøs Santee shoulder bag (Plate 5); front of the vest (Plate 6); back of the vest (Plate 7); beaded hatband (?) and moccasins of the costume (Plate 8)



Plate 1: John F. Lenger in the Indian costume he wore while leading his famous Santee Sioux Band.

# JOHN F. LENGER: MUSIC MAN AMONG THE SANTEE

# By JAMES H. HOWARD

A chapter in the history of the old West which remains to be written is the story of the music men, bandmasters, and instrumentalists who came to the frontier either with military units or with prior experience in military bands. Though little noted in western literature, these men were as much a part of the frontier scene as the Indian fighters, gunmen, marshals, prospectors, and dance hall girls commonly associated with the period. These music men, often immigrants from central or southern Europe, brought with them the musical culture of the Old World, and their influence was certainly a more "civilizing" one than that of many of their contemporaries.

Some of these early music men returned to the eastern United States or to Europe after their tours of the frontier. One who did was Achille La Guardia, father of the famous congressman and New York City mayor of the 1930's, Fiorella LaGuardia. Emigrating from Italy as arranger and accompanist for Adelina Patti, the Spanish-born Italian soprano, the elder LaGuardia joined the army and in 1883 was leader of the 11th U.S. Infantry Band at Fort Sully, Dakota Territory (LaGuardia 1948:23). He later served at Fort Huachuca and at Prescott, both in Arizona. He became ill during the Spanish-American War, allegedly from eating the flesh of diseased beeves furnished the army by corrupt contractors (LaGuardia 1948:37). In poor health he returned to Italy, where he died in 1901. A photograph of Achille

LaGuardia and his band, probably taken at Fort Sully, shows a handsome uniformed man in a tall, bearskin shako, the proud young Fiorello standing by his side (Mann 1959: following page 160).

Other music men remained in the West after their military service and "put down roots." One such was Professor Vinatieri, who was Gen. George A. Custer's bandmaster at both Yankton, Dakota Territory, and later at Fort Lincoln, south of the present Mandan, North Dakota. It was from the latter post that Custer and his command marched off to keep an appointment with destiny on the Little Big Horn. Professor Vinatieri's son Joseph, now eighty-four, still works in the plumbing shop which he founded in Yankton, South Dakota, and two grandsons and a daughter still live and work in the same city. A great-grandson is a member of the chemistry department at the University of South Dakota in Vermillion.

## LENGER'S SANTEE SIOUX BAND

Another immigrant bandmaster who remained to settle in the West is the principal subject of this paper. In some respects the most colorful of all the "professors," as bandmasters and music teachers were invariably titled at that time, John F. Lenger was born in 1849 in Bohemia, a kingdom now making up a part of Czechoslovakia. At the age of six he began his musical career, attending a government school and music conservatory in Prague until he was fourteen, when he enlisted in the Austrian army as a musician. Lenger served in this capacity for seven years, learning to play various instruments, to conduct, and to arrange music.

Seeking to better his chances, he emigrated from Tabor, Bohemia, to the United States in 1869. He landed in Baltimore, where he worked for a year as interpreter in the immigration offices. From there he went to Chicago and became a member of the pit orchestra at the Mec Rica theatre. From Chicago he pushed west to Yankton where his parents, who had preceded him to America, had been living for several years. In Yankton the young "professor" organized the Yankton City Band, the first of many he was to organize in the course of his long life. In Yankton, Lenger also met and courted the girl who was to become his bride.

In 1879, Lenger and his wife moved to the newly established town of Niobrara, Nebraska, which was to remain their home for the greater part of their lives. Niobrara, situated at the mouth of the Niobrara River, a principal tributary of the Missouri, is about thirty-five miles west of Yankton. As late as 1858 Niobrara had been the site of a Ponca Indian village. With the removal of the Ponca in 1877, however, the Niobrara townsite and the surrounding area quickly filled with white settlers. Many of these pioneers were, like John Lenger, of Czech background.

Lenger soon established himself as a music teacher and bandmaster in the bustling frontier community. Within a very short time he came to be regarded as one of Niobrara's leading citizens, and in 1881, when a disastrous flood almost eliminated the original townsite, Lenger was one of those who rallied the discouraged citizenry and helped lay out the town in its present location. In 1882 he organized the Niobrara Helicon Band, comprised of forty members. organization was recognized as the Nebraska state band in 1883. About the same time he organized a "Parlor Orchestra." a curious organization whose function was to entertain strangers when they visited town "without money and without price." Lenger was a member of the local Masonic Lodge, and attained the 32nd degree in this order, a fact which he proudly announced on his personal letterhead. A copy of the letterhead given to the author by his niece Mildred Lenger has an engraving of a handsome man with a full, black beard and the caption "J. F. Lenger, 32° Band Master, Niobrara, Nebraska."

After settling in Niobrara, Lenger organized several bands in eastern Nebraska and southern South Dakota, including these municipal bands in Lynch, Verdel, Winetoon, Orchard, Page, Royal, and Foster, all in Nebraska, and Gregory, in South Dakota. He even organized a Bohemian Band composed of Czech farmers in the Gregory area. Like Harold Hill, the energetic music man in Meredith Wilson's nostalgic musical comedy of 1952, Lenger was convinced that every town should have a band. But his most famous band, organized in 1884, was not municipal and was organized in a most unlikely spot—among the Santee Sioux on the Niobrara Reservation.



J. F. Lenger, 32° Band Master Niobrara, Nebraska,

J. F. Lenger's personal letterhead, from an original supplied by Mildred Lenger, his niece.

The Ponca tribe, which had inhabited the Niobrara area in early historic times, was removed in 1877 to the Indian Territory, now the state of Oklahoma, but two years later some members of the Ponca, 170 in all, were allowed to re-establish themselves on a reservation west of Niobrara. Although most of the Ponca had left the area by the time John Lenger and his wife moved to the Niobrara, another Indian group, not native to the region, had taken up residence on a twelve- by fifteen-mile tract of land north and east of the city. These were of that part of the Eastern Dakota or Sioux who ultimately came to be known as the Nebraska Santee (Fugle and Howard, 1962; Meyer, 1967). Largely composed of members of the Mdewakanton and Wahpekute bands of the Eastern Dakota, this group included the leading figures in the Minnesota Uprising of 1862. Their original territory had been in southeastern Minnesota along the Mississippi, Blue Earth, and Cannon rivers.

After their defeat by the United States Army, some of the Santee, together with a group of Winnebago who had had no

part in the hostilities, were removed to a concentration camp at Crow Creek, the present Fort Thompson, South Dakota. Other Santee were held as prisoners of war at Davenport, Iowa. Finally, in 1866, both groups were allowed to take up their lives again as farmers in the "white man's way" under the guidance of their agent and white missionaries. Demoralized by their experiences during the uprising and by the numerous dislocations subsequent to their defeat in battle, the Santee were a sad, dispirited group. In his report for 1867 Supt. Hampton C. Denman wrote:

All treaties with these Indians have been abrogated, their annuities forfeited, their splendid reservation of valuable land in Minnesota confiscated by the government, their numbers sadly reduced by starvation and disease; they have been humiliated to the dust, and in all these terrible penalties the innocent have suffered with the guilty. (Denman to N. G. Taylor, June 12, 1868, quoted in Meyer 1967:162)

Historians differ in their assessment of the "guilt" of the Santee during the Minnesota Uprising. That a few Santee warriors did commit atrocities is certain. It is equally certain that most of the group did not but were merely individuals unfortunate enough to be Santee Dakota and of the same villages or bands as the hostiles. The entire group, however, was viewed with hostility and contempt by most of the white citizens of Niobrara and the other small towns of the area.

This was the situation when a group of Santee leaders approached J. F. Lenger, the music man, asking if he would teach some of their young men music. Observing the plight of the Santee and lacking the pervasive prejudice of many of his fellow townsmen, Professor Lenger had his "brainstorm." Why not organize an all-Indian brass band of the same type he had organized in Niobrara and other nearby white communities? The band would provide the Santee men and boys with a constructive activity and at the same time, by demonstrating their natural musical ability, would present them to the non-Indian world in a more favorable light. Thus the famous Santee Sioux Band, composed entirely of Indians except for Professor Lenger, came into being.

In a newspaper article written many years later, Lenger recounted some of the problems he encountered in training the young Dakota, most of whom knew little or no English, to read music and understand his instructions:

At first he worked through an interpreter, but soon mastered the Sioux language. He found it necessary to work out a plan of explaining musical terms by signs in order to help these native Americans to grasp the idea of musical phenomena. The Indian youth in school is easily taught music, but it was a different matter to undertake training a band of thirty-seven braves, who could not speak English, he said. (Norfolk News [Nebraska], Jan. 2, 1929).

The band was apparently a success from the start, for in his report of 1885 the agent for the Santee, Flandreau, and Ponca Agencies wrote:

During last winter a few of the Santees concluded to start a brass band. Some assistance was rendered and about \$200 was expended for instruments. The band was started with 17 members. They now play very nicely. They received \$65 for playing at Niobrara, Nebraska on the 4th of July. The Indians take quite an interest in music and can learn very readily. (Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1885)

The Niobrara engagement was among the first public appearances of the Santee Sioux Band, which inaugurated its long and distinguished career. The band soon became known throughout the area for its crisply accented music, and invitations for the band to play at more distant points began to come in. The body of handsome Indian youths in their bright uniforms, instruments polished until they sparkled, was at once a sensation. Even more striking was their leader, Professor Lenger, attired in a beaded buckskin chief's costume made for him by the Santee women, his long black beard whipped by the breeze.

Great events for the Santee Sioux Band were their appearances at the Chicago World's Fair in 1893 and at the Trans-Mississippi Exposition in Omaha in 1898. Perhaps the greatest occasion for Lenger and the band, however, was a special command performance for President Benjamin Harrison (1889-1893).

In the later years of his life Lenger lived in Gregory, South Dakota, but for a time he was in Nampa, Idaho, to direct its municipal band. In 1929 the *Norfolk News* reported that Lenger, then living in Gregory, was still teaching full time and directing two bands, though in his eighty-first year:

He takes pupils on any or all instruments, and from early morning till late at night a person passing his house can hear the sweet strains of music—he is either helping one of his many pupils over some difficult passage or playing for his own pleasure. Norfolk News, Jan 2, 1929)

Lenger continued to experiment with unfamiliar musical instruments even at this advanced age, and the same newspaper account reports: "When we visited the professor he was playing on a sarrassaphomne, newly arrived from the old country, and rare in America."

The music man continued active for several more years, and died at the age of 92. Though many of his friends considered this to be a "ripe old age," Lenger came from long-lived stock. His paternal grandfather, a Frenchman, supposedly had died at the age of 136. His maternal grandmother lived to the age of 110, his mother to 95, and his father to 99 (Norfolk News, Jan. 2, 1929).

One of Professor Lenger's favorite pieces was the "Colonel Bogey March," a World War I piece best known to the present generation from its use in the motion picture "Bridge on the River Kwai." This march was played at Lenger's funeral on March 29, 1941, by the Niobrara High School band, another group in which Lenger had taken a great interest.

### LENGER'S INDIAN COSTUME

In 1967-69 the writer acquired from the Lenger family the costume worn by Professor Lenger while leading his famous Santee Sioux Band. This costume is most interesting, not only for its historic associations but also because it represents a documented example of some of the last fine beadwork and leatherwork of the Nebraska Santee, who at the present time produce almost no craftwork of a traditional type.

The costume consists of six pieces: a beaded buckskin coat or jacket; a pair of beaded trousers; a beaded shoulder or bandolier bag; a red cloth vest with ribbonwork and sequin ornamentation; a pair of soft-soled moccasins; and a beaded band, possibly used as a hatband. Each of the items has features of special interest, as detailed below:

(1) The Coat. The coat or jacket of the J. F. Lenger costume presents an interesting example of the syncretism of American Indian and European military or band uniform features. It is constructed of finely tanned and smoked deerskin and Indian material, and is decorated with beadwork in Indian designs. The cut of the garment, however, is distinctly European. It is tailored; it buttons down the front unlike an Indian war shirt, and even has a neat turned-down collar and cloth lining.

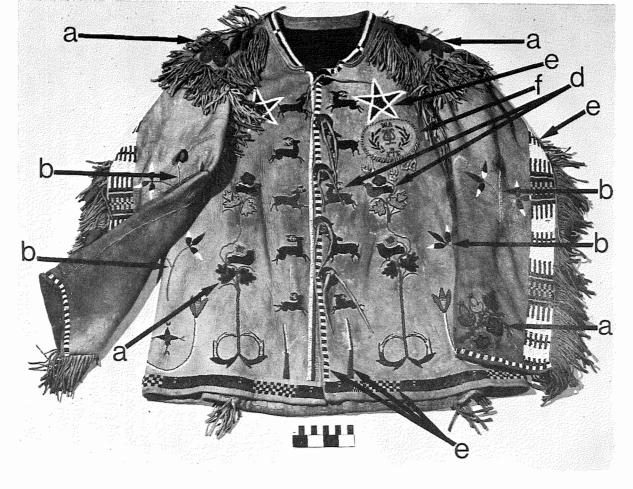


Plate 2: Front of the beaded coat. The letters are keyed to the various beadwork styles noted in the text.



Plate 3: Back of the beaded coat.

Furthermore, a closer study of the garment reveals that certain of the features are intended to approximate the trimmings of a military tunic. Thus on each shoulder is an epaulet-like beaded piece with buckskin rather than gold fringes dependent, and up the front not brass buttons but neatly carved substitutes made of the sacred red pipestone of catlinite of the Dakota. Even the frogs and loops of a military tunic are suggested on the garment by two rows of beaded deer designs, five to a row, on either side of the closing in front. Other, purely Indian, features are the beaded strips up either arm, with buckskin fringes and human hair locks bound at the base with red cloth, which are attached at the back edge of the strips.

We can recognize at least six separate styles of beadwork on the jacket. Of these six, four styles can be assigned to the Santee Dakota with some certainty. The six styles are: (a) The Ojibwa-Santee realistic floral style. This style is seen in the beadwork on the epaulet pieces, in the floral motifs at the bottom front of each sleeve, and in the floral designs used in combination with zoomorphic designs on either side of the jacket in front; (b) The bilaterally-symmetrical "floral" style. This style, which has sometimes mistakenly been identified with the Red-River metis or half breeds, is apparently a Santee Dakota development which later spread to the Yankton, Yanktonai, and Teton Dakota. Designs in this style are seen on the upper sleeves of the jacket, under the arms at the sides, and in combination with stylized floral designs on the back of the jacket near the bottom; (c) The stylized floral style. This style is seen in one of the "leaf" elements on the otherwise bilaterallysymmetrical style floral motif on the back of the jacket near the bottom. This style is readily distinguished from other floral beadwork styles on the basis of the double row of white beads outlining the design element. This feature allies the style with the Winnebago, Omaha, Iowa, Oto, Ponca, and Pawnee stylized floral beadwork; (d) The Santee zoomorphic style. This style is seen in the designs of deer and birds on the front of the jacket and the turtle, owl, American eagle, and rattlesnake-devouringbird designs on the back. All of the above styles except (b) are done in the "spot" or overlay stitch technique. In this technique one thread is used to carry the beads while another is passed back and forth between the fabric or hide and the thread carrying the beads, so as to anchor the work between every two beads. These four styles we consider, on the basis of their presence on other documented Santee pieces, to be quite representative of the work of this division of the Dakota or Sioux. It is unusual, however, to find all four on the same garment. Styles (a) and (d) are commonly seen together on Santee pieces, but it is unusual to find (b) and (c) in conjunction with them.

The remaining two styles are not considered typical of the Santee: (e) The Plains geometric style. The designs in this style are generally abstract geometric forms, though occasionally an anthropomorphic or zoomorphic design appears as well. The designs are invariably produced in the "lazy stitch" technique. In this technique a stitch is taken through the hide or fabric. then a number of beads, sometimes as few as three, sometimes as many as twelve, are added to the thread and the needle (or at any rate the thread) is passed through the material again to hold down the beads. Then a second group of beads is added, and so on. Most commonly the designs are produced by laying down parallel rows of beadwork. This style, with its accompanying lazy-stitch technique, is seen in the beaded strips up the arms of the jacket. It is also found in the beaded edging at the bottom of the sleeves, bottom of the jacket, and on either side of the closing of the jacket in front. The two stars on either breast are also done in this style and the lazy-stitch technique, as are the rifle designs at either side of the closing of the jacket below the deer designs.

Although the same basic lazy-stitch technique is used to produce the designs of the bilaterally-symmetrical floral style (b) discussed earlier, the result is quite different. Often, in this style, as many as 15 or 20 beads are added per stitch, which tends to let the rows droop, tear loose, etc. unless the work is prefectly executed. The lazy-stitch technique is certainly ill-suited to any sort of floral designs except those of the bilaterally-symmetrical style, where very narrow leaf and flower elements are usually employed.

Finally we come to the beaded medallion which is pinned to the left breast of the music man's jacket. It is done partly in the spot-stitch technique but partly in (f) the "Iroquois-embossed" style. In this style the beads are applied in a manner similar to the lazy-stitch technique in that several beads are added with each stitch. In the "Iroquois-embossed" work, however, one or more extra beads are added to each stitch in order to make the work stand out from the fabric. These standing loops of beadwork are supported on either side by other loops at the center of the piece, but the number of beads per stitch tends to be reduced to the actual length of the stitch at the outer margins of the item decorated. The end result is a piece of beadwork which has somewhat the same texture as a piece of embossed or tooled leather. The style is almost always confined to either floral or zoomorphic designs. Work in this style was produced in great amounts by the various Iroquois tribes in the nineteenth century - hence the name.

It is this style, with its accompanying technique, which has been used on the leaves of the wreath element on the medallion, while the remainder of the piece is done in spot-stitch. The entire medallion is very "Iroquois" in appearance. The beaded pendants, with their combination of seed beads and basket beads, and the beaded edging, are also characteristic of the "Iroquois-embossed" style. Were it not for the fact that this item has a good Dakota name "Wakte" (Killer) incorporated into the beadwork, we would, in fact, not hesitate to identify the piece as Iroquois work.

Perhaps it is, in fact, an Iroquois piece made on order for Professor Lenger. Perhaps Wakte was Lenger's Indian name, and he ordered the piece from an Iroquois beadworker, specifying the musical design and text when he placed his order. Again, perhaps the "Iroquois-embossed" style itself was widely disseminated by being taught at Indian schools. Norman Feder has expressed the belief that this was the case.

(2) The Trousers. The trousers of the J. F. Lenger costume, like the coat, show a combination of American Indian and European traits. They are cut more or less like a pair of white man's breeches, have pockets, a waistband, a fly which buttons up the front, suspender buttons, etc. In addition, however, they have well-done strips of lazy-stitch beadwork in the Plainsgeometric style on the outer side of either leg, with buckskin fringes and hair locks at the back edge. On either side of the garment near the top at the front, there are two "wheel" designs done in lazy-stitch with a single row of spot-stitch work, in white beads, outlining the figures. The trousers are slightly bell-bottomed.



Plate 4: The trousers of the J. F. Lenger costume.

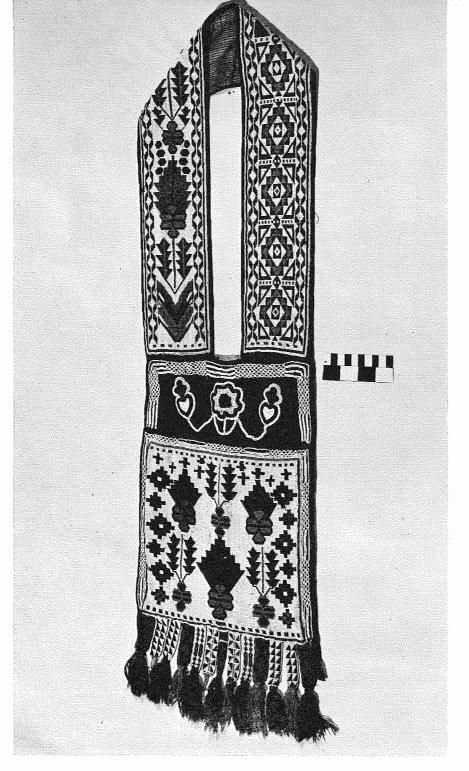


Plate 5: Santee shoulder bag worn by Lenger.

The music man's coat and trousers certainly present a curious combination of costume styles, beadwork styles, and beadwork techniques. As we have noted above, we believe that the beadwork styles we have designated a, b, c, and d on the coat, and possibly that on the medallion (f) are the work of Santee Dakota women. The lazy-stitch work on both coat and trousers, though, was almost certainly not produced by a Santee Dakota. Perhaps, when the Nebraska Santee women were making Professor Lenger's costume, they called in a skilled Teton Dakota woman from the Rosebud or Lower Brule reservations to assist them. Perhaps there was a Teton woman intermarried among the Santee. The Northern Ponca, who lived just west of Niobrara, and the Yankton Dakota located just across the Missouri from the Santee reservation are also possible sources of this work, as both produced good lazy-stitch work in the Plains-geometric style. In our opinion, however, the work is distinctly Teton, both in selection of colors and arrangement of design.

(3) The Beaded Shoulder Bag. The shoulder or bandolier bag, unlike the coat and trousers of the music man's costume, is a distinctly Indian piece in both pattern and decoration. It is a classic item and a collector's prize. In view of the limited contacts which the Nebraska Santee have had with the Ojibwa since their removal from Minnesota, I am of the opinion that this bag is a Santee Dakota piece, not a trade item from the Ojibwa. We know from old photographs and the testimony of informants that the Santee did make and wear large numbers of shoulder bags, and it would seem that a Santee identification for this bag best fits the known circumstances surrounding the specimen. I must admit, however, that had I found this piece, unidentified, in a large collection, I would most likely have called it Ojibwa.

The bag is done in a combination of the loomwork (the strap and the main portion of the bag) and spot-stitch techniques (the connecting piece between strap and bag and the edging of the bottom of the bag). The loomwork designs are in what I think of as the "Woodland geometric" style, common in Ojibwa, Santee, Winnebago, Menomini, and Potawatomi loomwork pieces. Though certain of the design elements are recognizably floral in origin, such as leaf and flower patterns, the rectilinear



Plate 6: Front of the Santee vest. The "box" design at the throat is in brown ribbon and the ribbons at the sides are light green. The vest is red wool.

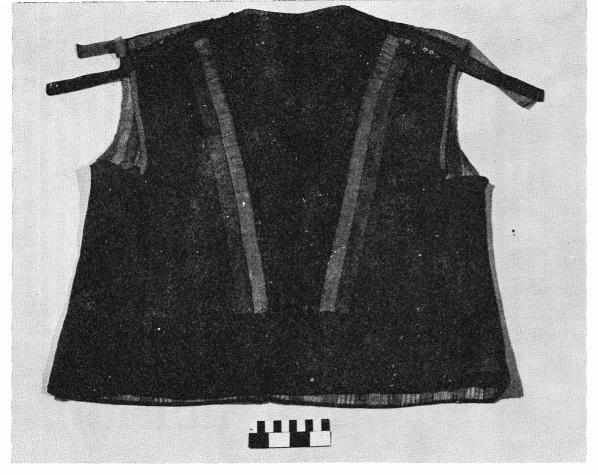


Plate 7: Back of the vest. Ribbons are yellow and light green.

nature of the loom technique of beadwork has angularized the lines producing a geometric form. The spot-stitch edging of the bottom of the bag, done in white beads, employs the familiar "otter track" design common to the Ojibwa, Santee, Delaware, Osage, and other Woodland and Prairie groups. Only in the spot-stitch floral designs seen on the blue cloth connecting piece between the bag proper and the shoulder strap do we detect a slightly different "feel" which would distinquish this piece from the usual Ojibwa work. The edges of the bag are bound in dark green "lama braid," a type of military braid commonly sold by Indian traders in the 19th century. A type of lama braid is still sold by the Hudson's Bay Company at some of its northern posts.

(4) The Vest. One of the most interesting items among those making up the J. F. Lenger costume is a red cloth vest with ribbonwork and sequin ornamentation. Its use, either by Prof. Lenger or by the Santee who made it, is not known. Prof. Lenger's niece, from whom the piece was purchased, was of the opinion that her uncle wore it as a waistcoat beneath the beaded buckskin coat (item 1). He may well have done so, though why a person would wear, completely unseen, such a garment is incomprehensible. I have never quite understood the "vest wearing" habit of Victorian gentlemen, but am informed that heavy woolen vests were worn under suit coats even in the hottest weather, simply because it was customary to do so. Whatever its use by the professor, I am fairly certain that the Indian or Indians who designed and made the garment intended it as an outer garment. I can think of no other reason for the ornamentation up the back or the ribbons off the shoulders.

The garment is interesting in its elegance of design and paucity of ornamentation. It shares decorative features with two items of Woodland and Prairie Indian costume, the "ribbon shirt", the garment from which the straight dancer's shirt of today is derived, and the straight dancer's vest, still seen occasionally in Oklahoma among the Ponca and Osage. The "box" design in brown ribbon at the neck in front and the ribbons at the shoulders are features also present on the ribbon shirt, while the tripartite decoration on the back somewhat resembles the three strips of loom beadwork seen on the straight dancer's vest in this location. The material of the vest is

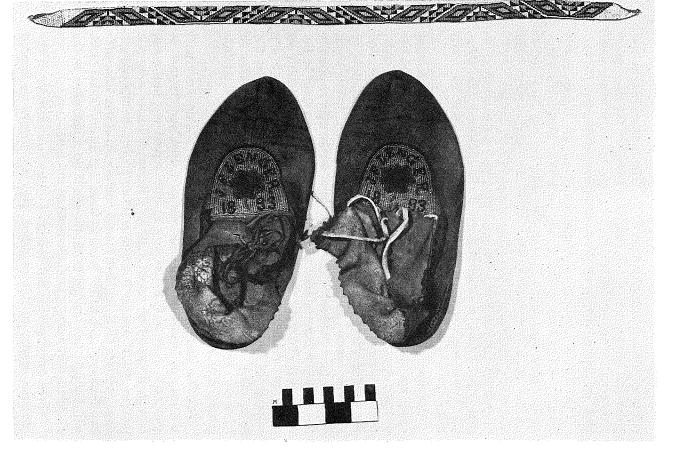


Plate 8: Beaded hatband (?) and moccasins of the Lenger costume. The moccasins are a soft-soled type, but Lenger had commercial leather soles and heels added by a local shoemaker.

red wool, with a figured cotton lining. The ribbons, yellow and green and brown, are of silk and the sequins are the large metal type once carried by Indian traders. The row of thirteen small blue and white buttons up the front is also a distinctive feature.

(5) The Moccasins. The moccasins of the music man's costume, when they arrived in the mail, were the pieces which really "blew my mind." Like the shoulder bag they are so similar to a common Ojibwa style in both pattern and decoration that, were it not for the legend "J. F. Lenger, 1893" beaded on the vamp of each, one might well attribute them to that tribe. I have not the slightest doubt, however, that these are Sioux moccasins, made at Santee, Nebraska, by some Mdewakanton or Wahpekute woman.

The moccasins are a soft-soled type with a small, fully beaded vamp and a seam running from this piece to the tip of the wearer's toes. As in Ojibwa and Cree moccasins of this style, there is a small welt or edging of silk-wrapped cordage around the beaded vamp. Among the Minnesota Santee this style of moccasin seems to have gone out of use by 1880, being replaced by a hard-soled type with floral design uppers. Among the Canadian Santee, however, this pattern has persisted to the present day. To make the moccasins more useful in marching on pavement, Professor Lenger had them equipped with heavy commercial leather soles and heels, also "scuff plates" at the back. This was probably done by the local shoemaker in Niobrara. The moccasins probably serve to date, at least in a general way, the remainder of the costume.

(6) The Beaded Band. The use of this piece is not known. It is a strip of loomwork, undoubtedly of Santee manufacture, in geometric designs. It is too long to have served as a headband, though it would be about right as a hatband. I have only one picture of J. F. Lenger in costume (Plate 1). In it he is wearing a large, western style felt hat turned jauntily up at one side, with two feathers stuck in the band at back and an unbraided black wig. Perhaps this beaded band, though it does not show in the snapshot, was worn around the band of this hat.

Three other pieces, not collected with the remainder of the costume, appear in this snapshot. One is a loomwork beaded belt, another a loomwork necklace with hairpipe and neck bead pendants, and a third is a handsome pipe. Presumably these

were given away or sold by Lenger during his lifetime, as their whereabouts is not known.

In sum, the J. F. Lenger Indian costume, in addition to its historic significance, can tell us a great deal about Santee Dakota beadwork styles and techniques in use circa 1893. The various techniques and styles of beadwork seen in the costume also show the influence of neighboring tribes on Santee crafts, as well as the high level of artistic ability of this too often forgotten, yet important division of the Sioux "tribe." One wonders how many bona fide Santee items are presently misidentified as Ojibwa or Potawatomi in museums and collections throughout the U. S. and Canada.

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