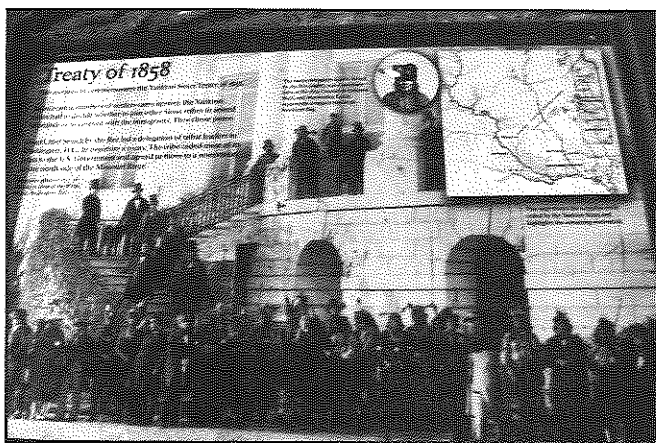


4



The Yankton Treaty of 1858 and Its Aftermath

Soon after the Yankton Treaty of 1858 was ratified on April 19 that year, travel increased along the recently surveyed Sioux City to Fort Randall Road. The removal in 1859 of between two and three thousand Yankton Sioux Indians from their familiar campgrounds to the 400,000-acre reservation designated as their new home in today's Charles Mix County expanded use of the trail. Settlers, supply trains, missionaries, adventurers, fur traders, and entrepreneurs of many designs responded to the lure of unknown and enticing lands. Immigrants hastened to claim ceded lands. Businessmen and settlers sought lucrative government contracts for shares of the \$65,000 provided in the treaty for supplies and annuities. Some white men had already located on east and



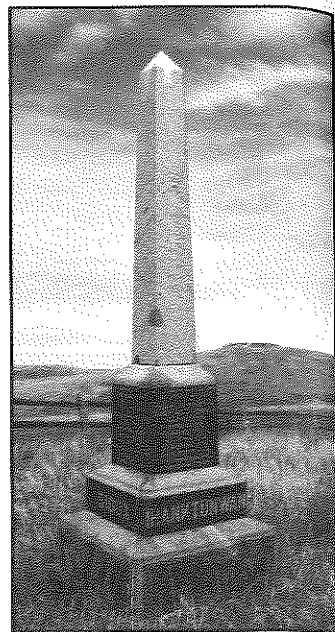
A small memorial park perched on a hill one-half mile north of Greenwood prominently displays an easel sign portraying the gathering in Washington, D.C., of whites and the Yankton Sioux who negotiated the Treaty of 1858. The sign is remarkable for its clarity despite exposure to the weather.

Indian homes are dispersed in the hills surrounding Greenwood. The business street during its height from 1913-1930 included (from left) Livery Barn and house; Joe Estes Store; Guy Williamson Store and Warehouse (1893-1943); Fred Frederick Store and P.O.; Arrow Building (George Abadella) Meat Market; Ed Bailey Store (small building); and Bailey's Mercantile Store.

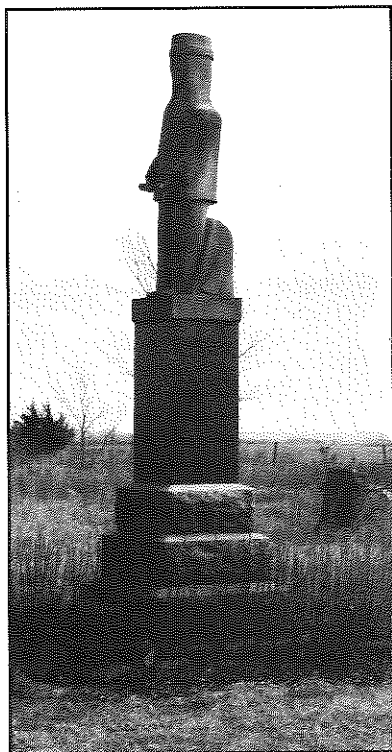
west borders of the reservation with their Indian wives. From those unions they could and did live off annuities and future land allotments awarded to their wives and children.

The consummation of the Yankton Treaty of 1858, which opened Indian lands along the Missouri River west of the Iowa border to settlement by whites, was due largely to the persuasive efforts of J.B.S. Todd, Charles F. Picotte, Theophile Bruguier, and Zephyr Recontre. These men, who eventually benefited financially, accompanied a sizable delegation of Yankton Sioux chiefs and headmen led by Chief Struck-By-the-Ree. They spent four months in Washington working out details. Indian oral tradition suggests that liquor may have been a factor in final negotiations because the Yankton Sioux delegates had been warned that drinking water in the capital city was unsafe.

Charles F. Picotte, who had acted as interpreter, received a full section of land for his assistance. Picotte, a half-blood, was well-liked, generous, some said too generous to succeed in business affairs, and in time his property, which at one time



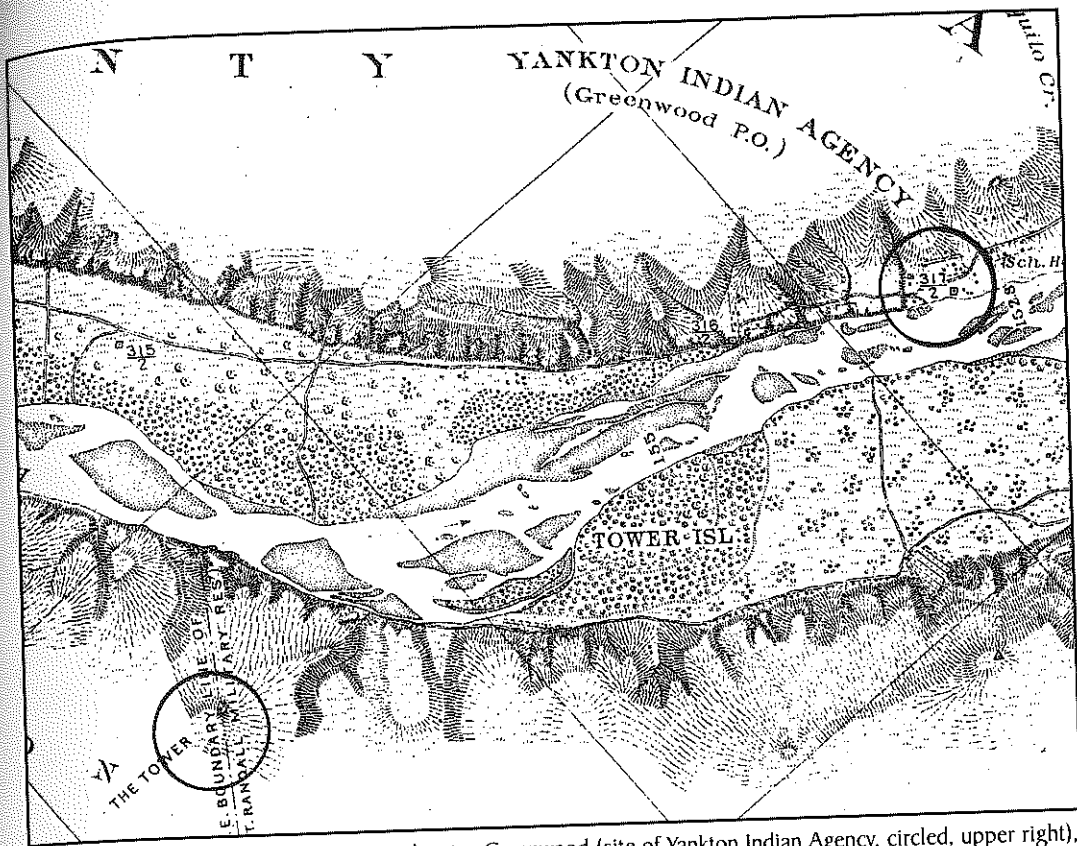
An obelisk monument in a small park one-half mile north of Greenwood bears the names of Yankton Sioux Chiefs and others who signed the Treaty of 1858 in Washington, D.C.



A stylized statue of Chief Struck-By-the-Ree marks his burial site in the Presbyterian Indian Cemetery one mile north of Greenwood.



Half-breed Charles F. Picotte sits with Chief Smutty Bear, left, who opposed the Treaty of 1858, and Chief Struck-by-the-Ree, whose counsel influenced acceptance. (South Dakota State Historical Society)



An 1892 Missouri River Commission map locates Greenwood (site of Yankton Indian Agency, circled, upper right), Mosquito Creek (far upper right), Tower landmark noted by Lewis and Clark, and the boundary of Fort Randall Military Reservation as it extends into Nebraska.

made up the entire east half of the city of Yankton, passed from his hands. He died at Yankton Agency in the late 1890s.

The other three also received property, Recontre in the Bon Homme Village area and Bruguier in the Big Sioux River Point area along with federal contracts. The politically astute Todd manipulated his trading posts licenses to secure property for town sites.

Many Indians regarded the Yankton Treaty with misgivings. The text arranged for cession of eight million acres except for the 400,000 reserved for the reservation. The federal government agreed to disperse \$1,600,000 in annuities and cash over a fifty year period but stipulated in return that the tribe must not engage in hostilities (unless in self-defense) and must agree to deliver offenders to proper authorities. Included in the treaty were provisions for distribution of funds by a council of chiefs to tribal half-breed relatives. The government reserved the right to build roads and construct military forts on the reservation, and promised as well to provide educational facilities for the tribe. In turn, the Yanktons must move to the reservation within one year of ratification, that is, by February 16, 1859.

By early July 1859, more than two thousand Indians and 600 lodges clustered in and around the hills of the tiny Yankton settlement in an irregular circle three to four miles in circumference,

awaiting the arrival of the steamboat which was to bring promised provisions. Not all had understood nor approved terms of the treaty, requiring that Chief Struck-By-the-Ree use his considerable peacemaking ability to promote acceptance by the various tribes. Even so, on July 10 when the steamboat *Carrier* loaded with Indian provisions and trinkets landed at the foot of what would become Walnut Street with Major Alexander Redfield and his family on board, the gathering remained somewhat truculent. However, the new United States Indian Agent eloquently urged the Indians to proceed at once to the new Yankton Sioux Indian Reservation where he would present gifts and provide a great feast. As the *Carrier* continued upriver to the agency site at Greenwood, the mollified Indians followed, keeping the steamboat in sight as best they could.

The federal government had chosen a primitive treeless site along the Missouri River named Greenwood on which to establish the United States Indian Agency. Caleb Greenwood, an explorer and fur trader, had established a trading post at (or near) that location in 1812. Greenwood's journals indicate that his expedition had enjoyed friendly and positive relations with Indians of the Upper Missouri River Valley.

Tackett's Station

A common occupation among the unscrupulous along reservation borders was selling diluted whiskey, and one of the worst offenders was George L. Tackett. In 1858, Tackett, who had a native wife, was sheriff of Woodbury County, Iowa. He was classed as French because he spoke the language and Indian dialects as well and like other Frenchmen had been a fur trader.

Soon after the Yankton Sioux Reservation opened, Tackett became proprietor of the notorious Tackett's Station located on the east side of Choteau Creek near the Missouri River. Traffic at the Brownsville Military Road Crossing could easily detour downstream to Tackett's for refreshments and entertainment and cross onto the reservation at that point. He was said to sell whiskey legally for \$1 a shot to non-Indians and illegally to anyone else who could pay. His two-story frame building served as courthouse, post office, trading post, gambling room and stagecoach station. Prostitutes were said to arrive by steamboat for a short stay before moving upstream to conduct their business elsewhere along the Missouri.

In 1861, Governor William Jayne appointed Tackett to serve as Justice of the Peace. The new official became known far and wide as a self-styled lawman that dispensed justice on his own terms. Hangings and shootings were said to be common, victims buried on the grounds, and death counts notched onto a tree. His native wife, daughter of Pierre Dorion,



Brush nearly hides the first floor of the two-story frame Tackett's Station in this undated blurred photo.



Except for several new windows, the exterior of Tackett's Station retained most original features before vandals burned the abandoned building to the ground in 1992.



Local lore suggests that a cedar tree whose venerable stump perseveres on grounds of Tackett's Station once bore notches recording deaths of those hung on the property.

friend and interpreter to Lewis and Clark, left her husband, ostensibly because of his morally objectionable acts.

Tackett sold his station in the early 1880s. The building then became known as the Trumbo Stage Station, then Skakel's Honolulu Ranch, and finally simply as a farmstead home. Vandals burned the unoccupied building to the ground in 1992.

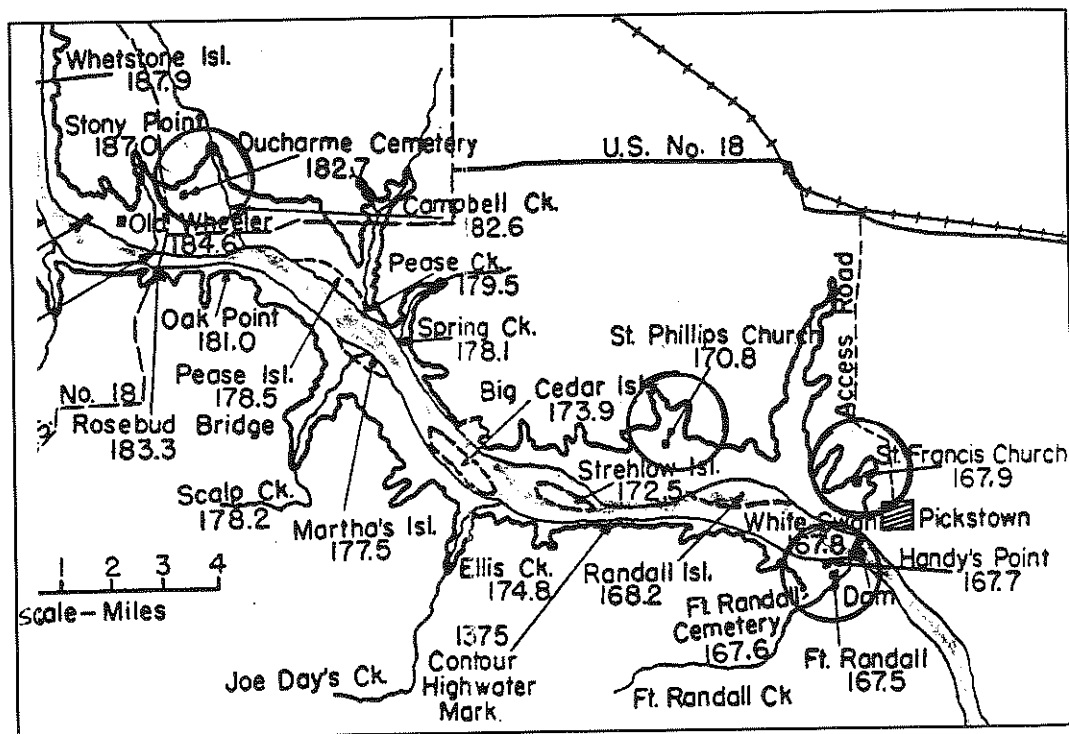
Cuthbert DuCharme, "Papineau"

Several "whiskey ranches" located north and west of Fort Randall along the extended Military Road also served liquid refreshments to all who could pay. One well-known ranch was owned and operated by Cuthbert DuCharme, also known as "Papineau," or simply "Pap."

Cuthbert DuCharme was born in 1827 in French Sault St. Marie, Canada, and came to Charles Mix County in 1857 when 30 years old. He married Theresa Latina LaCompte, had six children and one stepson, was well-built, and gracious unless intoxicated and then said to be a devil. His disreputable but popular road house,



Papineau's Trading Post along the Missouri River north of Fort Randall was a popular gathering place. The restored building is centerpiece of a historical park in Geddes, South Dakota.



A close-up of historical sites once along the Missouri River but now inundated by Lake Francis Case notes locations (circled, left to right) of Ducharme Cemetery, St. Phillips Church, St. Francis Church (moved to Lake Andes when Fort Randall was built), and White Swan and Fort Randall areas.

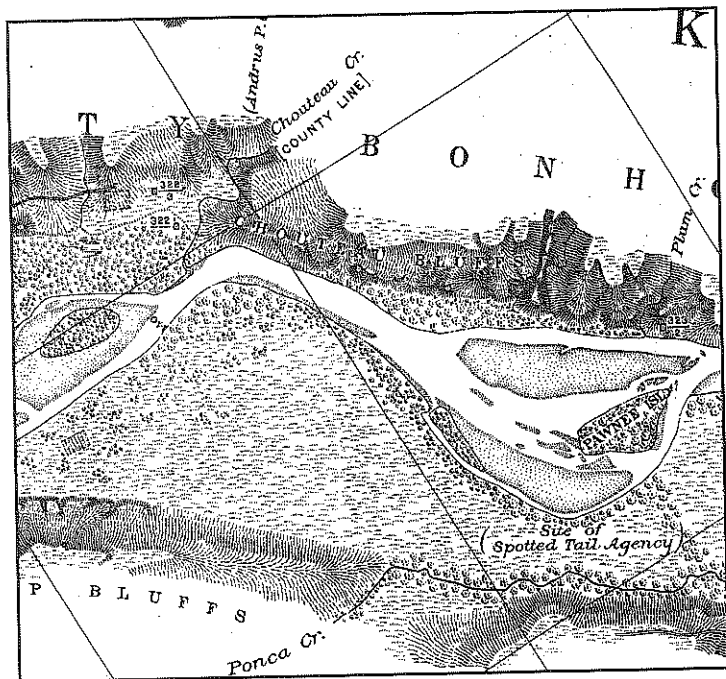
store and place of carousal, located in Section Six, NE ¼, T96N, R67W, Jackson Township, entertained rovers, soldiers, cowboys, river men and drifters. His property, called "Papineau Bottom," lay one-half mile from Campbell Creek where a spirited competitor, General Charles Campbell had his own notorious store and trading post. (It is possible that Campbell was the same General Charles Campbell, man of ability and rugged courage, who in 1870 was co-founder and respected citizen of the village of Scotland, South Dakota, located on Dawson Creek and Firesteel Trail in Bon Homme County.)

"Pap," so nick-named for "pap water" (whiskey), purchased his supplies by the barrels in Yankton, riding along the Military Trail behind a fine pair of stallions. At home again, he was known to pour whiskey into a dishpan to which three half-pint cups were attached by chains, and charge twenty-five cents for each fill. Should customers get out of hand, violence and deaths at Pap's were not uncommon.

"Pap" was said to have buried 27 men, women and children between 1865-1895 in DuCharme Cemetery, located about fifteen miles upriver from today's Fort Randall Dam. The eight foot embankment thought high enough to protect the burial ground from rising waters was inundated within two years by Lake Francis Case. For a time, tops of marble and granite tombstones and the five foot high ornamental metal fence were visible above water. Before long, however, decayed wooden crosses, pine and custom made coffins and personal items washed up, solemn reminders of life that had once flourished on Pap's Bottom. During this period the United States Army Corps of Engineers exhumed the remains and interred them elsewhere.

Papineau and his family lived at his post until 1885. His life style had taken its toll, and he spent sporadic intervals at the Yankton Insane Asylum. He died in 1903. The restored Papineau cabin, flanked by a small collection of original grave markers from the DuCharme Cemetery, stands on museum grounds at the Geddes (Charles Mix County) Historical Village.

Not all Indians partook of forbidden refreshments in taverns along the river. In 1868, General Harney established Whetstone Agency upriver from Fort Randall near the mouth of Whetstone Creek. Chief Spotted Tail, concerned chief of a thousand or more friendly Brules and mixed bloods who camped at that agency, warned his people to stay away from temptations that



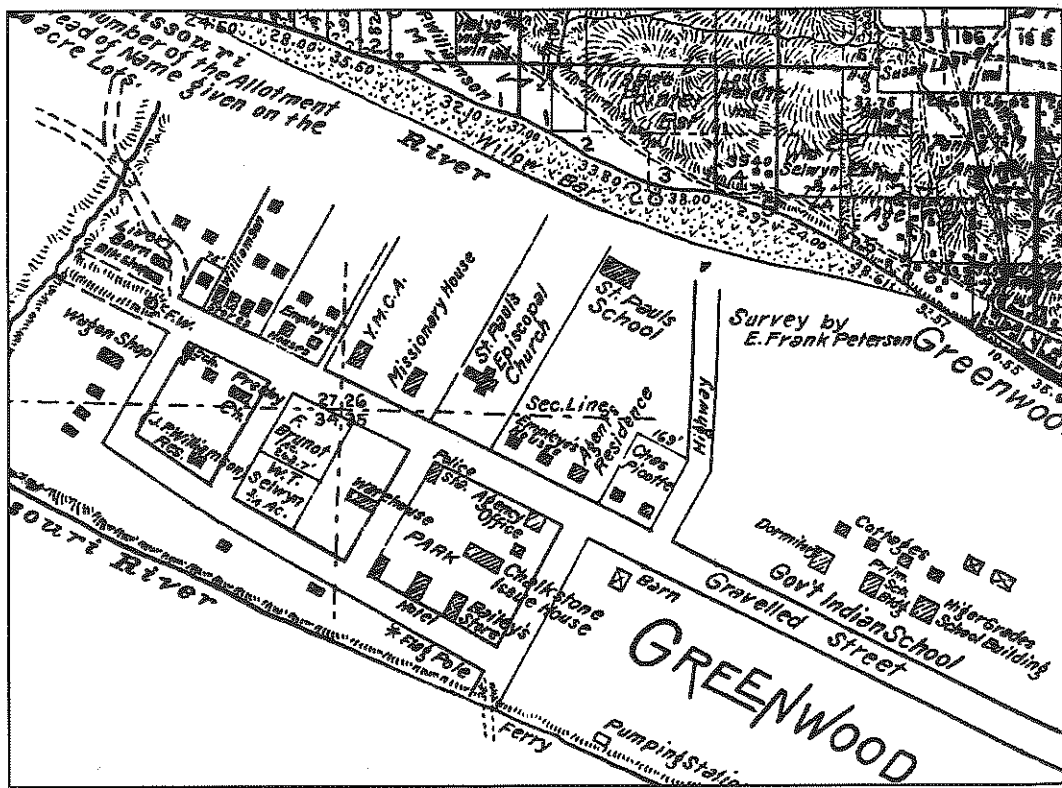
In 1877, the federal government moved Chief Spotted Tail and his tribe to a location along Ponca Creek near Niobrara, Nebraska. Note Chouteau Creek and Andrus P.O., top center. (Missouri River Commission map, 1892)

lay across the river at places like Pap's or Campbell's. In 1877, the government moved "Spot" and his people downriver to Ponca Creek near Niobrara, Nebraska, and in 1879 to the Rosebud Agency, where he is buried. Dates inscribed on his tall obelisk tombstone state that he was born in 1823 and died in August 1881.

The Yankton Agency at Greenwood

Alexander H. Redfield, 53, came to Dakota Territory from Detroit, Michigan, with his wife and four children. He was not only first United States Indian Agent at the Yankton Sioux Reservation but also in all the territory. Redfield himself supervised building plans for the agency, which had been named Greenwood by the Post Office Department, and immediately began building his own residence. A devout Episcopalian, he personally conducted Sabbath services during his two year term, with limited success among the Indians.

Greenwood became a boom town. Great wagon trains loaded with manufactured goods protected by soldiers from Fort Randall lumbered along the nearby Military Trail. Men and women on foot and horseback, gold seekers to the Black Hills, and the military stopped at this only settled community in Charles Mix County. The town site soon boasted numerous buildings including a long warehouse near the steam-boat landing; three double log cabins in a string on the bank of the river; behind them a blacksmith shop and tin shop; large barn and block house; chalk-rock building used for butchering annuity beef; and agent's residence. By 1868, independent non-In-



A plat of Greenwood drawn by surveyor E. Frank Peterson in 1906 identifies schools and buildings. Note chalkstone issue house, sometimes called "Butchery," in park below Agency Office.

dian businesses appeared on the community's main street, and plans were laid for buildings to house missionary residences and schools.

The federal government issued clothing, blankets, machinery, grain, livestock, and lumber to the natives. The agent hired a "boss farmer" to teach Indians how to farm the white man's way. Federally-employed laborers built a shingle mill, grist mill, and saw mill for employment opportunities. Some earned money by cutting wood and stacking cords along the Missouri River for sale to passing steamboats.

Until 1870 most Yanktons lived in tepees, avoiding by choice log houses similar to those provided the chiefs to discourage their roaming. Eventually they too began to occupy log homes scattered here and there among the hills surrounding the agency.

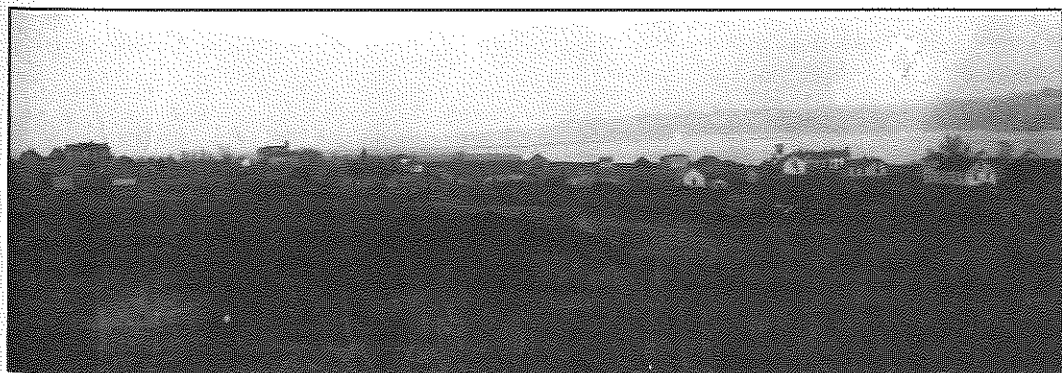
The United States Census of 1860 listed the following white residents in Greenwood: Zephyr Recontrer (sic); Charles P. Booge, trader; Frederick Ploghoff (sic), employee; Richard Godfrey; James Kenney; William M. Clark; and William Borden, laborers.

Other residents of Greenwood in 1860 included Felix Le Blanc, blacksmith; Horace Graer, head farmer; Wm. H. Penrose, agency engineer; several mixed bloods and French Canadians; one female (fourteen-year-old Julia Picotte); and a number of children. Only the fourteen Yankton Sioux engaged in learning trades were listed by their tribal names on the census. A rather general reference was made to a German Colony (possibly Hutterian or Mennonite) located on reservation land.

Zephyr Recontrer soon left Greenwood for the section of land in Bon Homme County the federal government had awarded him for helping negotiate the Yankton Treaty. The village of Bon Homme, which became Bon Homme County seat in 1862 and figured prominently in early Dakota



An abandoned chalkstone building standing in abandoned Greenwood village likely served as the chalkstone issue house (butchery) noted on a 1906 plat of the town.



Buildings in nearly treeless Greenwood in its prime clustered along the Missouri River in haphazard fashion.

politics, was established on Recontre's property, aided by the machinations of adjoining landowner Dr. Walter Burleigh, second Indian Agent at the agency.

In the 1870s and later, settlers seeking to supplement their meager farm income secured employment with the federal government on the reservation in various capacities. Mention will be made of several in another chapter.

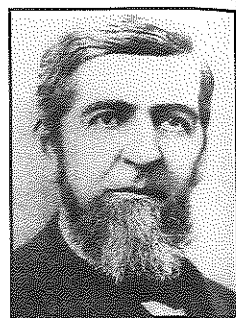
Dr. Walter Atwood Burleigh

Had President Abraham Lincoln known of Walter A. Burleigh's tendency to promote personal gain above public service, he might have thought twice before offering the mercurial medical doctor and attorney the position of United States Indian Agent at Yankton Agency.

Walter Burleigh was born in Waterville, Maine, on October 25, 1820. He was 41 years old when he and second wife Caroline Faulk Burleigh and their four sons arrived at Greenwood in 1861 to take over the position previously held by Agent Alexander Redfield. Burleigh undertook responsibly the administrative conditions of the Treaty of 1858; however there is evidence that he distorted rules to benefit himself and family. Among his misdeeds, he freely stocked his expanding ranch along the Missouri River in Bon Homme County by holding over annuity cattle until he could claim their calves; he diverted machinery and similar supplies meant for the Agency to his ranch, either using them himself or selling them for personal gain; and he falsified labor reports and manipulated documents to his own advantage.

But perhaps his most flagrant misuse of power occurred after the sinking of the steamboat *J.G. Morrow* on August 29, 1861. Using typically aggressive methods, Burleigh managed to salvage and appropriate the majority of 100 tons of annuity supplies and 18 tons of private cargo stored onboard. Rather than having followed the prescribed method of publishing bids for delivery of goods, he had privately hired a shipping firm to transport the cargo from St. Louis. When the steamboat sank after striking snags eleven miles below Yankton, Burleigh rounded up available Yankton "rowdies" to protect and haul the cargo to storage at a conveniently accessible location on the Bon Homme County side of Choteau Creek across from the reservation. The small community of Andrus would later be established there. Stashed among the salvage were said to be many barrels of whiskey destined for sites along the Military Trail.

Bitter rivalry prevailed between trader J.B.S. Todd, of Frost, Todd and Company, and Burleigh, both in personal relationships and political af-



Walter A. Burleigh wore many hats: medical doctor, lawyer, politician, Indian agent and territorial delegate (1865-1869).



Dr. Burleigh's original 1860 chalkstone dispensary continues to serve as annex to a home in Bon Homme Hutterite Colony. Scratched into its crumbling outer wall are dates and initials relating to an early era.

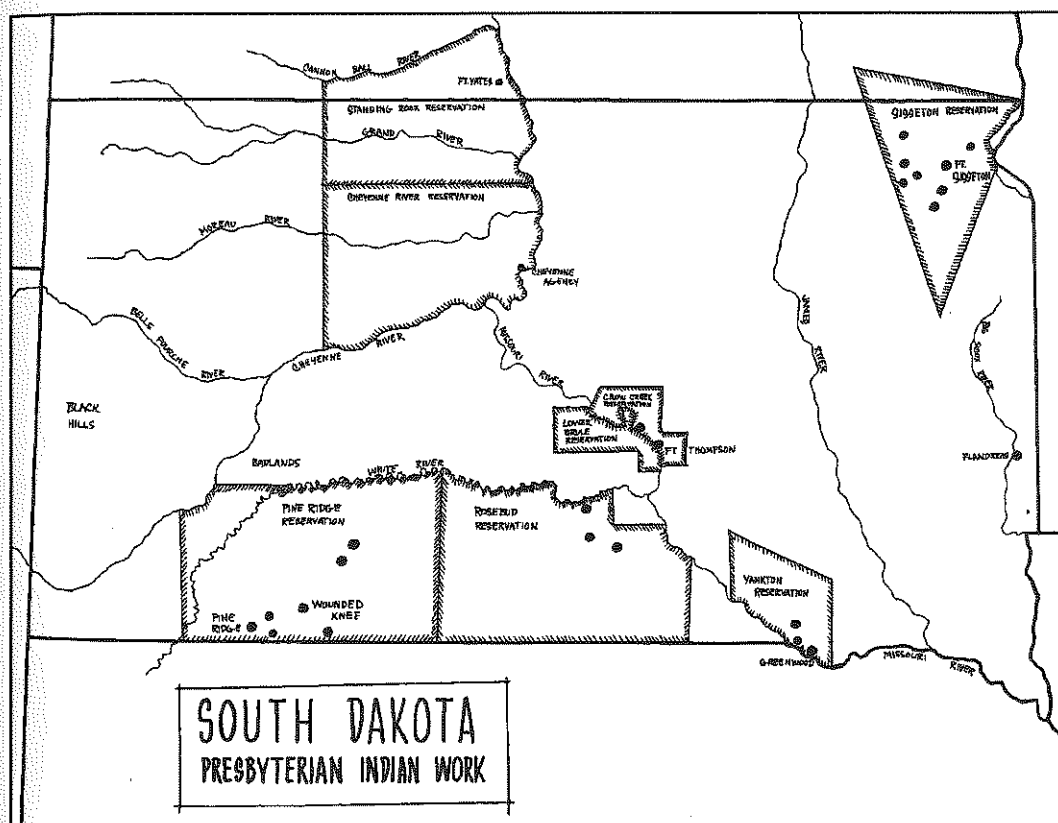
fairs. Both were deeply involved in politics when Yankton was Territorial Capital, and both are remembered with grudging respect in the town of Yankton, where many of their battles played out.

Religion on the Trail

Missionaries of different faiths had long plied trails in Sioux country by foot, horseback and wagon. In 1840, Presbyterian missionary Stephen Return Riggs along with staff member Alexander Huggins left the Minnesota Sisseton area and traveled west from the headwaters of the Big Sioux River to Fort Pierre where Riggs delivered what may have been the first sermon to the Dakota Sioux.

The first Catholic missionary was likely Fr. Pierre DeSmet who traversed the area on steamboat and by land before 1840, acting under the Archbishop of St. Louis. Later, Catholic Rt. Rev. Martin Marty labored unceasingly among the Sioux, generally traveling by horseback and living in tepees while introducing his listeners to Christianity.

When the Sioux City to Fort Randall Road came into existence, missionaries of several denominations followed it to serve settlers as well as Indians. In Union, Yankton and Clay Counties, Scandinavian Lutherans living along the Big Sioux and Missouri Rivers and between the James and Vermillion Rivers generally held church services in their homes. Baptist missionary Rev. J.E. Lockwood attended to the needs of Sioux City, Elk Point, Vermillion, and Yankton Baptists from 1866



Presbyterian missions once dotted Indian reservations on the Dakota landscape.

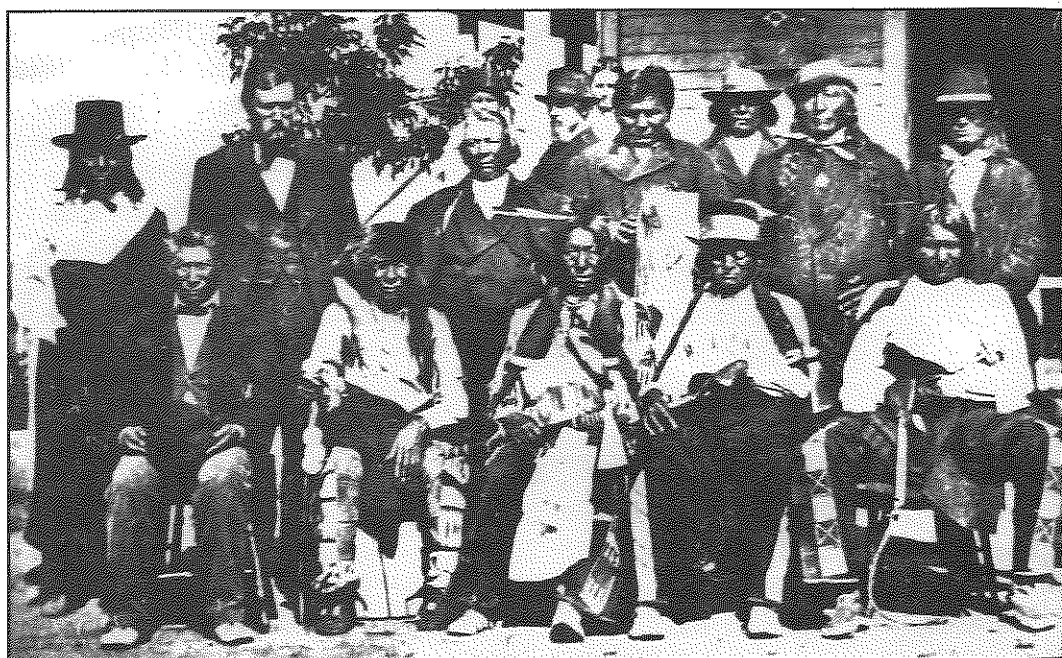
to 1869. Congregational missionary Stewart Sheldon served pioneer Congregationalists along the river from Elk Point as far west as Running Water in Bon Homme County. Rev. D.B. Nichols established pioneer Congregational churches in Bon Homme Village and Volin. Methodist Episcopal missionary Rev. S.W. Ingham included in his route Fort Randall where in 1860 he baptized the infant daughter of J.B.S. Todd, then post sutler.

Also in 1860, Episcopal Rev. Melancton Hoyt assisted the Rt. Rev. Jos. C. Talbot, Missionary Bishop of the Northwest, in serving settlers from Sioux City to Fort Randall. Hoyt moved to Yankton in 1862, established a church there and was appointed General Missionary in 1865. Another Episcopalian, Bishop Wm. Hobart Hare, became known as "Apostle to the Sioux," for his vigorous campaign among the Indians.

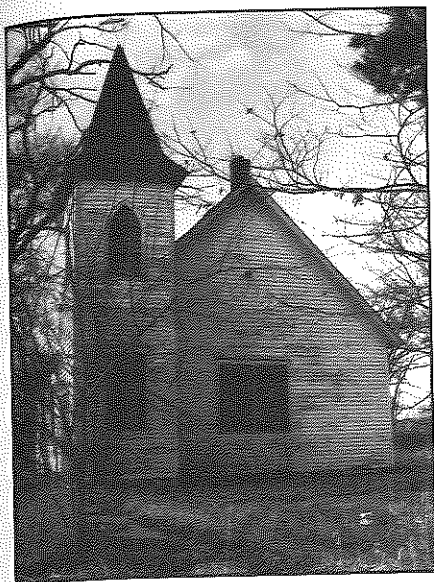
Missionaries at the Yankton Agency

Under terms of the Treaty of 1858, the federal government was obliged to provide educational facilities for the Yankton Sioux. Before 1879, Congress awarded contracts to religious organizations with fixed sums to be paid for each pupil taught, requiring in turn that staff and physical plants be provided by the societies.

At Greenwood Agency, in response to the federal government's invitation, Presbyterian Rev. John P. Williamson was first of two missionaries to set up residence on agency grounds. He arrived in March 1869 and immediately began erecting a house of hewed cottonwood logs. Until its completion, agency officials allowed him to house his family in a log cabin and use the Council Room located in a warehouse for church and school purposes when that room was not needed for other assemblies.



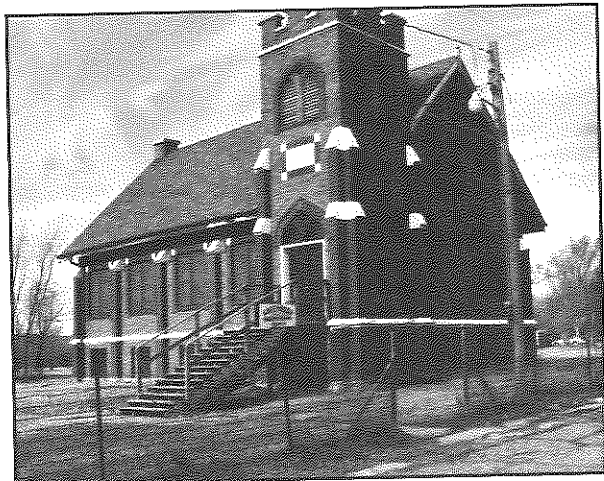
Rev. John P. Williamson (bearded, center rear in hat) preached Christianity to the Sioux. Struck-by-the-Ree sits front row, second from left. A white man standing second from left is unidentified. (S.J. Morrow photo)



Above: The long abandoned Presbyterian Church in Old Greenwood stands forlornly next to the brick church which took its place and continues to serve.



Right top: The Hill Presbyterian Church built in 1875 stands deserted and desolate on a lonely hill overlooking the Missouri River south of Dante, separated from an adjacent Indian cemetery by a road.

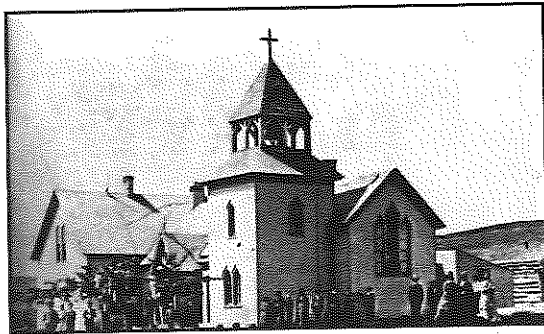


Right bottom: Steep steps lead to the brick Presbyterian Church in old Greenwood where funerals are still held. A sign on the fence surrounding neatly kept grounds proclaims "Greenwood Presbyterian Church."

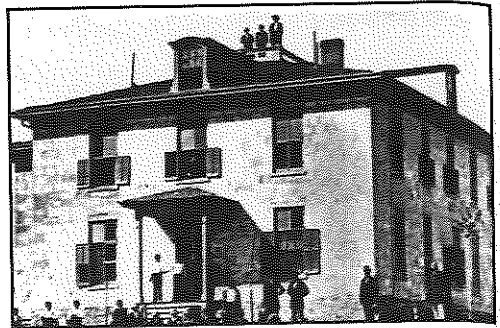
Williamson was not well received at first, but eventually, aided by Chief Struck-by-the-Ree who sent his grandchildren to Williamson's school, the missionary's teachings were tolerated. His first church (of four in Charles Mix County) was organized in March 1871 at Greenwood with 18 members. The other three congregations, Hill Church in 1875, Cedar Church in 1887, and Heyata Church in 1893, were established in various locations on the reservation. As late as 1996, Hill Presbyterian Church stood abandoned and forlorn south of Dante on a hill high above the Missouri River. A historical Indian cemetery lies alongside.

Episcopalian Rev. Joseph W. Cook arrived at Greenwood on May 9, 1870, after receiving approval to do so from chiefs of all eight reservation bands. Cook soon established Holy Fellowship Episcopal Church and St. Paul's Day School, a school for boys at the agency. He labored vigorously among the Yanktons until his death at Greenwood in 1900. There is evidence that on August 21, 1870, he appointed Rev. Paul Mazakute, first ordained Indian of the Santee Mission, to serve Holy Name Chapel.

Research into diocesan Episcopal Church records led to a visit in 1996 to the Yankton Reservation by twenty-two volunteers from St. James Episcopal Church, Shreveport, Louisiana. The



Holy Fellowship Episcopal Church served converts at Greenwood under the ministry of Rev. Joseph W. Cook.

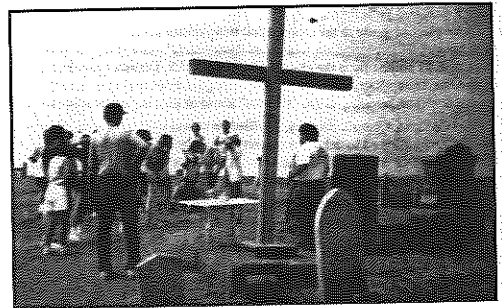


Episcopalian Rev. Joseph Cook established St. Paul's Day School for Boys in Greenwood soon after his arrival in 1870.

group's mission was to restore the abandoned "Old Burial Ground of Holy Name Chapel" located on a hill in Section 15, south Rouse Township near the Missouri River three miles west of Choteau Creek. Deep ruts cut into the prairie alongside the Indian cemetery suggest the location of either a territorial road or alternate military trail.

The Louisiana volunteers labored for three days righting tombstones, removing grass and weeds, trimming shrubbery, and repairing broken fences. They noted the earliest burial among 56 marked graves was that of David Bull on July 31, 1873, and the last known burial that of Emma Singer in 1968. Very likely, depressions in the sod may have been the only marker for many others. Neighbor Robert Monfore, retired military, who owns surrounding property, provided materials for a strong cattle-proof fence, and then-neighbor Delbert Beeson built a large wooden cross which he set in the center of the restored grounds.

The first Holy Name Episcopal Chapel, which may have stood beside the cemetery, was said to have been made of rough hewn logs measuring 20x40 feet. It is believed that Mad Bull II, an Episcopalian convert and chief of the Choteau Band, founded a log Holy Name Episcopal Chapel three miles north near Choteau Creek in Section 34, Rouse Township. To curb temptations created by proximity to both the Military Road and Tackett's Station and to encourage acceptance of Christianity, Mad Bull with limited success urged his tribesmen to limit participation in Indian cultural events such as give-aways and pow-wows.



Top: Isolated on a hill close to the Missouri River near an alternate trail to Greenwood lies Old Burial Ground of Holy Name Episcopal Chapel. Robert Monfore, Col. Ret. (right), owner of surrounding property, his neighbor Delbert Beeson, and the author stroll among tombstones in 1996, just prior to restoration.

Below: Episcopalian volunteers from Louisiana clear and restore Old Burial Ground of Holy Name Episcopal Chapel in 1996.



Holy Name Episcopal Chapel was built of "cement block" in Rouse Township near Choteau Creek in 1890. The pastor in white may have been Rev. Paul Mazakute, first ordained Indian of the Santee Mission.



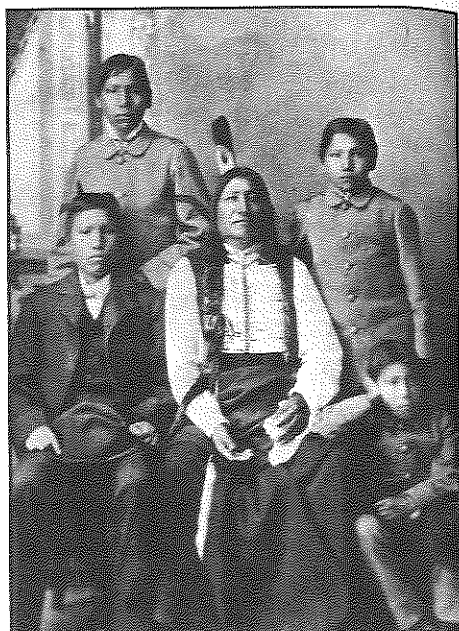
Above: The tiny building on the right (note barely visible cross on roof) was last of three Holy Name Episcopal Chapels on the same site in Rouse Township near Choteau Creek. Cedar trees mark entrance to Holy Name Episcopal Cemetery.



Right: A mournful figure watches over a grave site in Holy Name Episcopal Cemetery.

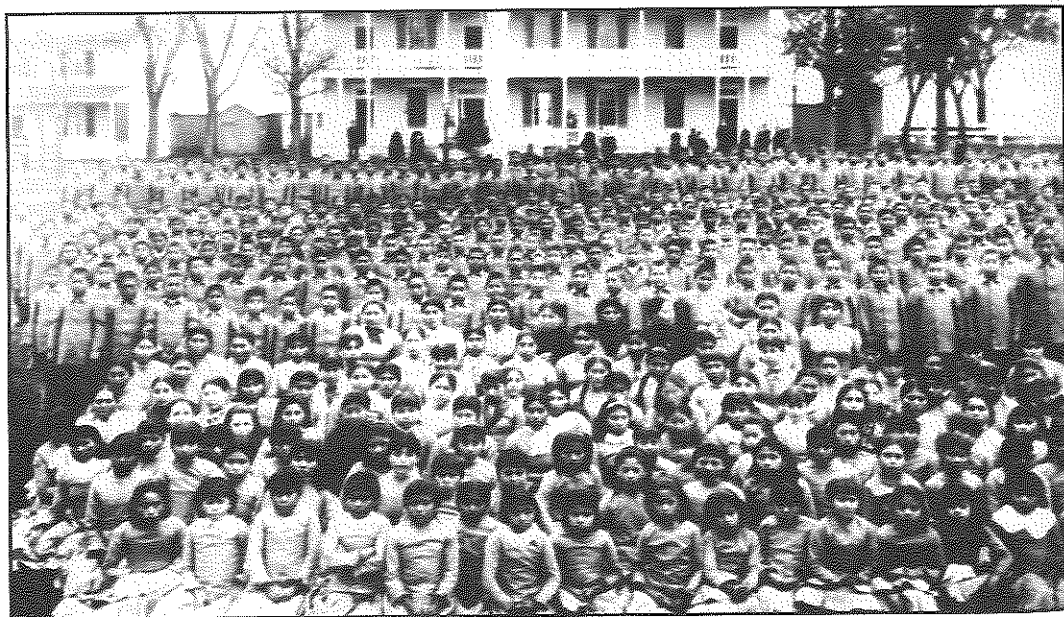
In January 1878, a frame church replaced the log chapel. That building also housed a day school into the 1890s. In 1900, the frame church was replaced (one source says burned) by the "Cement Church." When the cement church collapsed, it was removed and a schoolhouse moved onto church grounds alongside a small cemetery. The schoolhouse chapel closed and was deconsecrated in 1996; however the cemetery continues in use.

It would be turn of the century before the federal government discontinued financial assistance to mission schools on reservations, instead providing public day and boarding schools. Parents of some Indian youngsters, including Chief Spotted Tail, broke tribal protocol by sending their children to become "Americanized" at Carlisle Indian Industrial School located in abandoned cavalry barracks at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, from 1879 to 1918. Whether the experiment succeeded is conjectural as Spotted Tail brought his children home in 1880. However a beautifully kept Indian Cemetery testifies to the

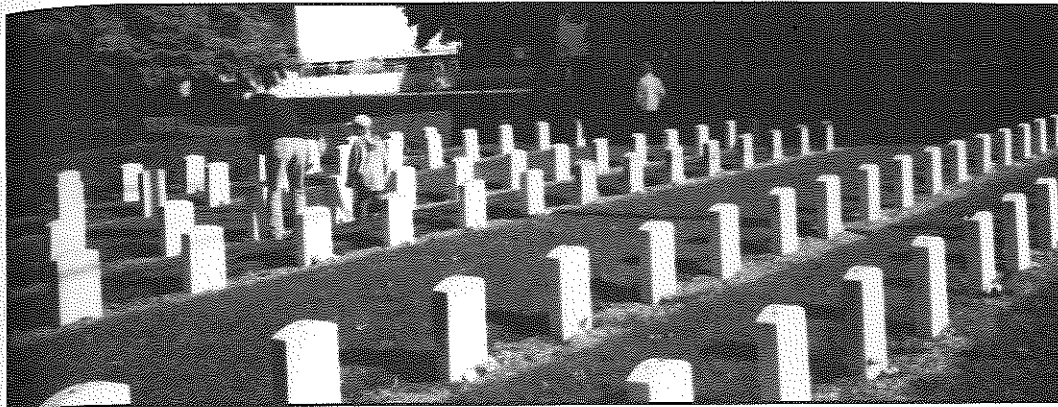


Right: Brule Chief Spotted Tail sent four sons to Carlisle Indian Industrial School in 1879; however, he soon withdrew them when he learned they had been baptized and given Christian names without his permission. (South Dakota State Historical Society)

Below: Indian students attending Carlisle Indian Industrial School in Pennsylvania pose in Americanized clothing.



perpetual presence of many Indian children on Carlisle grounds now occupied by the prestigious United States Army War College.



A plaque at the entrance of Indian Cemetery on Carlisle Indian School grounds states, "Buried here are the Indians who died while attending Carlisle Indian School (1879-1918). The original Indian Cemetery was located to the rear of the grandstand on Indian Field. In 1931 the graves were transferred to this site." Coins and memorabilia continue to decorate graves.