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SOCIETIES OF THE PLAINS INDIANS

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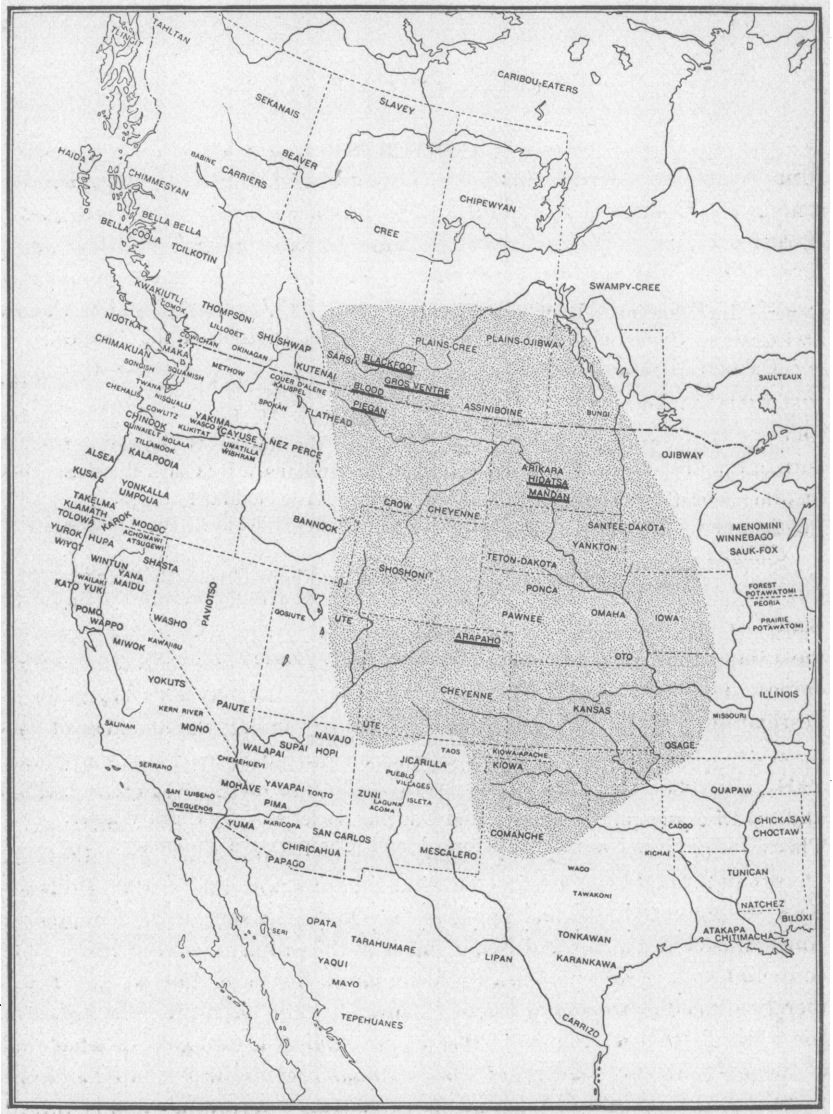
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AREA OF DISTRIBUTION FOR PLAINS SOCIETIES.

(Tribes underlined have age-grades.)

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The aim of this volume is to present in compact and readily accessible form concrete field data upon the societies and analogous organizations among the Indians of the Plains. The problems involved are not merely those pertaining to the culture of the Plains Indians, for the investigations of Schurtz and Webster, to be referred to later, have formulated general explanatory theories for the origin of all primitive societies which elevate any such study as we have undertaken to the level of a general problem in social development. Our method, however, has been empirical, beginning first with the collection of data irrespective of these general points of view, followed by their publication in the form and order of accumulation; then in turn subjecting these individual reports to comparative analysis. Our ideal has been, first of all, the gathering of adequate data and its presentation in full detail for each tribal group.

Societies among the Indians of the Plains were noted by Lewis and Clark, but first described in detail by Maximilian, and though remarked upon by many writers were not seriously studied until 1899. Up to this time the most important data were found in the writings of Grinnell, Mooney, Clark, James, and J. O. Dorsey. But in 1899 Professor A. L. Kroeber began his investigations of the Arapaho and Gros Ventre under the auspices of this institution and published a special paper on the societies of the Arapaho in 1904. In 1903 the writer began an investigation of the Blackfoot Indians and found many points of similarity to the Arapaho and Gros Ventre series. This at once suggested an important comparative problem. In 1905 G. A. Dorsey published his notes on Cheyenne organizations and in 1906 Professor Kroeber presented a second paper at the Quebec session of the Congress of Americanists in which the existing status of the problem was outlined. The contribution by Kroeber clearly formulated the case, but so far it was merely a specific problem in Plains culture. Some years previous appeared the work of Heinrich Schurtz, *Altersklassen und Männerbunde*, in which one of the most striking features of Plains Indian societies was treated as an integral part of a world-wide social phenomenon. According to this author, there is some inner tendency in man to form age classes and to formalize them into societies. Following this lead Hutton Webster wrote his well-known book on *Primitive Secret Societies* in which he developed the theory that all such societies had their origin in initiation ceremonies. The bearing of these discussions upon the specific problem of Plains Indian societies was

discussed by Lowie in a former volume of this series, thereby greatly broadening the problem. It thus became clear that an exhaustive study of Plains Indian societies would give the best possible test to these theories and aside from making a specific contribution to our knowledge of North American culture, would go far toward the solution of more fundamental social problems.

In 1907 the anthropological staff of this Museum planned a prolonged and systematic field survey of the many different Plains tribes. When the above noted general problem of societies was clearly raised, it appeared feasible to emphasize this one aspect of the subject. This was approved by the Trustees of this Museum, and funds for the necessary field trips and the publication of reports provided from the income of the Morris K. Jesup bequest.

The work of previous investigations made further field-work among the Arapaho, Gros Ventre, Omaha, and Cheyenne unnecessary. The Osage were at that time under investigation by another institution. Accordingly, the following tribes were scheduled for treatment in this volume: — Arikara, Blackfoot, Comanche, Crow, Dakota, Hidatsa, Iowa, Kansa, Kiowa, Mandan, Pawnee, Plains-Cree, Plains-Ojibway, Ponca, Sarsi, Shoshone, and Ute. For some of these there were already available less complete published data, credit for which will be found in the succeeding papers, but for others the existence of societies had not been noted by previous writers.

The three characteristics of Plains societies to first impress early observers were their police and soldier functions, age qualifications, and no-flight obligations. While these are by no means universal, they are nevertheless valid characters. The first is so nearly universal that we have taken it as a convenient point of departure. Thus, it will be noted that the several contributions in this volume are organized to reveal the main and collateral settings of those organizations having police and soldier functions. In the working out of this scheme it was found advisable to study all private organizations and to note or characterize many ceremonial associations. As the exercise of police power is a definite part of the tribal government, we have added certain discussions of political and social organization which for the sake of completeness we have in some instances carried beyond the possible needs of this study. It follows, therefore, that irrespective of their assemblage in this volume the several papers each treat fairly definite parts of tribal cultures and could be reassembled in a series of volumes dealing with the respective tribes. Yet, a glance through these pages will reveal the essential unity of subject matter, for many societies can be traced along from first to last leaving no room for doubt but that we are here dealing with the same organizations. Our investigation, therefore, deals in the main with

this one type of organization and the above enumeration of tribal groups gives its approximate distribution, which is clearly shown upon the map.

This study was originally projected on the assumption that as a whole these organizations of the Plains Indians were a phenomenon of culture diffusion and that a close analytic study of them in detail would reveal the approximate places and relative times of their origins. As these assumptions were not published or made a part of the instructions to field-workers, it cannot be claimed that the data were selected according to this criterion. On the other hand, each investigator was left free to follow the natural unfolding of his own problem, as the somewhat unsymmetrical forms of the various papers will suggest. We believe, therefore, that at least in one respect the plan has resulted satisfactorily, viz., to furnish independent concrete reports of fact. If the reader takes up the works of Webster and Schurtz and compares the meager data at their command with the descriptive contents of this volume, he will appreciate the almost hopeless handicap to the theoretical interpretations of these writers and the prime importance of full independent data to the discussion of all social interpretations. In the final sections of this volume have been formulated some of our individual interpretations to these data, but this by no means exhausts the subject, for many phases of the problem still await discussion. Our point of view is strictly that of the present day anthropologist and we have not the least doubt but that sociologists and others could also discuss the same data in a different manner.

A word may be added as to the methods and limitations to our field-work. Many of the societies ceased to hold meetings years ago so that in but rare instances has it been possible to observe the objective aspects of their procedures. Our method was to seek out surviving members and to work out with them detailed accounts. In a few cases not even this was possible, the narrators depending upon what they had heard from their elders. While our accounts are thus far from complete, many of them cannot be improved upon in the future because already a large number of our aged informants have died or become senile. Thus unfortunately the greater part of this chapter is closed to new data. However, this does not apply to the social and modern ceremonies now in active development.

Upon one important feature of these societies we have not touched in this volume, viz., their songs. We are convinced that in them will be found very positive traces of historical connections between the several tribes. The only one of our contributors giving this subject serious attention is Mr. Murie, who from his great practical experience in rendering such songs, can rapidly compare them. The most complete series we have collected are from the Blackfoot, Oglala, and Pawnee, and Mr. Murie finds many cases

in which songs have passed from one to the other without loss to their individuality. We find the popularity of the modern ceremonies largely due to the superior character of their songs, particularly in the grass dance where the Oglala songs now prevail. While it is probably too late to take up the study of age society songs, these modern organizations offer a fine opportunity for the study of song as a culture trait.

Finally, we wish to express our conviction that few areas offer so fine a field for the student of culture and social phenomena as the Plains of North America. In this area we find thirty-two quite distinct tribal groups speaking at least eighteen mutually unintelligible languages of six different stocks. Yet, extending more or less completely over all are many traits of culture one of which is made the subject of this volume. In the final chapters we have subjected the data on distributions to detailed historical analysis and feel that the results obtained are its sufficient justification. Then having once obtained a secure footing in historical fact we have sought by world-wide comparisons, the isolation of such truly social factors as may have entered into this complex. In this we have also attained some measure of success, as the concluding section will show; but the successful outcome of these empirical methods is in the main due to the peculiar conditions found in the Plains area.

CLARK WISSLER.

December, 1916.

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SOCIETIES AND CEREMONIAL ASSOCIATIONS
IN THE OGLALA DIVISION OF THE
TETON-DAKOTA

BY
CLARK WISSLER.

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**SOCIETIES AND CEREMONIAL ASSOCIATIONS IN THE
OGLALA DIVISION OF THE TETON-DAKOTA.**

BY CLARK WISSLER.

INTRODUCTION.

The Oglala are the chief and dominant division of the Teton-Dakota. As far as could be learned they were first noted by Lewis and Clark¹ as composed of two divisions, the "Sheo and the Okandandas," but the Report of Indian Affairs for 1875 (p. 250) gives four divisions, "Ogallallas, Kiocsies, Onkapas, and Wazazies. Each of these bands are subdivided into smaller parties, variously named, usually designated by the name of their chief or leader." We were told by an informant that before confined to reservations the Oglala were included in these four divisions, each of which had its own government and its own camp circle. The war-like character of the whole Teton group gives them a prominent place in the border history of the Missouri Valley, but aside from this, little is known of their culture. The writings of Riggs, Pond, Williamson, J. O. Dorsey, etc., are almost exclusively based upon studies among the Santee, or Eastern group. Dakota books and newspapers are published in a form of the Santee dialect, which is now used by the Oglala when writing, but not in conversation. Of the Oglala very little has been recorded. Miss Fletcher's observations on the sun dance, the elk cult, etc.; Bush-otter's manuscripts; Mooney's studies of the ghost dance; and Curtis' brief sketch of the Teton about exhaust the list. Though many of these papers go into detail upon special points, they give nothing like a comprehensive view of Oglala culture. There is considerable literature under the general caption Dakota, but this it should be borne in mind is based almost entirely upon data from the Santee group. In 1903 the writer began investigations of the Oglala for this Museum which have continued to the present time. At the outset he made the acquaintance of Dr. J. R. Walker who took up certain phases of the work, especially games, the sun dance, the hunka and related ceremonies. Later, Messrs. Charles and Richard Nines joined in the work with their thorough knowledge of the Oglala language. Through the combined efforts of these gentlemen, there have been gathered the data for a comprehensive treatment of Oglala culture, of which the present paper is a part. The writer, with the special assistance of Richard and Charles Nines, gave his attention to the investigation of societies and ceremonial associations, the subject of this discussion. It seems fitting that due acknowledgment should be made to our chief informants: Thunder-bear, Calico, George Sword, Thomas Tyon, Afraid-

¹ Original Journals, vol. 6, 99. Siyo = prairie-chicken in Teton. Riggs gives it as a Brulé band, (a), 163.

A list of the works herein referred to will be found at the end of the volume.

of-bear, High-bear, Two-crow, and John Blunt-horn, who are responsible for the statements of fact. The Messrs. Nines are responsible for the English rendering of their statements and all specific translations found in the text. The writer spent parts of two summers at Pine Ridge where assisted by these gentlemen he worked over with the informants all the points discussed herein. At various times during the last two years Mr. Richard Nines gathered supplementary information and checked up doubtful points. The writer has brought together the data so accumulated and while far from complete, this nevertheless gives what we consider an adequate conception of these phases of Oglala culture.

CLARK WISSLER.

November, 1912.

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I. SOCIETIES FOR MEN.

At the outset it is necessary to have a general idea of the tribal government. The Oglala were formerly, it is said, composed of four divisions (Oglala, Kiaksai, Oyukhpe and Wazazies).¹ When reservations were established, two of these divisions were placed under the Pine Ridge Agency. It was chiefly among these that our data were gathered. Some difficulty was experienced in formulating the governmental system since it seems that shortly after settling upon the reservation, in conformity to the wishes of United States officials, the two divisions at Pine Ridge combined and formed a single tribal government. Curiously enough, each of these divisions had its own scheme of government from which it follows that some adjustment was necessary. All this tends to confuse our information and make it difficult to avoid inconsistencies.

The two former Pine Ridge divisions are now known as the Red-cloud camp (Oglala) and the Kiaksai. As far as our information goes, it appears that the former had by far the more complex organization and in the main prevailed when the reservation was established. It was in this camp that the chiefs society originated. As will be fully explained later, this was an organization comprising the majority of the efficient older men of forty years or more. It elected its own members. Independent of its organization, it elected seven chiefs (*wic'asa itac'aⁿ*) to govern the people. These chiefs were elected for life. Since it was customary for vacancies to be filled by the election of a worthy son or relative these offices were partially hereditary. These seven chiefs did not actually participate in the daily government but delegated powers to younger or more virile men, by the appointment of four councilors to serve for life, though they could resign at any time. These may or may not be members of the chiefs society but the seven chiefs are not eligible to the office. They are spoken of as the "owners of the tribe," but more particularly as the "shirt wearers" since upon investment in office they are given a special form of hair-fringed shirt. These shirts are spoken of as "owned by the tribe." Their owners are the supreme councilors and executives. They are charged with the general welfare; to see that good hunting is provided, healthful campsites selected, etc. Thus, though theoretically deputies, these four men are the real power in the government.

¹ According to Two-crow the Wazazies were but a subdivision of the Kiaksai while the fourth division was the Pahabyapi.

The seven chiefs, often assisted by the four shirt wearers and the whole chiefs society, elect four officers (*wakic'uⁿ*) to organize and control the camp. All except the four shirt wearers are eligible to this office. These men serve for about one year. It seems to have been the custom to re-elect two or three of them so as to have experienced men in office. In former times, the tendency was for the people to scatter out in winter, but early in the spring the camp circle was formed and its government organized. This was initiated by the selection of the *wakicun*.

The *wakicun* are after all the true executives, the shirt men standing as councilors. A tipi was set up in the center of the camp circle as the office of the *wakicun* in which they occupied "the seats of honor." The shirt men as well as the seven chiefs had seats there as councilors, but did not sit continuously like the *wakicun*. As soon as invested in office the *wakicun* appointed two young men to act as orderlies, see that fuel and food were provided, etc. They appointed a herald to promulgate their orders. They also selected two head *akicita* (*akic'ita itac'aⁿ*). We were told that the society of chiefs announced the election of a *wakicun* through the head *akicita*. A stick is prepared to represent the candidate's achievements. Thus, if he has been a victorious *blotaunka*, a striped stick is used; if wounded in battle, a red stick; if he killed an enemy, a black stick. The *akicita* go to his wife's tipi and thrust the stick into the ground. The woman prepares food and sends it with the stick to the executive tipi. If her husband has been re-elected, he is already there, but, if newly elected, he hunts up a fine pouch, a pipe,¹ a generous supply of tobacco and takes his place in the tent.

The two *akic'ita itac'an* select two others to serve with them, thus constituting a governing board, or chiefs of the *akicita*. These select either eight or ten men to act as *akicita*, or the force, or designate some one of the *akicita* societies to act instead. In the latter event, the leaders of the society detail the men. As the discussion of societies proceeds we shall have more to add on the *akicita* function, but we may, for the sake of concreteness, insert a narrative of Chief-high-bear in which the brave society acts as *akicita*:—

The herald goes near the tent in the center, builds a large fire and calls the four pipe carriers belonging to the brave society. Being instructed to do so the night previous, he gives them news of buffalo being in a different place and tells them they

¹ It is said that formerly only the *wakicun* and their superiors carried the long ornamental pipe bags for which the Dakota are now noted. The last men to serve as *wakicun* were, according to Running-hawk, Afraid-of-horse, American-horse, Crazy-horse, and George Sword. Red-cloud never held this office but was for many years a special official, or minister, to look after the dealings of the Indians and the white people. In the north, Sitting-bull had a similar office, it is said.

had better move. Then the pipe carriers instruct him to announce the moving order, deciding about the course of travel since they know the lay of the ground.

The pipe carriers lead the procession or throng. They go only about two miles the first day for most of them travel on foot. The next morning the herald announces that they must all prepare to travel as they are going to slaughter buffalo. They only travel about seven or eight miles that day, resting three times and the fourth time they camp, and the akicita see to the order of camp, etc. Then a messenger comes in telling about the buffalo and they bring him to the center where the four pipe men are. Then he fills the pipe and the bowl of the pipe is put against a bunch of buffalo manure there and the scout takes a whiff of smoke at which they all say "Hoye." It is an expression of assent or satisfaction. Then the pipe man smokes a whiff, and they all say "Hoye." A large crowd looks on. The pipe man then says, "You are not a child and you know this country. Tell me what you have seen from any hill you have looked from and you will please me." He says, "I have gone to a hilltop and looking beyond, saw many buffalo." They all rejoice and disband. They swing their robes and shout with joy.

The herald announces, "Sharpen your knives and get your horses ready because to-day I am going to kill lots of buffalo." Then they go, the akicita on each side at the back, and in the front, leading. When they come to the hill and see the buffalo herd, the pipe men consider the situation, direction of wind, etc., and instruct the men which way to go. The herald announces that they must split in two bands and the slaughtering begins. The akicita move up and the rest on each side and close in on the buffalo slowly. When ready the akicita wave their blankets and shout for them to start. Then they run in on them. They kill many buffalo and butcher them and carry the meat home on horseback. As they near the camp everybody rejoices and shouts. The women take charge of the meat. The hides are staked out and the meat scraped off.

If anyone goes out alone and scares up the buffalo, charges them, and brings meat home, the braves go to him, strike him senseless and cut up his tipi cover and the poles. If anyone kills another in camp, the braves kill the murderer.

When the tribe first mingled with the whites, the braves would not sanction it because they did not wish to eat the white man's food and the white man would eat all their buffalo. If the braves discovered anyone going among the white people, they would intercept him and kill him and his horse. They were afraid that the smell of coffee and bacon (foreign smells) would scare the buffalo and make them stay away. However, they would allow the white traders to come in and bring merchandise but would not buy foods that created a peculiar smell. They did not want the "wakpamini," the government issue, and did not want the white people coming in. They drank broth of buffalo.

Finally, they fought and killed each other until the akicita realized that fighting was bad because the whole country smelled of dead bodies and there were lots of dry bones. There were also many orphans and widows because of the killing of fathers and husbands, and much property was being destroyed. They did not like all this, so all the tribes agreed to live in peace with the whites. The Indian married a white woman and the white man an Indian woman, and thus they intermingled. That is, this was sanctioned.

The Indians define the word akicita as "those who see that there is general order in camp when traveling from one place to another; those who

attend to the duties of overseeing the buffalo hunt so that no one may chase the buffalo singly; those who see that all can charge the buffalo at once or split up the party so that when one chases buffalo one way, the other band closes in; and those who supervise the chase to get better results. They also see that no one kills another, but in case one does, they either kill him or destroy all his property, kill his horses, destroy his tipi, etc." Thus, though in general literature the term *akicita* is rendered as "soldiers," its approximate equivalent seems to be police or marshals.

The *akic'ita itac'aⁿ* seem to serve continuously during the season. Although our informants are not quite consistent it seems that as a rule, the four head *akicita* were chosen from the same society and while it was expected that they choose their assistants from the society, they were at liberty to recruit the force at large. Thus, we were told that if the leaders of a society were appointed as head *akicita*, their administration would be efficient by reason of their having in hand a highly organized corps of able-bodied men upon whom they could call for police service.

When chosen by the four chiefs the head *akicita* are sent for. They come to the executive tipi wearing buffalo robes but unarmed. They are then informed of their election. Two black stripes are made on their faces and war-bonnets placed on their heads. They are invested with a special club and are assigned a herald to promulgate their orders. They are addressed by one of the chiefs who says, "You are to help us in governing the tribe. You shall see that no prairie fires are started; that no one shall scare away the buffalo; that no one shall go away from camp to camp elsewhere; that no one, when on the buffalo chase, goes ahead and shoots the buffalo; and that all offenders be punished." Then the chief *akicita* go around the camp circle and choose their *akicita*. As stated above, these head *akicita* may choose their force from their own or some one society. At the proper time, the herald is ordered out to call the chosen society together. It seems that the society designated at the beginning of the summer hunt usually served during the season, automatically passing out of service at the end. This would give them about one year's service. It also seems to have been usual but not obligatory for the chiefs to choose from the societies by rotation. No one may decline service but can be discharged for misconduct — murder, quarreling, eloping with wives of society brothers, or other unworthy acts. Appointment to the service was regarded as an honor. Dances or public fêtes were often held for the *akicita* at which time the *akic'ita itac'aⁿ* may nominate two or three worthy young men to assist them. This was looked upon as a high honor. So far as our information goes, no special *akicita* were appointed for the sun dance and other ceremonies.

Returning to a consideration of the scheme of government, it is clear that all the civil and economic affairs of the camp are in the hands of the wakicun. On all these matters, they are free to instruct and can enforce their orders through the akicita. They decide when to break camp, where to go and again select the new site. Hunting must be carried on when and as they direct. They also see that every person receives a fair share of the meat and is provided with enough robes to make the winter endurable. They settle disputes, judge and compound crimes, and make rules to ensure proper decorum in camp. However, our informants all felt their chief function to have been the regulation of the hunt, or the conservation of the food supply.

So far, we have been sketching the government of the Red-cloud division. The Kiaksai, had, according to our informants, the wakicun and their akicita but no shirt wearers. Instead of seven chiefs they had six who themselves exercised the functions of the four shirt men. There was no chiefs society, but all the older men of the camp were considered as a general council with power to appoint six chiefs. Otherwise, the operation of the government was about the same as in the Red-cloud division.

When these two divisions combined under the reservation system, they recognized both the seven and the six chiefs as the head of the tribe. It is our impression that the number of head chiefs was not absolutely limited in either division but that it was increased from time to time, seven and six being the numbers of such chiefs at the time the reservation was formed. On the other hand, the number of wakicun and shirt wearers was regarded as absolutely fixed. Further, after the consolidation the chiefs society took in as members most of the eligible men in the Kiaksai division, but still they did not quite maintain their former position for the ska yuha society was then organized as a rival. The council seems on the whole to have been what it was in the Kiaksai division and the position of the four shirt men was maintained.

From the foregoing sketch, it is clear that full data from all the divisions of the Oglala as well as from some of the other Dakota would furnish an interesting chapter in the history of tribal organization.

There is some reason for believing that the office of chief was a modern innovation and that the original tribal government of the Oglala was vested in the wakicun. Writing of the eastern Dakota in 1847 Philander Prescott says: —

“The chieftainship is of modern date; that is, since the Indians first became acquainted with the whites. Tradition says, they knew of no chiefs until the white people began to make distinctions. The first Sioux that was ever made a chief among the Dacotas, was Wah-ba-shaw, and this was done by the British. Since

that time, chieftainship has been hereditary. There are small bands existing that have no recognized chiefs."¹

This is at least an interesting suggesting and so far as our data go, entirely consistent with the scheme of government.

So far as we know, all divisions of the Dakota had the akicita organization. Their place of meeting, the executive tipi, was called the tiyotipi, often translated as soldier lodge. Riggs (a, 200) gives a translation of Renville's text containing a spirited account of the akicita. Again in his "Forty Years with the Sioux" (132), he describes the "Soldiers' Lodge." Lewis and Clark had some experience with them:—

"Those people have Some brave men which they make use of as Soldiers those men attend to the police of the Village.. Correct all errors I saw one of them to day whip 2 Squars, who appeared to have fallen out, when he approached. all about appeared to flee with great turrow [terror]." (I, 168).

"and when we was about Setting out the Class Called the Soldiers took possession of the Cable the 1st Cheif which was Still on board, & intended to go a Short Distance up with us. I told him the men of his nation Set on the Cable, he went out & told Capt. Lewis who was at the bow the men Who Set on the roap was Soldiers, and wanted Tobacco. The Chief gave the Tobacco to his Soldiers & he jerked the rope from them and handed it to the bowsman we then Set out under a Breeze from the S. E." (I, 171).

These were Tetons, encountered near the mouth of the Teton River. Akicita were employed by the Santee division as the subsequent account by Dr. Lowie will demonstrate. Though we lack positive information, it is probable that all divisions of the Dakota employed them, for the Assiniboine account by J. O. Dorsey (b, 224) presents all the characteristic features.¹ The painted sticks, described by Dorsey, were not used by the Oglala, except in the selection of the four wakicun.

Lewis and Clark seem to be the first to note the existence of men's societies among the Dakota. In the Original Journals (I, 130), we read:—

"I will here remark a SOCIETY which I had never before this day heard was in any nation of Indians, four of which is at this time present and all who remain of this Band. Those who become Members of the Society must be brave active young men who take a Vow never to give back let the danger be what it may, in War Parties they always go forward without screening themselves behind trees or anything else to this Vow they Strictly adhier dureing their Lives. an instance which happened not long sence, on a party Crossing the R Missouri on the ice, a whole was in the ice immediately in their Course which might easily have been avoided by going around, the foremost man went on and was lost the others wer dragged around by the party. in a battle with the Crow [Kite] Indians who inhabit the *Cout Noir* or black Mountain out of 22 of this Society 18 was Killed, the remaining four was dragged off by their

¹ Schoolcraft, part 2, 182; see also, J. O. Dorsey, (b), 222.

Party. Those men are likely fellows the[y] Set together Camp & Dance together. This Society is in imitation of the Societies of the de Curbo or Crow (*De Corbeau, Kile*) Indians, whom they imitate."

AKICITA SOCIETIES.

In the preceding section will be found a brief exposition of the akicita function among the Oglala. It so happens that certain societies were frequently called upon to render such service; hence, the grouping of societies under this head is not one imposed by the author, but a distinction recognized by the Indians themselves. So far as our information goes the akicita societies of the Oglala were: —

tokala (kit-fox)	ihoka (badgers)
ka ⁿ gi yuha (crow owners)	sotka yuha (bare lance owners)
c'a ⁿ te ti ⁿ za (braves)	wic'iska (white marked) ¹

Though there were some differences of opinion as to the extent of the term akicita societies, no informant ever denied that function to the preceding. We shall, therefore, consider these as constituting a class.

We seem justified in concluding that these societies are designated as akicita organizations solely because it became customary for the head akicita to call upon them for special police service, but that this was not in any sense their function as an organization. Further, it is clear that custom limited the choice to certain societies and naturally to those societies composed of able-bodied men. According to Iron-tail, the ihoka and the kangi yuha were the most often chosen for akicita service in moving camp and hunting buffalo. The miwatani and other societies were never so called upon, except possibly when organizing a war party, but never in connection with civil affairs. On the other hand, from the information we have, there seems to be a feeling that the akicita are properly civil officers, i. e., they serve in the domestic and industrial activities of the camp. In a large war party or when the camp has organized for a war excursion, men are appointed who serve as akicita, but under the direction of a body of lieutenants known as the blotaunka. Such service is regarded as of greater honor and responsibility than that pertaining to the civil akicita.

That the akicita are primarily associated with hunting buffalo is suggested at several points. Thus, we are told that when the presence of a buffalo herd was reported to the four chiefs in camp, they called in the head

¹ For mechanical reasons we have indicated the phonetics of Oglala terms only in convenient places, using at other times the spelling employed in Dakota periodicals and books.

akicita, painted their faces in the regulation way, and instructed them to appoint their assistants. The head akicita then decided upon the number and identity of these and having so decided went out and notified them by shaking hands. Then when they were needed for service, the herald announced that all having shaken hands should assemble at the akicita tipi. There they were painted and given instructions. All these points will receive further consideration later, but having defined the peculiar accidental relation of these societies to police service we may now take up their organizations in detail.

In Clark's "Indian Sign Language" (356), is the following list of societies:

"The Eastern bands of Sioux do not seem to have a very perfect organization of soldier bands. The Teton Sioux have eleven bands, viz.: 1st, Strong Heart; 2d, Prairie-Dog; 3d, Crow (carry a lance); 4th, White Breast-Strap; 5th, Shield; 6th, Night Brave; 7th, Night-Owl Head-dress; 8th, Badger-mouth Prairie-Dog; 9th, Tall Brave; 10th, Orphan, 11th, Warrior."

The fourth and fifth are probably meant for the wiciska, the eighth may be the ihoka, the sixth and ninth probably rival cante tinza organizations; but of the second, tenth, and eleventh, our informants could make nothing.

THE KIT-FOX.

The tokala seems to be the kit-fox and the society is so named because its members are supposed to be as active and wily on the warpath as this little animal is known to be in his native state. It is said that the kit-fox has great skill in finding things, as for example, marrow bones buried in the earth; hence, the members of the tokala organization regarded themselves as foxes and all their enemies as marrow bones. The organization is as follows:—

2 leaders	2 food bearers
2 pipe keepers	30 to 40 lay members
4 lance bearers	1 herald
2 whip bearers	8 singers (4 men and 4 women)
1 drum keeper	

Some informants placed the number of leaders at four and the lance bearers at two, but the majority approved the above.

As to the head of the organization, it is not clear whether they had a governing body of four or two. Some say the pipe men were equal in rank with the two leaders, which would give a group of four. In any event, these four posts were of the highest rank. These may be the four councilors (wakic'uⁿza, thinkers) spoken of by some informants.

The society had two pipes of special form. Some informants, however, say but one. It seems to have been customary for a pipe keeper to conduct or preside over the formal meetings of the society. It is said that on the warpath, the pipe carrier fills the pipe just before going out to charge the enemy, leaving the bowl and taking the stem. Then if they are successful in killing the enemy without any harm to their own side, they take the stem to the bowl and smoke the pipe.

While it is true that the leaders and the pipe keepers are of the highest rank, it should be noted that the most conspicuous places were those of the four lance bearers. The lance bearers must take the lead in battle and seldom retreat. Furthermore, upon being invested with a lance, the new appointee must proceed to war at once and perform his function. The saying is, that to accept the place was certain death; hence, the installation was a solemn and impressive affair. When a vacancy occurred, a formal meeting was held at which a candidate was named. The whip bearers, or marshals, were instructed to search for him and lead him before the assembly, if not already a member. They go through the camp, and finding him, conduct him before the assembly. He does not yet know if he is to be made a lay member or an officer. One of the pipe men then informs the candidate of his fate. He usually hesitates. All this time the herald shouts out the virtues of the candidate, the women on the outside cheer while the tokala sing songs referring to the glory and fate of former lance bearers. A favorite song runs, "I am a tokala. I am living in uncertainty." In the end the candidate usually accepts, since not to do so would be a public disgrace. Then the pipe man lectures the candidate on the responsibilities and ideals of the tokala, especially on the obligations of his new office. The relatives of the candidate then give presents to the poor and needy, but not to the society or its officers. There are two beaded and two plain lances. They each bear two eagle feathers and a piece of tokala skin tied on in two separate bunches. Crow, magpie, or large prairie chicken feathers with a long one of eagle down are tied in the middle. The tip of the lance is of iron. We are informed that for some fifty years the custom has been to wrap the two plain lances with otterskin.

When a man is invested with a lance it is expected that he always take the front in battle and seek out the most dangerous points. This is why the conferring of a lance is regarded as the most serious part of the ceremony. One of the songs is: —

"I am a Fox.
I am supposed to die.
If there is anything difficult,
If there is anything dangerous,
That is mine to do."

As just noted, the whip bearers are the marshals (akic'ita). They bring in candidates, eject discharged members and punish absentees, see that everyone dances and that no one hangs back. They also ride horses and if in battle their horses are wounded, they are painted with blood marks. If they kill an enemy, stripes are painted on the horse's thigh, one for each enemy killed. At the tokala ceremonies, the whip bearer sometimes stands in the center of the assembly and tells of his deeds and victories and when he finishes the members shout and start up the dancing again. The whip is supposed to have some medicine power by which the bearer is enabled to accomplish deeds in war: in fact, it is his duty to kill enemies.

When going to war the drum carrier usually takes the cover of the drum with him and replaces it on his return. In ordinary use, the ornamental cover is taken off, but in going about the circle, dancing, the cover is placed on the drum.

In ceremonies, the rattle carrier usually sits with the drummer. Two or four others sit with him using smaller rattles. They have their hair cut off closely except for a ridge over the center. They also paint their bodies and heads yellow. These extra men are members of the society and volunteer to have what is known as the "tokala hair cut." Eventually they let their hair grow and others volunteer to hold their office, that is, to get the tokala hair cut.

The two food bearers receive and distribute the food at the feasts. They also paint the candidates when installed. The presents given to the poor are usually distributed by this pair. One of the food bearers acts as servant to the leaders. At a feast he stands with a spoon in his hand and they sing a song for him during which he goes to the food and taking a spoonful, offers it to one of the leaders who tastes it and returns the spoon. Then he gets another spoonful for the second leader. In the Sword text we are told that in recent years a military sword was often substituted for the ladle as the insignia of the food bearer.

The members wear a kit-fox skin around the neck, the head before, the tail behind. To the nose part some small bags of medicine are attached. The edges, feet, and ears may be worked in porcupine quills and hung with bells according to the tastes of the individual owners. They take the jaw bones of the tokala, paint them red or blue (the old native colors), fasten them on a strip of otterskin or some similar material, and wear the bones on the forehead. On the back of the head is fastened a bunch of crow tail-feathers sidewise, and sticking up are two eagle feathers. All the members used this head regalia. Some roached their hair about $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. wide from the middle of the forehead to the back of the head leaving hair about $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. long, sticking up. Those who have their hair cut have a band of porcupine work

around their heads with ornaments on the sides of the face hanging down. The members are painted yellow, with red over the mouths. When participating in a dance, the officers paint their bodies yellow. The lay members do not paint, but dress in any way to suit their own tastes. When the lay members go to war, they may carry lances but only as weapons, not as emblems.

According to Sword's text, it was the rule to hold a formal reorganization meeting in the early spring before the summer camp was formed. Thus, the society would be ready to do akicita service, if called upon by the four head men or the head akicita. The first step in reorganization is the renewal of the lance and other regalia, it seemingly being the rule to make up new ones each season. A tipi is set up in the middle of the camp where this is done by experienced men. The materials are collected by a party of members who go in a band to different tipis, singing. If a certain tipi has a child they love, they sing there and the herald cries out, "My grandchild, I want to fix something, but haven't the materials (meaning beads, buckskin, sinew, etc.) and I have come to ask for them." Then the parents give the materials to the child and in some instances the child gives away a horse.

After suitable materials have been collected, the lances, etc., are made up, four days being required for this. Then the formal meeting is held. They take two tipi covers and make one tipi out of them, this affording space sufficient for a large feast. Two members are then sent out to solicit food. They call at the tipis of prominent men and leave a switch or small stick at each. Those receiving them are thereby under obligations to send over an ample supply of food. For this, prominent men are levied upon regardless of whether they are members or outsiders.

Then as has been said, a feast is made, all the tokala assemble. The crowd looking on is large. Then the chiefs decide on two young men who have killed enemies and distinguished themselves, whom they take to the center to be presented with the lances. Sometimes the men selected receive their summons with joy and sometimes otherwise.

The lances are stuck in the earth, near the middle, also the whip, pipe, and stick for spearing meat. Then a man who has been a lance carrier gets up and tells his experience, how he killed enemies, and presents the lances to the chosen men. The whip carrier is installed by someone who has carried a whip who goes through the ceremony of relating what he has done, gone out and struck an enemy, etc. One of the ex-pipe men tells how when he was the pipe man he killed or struck an enemy, and presents the people to the new pipe man. The other stick man does likewise. On these occasions the men do not relate any of the misfortunes that befell them, only their victories. Then the newly elected men give away horses and other

goods to the public, the old women usually get the lion's share on account of their boldness in appropriating everything. Songs are sung. They feast and dance and, of course, the spectators get some of the food too, and by their shouts raise the spirits of everyone.

Also, they have a special ceremony of cutting off the hair of two tokala. The large tipi is fixed as before, and the kettle made ready for a feast. Then when they are assembled, three of the tokala choose two men, who are then brought forward. On the other hand, a man may make a vow, "When I kill an enemy I will have a tokala hair cut." The young men are conducted to the center, seated on blankets and their long hair cut off with a knife, leaving a ridge along the center. Sometimes the hair is pulled out, leaving the head very sore.

The candidates give away horses and goods to the poor and needy, to those to whom they owe presents, or just cast out property and let the public grab for it. If they are casting a horse away, they throw a stick and that is equivalent to a horse.

The regular ceremonies of the tokala may take place at any time. When the tribal camp circle was formed they had a special tipi within the circle. The first tokala members on the ground put up this tipi and prepared a feast for the others. After a formal meeting in this tipi the tokala marched around the camp circle stopping to dance before the tipis of leading men. Here they sat in a circle with the drummers and singers in the center. When the appropriate songs were reached they rose and danced towards the center. The whip bearers usually danced around outside and pretended to whip the dancers into a bunch. The head of the tipi was expected to come out with a pipe and in the name of one of his children or other relatives give a horse to some poor person. The pipe is smoked by the drummers and male singers. Nothing is given to the society. Thus, the tokala proceed until they completely encircle the camp, reaching the tipi from which they set out. A somewhat similar ceremonial parade occurs whenever new members or officers are installed. During the dances around the inside of camp, if a young man belonging to the society does not participate, his blanket is seized and torn up.

Boys of fifteen, or even younger were often taken in, as well as men in middle life. The important offices seldom went to boys but to someone experienced on the warpath. If a young man has killed an enemy, stolen horses, etc., and his deeds come to the notice of the two leaders, they have the herald call him to the feast and make him a member of the society. Once entering the organization, a man remained for an indefinite period, retiring if at all, on his own motion.

When an officer wishes to retire he makes a feast, or calls a meeting of

the tokala in his camp. He announces his intention and states his reasons. His resignation is considered. If he is not in good standing or his reasons are trivial, they acquiesce promptly; otherwise, they plead with him. Sometimes a kind of committee is appointed to labor with him for a period. They may even give him costly presents as an inducement. Should he still persist in his resignation, a vacancy will be declared and a new candidate invested with his regalia. The ex-officer must then return all presents received. He is now out and cannot become even a lay member. All are agreed that a resignation or a dismissal forever disqualifies one for membership in the same organization. Incidentally, it may be noted that a dismissal bars one from being chosen by any other similar society.

The following statement of rules and ideals was given by an informant to Dr. J. R. Walker: — After the tokala had taken charge of a meeting and placed the proper officers about the tipi, they sang a tokala song and danced the tokala dance in which only the tokala may participate. Then the two who had informed the candidate that he had been chosen, led him before the custodian of the pipe and told the custodian that the tokala had chosen this one to be made a member of the association, that they had informed him of this, and that he had consented to assume the duties and obligations of a tokala.

The custodian of the pipe then explained to him the various officers at meeting and what their duties were, i. e., that his own duties were to preside at that meeting, subject to the advice of the four councilors, and to hold and care for the mysterious pipe of the tokala (c'aⁿduhupa wakan); that the custodian of the drum held and cared for the mysterious drum of the tokala (c'aⁿc'iga wakan); that the four lance bearers carried the lances that belonged to the association which were peculiar and distinguished the association like banners; that the bearers of the whips had whips of a peculiar kind with which they would scourge anyone who was derelict to his vows and obligations as a tokala; and that the four distributors of food were to teach generosity. Also, that the singers were those who chose the songs and led in the singing.

When these explanations were ended the custodian of the drum began drumming and the singers began a tokala song in which all joined. All the tokala present, except the custodian of the drum and the singers danced and if a tokala present did not dance, the bearers of the whips lashed him until he joined in the dancing.

After this, the custodian of the pipe invoked Yata and Iya for their aid in the ceremonies and their propitiation in regard to the candidate. These are superhuman beings, the sons of Tate, and are referred to as Taku Skaⁿ-skaⁿ, or, the spirit which presides over moving, hunting, and war, and

Iⁿyaⁿ, the stone spirit, or, the spirit that presides over bravery, generosity, and endurance. Originally, it appears that they were the offspring of Tate, the wind, and were the North and East wind. They also invoked the four directions. They invoked Iⁿyaⁿ whom they called "Tuⁿkas'ila," the revered or reverend one. Their prayer was:—

"Help me in what I undertake.
Be with me in my undertakings.
Have pity on me.
Help me to defeat others."

After this invocation, the candidate is called before the custodian and remains standing during the time when the lectures are delivered. These lectures are given by the custodian of the pipe and the councilors or by any distinguished tokala. They inculcate bravery, generosity, chivalry, morality, and fraternity for fellow members, from the standpoint of the Indians. Formerly they taught that one should be brave before friends and foes alike and undergo hardship and punishment with fortitude; that one should give to the needy, whoever they may be, excepting an enemy, of everything one possessed; that one should search for the poor, weak, or friendless and give such all the aid one could. They taught that a tokala should not steal except from the enemy; should not lie, except to the enemy; and should set an example by complying with the recognized rules of the hunt and camp. If a fellow-tokala were in trouble of any kind he should help him to the best of his ability and if a tokala died or was killed and left a widow he should keep her from want. They also taught him not to take the wife of a brother tokala without his consent; that he should treat all his women the same, showing no more favor to one than to another; that if he captured women, he should treat them the same as his own women, and his children by such a woman should be treated as children by women of his own people; that if he put a woman away he should see that she was not in want until some other man took her; and that if a fellow tokala had no wife he should give him one of his women if he had more than two.

If the candidate agreed to be governed by these rules he was then declared a tokala and was presented with a lance, smaller than those of the lance carriers, and was instructed to preserve it as a reminder of his duties and obligations.

The singers then began a tokala song and all the members joined in a dance. While the custodian of the drum drummed energetically, the new member was first lashed by the bearers of the whips until he danced vigorously and the bearers of the lances waved them over him while he danced. After this dance, the distributors of the food served all present with food

which had been prepared, serving the new member after all others had been served. Then another tokala song was sung and a tokala dance danced, after which the meeting was continued usually with the tokala songs and dances as long as desired by the attendants.

Dr. J. R. Walker has collected a number of Oglala manuscripts written by old men who learned to use the Riggs system of writing in middle life. Among these we find one on the tokala by George Sword. Mr. Charles Nines has made both an interlinear and a free translation of which we append the latter:—

This is a description of the fox society which originated long ago. From time to time they renew the insignia for each other. This is done in the spring before the winter camp breaks up, but after the snow has disappeared. First, the leading members, eight, six, or even four, as the case may be, meet to renew the regalia. They call a feast and dance for the members at which time they announce what is to be done. They also select a good man who has a praiseworthy woman, with few or no children to care for, of whom they request the loan of a tipi. If the request is granted, this tipi from that time on becomes the tokala tipi (tokala okola kic'iyé tiyotipi). To this tipi the aforesaid head men resort at once to prepare the regalia. If they know of someone having the necessary materials for the regalia (ca'wowa'ye) they on a certain day march there side by side singing tokala songs. Before his tipi they stand while the herald sings out, "Brave Loud-voiced-hawk an enemy killed." Also, a man who has been wounded sings, "Ho, Loud-voiced-hawk, hear your friends. They will come to smoke your tobacco." Usually they say this.

Before this procession some tokala have made the rounds of the tipis informing the people as to what was wanted and finding out what each family could furnish. It is to these places the singers go, but the herald does not directly call for any of these things, for the host knows what is expected of him and has provided them.

So they stand side by side at the tipi door of Loud-voiced-hawk and sing songs. If he can afford it he fills and carries the pipe. A child carries the feathers, either a boy or a girl, usually his own child. They come out together and the child presents the feathers, he hands over the filled pipe which they light and smoke. If he can afford it, he gives the pipe also.

In like manner, all the materials needed are given them.

When all the material is ready, two men are appointed to arrange the tipi. They cover the place at the rear of the tipi with sage grass, make an earth square (kolapapi) where sweetgrass is burned. All the material to be used they hold over the smoke, after which the regalia are made. The two men selected always remain in the tipi while making these things.

They make things thus. They take a large hollow tree for the making of a drum, cut off the ends, scrape out the middle, and cover with the skin of a black-tail deer. Around the side was porcupine quill work and at the edges fringes of skin with bells and here and there scalps and eagle plumes. The drum holders consist of four forked sticks, quill-wrapped to the forks and with feathers on the end.

They make a pipe wrapped with porcupine quills. They make it thus. There is one common style of pipe but the stem of this pipe is quite flat and narrow at the mouthpiece with quill work from there down. The end of the stem they wrap with strips of buckskin and tie there rawhide, or if a mallard drake has been killed, they use some skin bearing green feathers.

Then two lances the length of a man are made. They resemble bows but are not flat and have bone points. The shafts are wrapped with decorated strips of deerskin though the grip (oyuspe) is usually differently wrapped. At the butt they fastened bunches of bird feathers and tied an eagle feather to a longer string. They string real bows with sinew but these they speak of as "without strings."¹

Then they make two rattles of rawhide, fill them with earth and when the skin is dry shake out the earth and pour into them small pebbles. At the end of the bulb various feathers are fastened.

They had one or two forks (caⁿwiyuze) for taking out food. Formerly, these were made of wood, but since white men came, a sword, wrapped with otterskin and hung with eagle feathers is used.

They had two whips (icasape) with two lashes for each. Part of the handle was notched. They string a kit-fox skin to them and at the place to tie them they tie two strings (woyuska) and also ornaments at the tie-notch.

They appoint a herald and select four leaders (wiyukc'an).

When all this has been done, they take down two tipis and combine them to make a cover. There they will give out the regalia. They select four male singers and make four drumsticks with ceremony. On a certain day they set up the tipi, collect all their regalia and have a feast and dance. Two men who are trusted and honored step to the middle of the tipi and stand close together in secret consultation. Then they go out to get candidates. The first one they bring feigns refusal and acts as if unwilling to serve but they drag him forward and place him in the center. Then the women trill (ongnahcicala) and sing for the one brought forward.

They first select and place the drum keeper; (2) the pipe keeper; (3) the lance bearer; (4) the rattle keeper; (5) the whip bearer; (6) the food passers; (7) the leaders; (8) the drummers; (9) the herald. They do not break up when this is finished for now the newly installed must give out presents. Then a member who has killed enemies takes up all the regalia and recounts his deeds with them. Then returns to each his regalia (caⁿwowaⁿya) and the meeting breaks up.

Afterwards those who have been given regalia divide into small groups or parties and give feasts one at a time. When all have feasted the members paint themselves red and parade around the camp, occasionally stopping to dance. The last time they stop to dance, the pipe bearer passes down the entire line, first past the file of those bearing lances, whips, etc., then the main body. All now follow in order of rank and deeds, first the lance bearers in order of their rank. First the pipe bearer goes to his position, then the others in succession, then the main body moves up on a run. When the pipe bearer faces about and halts, the others gather around them in a circle and halt. Then the drummers bring up the drum and the female singers take their places. Then they sing, beat and rattle the drum. Those who have regalia hold them up and dance. All dance except the women and men singing. The dance is named caⁿwowaⁿye kecan wacipi (the dance in pursuit of caⁿwowaⁿye). When one receiving the regalia has killed an enemy, it is well for everyone to know of it for it is a great deed. When a bearer of regalia or even a lay member is lost in battle, they sing, "Herald have you heard why a comrade returns not, ha (huwo)." The women trill and lament.

Those having killed enemies, sing together thus: "This token is awarded because

¹ This bow lance is quite a different thing from the real medicine bow. Vol. I, p. 50.

he killed on horseback (wankan tanhan kte). Since he killed one in that way, let the token be fully displayed." Once again they sing and one sees many run lined up for the ceremony. With a trilling cry (ongnahcicala) it ends.

Calico gave the following account of the origin of the tokala:—

Once, when my great grandfather's cousin was on a war party he injured his foot so that it was impossible for him to go on. The party left him behind with food and shelter. There he stayed while his wound was healing. At last he was able to start home and set out on the journey. The first evening he came by a small stream. During the night he heard a noise which as it came nearer he made out to be the cry of a herald. Then he saw him approaching. The herald said, "I have been sent to invite you by one who never runs away in battle, who never turns back from an enemy. (He heard drums beating.) There is to be a dance and you are to join something. I shall come for you when all is ready."

The next morning the man went on with his pack of buffalo meat and about dark came in sight of a camp which he took to be that of his own people. Then the herald appeared again, saying, "This is the tokala. We shall make you one of them. Now, look at all the people. When you get back home you shall organize the tokala." All this time the man supposed the crowd was from his own tribe, but it was not. The herald pointed to the lance bearers and said, "When you return you are to make lances just like these. The arrows of the enemy will not be able to injure those who carry them." In this manner the man was instructed as to all the objects, medicines, and rules for the society. After this he went to his own people. There he asked that a tipi be set up outside and prepared for a ceremony. He requested that it be lined with sweetgrass and when all was ready he entered and told the people what had happened to him. Then he set out to organize the society.

Afterwards, in thinking over his experiences he concluded that the society must have been given him not by human beings but by kit-foxes masking as persons. Before this there was a tokala society but the one organized by this man was different, finally the two were combined into one.

CROW-OWNERS.

The kaⁿgi yuha (they that have the crow) was an organization similar to the tokala, the scheme being as follows:—

2 leaders	4 lance bearers
2 rattle bearers	x lay members
2 pipe keepers	4 drum bearers and singers, two of whom carry
2 short lance bearers	rattles and sit about the drum
2 crow skin bearers	1 herald

The two rattle bearers gave the signals for the dancing. They carried globular rattles with crow feathers on the ends and otter fur-wrapped handles.

The two pipes had quill-wrapped stems. It is said that originally they had one pipe carrier, but later they installed two. It is customary among

all societies that when leaving a certain tipi to go to a dance, the pipe carrier goes ahead smoking the pipe. After the dance a feast is held and then the pipe is again smoked.

In the early spring the society is reorganized like the tokala, certain members going about the camp soliciting the necessary materials.

The two short crow-feather lance bearers were important functionaries. Their lances were wrapped with otterskin and crow feathers and they wore sashes. When attacking the enemy they were required to thrust the lances into the ground and not leave the spot unless released by some of their party pulling up the lances. The selection and installation of these officers was therefore a solemn ceremony. The lance was thrust into the ground, the chosen candidate brought in by two marshals and forced into a seat before it. At this, the crier began to declaim and the lay members to sing songs recounting the glorious fates of former lance bearers. As a rule, the candidate rises and takes another seat to signify his refusal. Then some of the members talk kindly and persuasively with him while the others sing. After an interval, the marshals again seat him before the lance. Should he again decline, he is seriously lectured as to his duty, while his relatives may heap presents upon him. Again, he is led up to the seat. If he refuse now, the members and the crowd join in ridicule and impromptu songs of derision.

Upon being installed the lance bearer must at once proceed to war to tempt his fate, or to test his virtue. Should he return alive, and it is the duty of his brethren to save him if possible, he may, if especially deserving, be allowed to retire honorably.

The lances are short and covered with otterskin: at the top there is an eagle feather and at the other end, a spear. Near the spear is fastened the neck and head of a crow. They have some owl feathers at the point where the eagle feather is. The presentation of lances is the same as among the tokala.

The four lance bearers carry very long feather decorated staffs. They also must take the front, but are not bound to stand in their tracks. Their responsibilities and installation are similar to the lance men of the tokala. They paint their faces black or mark them with stripes of the same color.

The lay members are about fifty in number. They blacken their limbs and bodies and tie pieces of skunk skin on their elbows and ankles. They wear the skin of a crow around their neck, an eagle tail feather in the hair over the forehead, and three or four eagle feathers in the back of the head. In their dances they carry a quiver, bow, gun, or arrows. The requirements and conditions of membership are the same as for the tokala.

The four drummers each carry a small hand drum, painted black. The society has a tipi within the camp circle and dances around similar to the

tokala. When they get back to their tipi, the lance men unwrap the shafts and bundle up their regalia. Then a feast is prepared. The marshals bring in members who failed to attend the ceremony and set before them a large portion of food. If they cannot eat it all unaided, they must give horses to the poor.

They do not have a large drum and so borrow small drums. The pipe carriers dance in the middle, the lance carriers on each side, and while the singing and dancing are going on, guns are shot off. They also have a feather in their heads for every enemy they kill, usually an eagle feather. Also, they have a red painted stick in which for every time they are shot, they make a notch. If they were shot with an arrow, a feather is split, painted red, and worn in the hair. Also, all the different societies paint themselves with blood stain marks wherever they have been shot by an enemy.

At their dances and when they are to charge in battle, all the members paint their bodies black, throwing aside their blankets and leggings.

THE BRAVES.

It is clear from all accounts that this organization was generally regarded as the akicita society par excellence. This prominence may account for the fact that its organization is in one respect more complex than that of the preceding: i. e., we find within it some puzzling sub-groups and also a number of more or less independent societies with identical songs.

The caⁿte tiⁿza (the dauntless) proper were organized as follows:—

2 leaders	1 herald
2 war-bonnet wearers	1 food passer
4 lance bearers (2 crooked lances)	4 drummers
2 whip bearers	8 singers, four of each sex
30 to 40 lay members	

The pair of leaders, or brave-chiefs, are the head of the organization and each has an ordinary pipe.

The bonnet-braves wear headdresses with horns and are sometimes spoken of as sash bearers. They also have a small stake, or picket pin, with which they fasten themselves down before the enemy, where they remain until released or until the enemy is driven off. The manner of their selection and installation is similar to that of the kangi yuha.

Their bonnet, or headgear, is made of a sort of tight cap of buckskin and a pair of buffalo horns split so as to make them small. On the front there is usually some beadwork, while hanging from the rear and down the center

of the back is a strip of porcupine work like that on the bottom of tobacco pouches, about a foot or more wide, all yellow.

All regalia are renewed in the spring, as previously stated. The four lance bearers are analogous to those of other societies. They make the straight lances with a spear on the end and a piece of red flannel about 4 inches wide the full length of the spear with a row of black feathers alternating with a row of white at short spaces on the flannel which is tied to the spear.

At a feast the food carrier takes a spoonful of food and raises it praying, "Wakan tanka, have mercy on us and let the tribe live on"; then to the west, that is, to the thunder, "Help us with strength so that the tribe will live"; then to the north, that is, to the wind, "Send us the cold winds and let the tribe live"; then to the east, that is, to the sun, "Shine out in full to us and let the tribe live"; and then to the south, invoking good winds. They believe that the south winds generally bring sickness. Then he pours the spoonful of food into a hole in the earth. Then he dips some out of his bowl, serves each chief and retires, and everyone is served with food. The whip carrier then serves the two food carriers with food and one of the pipe carriers says, "All the braves," the rest reply, "How," and the feast begins.

If one of the chiefs has had intercourse with his wife the day previous to the feast he must refuse the first taste of food given him by the food carrier, but may later join in the feast.

The whips have broad flat handles with saw-like edges, lashes of rawhide, and guards of otterskin. Their owners wear two feathers at the back of the head.

The lay members all carry rattles of ring shape and bone whistles. When the herald announces to a candidate that he is to be a brave, he tells him that when he attends the dances of the society he must paint his face red, wear an eagle tail feather in his hair, have a rattle with a tokala hide at the handle, and wear the regular form of leggings, moccasins, etc.

The drums are of the ordinary hand type.

The cante tinza have a special tipi like the tokala and the kangi yuha which is placed within the camp circle. Their ceremonies are similar also. They circle the camp, marching two abreast while the two whip men ride horses and hold the flanks. When the tipi of a head man is reached, they form a circle and dance as previously stated. Thus, they proceed until their own tipi is reached, which they enter, pack away their regalia, and feast. All members are expected to join in the songs and use the rattles they carry. In a battle some must sing to encourage the others. Each member carries a bit of calamus root as medicine which he chews and spits over himself to induce courage, etc. If in a fight a member becomes confused

or panic, the others spit this root over him. There is no definite form of painting for ceremonies, but when going to war two black marks are made diagonally across the face.

If the braves go out and gain a victory, they braid their hair and fix it with ornaments and paint their faces, some blue or black and some red, and dance with a scalp fastened to the end of a stick. Also, the hands of the enemy are fastened to the ends of separate sticks. In the center of the dancing place, a stick is placed, painted with transverse black stripes to the top. About this pole the hands are fastened. The men painted their faces black and striped their bodies with black paint (sometimes all black). They call this dance woktagli (kills come back), or, iwakic'ipi (they dance for it). It is not peculiar to the braves and is danced by everybody.

If in a war party, one becomes cowardly, his fellow braves call upon him to be brave and not to flee, that all must stand together. This is to stimulate bravery. Then if a member is killed the rest become very much wrought up and mourn for him, the men and women cutting their hair off, and the men thrusting sticks into their arms. The women cut themselves below the knee and above the elbows so that the blood runs freely.

An informant says that they do not formally quit from the braves, they may refrain from attending, but the rule is that they may not quit. In all the other societies one could be formally released.

If a leader or any officer is killed the other officers council as to who shall fill the vacancy and select some young man who is noted for his bravery. Usually in filling vacancies, the two chiefs consider the desirability of the membership and tell the herald, who shouts, "If you hear me, come at once." Then they present the candidate with all the regalia necessary and he repays with a horse. Sometimes the horse is presented to an orphan or widow or someone in need. The herald tells him, "You are selected to fill the vacancy on account of — dying or being killed, and the braves now have you as a member."

In the center of the camp circle the braves have a tipi called "tipiyokihe" (tipi next to). They have meetings of every sort there. Anyone, though he does not belong to the braves may go there and eat as there is always food there and always everybody is eating.

At a feast the two leaders may formally speak in memory of the braves that were, and taking up a portion of food offer it to the north, east, south, and west, then put it into the fire, on the ground, or on the smudge. If one has more food than he can eat, a sweetgrass smudge is made after which he is free to remove it. Members staying away from the ceremony will be visited by the whip men and have a good robe cut to pieces. They may escape the penalty by pledging a feast for the society.

Our informants were constantly stating that there were changes in the organization from time to time brought about by dreams of a shaman or by mutual consent. In some cases this led to the formation of a distinct society which was still regarded as the legitimate offspring of the parent. This seems to have been the character of the black-chins, the no-flight society, the big braves, the long braves, calf-eaters, war braves, and no-breech-cloth-dancers. Practically all of these were regarded as distinct societies of braves, though some of them may have been sub-orders within the original brave society. Thus, an informant states that some of the braves wore their robes with slits at the bottom in several places, and were named accordingly. At one time those wearing this peculiar style of robe were opposed to government issues. Then some played the game of shooting-coat and were named accordingly. Some of the separate organizations of braves had a few peculiarities some of which we shall describe.

Among tribes having age qualifications for societies, it is not uncommon to find special organizations for very young boys. Among the Oglala, it is said, boys often banded together and mimicked the societies for men.

Thus, a man says that at ten years he was a member of the boy-braves, a temporary association of a few month's duration in imitation of the cante tinza. They gave a dance which their adult relatives attended and gave away horses and other property to the poor. The same afternoon the boys set out in a mimic war party. They stayed in the hills all night. The next day they fell in with two stray bulls. These they boldly attacked and one boy was gored to death. The first one to strike a bull got the chief coup, as was the custom.

Our informants did not consider these as true societies, but as having an important function in the training or proving of boys for membership in the akicita organizations. Such tests made the selection of suitable candidates easy. A boy boldly striking bulls with his mimic lance was likely to be chosen as a lance bearer in one of the societies as soon as sufficiently mature. Mimic hunting parties were frequent and when a boy showed great bravery, he was given permission to go out with a war party. Boys' associations also fought mimic battles with each other using small bows, sometimes actually killing some of the combatants.

The Black-Chins (iku sapa). This organization had the greater part of the cante tinza ritual with a few different songs. When they acted as akicita they painted their chins black from the mouth down on each side. Other societies simply paint a black spot or two on the cheek or a black stripe crosswise on the face to denote akicita service. There were about fifty members. Four of them wore headdresses of bunched owl feathers with six eagle tail-feathers in the center. They also wore sashes. When

these are invested with their regalia, they strip to the breech cloth (formerly nude) and rub over the hands a mixture of powdered calamus root, tallow, and earth paint, then pick up coals of fire and carry them into the tipi. Four days are required for the entire ceremony. There are two leaders to guide and instruct in all ceremonies.

They sit opposite each other and sing the songs of the ritual while preparing the regalia, etc. There are twelve male singers, half sitting on one side of the tipi, half on the other. Four virgins are called, if quill work or sewing is needed on the new regalia, but they sit outside. When a sash bearer has been chosen, they make a bed of sage grass for his seat, paint his face red with a black circle around over the chin. With four movements, the headdress, the sash, and the whistle are put on him. Then the whole society marches around the camp, dancing before the tipis of the head men. In the dance, one leader is mounted and rides around the dancers as if forcing them up together. When they return to their tipi, the relatives of the candidate provide four kettles of food. Inside, a stick is set up before the candidate upon which his bonnet may be hung to keep it from the ground. When the food is brought inside, a morsel is thrown into the fire and one placed in the mouth of the candidate. There are four banner bearers and four small hand drums, but no rattles.

On the warpath, the four bonnet men must be in the lead for no one should go in front of them. In this and some other features they resemble the miwatani. Thus it is said, "You will see no others," the idea being that these four are so conspicuous. When mounted, their horses are painted red. The power of their regalia and medicine was so great that they were seldom wounded.

At home, these four could go into any tipi when meat was being cooked and after sounding their whistles take any or all of the meat. In all this, they moved very slowly and stealthily. (The dog society does the same, but runs fast.)

When the regalia of the four bonnet men get old, they cannot be thrown away, but at a ceremony are buried in the middle of the tipi. They must always be put on with four movements. Each of the four men has a tiny bag of medicine which he retains after retiring from office.

The bonnet is kept in a cylindrical rawhide case. No menstruating woman dare come near this at any time, nor any man recently with a woman. One of the bonnet men so associating must bathe early in the morning and refrain from smoking during the day.

The No-flight Society. According to Thunder-bear this society (napes'ni, also "lone braves") was organized about fifty years ago and flourished about thirteen years. Its ritual had most of the cante tinza songs and its members

were always invited to attend the ceremonial feasts of the *cante tinza*. On the other hand, it was regarded as a distinct organization. The chief distinguishing trait was the rule forbidding anyone to retreat from the enemy, all being required to fall or win together. The character of the *napesni* is well shown in the following narrative by Thunder-bear:—

An Oglala man by the name of Wakan-eagle first organized the No-Flight society. He was a very brave man. He selected four brave young men. These young men were orphans and had no immediate relatives. He said, "I have invited you to form a society. Are you willing to take part?" The young men asked Wakan-eagle for an explanation as to the obligations and conditions of membership. Then he said, "When we go to war and meet enemies we must not run back, but must stay together and stand by each other to the last." The young men agreed to this. Then Wakan-eagle sang some songs. Some of these songs were those of the brave society. The young men were pleased with the songs and requested him to sing them again. Then they called in fourteen other young men to take part in the organization. They named it *napesni*. Then they made two small drums, two rattles and whistles like those used by the brave society. Each member was given a feather to wear cross-wise at the back of the head. In singing, they sang the brave songs and in these songs recounted their war deeds.

Then they set out for war, well provided with horses, guns, bows and arrows. They did not carry lances. When they were attacked by the enemy one of the four young men dismounted and took his stand. The other three became afraid and remained on horseback.

Now when the society came back from war the three cowards were discharged and three other young men selected. There were no special regalia for the members and each worked according to his own dreams and powers. In the course of years all the members died or were killed in battle. When Wakan-eagle was about to die he called the people around him and advised them to discontinue the organization. So it was never reorganized.

An unusual feature of this society is the selling of the four bonnets. As a rule, the entire four transfer their regalia at once and the initiates give them horses and other presents. This is directly contrary to the procedure in other societies. Further, the retiring members remain as lay members or other officers, not being required to retire. An informant said, "As these bonnets are *wakan*, so they purchase them of the former owners and do not receive them from the society." The significance of this remark is unknown. He regarded it as the most powerful (*wakan*) of all societies.

Another curious feature is that in the dance around the camp after a return from war, a sister or other young woman may hold the sash of a bonnet man. They may also be staked down by their sashes and released by a woman. This seems to symbolize what is expected on the warpath. We found no evidence that these women were thereby pledged to the man, for they were usually his sisters.

Not all our informants were agreed as to the relation of the napesni to the cante tinza, some asserting that it was only a subdivision.

Big-Braves. An informant says that this is an akicita society. They maintain order in camp as well as on hunts, etc. Bravery plays a great part in this society and there is much competition among the members. They have a great deal of dancing and the society is very popular among the young people. For the dances they put on various ornaments, but there is no special regalia.

THE BADGERS.

The tradition is that the ihoka (badger) was a Crow society similar to the Oglala tokala. According to Calico, the Rosebud divisions brought it down from the Crow and passed it on to other divisions of the Dakota. The term ihoka seems to mean badger-mouth and was explained as referring to the characteristic grimaces and growlings of the badger when attacked. The society became extinct about twenty years back and was in existence at least sixty years ago. Its organization is as follows:—

2 leaders	2 whip bearers
1 drum keeper	x lay members
2 pipe keepers	1 herald
4 lances, 2 crooked	4 singers (virgins)
2 lances, buckskin wrapped	

The two leaders with the drum keeper, constitute a governing council. The drum was very large, made from the section of a cottonwood trunk. In use, it was supported by four ornamental forked sticks, bearing four feathers each. The sides of the drum were decorated with feathers and quill work.

The pipe keepers were important personages. The tobacco used in the pipes must be that originated by the Pawnee (Palani). (It is said that an Arikara first received tobacco from beings beneath the water and that from his tribe it passed to the Crow. The Oglala claim to have received their tobacco in trade from other tribes, though occasionally it was planted. However, a tobacco planting ceremony was not observed.) If the pipe keepers go to war, they fill the pipes, close the bowls with tallow and leave them at home. If they return victorious, the pipes are smoked at the celebrating ceremony. (All war parties of the tribe do this with a pipe, see p. 59). At a feast the pipe men place a particle of food in a hole as in case of ashes, previously referred to.

The trimmings for the four otter-wrapped lances are kept in special bundles and handled much like the pipe bundles. They are kept outside on a pole. There are certain men who are charged with the duty of dressing the lances and keeping the trimmings in repair. They must be paid for their services. A sweetgrass smudge is necessary when these regalia are handled.

The whip bearers are the marshals (*akicita*), as in other societies and in formal processions ride horses. They may punish absentees by cutting up blankets and, if resented, whip the culprit.

In the costume of lay members there seems to have been great freedom, many using otterskin collars, others bone-tube breast pieces. In painting, they had the curious custom of permitting the individual to choose his own mode, provided another duplicated it. Thus, in the dance procession, when they went in pairs, each line would be uniform.

The four singers are virgins. If they fall from grace, they are dismissed; if they marry, they must get the consent of the society which will make them valuable wedding presents. The husbands are taken into the society. At certain times these virgins may make a feast for which they have a special ritual containing a very long and difficult song, which they sing four times in succession.

Like other societies the *ihoka* march around the camp dancing before certain tipis at the close of a formal ceremony. In the procession they march two abreast, the pipe men, the crooked lances, the straight lances, the short lances, the lay members, the singers, and the drummers, while in front rides one of the whip bearers, the other in the rear. They always start up on a trot, then slow up, the singers strike up, then the men face backward and dance. Then they proceed as before, stopping again to dance, etc. When before a head man's tipi they form a circle around the singers and dance outward with certain whoops and calls. In the meantime, the herald addresses the host, explaining how he is being honored and inviting him to come out and speak. He may bring out a favorite son or daughter and give away horses or other property to the poor in their name. Presents are rarely given to members. The host may deliver a formal address. Thus, the society proceeds until its own tipi is reached.

If in battle a member falls wounded, his brothers must save him. Those with fast horses must aid those with slow ones. Members must manifest a brotherly feeling for each other. Like the badger, they must put up a strenuous fight.

THE SOTKA.

The sotka yuha was, it is said, learned from the Crow Indians. Calico claims to have been a charter member some forty-six years ago and says the society was abandoned after a career of about ten years. So far, we have not obtained a satisfactory translation of the term, sotka. It is said to imply a smooth unadorned stick; hence, they that have empty lances, referring to the custom of investing certain new members with plain lances to which they may tie feathers if coups are counted. Naturally, many men never acquired the right to decorate their lances, remaining simply sotka yuha.

This society presents some unusual features. In the first place, it has an absolute limit to its membership, there being twenty-four seats (some say twenty-two). In the second place, a candidate is given a definite seat. No other member ever sits in any but his own seat; hence, unless the roll is complete there are empty seats. New members can be taken in only when there is a vacancy and are then chosen to fill a particular seat. There is also a special mourning ceremony. If a lance bearer is killed, the whole society goes into mourning. In formal meeting, the relatives of the dead appear bearing sundry objects formerly his personal property. They distribute these relics singly to the members of the sotka, in each instance putting their hands on the head of the recipient and wailing. They ask for vengeance and those to whom property is given must take to the warpath. The idea is that each object calls for a coup or a scalp. When the party returns with trophies, the relatives and members braid their hair and remove other signs of mourning. However, other societies had a similar custom.

Our informants recognized a similarity between this society and the ihoka. The ceremonies with the pipes and lances are about the same. Three of the ihoka songs are used by the sotka, but the others and the dances are different. The plan of organization is as follows:—

2 leaders	1 drum keeper
4 lance bearers	1 herald
2 pipe keepers	1 food passer
2 whip bearers	8 singers

x lay members

The lance bearers have shields and lances. These lances are never dismantled, but wrapped up are hung outside with the shield, etc. They are used in counting coup on the enemy. Upon receiving the lance, the candidate must go to war and it must be his only weapon. He must watch the fight, if an enemy fall, rush up to get the coup. In this, they try to beat

the other members. It is after coups are gained, that feathers are tied on the lances. If a lance bearer kill an enemy he turns it back to its former owner, who is then bound to receive it and go on the warpath. He may, however, be excused from the office under certain conditions. The pipes are similar to those used in the ihoka and have like rules.

The whip bearers may punish absentees by cutting up blankets and whipping. The drum is like that used in the ihoka. If the two virgin singers fall into temptation, they are dismissed and publicly defamed.

Some informants place this society as superior to the ihoka, but there seems to have been no difference in the ages of members and the entrance requirements, nor a tendency of promotion from one to the other.

WIC'ISKA.

The wic'iska (white marked) society seems to have been a branch of the sotka since its ritual contained most of the sotka songs. In common with the sotka it has three ihoka songs also. It is said, that Old-man-afraid-of-his-horses introduced the wic'iska upon his return from a visit to some northern tribe. It became extinct about thirty years ago. Its organization is as follows:—

2 pipe keepers (formerly but one)	1 herald
2 feather bonnets	1 food passer
4 lance bearers	1 drummer
2 whip bearers	4 female singers and volunteer man
x lay members	

In the spring men gather up materials to make new regalia. They go out as usual in search of eagle feathers, red and blue flannel, buckskin, and otterskin. In the meantime four men, old men who have been through all this and act as instructors, sit and smoke until they come back as if they owned the tipi, in fact, they stay there and sleep there with the material. Two are appointed to make the necessary articles. The bonnet is made of a buckskin cap with the buffalo horns trimmed down so they will be light, and a beaded band on the forehead. On top of the head is a bunch of strips of rabbit or eagle down. On the back is a strip of heavy buffalo rawhide about four inches wide with red flannel sewed on a row of eagle feathers like on the tail of a war-bonnet.

The pipes are similar to those used in the ihoka.

The office of bonnet bearers (those who wear the bonnets) is not often filled, as it is considered very dangerous because the wearers of the bonnet were usually killed or wounded.

The four lance men have a pair of crooked lances and a pair of straight ones. One of these seems to have been under obligations to stand at his post before the enemy. The two crooked lances are wrapped with otterskin. At four different places the otterskin is slit in two and at the end of each piece hangs an eagle feather. The other lances had a strip of red flannel, a strip of blue flannel, and were wrapped with sinew so that the blue and red showed in succession. A smaller shaft, the length of the lance, was tied at intervals. At the end, sticking straight out was an eagle feather. At four different places three eagle feathers fastened together in a row were hung.

The whip bearers wore bunches of split owl feathers on the head and two eagle tail feathers. The whip was made with nicks on it and brass nails on the handle. Also, it had a foxskin for a guard. It was decorated with otterskin and eagle feathers.

The informant states that there should be four drum carriers. He says originally there were four drum carriers, but that later there was only one who had charge of a large drum.

The number of members was unlimited. They had no special way of painting for the dances, but everyone dressed to suit his own taste and to look as well as possible.

In the dance, the circle closes inward to the center. Guns are fired repeatedly. The two whip bearers are mounted. At the close of a dance, members recount their deeds. After the cheering, the dance is taken up again, and so on. The leader has a rattle with which he makes signals. The rule is to dance around the camp as other societies do.

The following personal narrative of a member in this organization contains many points of interest:—

They discarded some of the songs of the sotka and took on all of the wiciska songs. He joined the sotka when seventeen years old and the next year killed three enemies. The following winter he stole a great many horses from the Shoshone and was shot many times while driving them away. There were fifteen men in the war party. The next spring, when he was twenty years old, the Crow came down and stole many horses; they trailed them and killed four. He killed one and brought back the horses. That winter he went to the Crow with a war party and killed one of the two men killed. The summer after the next they made a morning charge on the Shoshone and stole a bunch of horses. They did not make a stand in fighting because the enemy were too numerous. This was in the spring. Later he was chosen one of the blotaunka. This was on the war party to the Crow and he was given a rattle in the ceremony as noted on p. 67. Now, the following fall they went to the Crow. He was not selected by the blotaunka to make the first charge because his horse had a large ankle. Three others sneaked away in spite of the akicita watching them and encountered the Crow. In the fierce struggle that followed he was shot in the breast. One of the enemy struck him after he had fallen, but the rest beat off the Crow and he was taken care of by his people. The following spring, the wiciska gave him a lance on account of his record of bravery.

In general it seems that the ihoka, sotka, and wiciska form a kind of cycle in that all appear closely related, thus putting them in contrast to the other three (tokala, cante tinza and kangi yuha) that also form a kind of cycle. It is not improbable that the ihoka was the original society from which the other two sprang as rival organizations.

HEAD MEN'S SOCIETIES.

While it is clear from the preceding that there are no age distinctions among the societies rendering akicita service, there are nevertheless a group of organizations made up of older men. The most distinguished of these is the chiefs society which seems to have been peculiar to the Red-cloud division, as stated in the section on tribal government. After the two tribal divisions had combined at Pine Ridge Agency some of the younger of the old men class were progressive in favoring the United States officials and were also rather piqued because the reactionaries kept them out of the chiefs society; so, as has been pointed out in the case of the akicita organizations, they formed another chiefs society using the same songs and ceremonies but under the name ska yuha. Again, our informants insisted that the miwatani and omaha organizations belonged to the same general class since they were made up of elderly men and never performed akicita service. As to these two, we are by no means sure, since they are not to our way of thinking, on the same plane as the former; yet, if the Indians themselves consider all four as of one class, we must needs so group them in this paper.

THE CHIEFS SOCIETY.

The original name for this organization is said to have been tatanka wapahun, wearers of the buffalo headdress. At various times it has had other names as haⁿskaska (the tall ones), short-hairs, (referring to a custom of braiding buffalo hair into their heads), the big-bellies (the stoutness of middle life), and the society of chiefs. As it turns out that in origin, this society seems to have been an analogue of the bull society of other Plains tribes, it seems worth while to go into the details of its origin.

According to Calico, the original name of the chiefs society was, the wearers of the buffalo bonnet. Since about 1870 they have been known as the big-bellies and the short-hairs. About twenty generations ago the bull society was founded in the Red-cloud division. According to one account a shaman had a vision in which a buffalo appeared to him, sang songs and gave out the necessary instructions for the ceremony. The members wore

headdresses made of the skin from the neck and head of the buffalo with the horns attached. The horns were painted either blue, red, or white, according to the preference of the wearer. To make the headdress wakan, a small bag of medicine was tied to it. It is said that in course of time the eagle feather bonnets gradually displaced the buffalo headdresses though many men now living remember seeing a buffalo dance in which the original headdresses were worn.

Each member carried a shield and lance. The headdresses were worn only during dances and on the warpath. At all other times they were kept wrapped up in rawhide cases and hung together with the shields and lances upon poles outside of the tipis. They were never brought inside for fear they would be contaminated by the presence of women. The rule was to keep all war medicines outside of the camp circle about one hundred feet from the tipi of the owner, supported by a tripod. If enemies were expected the regalia might be brought to the rear of the tipi, but must be left on the outside. When on the march, the shield was hung to the rear horn of the saddle, the headdress to the front horn, and the lance carried in the hand.¹

The shaman who originated the bull society first called in three or four young men for whom he made the regalia and then set out on the warpath. They were very successful, in consequence of which, other young men made application to join the group. As time went on, the membership increased until they came to be recognized as a men's society. The men did not leave the organization, it was said, so that in the course of time it became chiefly a group of old men. It then ceased to be a war organization and became chiefly a feasting and dancing association.

In the dance the members paint their bodies white, also their lances. Originally, it is said that there were but ten bearers of lances who also wore the headdresses. In the dance they imitated the buffalo; that is, by bellowing and whooping at each other. The man who founded the society was named, Paints-ear-white.

At the present time the society survives only as the buffalo dance of the chiefs society.²

The foregoing leads us to surmise that we have in the buffalo dance,

¹ Wotawe is the term used to designate powers associated with headdresses, lances, etc. Each object of this kind has a small medicine sack attached to it and the ceremony of connecting this medicine with the object, for the protection of the wearer, brings about a quality known as wotawe.

² In Catlin (238) will be found mention of "the dance of the chiefs" with a sketch. This, however, seems to be a different ceremony, but it is interesting to note a file of four female singers at one side, the typical Oglala custom. Riggs (a, 224) mentions a "begging dance" that had the name "buffalo," some features of which suggest the bull dance noted above. Catlin (245) describes and illustrates a "begging dance" as he saw it.

the bulls, or old men's society of the Northern Plains. The regalia are much the same and some of the songs, as rendered by informants, resemble the bull songs of the Blackfoot. Further, the fact that it is after all an old men's organization may not be entirely accidental. In any event, the bull dance and songs have survived only as part of the ritual for the chiefs society.

As a society for men that of the chiefs stands alone and distinct from the akicita organizations. While no one seemed to have an idea that any one akicita society had superior rank, all were of one mind as to the rank of the chiefs, it being "the oldest as well as the one of highest rank." Boys were not taken into it and a man seldom won sufficient recognition to be chosen before reaching the age of thirty or forty. None of our informants seemed to know the exact number of members at any definite time, but estimated them at forty to fifty. While it is claimed that the chiefs are not akicita, our data show that they may exercise similar functions on occasion; but since they are recognized as the governing body of the tribe, this is not inconsistent.

The following narrative by Thunder-bear presents some points of interest:—

Once a young man about eighteen years old went out to hunt. In the evening he did not return and as time went on his people became alarmed. However, on the fourth day he returned acting very queerly. He kept far out from camp, and would shy away when approached. His father sent out one to inquire into his condition. To the messenger the young man requested a sweat house and a tipi to be placed far out to one side of the camp and that a number of men credited with queer or unusual conduct (?) be invited. When all was ready the young man approached the sweat house. He carried something wrapped in sage grass. He sat down and removed his clothing, then carried the mysterious bundle into the sweat house, sat down at the rear and placed the bundle in front of him. They knew it contained a medicine thing. He said, "One said to me, if you do as I direct you, it will be well. All other tribes are looking for this medicine." Then he unwrapped the bundle and took out a large green root, a small piece of which he pulverized and sprinkled upon the hot stones. The stones turned blue. Then he poured the water four times. On coming out he proceeded directly to the tipi erected for him.

When all the invited ones were gathered there, he said, "I am about to form a society to be called the han skaska. In the future there will be many societies, but this one shall rank the highest. It will stand at the head. You are to be members. You are to carry clubs of ash wood with wrist guards of fox skins. At the back of the head you are to tie a plume and to each plume a small bag of powder made from this root. Then, if the enemy shoot, he cannot hit you."

Then they all went on the warpath to test the power of their medicine. As they were marching along, the leader ordered a halt and began to sing. At once, a gray wolf came up to him and said, "In two days you will fall in with the enemy and overcome an entire tribe."

Now, they went on cautiously. Presently they saw some figures moving in the distance. Then two of the party were missing, but the next morning they returned with information that a large party was camping on the next creek. As they went on their way they saw figures approaching; so they formed an ambuscade. When the party came up they fired from each side, killing all but two children and taking all the property. Then they went home. As they approached the people said, "The han skaska society comes back from war."

Now, the same winter the han skaska went to war again. As before, the leader sang and a gray wolf came up, "In two days you shall meet a large tribe on the war-path. Watch the enemy." Then they went on. Again, two scouts went out. Later, they were seen returning and as they approached, howled like wolves. They reported the enemy near by all afoot. (A war party always goes out on foot.) Their leader carried a red flannel banner. At a ford they formed an ambuscade and killed all, taking the property and many scalps. Then they went home, each bearing a stick with scalps. As they neared camp some one fired a gun and called out, "The han skaska is home from war again."

Now, they were recognized as a society. No matter what direction they go they are sure to win a victory. In succession they went out and overcame four tribes — Crow, Pawnee, Gros Ventre and Ute. Then they were famous.

The leader admonished them to look after the welfare of all the people, to protect them from all enemies, to stand by each other in all respects, to enforce their rules with their clubs if necessary, especially to enforce the rule of friendship for the white race.

Later, it was decided to appoint four leaders of equal rank, the best and bravest men of the tribe. They became so powerful that they were respected by all. The last to hold these offices were American-horse, Crazy-horse, Man-afraid-of-his-horse, and Sword.

The four leading men referred to above are the four grand councilors of the Oglala. When chosen by their fellow han skaska members they were formally invested with a shirt similar to the modern scalp shirt. Though in recent times this garment was worn by anyone, it was originally the exclusive regalia of these four men. We are told that the true scalp shirt was made of mountain sheepskin. Two full skins were used. The dew claws were not removed, the skin from the fore legs forming the sleeves, that from the hind legs hung down at the sides. Across the shoulders and down the sleeves were quill-worked bands. Two shirts were painted blue on the upper half and yellow on the lower; the other two had red and yellow halves respectively. The most distinguishing feature, however, was the hair-lock fringe on the sleeve. In theory, at least, a lock of hair was added for each recognized deed in war: as, coup, capturing a horse, taking prisoners, getting wounds, saving the life of a friend, etc., but eventually the fringed shirt became simply the conventional regalia of the four grand councilors and finally a style of dress for anyone. These shirt owners wore a single eagle feather, horizontally on the back of the head. They had no distinctive painting for the face and body.

Naturally, the making of the regalia for a shirt owner is attended with considerable ceremony. First a feast is made with dried berries, pemmican, and dog flesh. Each guest is required to eat promptly all that is set before him. If one fail, he formally asks permission to take the remainder home with him; if the members consent, a smudge of sweetgrass is made, after which he may take it. When making and decorating the shirts many sweetgrass offerings are made. In this the four directions are repeatedly signed to. Many songs are sung. Even now, though scalp shirts are frequently made to sell, they always follow many of the rules, engage an old man to do the work, make a feast, burn sweetgrass, etc.

When investing the candidate with a scalp shirt he is lectured on his responsibilities. The following was given as a hypothetical abstract:—

Though you now wear the shirt, be a big-hearted man. Do not think ill of other members. The food they eat is the vital element (?); its fundamentals (?) reach from the earth to the heavens. You should look after the poor, especially the widows and orphans, and help them. Do not give way to anger even though you see one of your relatives lying bloody before you. Many dogs go to your tipi to urinate. (It was explained that this meant immoral men would go there to corrupt his women), but be big-hearted and do not allow your mind to dwell upon this, for if you look upon these things it will hurt your big heart. This shirt here means that you have been chosen as a big-heart; you are always to help your friends. These rules are hard to comply with, but we have given you this shirt. If you are to meet enemies, go right up to them; it is better to lie naked in death than to be wrapped up to harbor corruption. To die naked (This refers to the custom of fighting naked) is more to be desired.

We did not learn much of the dances of the han skaska but one informant says that they often make a feast at which the members arise and dance singly, after narrating war deeds. Finally, all dance together butting each other like bulls. This was called the dance of the short-hairs, referring to old bulls, the dancers wearing buffalo heads. As previously stated, short-hair is now another name for han skaska.

The members are often called "big-bellies" because they are usually old men and because of their great interest in the affairs of the tribe. They give to the tribe the benefit of all their wisdom. If a quarrel arise in camp, they go there with the pipe and make peace. If the enemy attack the camp the society's duty is to protect the children and women at the risk of their lives.

If a party came to visit they came to the center of the camp where they were met by the society. A member often gives a horse to some old woman in the party who appears needy, or, if the visitors should hold as captives some Indians of another tribe, and there is a child among them, one of the members of the society will present a horse to the child.

A member of the society is not supposed to care or pay attention to his wife if someone steals her. If she wishes to come back she may, he is supposed to be far above annoyances of this kind.

SKA YUHA.

During the administration of Agent McGillicuddy, it is said, some of the younger men under the leadership of Red-cloud set up a separate chiefs society which came to be known as the white-horse-owners, apparently from the custom in the chiefs society of riding white horses. They took up the entire ritual of the older organization, but were not recognized as having a seat in the council that elected the tribal chiefs for some time afterward.

The chief distinction was that the members of the ska yuha participated in war parties while the chiefs did not. Richard Nines writes: "I get the impression that generally the ska yuha is a preliminary rank or organization to the chiefs society. The word is sometimes rendered as white badge society but should be white owners, implying the ownership of white horses." In our statistics of membership it will be noted that Nos. 3, 4, and 5 joined the ska yuha; 4, left it in a year and joined the chiefs; 3 and 5 did not resign but each entered the chiefs a few years later. This is not inconsistent with Mr. Nines' opinion.

MIWATANI.

The miwatani was regarded by the Indians as different from akicita societies, in that as an organization it was never called upon for akicita service. So far as we could learn this was merely a matter of custom and not in any way determined by the ages or social positions of the members. The miwatani took in members, held ceremonies, and went to war just as did the akicita societies. Again, we find an origin myth accounting for the tokala, cante tinza, kangi yuha, and miwatani as the result of a single vision. They also had special tipis within the camp circle at equi-distant points, the kangi yuha at the northeast, the cante tinza at the southeast, the miwatani, at the northwest, and the tokala at the southwest. Notwithstanding this, the miwatani is positively not an akicita society, though in its organization it is similar.

Some informants insisted that it should be classed with the chiefs societies for the reason that on the average, the members were older men than those, found in the akicita societies. One applied the term wakuaya la okolatic'iya gentlemen of culture or high class men, to the miwatani, chief, and omaha organizations. It may be that, if the origin myth for the original akicita

societies is based upon real distinctions, this tribe formerly had three akicita societies and one of the higher rank to which older men were admitted. On the other hand, the organization of the miwatani and the qualifications of its members make it more likely that the differentiation came about later by men retaining their membership in the miwatani to an advanced age. Notwithstanding these statements, so far as could be learned, there were no definite age qualifications for membership. Thus, one informant states that he was chosen as a member when about ten years old; at thirteen was made one of the two leaders, and retired at eighteen because an epidemic of smallpox caused him to permanently abandon his native camp. He was an unusually young man for these honors, but succeeded his father as a leader. We were told by many informants that the miwatani kept watch on the boys of the camp and chose such as promised to develop into worthy members, but that few were chosen before the fifteenth year. Also, if at any time an adult of good standing was discovered free to join, he was promptly invited to membership. It is clear to all that no one could make application for membership, but that the sole initiative must rest with the society. Hence, no matter what his ambitions, a person carefully refrained from expressing a desire for membership, it being understood that, if worthy, he would eventually receive an invitation to join. Naturally, one's friends or relatives within the society could influence the selections.

The miwatani has an apparent foreign name, since unlike most other society names, it cannot be explained in terms of current speech. Our informants are all agreed that the term is associated with no concept other than that of a particular society. It is also their name for the Mandan, the tradition being that the latter were named because of some resemblance to the miwatani society.¹ According to one informant, this society, which by the way, is regarded as a very ancient one, was so named because an owl-being in conferring the ritual said, "My name is Miwatani." Another name in general use is iyuptala; a name of occasional use is hiⁿhaⁿ s'oⁿwapa, seemingly a headdress of owl feathers.

In organization the miwatani consists of:—

2 leaders ²	x lay members
2 sash bearers, or bonnet men	1 drum bearer
2 whip bearers	8 singers
1 food passer	1 herald

¹ J. O. Dorsey credits the Omaha with a "Mandan dancing society" which from his account seems to be similar to the Oglala organization, (c), 273.

² High-bear says eight leaders, another informant says four. From our other data we infer that this means that a certain number of the highest rank constitute the governing board. Another informant claims that the two leaders also wore sashes, making four sash bearers.

The sash bearers were important functionaries. They wore a headdress of owl feathers and carried a rattle of dew claws. Their sashes had a hole in the end by which they staked themselves down before the enemy. They paint their bodies red and black semicircles around the face, from one cheek bone around the forehead to the other cheek bone. They also paint black circles at the wrists, elbows, and shoulder joints. One of them could not resign his office alone, but all had to leave together. Before the installation of the new sash men it was necessary for the retiring members to make an entirely new set of regalia for them for which each gave a horse in payment. In battle they dress in all their regalia and when the enemy charges stake themselves to the ground. They can only be released by some other person. If one of them strikes an enemy with the lance which he uses to stake himself to the ground during battle, the rules for staking may be suspended. The following narrative of John Blunt-horn gives many details of their obligations:—

There was once a man who first owned a sash but thought or had a dream in which he thought some one said, "Take this sash and use it as directed and you shall overcome all enemies and obstacles." "Look at me in the face," someone said, "do not forget. I shall help you." Then looking about he saw a man standing there. He wore a headdress of buckskin and crow feathers with a crest of turkey buzzards' tails, and on his right side hung the sash. It was marked with transverse stripes of quill work, with white plumes at the ends.

Once again the same man appeared to him in a vision and said, "Dress as you saw me. Then you shall overcome everything. Medicine in small bags should be tied in your hair and a pair of white plumes should hang from each temple. There should also be some bags of medicine hung from the quills of plumes at the sides of your sash. Then like the eagle you will overcome all enemies. He never misses that at which he strikes. If you are attacked, take a whistle of eagle bone, blow upon it. This will confuse the enemy and make them easy to overcome."

After this second dream he called in a number of men to form a society to test the vision to see if it were true. So all went into a tipi. He selected one man as a companion. There was a fire outside so he rubbed medicine on his hands and took from the fire a burning stick, holding it by the glowing end. He walked slowly into the tipi and put the fire into the hole at the center. He then took up sweetgrass and made a smudge. Then he took up the sash and held it to the four directions and took up the headdress, then the cord and the picket pin. All these were then put upon his companion. "Now," said he, "we shall go out to test the power of this medicine for our enemies.

The idea in all this procedure is that everything symbolizes the power of an eagle and that if the recipient does exactly as directed he will overcome everything.

Now this companion had a sister about eighteen years old. He requested her to carry the fire into the tipi, which she did in her bare hands, dropping it into the hole with four movements. Then a smudge of sweetgrass was made while the originator of the ceremony began to sing songs. The first song began: "I have made a shaman to perform through the day." When done singing he gave out many directions

among which were the following: "If you go to war you cannot be wounded or injured. If you win many victories you are then expected to join the chief society. You shall never be accused of anything. When among a war party and attacked by the enemy no matter if it be a hard fight, the owner of this sash must dismount and stake himself down with the picket pin. He must not run away or pull up the pin. He must stay there until released by some of his companions or until enemies are killed. Now, you must go through with this. If you do this your name will spread over the world. You shall have many friends. They may release you and save you. If your friends do not rescue you, you shall be killed but you must not run away. If you do all this and come back alive, you will be taken into the chiefs society."

Now the sash and all other regalia were ready so the originator of the society took his companion out with a war party. After a time the scouts reported the enemies in sight. As they went on they were attacked. Now the companion galloped down to a small flat, shouted defiance at the enemy, dismounted, and staked himself down. Then he called out to the war party, "If you get home alive, tell the people what happened. It is better to die naked on the prairie than be wrapped up on a scaffold." So he dismounted, drove his horse back toward the party, put the pin in the ground, and walked around, shouting defiance at the enemy. One of the enemy rode up and counted coup on him. The companion waited for the second enemy and as he approached shot him down. He fell at the companion's feet. Then he himself pulled up the picket pin, stuck it in his belt, took his victim's horse and scalp, and went back. As he approached, the party rushed in to count coup on the scalp.

The war party returned. Their approach was announced by a herald. Parts of the scalp were tied to a pole and as the companion narrated his experiences to the people the women cheered and sang songs for him. Later, they had a war dance. There they set up a long pole and selected certain men to sing and drum. Their songs referred to deeds of the warpath. Thus the companion sang: "The first enemy was after me. Him I did not want. The second one came up. I said, 'You seem to want something. So I guess I must kill you.'" In all these songs they derided the enemy and danced around the pole on top of which was a piece of buffalo skin and the end of a scalp. Black stripes were made across the pole and the dancers painted their faces with black vertical stripes. At the back of the head each wore a feather denoting that an enemy had been killed.

Now the companion was very famous. Most of the single women were anxious to have him for a husband. He would now be known as a chief. Then the heralds called out for the companion's father. The father made a speech and gave away presents. Now the originator of the ceremony brought the companion before the people and asked him if he cared to continue as owner of the sash and its obligations. He explained that he could now give up the sash if he chose. The companion was very proud and he did not like to resign. On the other hand, he thought it would be pleasant to marry and settle in life and that if he did it would not be wise to risk keeping the sash. Thus he said, "If I go on, there is that pin that holds me. If no one pulls out the pin then I shall die. I will not be able to marry." So he took off the regalia and returned it to the originator.

After a time, two men decided to try the sash. They were chums. They asked the originator for the outfits and he agreed to furnish them. He called in many men for a gathering and announced what he was about to do. It took four days to make the regalia. Some young women who were skillful in quill work were invited

to sit outside the tipi and decorate the sash. The two young men had many male and female relations and they selected two young women to carry the fire into the tipi. When the regalia were completed, songs were sung and instructions given the young men as before. As the regalia were being placed upon one of them, he broke down and began to cry. Both felt very much discouraged. Yet they decided to go to war. So they made a feast and called for volunteers. One of the young men said to the other, "We can make this test many times over when we go into a fight, one can rescue the other." To this they agreed.

The next morning enemies were reported. They were in a camp with many horses. As they approached they saw them turning out their horses. They waited until the horses were bunched up before they charged. One of the young men had a slow horse so he asked the one with the fast horse to go back, but he said, "No, we die right here together." "All right," said the other. One of them composed a song, "We are looking for this. That we run up against. We are at the end of the day. Tell our relations that we came to the end." The war party then turned back. As they watched they saw the enemy ride up, kill the two young men, and tear off their regalia.

Now, after this it was hard to get men to take the sash and its obligations. Very few would do it. So four men went to the originator and said, "If this thing keeps up, all our young men will be killed." So it was decided to omit the cord and the picket. The next time young men were taken in the sashes were placed around their necks and they were led around the camps to dance before the tipis of chiefs. A headdress of owl feathers was made for them and rattles of dew-claws. Thus the miwatani society was started.

Sometimes in the dance when the excitement of the occasion is on him a member will "throw his wife away." This he does by a formal announcement that he now separates from his wife. So they separate. Afterwards, he may mourn and feel regret, but he must not reveal his feelings else he will be ridiculed and can never become chief. He may have trouble to get a new wife since every woman will be afraid that she also will be thrown away. The discarded woman may marry again. If her former husband should be killed in a fight she would rejoice. She would say that he got what was coming to him.

As previously noted, all the regular akicita societies reorganize each spring and have a custom of sending out young men to gather materials. This is not the rule with the miwatani and other societies. They inform the young men whom they are going to present with the bonnets and sashes beforehand instead of waiting for the general feast to select their men. The young men who are to have the bonnets themselves go out after material and bring it to the bonnet maker who completes his task, while the young men help. They have a custom of painting themselves red and with their whistles they go and spy out a good looking lot of dried meat hanging. They blow their whistles, run and seize the meat and bring it to the tent where the bonnets, etc. are being made. They also act as general servants.

They have a ceremony of burning sweetgrass, pointing it to the four winds, to the great spirit, and to the things of the earth, then they put the grass down with silent prayers. This ceremony is conducted every morn-

ing. Usually, there is a large crowd gathered during this ceremony. The maker of the bonnets tells one of the men to bring some coals in his hand. He does this slowly without showing signs of pain. The grass is burnt as a smudge. The bonnet maker holding his hands in the smoke and taking the things he is making, holds them over the smoke to make them wakan. He is the only one who performs this ceremony. The next morning he will probably call on the other candidates to bring the coals.

When everything is completed, a large tipi is prepared with many kettles and they prepare for a big feast. Then when all are assembled, the bonnet maker goes through the grass burning ceremony. This time, both of the bonnet wearers bring the coals. A large crowd looks on. After this they pretend to look for the men to present them with the bonnets. They find them and one who has had experience and killed an enemy, tells how he did it. After the talk he presents the bonnets and sashes putting the bonnets on the young men and putting on their sashes.

If other offices of the society are vacant, they paint the drum red, do not beat it, but begin to sing. The drum keeper is brought forth, he beats the drum and perhaps throws a stick into the crowd or presents it to someone (this standing for a horse). He may strike the drum again and throw another stick into the crowd saying, "This is for my wife. Whoever gets this may send her after water." This means that he is throwing his wife away. Of course, this is optional, but is frequently done.

Then after the dance the members go through the camp and sing for women thrown away. "My son's mother, you paid no heed, so you have gone thus." Frequently, some men take the women back. If anyone does this he is mocked for his inconstancy. We were told of one man who did this and the public jeered him so that he threw her away again, but reclaimed her. Then the people thought him crazy and did not pay any attention to him. He slit his yellow blanket in many places, wore a bunch of weeds on his head, carried a knife in his hand, and sang heyoka songs.

As previously stated the two important posts in this society are the two bonnet or sash bearers. The bonnets are made this way: The tanned skin of buffalo is made into a cap with spotted eagle tail-feathers in a row in the center and crow feathers on each side. At the back of the cap, there hang down spotted eagle tail-feathers with crow feathers.

The two who wear the bonnets also wear the sashes to stake themselves out in battle. These are made of buffalo or elk skin with small feathers beaded on. Rabbit ears or bits of weasel fur are placed on the sashes in four rows, with feathers at each end. They are also ornamented with porcupine quill work.

Another unusual feature is that, according to some informants, the drum

keeper in this society ranked even higher than the leaders. We were told that the drum keeper is an old man who is respected and who has never committed murder. There is a pair of sticks on either side to hold the drum above the ground when in use. Each stick is in the care of one man. When on the warpath, a feather from the stick is carried on the end of a staff and if the owner kills an enemy, he places the feather on his head. Then the drum keeper takes charge of the sticks. The same custom applies to the drumsticks but those presented with drumsticks are singers (officially), although sometimes more than four sing as others may volunteer to help.

There are two pipe carriers who are the leaders of the society. The pipes are used to quiet quarrels among Indians whether they belong to the society or not. If a member be the direct cause of a quarrel, he is expelled from the society. The pipe is taken to the scene of the quarrel and smoked as a peace pipe.

During a feast when food is to be served, they first let a stuffed owl taste the food, and then serve the society. The owl is very important in this society. The owl and buffalo appeared to the originator in a dream and told him about the organization, the regalia, and that by forming the society they would become a great and good nation.

The whips are used by the whip carriers, but there is rather a nice ceremony connected with them. When the dance is about over and the dancers are returning to their seats, the whip carriers tap each one lightly as they all stand in a circle with bowed heads. As each person is tapped he seats himself. After all are seated they rest until the next dance. This tapping does not occur at the end of each dance, but at certain times. About fifty-seven or fifty-eight years ago, they started the whip carrier office. The society had a member who came from the Crow where he saw a similar custom. When the dance was over he tapped each one and then they could be seated. Since then they have observed this custom. Previous to this, it is said, they were continually at war with the Crow and only came in contact with them in warfare.

The members paint their bodies red with blue stripes around the wrists, elbows, and upper arms. Also, a blue stripe around the face: i. e., from one cheek around the forehead to the other cheek. They wear a whistle made of bone, around the neck and owl feathers on the top of the head. Each member had a buffalo hide robe, the center of the flesh-side bearing a rectangular design worked in quills. One side of the robe was folded back and two strips of otterskin fastened to it. If a member had discarded any wives he fastened an owl (leg and foot) to the folded end for every wife discarded. The rest of the robe was red.

It may not be out of place to remark that this society originated the

custom of throwing away wives which was then copied by the others. If a man took back his wife after having thrown her away, he was expelled from the society.

The lay members wore a conical cap made of owl feathers without the eagle feathers which were worn only by the chiefs. When dancing, the members painted their bodies, leggings and moccasins, red. Their shirts were made of buckskin, and the fringes from the sleeves running from the shoulder down to the waist were about 18 inches long. The shirt came down to the waist. This shirt was called "ogle hu (shirt back), wi yus'da (out) or back-cut shirt. The fringe on the bottom of the shirt was about twelve inches long. At the front and back of the neck, triangular pieces were sewed and they came down about twelve inches, surrounded by a fringe about an inch long. This was beaded and painted any color. The beaded work (about 3 inches wide) was of large beads and ran from the front of the shirt to the back. This was done on a piece of buckskin and then sewed to the shirt, the beadwork on the sleeves, likewise. The beadwork was in black and white, alternating. The fringes on the leggings were about two inches long and the beadwork was the same as on the shirt.

Every member was obliged to have the owl headdress, eagle bone whistle, and deer hoof rattle. The owl headdress was made of a bunch of feathers from the wing and tail fastened to a piece of buckskin and to this a small stick to tie to the wearer's hair. The eagle bone whistles were carried by a cord of buckskin around the neck. Usually some porcupine work was suspended where the whistle was tied to the cord which is wrapped with porcupine quills. At a certain period in the dance all blow their whistles. The deer foot rattle is made on a small stick about twelve inches long. A piece of buckskin is sewed tightly around the stick to which the ends of the deer hoofs (the hoof is cut after boiling) are fastened, a large number being required to make the rattling noise. This is rattled during the dance until they come to the middle when they change to the whistle for a few moments and then go on with the rattle.

THE OMAHA.

From the data at hand the omaha kaiyotag was formerly very much like the akicita societies, but not recognized as one of them. The belief is that this organization came from the Omaha, who in turn learned it of the Pawnee. The first instructions to the Dakota were given about forty years ago on

Plenty-shell River (Shell Creek?) not far from Omaha.¹ The following narrative was given by Calico:—

A shaman originated this dance since he had a dream in which he was told to make up a crow-belt, etc. He asked for a large dance tipi. First, he made the headdresses, or crests, then the whistles, then the leggings, and last the crow-belts. When all were ready, a feast was made. The shaman burned sweetgrass, then took up the regalia piece by piece and explained their uses and obligations. Everybody was invited to look in upon the proceedings. Then they danced as the shaman directed. He told them to keep up the organization and that to do this they must first go to war carrying the regalia. He said that each could make a wish as to the outcome and that such would come true. This they did. The next day they all set out to test this new formula. Everything came out just as he promised.

Now, many wanted some of the regalia. So he selected ten men; to four he gave crow-belts, to four, leggings, and to two crests, or headdresses. They prepared to set out on the warpath. They danced around a kettle of boiling meat and drew out pieces with their bare hands, like the heyoka (p. 85). Each member then named what he most desired. One asked to be wounded. The shaman said, that if he so wished, it would be; but that the chief function of the regalia and formula was to prevent wounds. The member still persisted. "Well," said the shaman, "then you shall be wounded and afterward may wear a small bell upon you to mark the place of injury." True enough, this man was shot in the leg and at the next dance appeared with a bell on his legging. This was popular and many wished to be wounded so that after a few expeditions many of the dancers wore bells. Those taking scalps were permitted to use knives when eating food at the ceremonies; hence, if one asks for a knife, he must stand up and count off his deeds before using it.

Now, the founder lead the organization until he was very old. At last a council was called to provide for his successor. He explained that the regalia had been conferred by the thunder, but that it could be continued after his death, provided no changes were made unless authorized by dreams or visions. Soon he died. The new leader had a dream, so he said, and made some changes, but when they closed a storm came down and the lightning struck into their midst, killing several dancers. So they left out these innovations. Again, they had a dance, but they were struck again. Then an offering of tobacco was placed on some hills, after which everything went well.

Now, after a time anyone could wear the regalia and little attention was paid to the rules.

¹ What is called the "grass dance" has been revived. It is said to have derived its name from the custom, in ancient times, of dancing naked or with only a wisp of grass about the loins. Only the men appeared in this nude state. It is a night dance, and regarded as extremely licentious, although now they are represented as dancing in their Indian dress or even clothed as white men.—Riggs, (a), 227.

"The Pezi mignaka wacipi (the dance of those wearing grass in their belts) . . . both young men and young women take part . . . The grass dance is named after the Omaha tribe. As many men as are able to participate in that dance march abreast until they reach the camp of some gens, where they sit down facing the people whom they visit, hence the name, meaning, "the Omaha reach there and sit down." Then the visitors sing while a noise is made by hitting the ground with sticks, etc. The singers and dancers sit looking at the tents of the gens that they have visited, and remain so until property and food are brought out and given to them."—J. O. Dorsey, (a), 463.

According to Mr. Nines pezi mignaka is another name for Omaha kalyotag, which reached the Oglala through the Yankton.

The following account by Afraid-of-bear contains many additional points and may be quoted in full:—

A young man went out and fasted, after several days he came back. He told his mother that she must kill one of her dogs because he was to make a wakan feast. His mother said, "I use that dog to bring wood, and I hate to part with him." He insisted. So she killed it and they cooked it in a large kettle. He prepared the tent for a feast and in the center he made crooked lines imitating lightning on account of his dream and invited seven men, saying, "I dreamed about lightning and so we will make seven headdresses." (They are made of long-tailed deers' tails, dyed red, with porcupine quills tied over the center.) When they finished this he said, "We will go on a war party and kill seven enemies and then we will each put an eagle feather in our headgear." So they went and about the time they assembled at the hill they saw beyond seven enemies who had also come on a war party. They were smoking. So they crept on them, took off their leggings and prepared to make a charge, surprising them. The enemy lost their presence of mind, did not resist and were all killed. So they came back, made a feast, danced, and fixed an eagle feather in their headgear.

At the feast they took in new members and the head man said, "I am going to make more things. He made two bustles and two whistles. After this was completed they presented these to four young men in a ceremonial way, telling one bustle man that he would be shot by an enemy, but not badly; another that he would kill an enemy; and telling the same to a whistle man.

They went out to battle and it happened as the man had said. Then the bustle man who was wounded took a red feather, hung it in his bustle and the wounded whistle man painted his flute red and hung a red feather to it. The flute man who killed an enemy, painted his flute blue and hung a white feather to it. The bustle man took an eagle feather and hung it in his bustle.

He told them that if anyone is going to make a dog feast he must do so without fail, for if he does not, something serious would happen. The ceremony for killing a dog is as follows:— A rope is fastened around the dog and held by two persons, one on each side. Then the man who is to kill the dog stands in front, in a loud voice tells about the enemies he killed and so strikes the dog. He tells them to throw away everything but the meat, head, liver, and heart and cook all this. Of course, other food can be cooked also. No one may eat any of the food until it is tasted by the official taster. He cautions them to watch children lest they get hold of the food and in that way bring misfortune on themselves.

When the cooking is about completed the whistle men remove the bustles from where they hang and passing them over the smoke of sweetgrass lay them facing the front of the tipi and behind the sweetgrass. The bustle men sit near the singers and when the drumming begins they dance toward the bustles, back around the kettles. As they come up to the bustles around the other way they grab them, put them on and dance three times around. The fourth time the whistle men go around with them they make a pretence of reaching into the kettle. Then they take a kettle, carry it around and set it back. Before they put the bustles over the smoke, they take the kettle of dog soup and hold it over the sweetgrass smoke swinging it around four times. They always come from the right side in doing anything. So when the kettle is set back they start up a song again and the two bustle men and the two whistle men dance.

After the dance the two whistle men distribute dog and soup. First they let the leaders, drum keepers, and bustle men taste the food by handing each a spoonful. Then a sort of prayer is uttered. Then they feast. No one should throw the bones away, but save them; and at the end the whistle men pass a dish around to gather up the bones.

When the distribution of dog soup is made, the head, feet, heart, liver, and the front part of the breast are saved and when the rest have eaten their dog soup one of the leaders chooses an old warrior and tells him to pick out four men who he knows have killed an enemy. These four sit around the dish and eat the selected pieces saved for them and return to their places. Then the whistle man takes the dog skull and holding it over the sweetgrass, sets it down facing the opening of the tipi. The man who is first chosen rises and renders a sort of song. The singers start a song and he dances with something in his hand showing how he killed an enemy, pointing at the dog skull as if with an arrow or gun, with which ever one he killed an enemy. He goes around three times and the fourth time pretends killing, hits the skull, then holds it up tells his experience when killing an enemy and gives away a horse. The other three men repeat this in the same way, in the order they were chosen to eat the dog, and each gives away presents.

A certain officer is charged with closing the ceremony so no one is allowed to leave until he leaves. The singers strike up a song and this man rises, dances along and gives something away each time. If anyone wanted to leave the dance house for a few moments, he was required to pay a forfeit to some old man. The man who must leave first, leaves in a dance. They all dance as if attacking or encountering an enemy. At the fourth time they come around, the man dancing towards the door each time they come around, comes up and as if he were encountering an enemy and with many twists and gestures passes out, then all may go. The song is: "Stand up. Go outside. Afraid-of-bear, my friend, go outside."

The Omaha society usually had fifty or sixty members and was very popular. It still exists but has become a mere social function.

It seems that the Omaha was first projected in precisely the same way as the akicita societies; a shaman conceived it, he called in candidates and invested them with the regalia, they went to war to try it out, it worked, it received recognition as a society, and from time to time there were changes in the rules due to further dreams. This same tendency appears over and over among the Plains tribes; to cast borrowed organizations in the form of the prevailing type.

To hold this ceremony the Oglala built a log structure quite like a Pawnee earth lodge. At the rear sat six head men, to their north two men with crow-belts, next to these the singers, and north of the door a spoon bearer and a whistle bearer. One of the head men was also a spoon bearer and two of them wore crow-belts. On the south side of the dance house sat the lay members. Formerly, the chief ceremony was preparatory to going to war while a dance was a pantomime in which imaginary foes were scalped, scouted, speared, shot, etc. Our informants insisted that this was peculiar to the Omaha dance and not a feature of other societies. Before the feast

a kettle of food was brought in and a dancing spoon bearer scouted for it and at last counted coup upon it. Then he dipped up *some* of the contents and made an offering in the usual manner after which he presented food to the members.

Among the Gros Ventre and the Blackfoot we were told that this was in the nature of a test, since any member having recently embraced a woman must refuse. This was said to have held for the Omaha during the dance preparatory to the warpath. Also, a somewhat similar requirement was laid upon members of the tokala, miwatani, ihoka, and cante tinza. On the other hand, no such requirement was made of men about to set out on the warpath, it being thought proper to leave them some consolation.

A peculiarity of this society is that each member upon being taken into the organization is assigned a certain song from the ritual to be known as his song. When this song is sung, he must take the floor and dance, also giving out presents.

WAR SOCIETIES.

THE DOGS.

It is not clear whether this society is named the dogs or the wolves.¹ Its mythical originator, or patron, was the wolf. According to Thunderbear they were originally known as wolves or coyotes, but later the term was changed to dogs. Though a very famous and powerful organization it became extinct some forty years ago. While, so far, we are unable to find a living member, some informants claim to have definite information as to its character. From these accounts it appears that the ritual of the dog society contained several interesting peculiarities: thus, the members must not eat dog flesh, nor any meat cooked in a kettle. During a ceremony, no one not a member may enter the tipi or even touch their food; at the feast no one passes the food, each one helping himself. They have the privilege of entering any tipi and taking such food as they may desire; at such times they growl and otherwise act like dogs.

¹ J. O. Dorsey writes, "there is a society, called the Wolf Society, but known among the white people as the Dog Society. That society has many beautiful songs, according to Bush-otter, and its membership is confined to young men. All the wolf stories belong to this society." (a), 478.

In Schoolcraft (Vol. 2, 79) is the account of a dog dance with an illustration. This ceremony was not mentioned by our informants. In the Mills Catlin collection of paintings is a sketch of the same dance.

The following narrative of Thunder-bear accounts for the origin of the dogs:—

The founder of this society went up a high hill to fast for four days. After the fast he went home. As he approached the camp he was seen to carry a bundle wrapped in sage grass. Outside his tipi he arranged a pile of buffalo chips on top of which he placed his bundle. He said, "Make me a sweat house to-morrow and put up a tipi outside of the camp. Then I shall demonstrate my medicine." Now the next day when the tent was set up outside of the camp he directed that the floor should be cleared off and a bed of sage grass arranged in the center. When this had been done he took the bundle into the tipi and laid it down in the center. As he unwrapped it they saw that it contained the body of a crow. Then he said, "Bring me four coyote skins, four whistles of eagle bone." Then he brought out four roots of medicine, parts of which were pulverized. Then he pulled the tail feathers out of the crow and threw the body out of the tent. Then he invited seven good men to join him in the ceremony and another man to act as an assistant. Then he took some of the pulverized roots, tied it up in small buckskin bags and fastened them to the quills of the crow feathers. Then he tied the crow feathers to the necks of the coyote skins. Then he took up a black pipe and filled it. Then he tied four different medicine bags on each of four eagle plumes. Then he began to sing. As the songs progressed the coyote skins began to move of their own accord. "Now," he said, "you are to go on an expedition with me. I shall select four of you to carry the coyote skins. The others shall take the plumes."

They set out on the warpath, and after two days were joined by four more men, making fifteen in all. Two men were detailed as scouts and after a time reported the enemy near. Now the leader said, "All the horses of the enemy were promised to me before. Now you are to get them." So that night they went to the enemy's camp and ran off all the horses successfully.

Some time after this, while they were in camp, the leader called the members together and said, "The four coyote skins direct me to give out ten names. Of these I choose the name Little-wolf." Then he selected nine of the party who were to bear the following names: Gaunt-dog, Black-wolf, White-wolf, High-wolf, Fast-dog, No-dog, One-who-won-the-victory-dog, Dead-dog, Red-dog. The four men who joined the party last asked if they were to have names also. "Yes," said the leader, "you may have the names Big-wolf, Slow-dog, Yellow-wolf, Black-dog." Then the leader took up a whistle and began singing and dancing around the members. As he did so a live coyote came in and circled around his feet. The coyote said, "Enemies are near, we shall now go on the warpath. Five of the enemy shall be killed. When we attack the enemy, every time we meet them in a fight, the four men who carry the coyote skins are to call out each time as they strike the enemy, 'I am named So-and-so.'" (This means that each is to call his own name.)

Now the society set out to war. When they discovered the enemy they formed an ambush, rushed out, and charged them, killing five. The four coyote skin bearers rushed in, each calling his name as he struck down an enemy. The fifth one was killed by the leader, Little-wolf. Then they scalped the dead, took the plunder and went home. As they came up they rode round the camp circle, shooting into the air and shouting. When they came in each gave away a horse. This made their names famous. After this they were known as brave men.

Some time after this Little-wolf went out to war alone and captured many horses. It seemed that every time he went to war he met with good luck. So after a time he founded the dog society. There were thirty or more members.

From these practices, our informant stated, a society developed with the following organization:—

2 lances wrapped with otter fur	30 to 40 lay members
2 banner bearers	4 drummers
4 coyote skin bearers	

The four lance and banner bearers upon being installed must go to war to test the power of their office. They wore no shirts. All members carried small bags of medicine on the back of the head. The lay members had nothing else of distinction, except bone whistles. When on the warpath, they used the coyote painting, a broad red band across the mouth and cheeks, and a vertical red mark across each eye. The idea is the bloody mouth of the coyote when feeding. The four coyote skin bearers paint the face over with blue and scratch it down with the finger tips. These marks are said to denote that their medicine is strong; they are also credited with power to induce storms and fogs to conceal them from enemies.

In the dance, they stand in one place and move the body up and down, not lifting the feet, but holding whistles in their mouths and continually sounding them. There were many songs, referring chiefly to deeds of war; each ending with a peculiar wolf call.

An important requirement was that no one should ever turn back in a fight but all fight to the bitter end. They were regarded as well nigh invincible and became very famous. Another interesting feature is the giving of definite names to certain members. It is stated that no one could have these names, except as officially conferred by the society. Their function has been suggested in the narrative.

One informant knew of another organization, that passed by the name of dogs. They were a sort of fools who performed to make the people laugh. Their costume was very absurd, they painted themselves up grotesquely and wore peculiar ornaments.

BLOTAUNKA.

As stated at the outset the head akicita were entirely civil officers, but in some war parties there were analogous officers, serving under a group of men designated as blotaunka. The proper way to start a war party has been outlined by our informants as follows:— Any person whatsoever may, at his own motion, decide to form and lead a war party. Having so decided

he takes any pipe that comes to hand and calls upon a shaman to consecrate it. (Certain shamans have reputations as to the efficacy of their war medicines.) The shaman makes four sweat house ceremonies, prays over the pipe, fills it with Indian tobacco, seals the bowl with fat from the heart of a buffalo and wraps it up in a wolf skin. It is now a medicine (wakan) pipe, and is to be carried and cared for by the initiator or leader of the proposed party. The shaman also looks into the future and forecasts the result of the proposed expedition. He may accompany the war party to conduct ceremonies and to make further predictions. We asked our informant as to what action would be taken if the shaman predicted defeat. He replied that a war party seldom turned back for such a cause, since there was always the feeling that the shaman was not infallible. The leader then makes a feast to which he invites active men of war experience to whom he announces his plans and extends invitations to enroll. (At this feast the one served last gets all the food left over.) Thus, the nucleus of a party is formed which is open to volunteers at any time and we were given to understand that the services of no one could be refused.

Our informants thought that no one would set out without a party of eight or ten men, the ideal number ranging from thirty to sixty. (Many informants specified forty as the proper number.) One informant recalled having been in a party of one thousand men.

When the party reaches the limits of the ideal number, the blotaunka may be instituted. Either just before setting out or very soon thereafter, a feast is made at which the blotaunka are appointed. (It is said that sometimes the blotaunka are appointed or selected by the leader before the shaman is called upon to consecrate the pipe.) They are chosen by the leader, or pipe bearer. He first selects two youths from twelve to sixteen years of age to act as his messengers. He then designates ten or more able-bodied men with some war experience, whom the messengers are to call in. When assembled they are informed that they are to have the honor of being the blotaunka. According to our information, these blotaunka are to constitute a corps of officers assistant to the leader. While their numbers are not limited, the ideal seems to have been about one blotaunka to three privates. The control and direction of the campaign rests entirely with the leader and the blotaunka who act as councilors and lieutenants. Now, while these men bear some resemblance to the akicita in civil affairs, they are something more, since they select from among the privates a number of men to serve as marshals, or akicita whose duties are to keep the party together, to prevent premature or individual attacks on the enemy, desertions, etc. They, in other words, enforce the orders of the blotaunka.

An informant describes the installation of these akicita as follows:—

They all start and at the fourth day of the march have a feast. The leader tells his two boys to call two young men (not in the blotaunka). When they come he takes charcoal and marks a band from one eye diagonally across the face or makes a mark on the right cheek. Then he puts a war-bonnet on each. Then he tells them to select a certain number of assistants and as they come to him he marks them also with charcoal, making akicita of them to watch over the affairs of the war party until it returns home. On returning the two bonnet men wear a black painted robe (the wakteglita s'ina, the robe belonging to the man coming back after killing enemies). The two bonnet wearers of course, do not necessarily wear the bonnet, but anyhow they head the akicita.

With the exception of the leadership, the blotaunka is the greatest military honor and even the leader is spoken of as the chief of the blotaunka. While, as stated, anyone can organize a war party or be the leader, it is still true that in large parties or where the whole camp strength is required to make the attack, public opinion exercises a control over the voluntary leader. As an intelligent Indian said to us, "In no case did our people have such strict and carefully defined ways of managing affairs as the whites and bitter controversies over leaderships seldom arose." Now, it should be borne in mind that the blotaunka is only a special war party organization and that many small parties of three or more men went out in which naturally there could be no blotaunka for want of numbers. On the other hand, if the whole camp were called to defense or offense, they had already the four chiefs and their akicita within the camp organization and its societies to put in motion. Thus, the blotaunka stands as the special organization of a large part or a subdivision of the camp, that left the main body, often we were told with their families and full camp equipage, to go on a foray into the enemy's country. We have gone rather fully into the blotaunka because it seems to bear upon the question of the relation between the akicita societies and war organizations. Hence, we offer the following data on the operations of the blotaunka party as narrated by Afraid-of-bear:—

Perhaps one young Indian will say to another, "Let's go out on a war party. We will make a feast and invite different young Indians who we think are able to go." They make a feast and call in the young men (those who are accustomed to going out on war parties).¹ The manager of the war party is called chief of the war

¹ From Thunder-bear's narrative we extract the following details: — Then he will call in two boys 12 or 16 years old who have been on war parties. Then all leave the tipi except himself, the first friend or two and the two boys. Toward the back of the tipi he cuts the grass off in a square, brushes off the dust with an eagle wing, fills a pipe, and puts it down on the square. Then he names nine or ten different young men, that is, making twelve in all, sometimes a smaller number. These are the blotaunka. When they come he says, "Friends let us go on a war party." They consent. "In four days we will go, so have moccasins made." So on the fourth day he starts and the rest are ready to follow. He goes to a hill perhaps and sitting there waits for the rest to assemble.

party (c'aⁿnuⁿpa tawa, owner of the pipe), and all the selected ones are blotaunka, about ten in all, never over twenty. These lead the war party.

The feast is made and within ten days the war party starts. Usually in about four days they start, but not later in his recollection than ten days. Then the leader goes ahead and the blotaunka follow in line, some behind, and perhaps some to the side and after them as many volunteers as want to go, young men, boys, and even women go, there being no restrictions as to volunteers. The leader carries the pipe in hand. However, he says that this order may not be strictly observed, but that the leader is always ahead. Sometimes the distance covered each day was small, as a rule about twenty to twenty-five miles, depending upon the locations of water and firewood. Upon nearing the enemy's territory a gathering or council of the blotaunka was held and the need of scouts discussed. If such were needed, they had those who had previously served as scouts or who were fleet-footed brought to the council to the number of two or more, according to the size of the party.

The scouts may return without any information, but if they locate the enemy, the one who saw the enemy first reports the fact to the blotaunka and before anything is said one of the blotaunka gets out a pipe (not the leader's pipe) and after a smoke all hear the story of what he saw. When the scouts are setting out, some ambitious volunteers often attempt to follow them or strike out for themselves to make a personal record. Here is where the akicita appointed by the blotaunka find their chief task. They must keep close and persistent watch on the flanks and rear.

When approaching the enemy's country, one of the blotaunka suggests that they have a dance. They gather wood enough to make a large fire that the blaze may give a big light. Then they dance. At the dance, they are all painted up as if about to make a charge in battle, their horses are also painted with their tails tied up. Then two men accustomed to select men for this occasion are called upon to select eight young men and place them four on one side and four on the other. These men are instructed to kill enemies, that is, even if they have to count coup, not necessarily kill the enemy outright. These eight men may or may not be part of the blotaunka.

In this ceremony of preparing a man to kill an enemy, one may be given any object whatever with the charge or obligation that "With this (as a medicine) they shall kill any enemy or count coup." This may be returned to the owner at the end of the ceremony.

In this same torch or firelight dance the blotaunka bring forth two lances bent at the top, wrapped with wolf or coyote skins, and with strips or pairs of the skin in four separate places; also two rattles made of buffalo skin in the usual fashion. During the dance the messenger brings forward four men having distinguished themselves in killing enemies and distributes among them the two lances and the two rattles, charging them each to kill an enemy. The narrator was once invested with one of the rattles.

Also, another man is drawn, making five in all, to whom a pipe is given. This is a pipe belonging to someone else, borrowed for the special occasion, and after the presentation ceremony is returned to the original owner. This presentation also imposes the obligation to kill an enemy.

To own one of these lances is considered a greater honor than to be lance bearer in the akicita societies, making them in fact the lances par excellence. The lances must be made by a man who has dreamed of a wolf. They are

covered with wolf skin (see Fig. 1). The lance is wound with strips of wolf skin ending in crow feathers. On the end are owl feathers. The reason for the use of the wolf skin, crow, and owl feathers is that the wolf knows everything, the crow can find even dead things no matter where they are hidden, and the owl knows everything even if it is night.

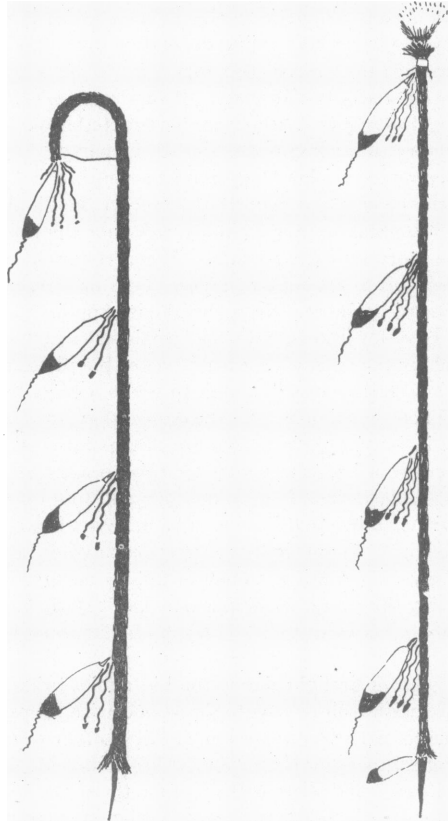


Fig. 1. Lances carried by a War Party. Types 1 and 2, page 67. Drawn by Thunderbear.

When they come near the enemy one of the blotaunka says to the rest as they are assembled after night fall, "We will have a shaman sing and prophesy for us." They fill a pipe (not the leader's pipe) with tobacco and give it to a young man to deliver to the shaman. (The leader's pipe is sealed with fat at the outset and only smoked at the end.) He takes the pipe and crying (a conventional sort of moaning) carries it to the shaman to

whom he hands the pipe, places the other hand on the shaman's forehead, who with an expression of acceptance "Ho-ye," accepts the pipe. He then lights it, smokes, and passes it to those present. When the pipe is all smoked out he hands it back to the young man with instructions to assemble the blotaunka some distance from camp. In the meantime the shaman decorates himself with paint and makes himself wakan. He then sets out, singing his wakan songs and continues until he finds the assembled blotaunka. They have the pipe ready for him and lighting it, hand it to him. He smokes and hands it back. Then they smoke in turn and before the fire is out the shaman is questioned concerning the fortunes of the adventure. He then relates the details of what will happen. For instance, in this manner a shaman named Pezo made a prophecy wherein the party was to encounter three hostile Indians butchering a buffalo. He said, "The one is afraid of me so you will not be able to catch him. The one on a white horse you will kill; the one on a bay horse with a stripe on his face and three white legs you will also kill; but the bay horse rider will get away from you." The prophecy came true in every detail, the narrator being one of the party.

After the foregoing ceremonies the party approaches the enemy. When about three miles from their camp, if a large one and apparently stationary, from six to ten warriors with fleet horses are selected. These fleet horsemen are sent forth and the akicita are on hand to see that no one else goes. To restrain the ambitious is difficult since the men selected are most certain to attain coups. This reconnoitering party makes a raid on the camp, killing some of the enemy or otherwise exciting them that they make a return charge. They then flee back to their party drawing on their pursuers. When they get within striking distance, the akicita let the main body charge the pursuers. When these have been annihilated the camp is stormed. During this general advance the leader goes first carrying the pipe in his arms, next follow several of the blotaunka, and then the rest of the party, among whom were scattered the other blotaunka and the akicita so as to make their control effective.

After the victory, in true Indian fashion, the party hastens back to the main body. Upon nearing the camp, they form in a line, with a young boy selected for the occasion, carrying the leader's pipe, while marching with him are those who "killed or counted coup." The pipe was slung on the boy's back and held there by a cord over both shoulders. All this time the pipe is wrapped up in fox or wolf pelt and held as wakan. Before the party set out on the excursion the pipe was filled with a tobacco known as "palani ta c'anli" (Pawnee tobacco) mixed with kinnikinnick, all this comprising a ceremonial act. This done, the pipe was sealed with fat taken from the heart of a buffalo. It was claimed that this fat would not melt

in warm weather. The pipe was then wrapped as mentioned and was not unwrapped until nearing the camp as above, when it was unwrapped, the seal broken, and smoked. Should the tobacco be consumed before all could smoke, it was passed on without being refilled and smoked in a symbolic way. Following this is the victory dance.

To the foregoing may be added some interesting war party customs. If a young man from ten to sixteen years of age happens to be in the party, some man who had the experience, kills a buffalo, takes the heart sac and makes a water pail. This he ties to the end of a stick about five feet long, one end of which is forked and bears crow feathers. He gives it to the boy telling him that at one time he himself was with a war party that successfully killed enemies and that he came back with his water pouch and with his face blacked (that is, dark blue, from a stone they get along the Niobrara River with which all the members of the war party paint their faces on returning and even those who did not go on the expedition). The boy is

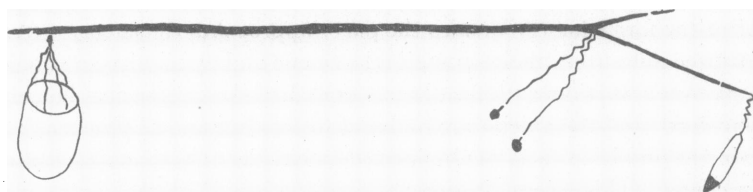


Fig. 2. The Water Boy's Lance. Drawn by Thunder-bear.

instructed to carry water for the war party. Then some dark night, that the courage of the boy may be developed, he is sent to a distant place and carries the water, one pouchful for each tipi. If after they have all drunk at one tipi some water should be left, he throws that away and goes for more. The name of the water boy's emblem is *minieya wahokeza*, water pouch lance. (Fig. 2.) Later, the water pouch may be thrown away and the stick alone used as a lance. If the young man is successful in overcoming the enemy or stealing horses, he may quit the office of water bearer. When carrying water to the chiefs at night in the beginning of his career, to develop bravery the leaders may say, "I give you a horse," or, "I give you an enemy's horse." This is believed to increase greatly the boy's chances of success because of certain *wakan* power associations with these men.

Also, they have a kind of joke to play on some young boy who happens to be on his first war party. If they kill a bunch of buffalo, in butchering someone will take the heavy tendon from the back of the neck and give it to the boy with instructions to take it to a certain tipi where it is wanted.

When he gets there he will be told that there must be a mistake that they want it at some other tent, and so on. Finally, they all cheer him, laugh, etc., until he realizes that a joke is being played on him.

At the victory dance they also have a ceremony of throwing away their old names and inviting some relative to select a new name. The narrator's name in childhood was "Clam," after a chief among the northern tribes, conferred upon him by the father of American-horse. Then when he came back from war with a coup, his mother gave away a horse and going to Red-cloud, a relative, asked him to select a new name as the old one was to be discarded. Red-cloud then said, "Once I dreamed that I visited a certain group of stars and after I got there found the inhabitants to be bears. Hence I will name him Afraid-of-bear. He is the bear and the enemy will all be afraid of him. In after years his name will be well-known on account of his killing many enemies." Then the herald announced in public that the name Clam was discarded and the new name Afraid-of-bear was taken and that everybody should take note of it. Then the horse was given to someone to whom the family owed a present or to someone in need.

We have noted that the title of blotaunka was one of great honor, though it held for a single war party only. When the whole camp organizes for defense, the chiefs society is usually recognized as the blotaunka. An informant recalls that once when threatened by the Pawnee, this society was made the blotaunka. It is clear that their functions are similar. A curious custom, however, is to appoint blotaunka after a fight. Thus, if the camp was surprised but stoutly resisted, the survivors would afterwards select a leader and appoint blotaunka who would thereafter have full credit for such service.

SOTKA TANKA.

This is somewhat similar to the miwatani society. The members never render akicita service, but only dance, feast, and go on war parties. The society is very exclusive in that they demand great bravery as a requirement for admission. When about four of their members are killed, they select that many more to fill the vacancies. There are also two virgin singers.

They have a lance made like a medicine bow except that the medicine bow is painted red and decorated with various kinds of bird feathers. This is made of wood with a buckskin string with eagle feathers and white rat skins fastened to it at intervals. On the string is eagle down and at each end owl feathers are placed. The point is of iron.

The sotka yuha and the hanepi sotka are different societies from the sotka tanka. The difference between them lies in the fact that the "night

sotka" was composed of younger men and the sotka yuha of older men (in other words, a rival organization); but this sotka tanka is different. The sotka yuha and "night sotka" have lances like the ihoka while everything else is the same with the exception of the bow-lance, which is used neither in the sotka nor "night sotka." For dances and feasts, they dress to suit themselves.

According to another informant this was a war society, derived either from the Crow or Pawnee. When he was a young man he saw the dance among the Crow. Later, it was introduced among the Oglala. There were about twelve members, each bearing lances and vowing to die in battle. (All these special lances used in societies are called wopaha; lances as weapons are called wakakeza). Later on, the number of lances was reduced to four. It was about forty-eight years ago that the society was founded and it existed about twelve years.

GENERAL DISCUSSION.

We have now discussed such details of men's societies among the Oglala as we were able to secure. We believe our list includes all that were in existence during the last hundred years, though it is possible that a few may have been forgotten. The tribe was confined to Pine Ridge and Rose Bud Reservations about 1877. As stated elsewhere this necessitated a radical change in organization, the United States government officers then performing in part the functions of the wakicun and maintaining their own police, or akicita. Our informants all agreed that most of the societies in this list passed out of existence during the first few years of reservation life, because the old camp organization in which they played a part was a thing of the past. In most cases, it was said, they ceased to appoint new members and hold feasts, in consequence of which many persons now living regard themselves as members still. However, the tokala and the chiefs society seem to have survived to within a few years and the ska yuha to have been originated during the years 1879-1886.

If we consider men's societies as a whole we find certain similarities in organization and underlying conceptions. All are assumed to have originated in the mystic experiences of shamans by virtue of which certain medicine attributes were associated with the various rituals. In organization all show a tendency against single individual leadership, having two or four leaders of equal rank supported by a definite number of officers or councilors. With one or two possible exceptions all selected their own members in secret

meeting, applications for admission could not be made. No women were admitted except a few to assist in the singing. All were independent in so far that membership in one was not a stepping-stone to membership in another. The age qualifications of all were equal except that boys and very young men were rarely taken into the chiefs society and the ska yuha.

When we consider the akicita group alone we find a surprising degree of uniformity in details. All were liable to be called into akicita service, while other societies never rendered such service. Every spring when a new tribal camp was about to be formed, each akicita society made ready a special tipi and sent messengers about the camp to solicit materials for making a new set of regalia. This is said to be peculiar to these organizations and we may suggest that this is due to their akicita function. They are all credited with the rule of not notifying a newly elected member until the messengers arrived to conduct him to the place of installation. Other societies notified them upon their election. The scheme of officers is practically the same. All have from four to six lance bearers who are the most conspicuous, if not the most important personages in the society. They are usually grouped in pairs, as in fact are nearly all the other officers; hence, we find two or three pairs of lance bearers, and a pair of leaders. Next in rank to the two leaders stands another pair, among the *cante tinza* and the *wiciska* they are known as bonnet bearers, and among the others as pipe bearers, but their functions are much the same. These two ranking pairs are sometimes spoken of as the four chiefs in charge of the organization. There are two whip bearers in all, except the *kangi yuha* in which their functions seem to be divided between two rattle bearers and a pair of extra lance men. All these are posts of distinction, there being five pairs in all, except the *kangi yuha* and the *ihoka* who had six. As to food passers, drummers, and singers, there is general uniformity throughout. It is thus clear that whatever may have been the origin of these societies, they were all brought to an approximation of the one type.

The general order of dancing and ceremonial procedure was the same for all akicita societies. We did not investigate the songs, other than to note what informants had to say on the subject. It seems that the *ihoka*, *sotka*, *wiciska*, have many songs in common, or peculiar to them, while the others have for the most part distinct songs; yet, some songs are common to the whole group of six. In all songs and dances each of the societies had its own peculiar way of ending by which the listener would know who was singing or dancing. (This is rather common to all ceremonial songs among the Plains Indians.)

Having now defined the akicita group we may turn to the others. If we should waive the akicita distinction, the *miwatani*, the *dogs*, and perhaps

the omaha should be included in the first group. The chiefs society, on the other hand, seems to have a different organization with four shirt bearers as the leaders, yet we note that the conceptions underlying these shirts and their mode of installation are quite like those of the lance bearers in the akicita group, the miwatani, the dogs, and the omaha. This cannot be a mere generality, for though we find a similar scheme of officers among Black-foot societies we find no such conceptions of their obligations as among the Oglala.

The fact that all these societies have responsible officers charged with particular obligations in battle, suggests that their functions are chiefly military. Indeed, they were often spoken of by earlier writers as soldier organizations. The Oglala themselves seem not to entertain such an idea. It is true that the members of the akicita group were usually under fifty years of age, the period in life when men went out in war parties; but anyone could go to war whether he belonged to a society or not. Also, it is asserted that a society rarely went to war as an organization in charge of the party, and this would be the inference from the data on the blotaunka. On the other hand, if a member joined a war party, he was expected to carry his society regalia and observe all the obligations thereto. The origin myths for these organizations usually take this form; a shaman has a vision in which an organization is suggested, gets together a war party to test it and eventually forms a society. Thus, it is plain that according to Oglala theory these societies were developed from war parties.

However this may be, our informants maintained that the purpose of all these organizations was to enhance social and fraternal relations among their members. We were told that poor men were never taken in because they had not the means to assist the needy and to make feasts and also because a man who had no personal ambition to rise in the world was not a likely person to carry out the ideals of an organization. We must note that the Oglala conception of a rich man is one who produces much and gives most of it to the poor and dependent in his camp. Should a man be a great producer but selfishly hoard his property, he would be considered poor and disregardful of the welfare of the people at large, and would not be elected to a society. It is the ideal that members help both by word and deed the struggling poor man; should he rise, he would be respected but rarely taken into a society, since he did not rise unaided. On the other hand, if one rose by his own efforts, he would be sought by many societies. All this supports the Oglala conception that men's societies of the type described in this section are to promote the not altogether selfish social and philanthropic activities of their members and that they are in no sense military organizations. Perhaps we may be justified in regarding akicita service by one group and arbitration and legislation service by the other as prompted by this ideal.

For example, it was said that if anyone commits a wrong the chiefs society, miwatani, or omaha go to the wronged one and prevent him from retaliating by offering him a pipe to smoke and presenting him with a horse. He in turn presents a horse. Then they go to the guilty one and tell him that he must settle with the man he has wronged by a payment of some kind.

It is the rule for all societies to expel anyone who does wrong. If a lance carrier is afraid of an enemy, he is supposed to be ashamed of his act and not continue as an officer; however, if he is not ashamed they poke fun at him, saying he is a lance carrier and should be a brave man but is afraid of the enemy, thus making him so ashamed that he withdraws.

If a member wishes to quit he is supposed to announce the fact at a feast, saying that he can no longer endure belonging for certain reasons. This reason may be an offense of some kind against the society or he may be tired of his membership. Some do not announce the fact of their leaving, but anyone so doing is not regarded as a great man. A member does not have to pay to be released. If the society desires the membership of the man to continue, they labor with him and may give him something as a present to stay. If a lance carrier desires to quit, he may make a feast and in returning the lance to the society give presents, also material for making up a new lance when the society reorganizes at the next feast. Sometimes they return the lance to the same lance carrier at the next feast, if he is willing, but generally it is given to a new man.

It is usual to appoint at least two or three boys ten to fifteen years old to each society. The idea is that their mothers will bring food and take an active part in helping to prepare the feast; also that the fathers or relatives will use the boy as a medium for making presents to the poor.

Members must be good dancers. Generally the boys are bashful about dancing and those who are, are not in demand. Also, they must appear to be brave. Of course, bravery was a common ambition and it was a ready means of winning public approval or esteem. If a member went out with a war party and distinguished himself by killing enemies, he was almost certain to get the post of lance bearer the next time it was vacant.

Investigations among many Plains tribes have brought to light certain age-groupings to which we have previously referred. Among the Oglala there seems to have been neither a definite entering nor a retiring age, since some men maintained their membership during life; on the other hand, it was regarded as usual for one to retire when middle life was reached. So long as one was in good standing the initiative of retirement lay with him, the society having no more to say about it than he had about his own entrance into it. While there is some difference of opinion it is clear that one was permitted to hold membership in more than one society at a time. An

informant tells us that the regular meetings of the societies take the form of feasts. Thus, to-night they will have a tokala feast, a few days later they will have the brave feast, later on the miwatani, etc., and a person may belong to all and attend all.

We collected data as to terms of membership from the following individuals:

No.	Name	Age
1	Calico	68
2	Thunder-bear	64
3	Red-feather	58
4	Woman-dress	—
5	High-bear	72
6	Iron-tail	60
7	Afraid-of-bear	70

We may summarize these statistics first as to age of individuals at entrance:

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Range
tokala	20	24	20	18	20	19	27	18-27
ka ⁿ gi yuha	—	—	16	—	24	20	18	16-24
c'a ⁿ te ti ⁿ za	—	10	20	18	22	22	9	9-22
miwatani	9	—	—	18	23	6	—	7-23
ihoka	—	27	—	—	—	26	—	26-27
sotka yuha	21	—	—	14	22	30	17	14-30
wic'iska	34	—	—	27	24	—	25	24-34
chiefs society	—	33	48	50	29	—	34	29-50
omaha	—	—	21	14	43	32	30	14-43
ska yuha	—	—	—	49	27	35	—	27-49

Again as to number of years a member of each:—

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
tokala	1	1	?	c	3	?	c	1-3-c
ka ⁿ gi yuha	—	—	?	—	3	?	c	3
c'a ⁿ te ti ⁿ za	—	11	c	3	1	?	c	1-11-c
miwatani	9	—	—	1	5	?	—	1-9
ihoka	—	3	—	—	—	?	—	3
sotka yuha	10	—	—	1	28	?	c	1-28-c
wic'iska	1	—	—	8	1	—	c	1-8-c
chiefs society	—	c	c	c	c	—	c	c
omaha	—	—	c	c	c	c	c	c
ska yuha	—	—	c	1	c	c	—	1-c
c — did not retire at all								

6 and 7 — did not remember that they ever withdrew from any of these but 6 gradually ceased to attend the meetings of those in the akicita group.

These men were our chief informants in the preparation of this paper and are among the ablest members of the tribe. Naturally, they were likely to be sought by all organizations. We note that one entered but four societies, another nine out of a possible ten, the average number being about six or seven. No one entered the akicita group after election to the ska yuha or the chiefs society. The tendency in the akicita group is toward a brief membership in contrast to a life membership in the others. No. 7 insisted that he never ceased to attend any society to which he was elected so long as the organizations existed; while No. 6 simply ceased to attend, still regarding himself as a member. Previously, we noted that the miwatani resembled the akicita societies which is again noticeable in the periods of membership.

As just stated, the Oglala theory seems to be that the societies originated in war parties; this is also suggested by the blotaunka and the organization of a war party. It will be recalled that in organizing a war party two men are invested with curved lances and two with straight ones and that these are the lances par excellence, outranking all society emblems that may be carried in the ranks. There are two men bearing rattles of almost equal rank. Upon these were laid military obligations similar to those found among the societies. While there is here no definite proof, it seems more reasonable to assume that fraternal organizations took their military features from war organizations than the reverse. In the napes'ni (no-flight) we have a suggestion of this; among the Santee division this seemed to have been a war party organization, but it appears among the Oglala as an adjunct of the cante tinza.

Two competent informants, Thunder-bear and Sword, each prepared a series of sketches in color of the regalia for each society. The one by Thunder-bear is the most complete. He gives four general types of lance: 1. A crooked fur-wrapped lance bearing four bunches of tail-feathers, used by the cante tinza, ihoka, and wiciska. 2. A straight fur-wrapped lance bearing four bunches of feathers, used only in association with type 1. 3. Straight lances with feathers in rows, cangi yuha and cante tinza. 4. Straight beaded lances with two bunches of feathers, the tokala only. 5. A bow lance, the sotka tanka. As noted elsewhere the regular war party carried four lances of its own, a pair each of types 1 and 2. (Fig. 1.) Thus, we seem to have a direct association between the formal war party and the cante tinza, ihoka, and wiciska societies. It seems more reasonable to suppose that this has a general rather than a specific significance, since with the exception of the bow lance, the other lances vary only in the placing of the feathers. In every case four lances are used in pairs.

The wearing of the sash is in a way analogous to the lance. While every-

one agrees that the practice was introduced by the miwatani, others insist that it was not peculiar to them. Thunder-bear described a rival cante tinza that had two such sash bearers. Some other informants declared that the "staking down" was a characteristic of the napesni. We believe that as with the lance there was a tendency to consider the sash conception as a detachable feature which any person or organization was free to take up.

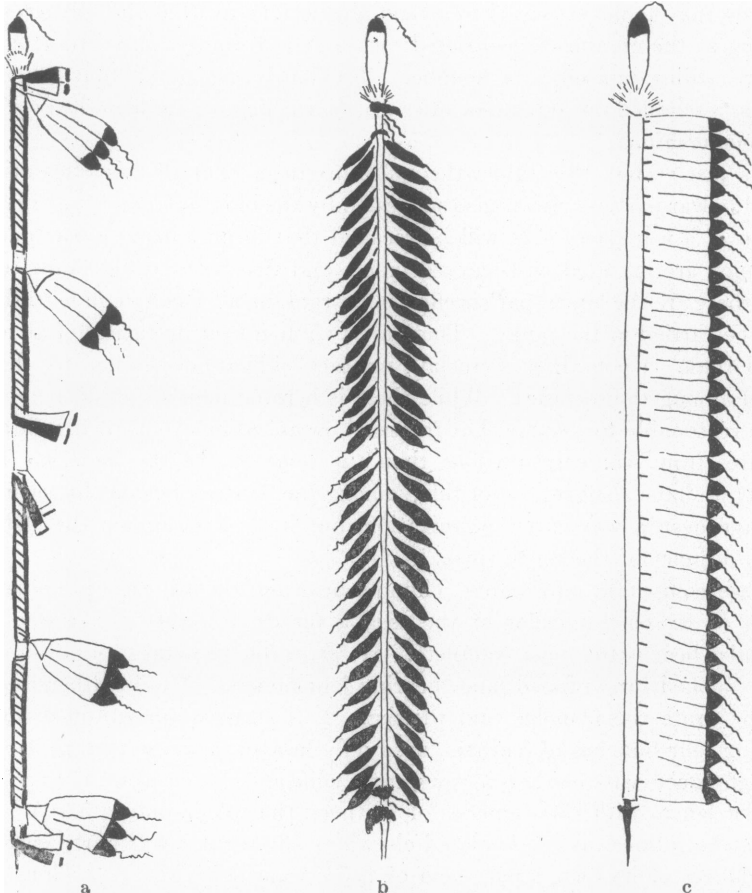


Fig. 3. Lances. a, Wic'iska. b, Kangl yuha. c, Cante tinza. a has a double shaft and spiral wrappings of red and white strips. Drawn by Thunder-bear.

Among the Blackfoot we find a highly developed system of purchase or transfer to the extent that members enter a society by purchasing the regalia and rites of another, who thereby gets out of the organization. This idea is not found either in Oglala societies or ceremonies, though something like

it occurs in a single instance (p. 30). According to the Oglala, anyone could make the regalia and sing the songs of a society and it would be beneath the dignity of the organization to protest. It was common for boys to form temporary organizations using the regalia and ritual of the regular akicita organizations. Such organizations might become permanent as the



Fig. 4. Kangi yuha lance.

Fig. 5. Sash and supporting Stake used in the Miwatani. Drawings by Thunder-bear.

boys matured, but rival organizations were usually formed by adults who had not been elected to membership in the existing societies. There is a general belief among many of our informants that most of the akicita societies originated as rival groups, using the rituals of another but to which were added from time to time the creations of a shaman. The information at hand makes this quite plausible.

This may account for certain discrepancies in the accounts of J. O. Dorsey:—"the Mandan dance, performed by the *cante tinza okolakiciye*, or the society of the stout-hearted ones." (a, 463.) Again, "Another of his articles tells of the *miwatani okolakiciye kin* or The Mandan Society, which used to be called *cante tinza okolakiciye*, or Society of the Stout Hearted Ones. It is now known as *kangi yuha*, keeps the raven." (a, 498.) That these statements cannot be true of the Oglala is clear from our table on p. 66.

Except as singers, women are not associated with any of these societies. There are no corresponding women's organizations as among many Plains tribes. As has been noted elsewhere some societies had a peculiar custom

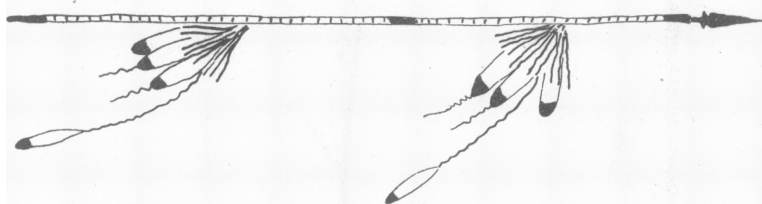


Fig. 6. Tokala Lance. Drawn by Thunder-bear.

by which a member divorced his wife. By tradition, the *miwatani* introduced a ceremony, or sacrifice, known as "throwing wife away." Later, it was adopted by the *tokala*, *ihoka*, *sotka*, and the intrusive *omaha* organization, but not by other *akicita* societies. At a formal ceremony, a man may feel full of the spirit of the hour and desire to make a great sacrifice: so, if he have a good wife, he may formally address the assembly, stating that he now throws his wife away. As he says this, he strikes on the drum used for the dancing. After such an announcement the society continued in session all night that the man and his divorced wife might not meet and relent. At daybreak they march around the camp, while the herald announces the separation of the couple. Then feasts are made and praises sung. The more perfect the character of the divorced wife, the more laudable the sacrifice. Naturally, it is a trial for the man, but should he again take the woman, he would be dismissed from the society and greatly derided in songs and speeches. The woman has not been dishonored, rather the reverse. She is free to marry again. After a time the society assists the man in finding a new wife. She is taken on probation and, if not finally approved by the society, she is put away and another taken.

On several occasions in the preceding discussion we have called attention to the distinctions between *akicita* and other societies as recognized by the

Oglala themselves. According to tradition there were at the start four societies, the tokala, cante tinza, kangi yuha, and miwatani. This myth as narrated by Thunder-bear runs as follows:—

Once a war party of four men was out near the Black Hills, walking along. They saw a large wolf running about as if at random. He carried something in his mouth. He came up to the top of a hill when he turned into a man. This they thought mysterious, but took him for an enemy. They threw down their robes and rushed for him. As they came nearer, they saw that the mysterious man carried a lance. He held a rattle in one hand and sang a song as if to raise his courage. As they approached, he threw the rattle down, thrust the lance into the ground, and running back disappeared over the hill-top.

The party took up the lance and the rattle, but pressed on to see what had become of the mysterious man. Presently they saw him standing on the opposite side of a stream with another lance and a rattle. Then he began to dance and sing tokala songs. Now, they were mystified, but rushed him again. As before, he threw down the rattle, thrust the lance into the ground and vanished over a hill-top. When they followed up, they saw him standing as before, but with a miwatani lance. He sang some of the songs. Then he vanished.

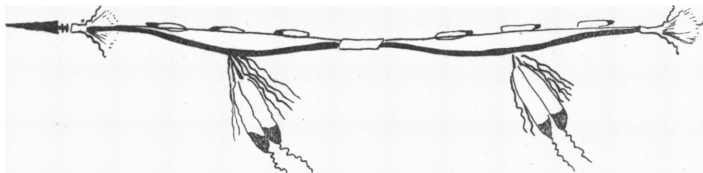


Fig. 7. Bow Lance for the sotka tanka. Drawn by Thunder-bear.

Once again they saw him, but now with a kangi yuha lance. Everything happened as before, except that as he ran he became a grey wolf and waited. The four men approached and stood around. The wolf said, "My brethren, I give you these charges and obligations. You shall head four different societies: cante tinza, tokala, miwatani, and kangi yuha. Go home and each set up a tipi within the camp circle; the kangi yuha to the north of the door, the cante tinza to the south; the miwatani at the north rear, the tokala at the south rear. The cante tinza shall make lances of ash, the tokala of willow, the miwatani of box-elder and the kangi yuha of cherry. Now, go home."

So the four men set out bearing their lances. They were four days on the journey and on the fourth night camped in sight of their people. That night the wolf appeared again: "Before you reach your camp send two men ahead. Tell the people to move camp, to go toward the north, to a nice flat near a stream. As you camp there many buffalo will come from the north and on the following morning you shall kill many of them. As the camp is being moved you are to keep out to the rear. When the four tipis are ready in the new camp, you may come in and enter them."

While they sat out in the rear waiting for the new camp to be pitched, a man came up and sat down at their left. He was painted with blue and red stripes, wore a crow-wing hair ornament and carried a wooden staff about an arm long. He said

"I came here to be your friend. You received these lances that you might become powerful for the good of your people. Cante tinza, you should have a whistle like this (the staff). Tokala, here is a rattle for you. Miwatani, you also shall have a whistle. Kangi yuha, you shall have a rattle. (This places the rattles and whistles opposite each other in the camp circle.) For decorations on the lances, the chief birds shall be the eagle, spotted eagle, osprey, owl, crow, magpie, and large hawk. Cante tinza, you shall tan otterskin well and wrap your lance with it. Tokala, you paint your lance red and arrange four bunches of feathers with four different kinds in each bunch. Miwatani, you paint your lance red and decorate at one place with owl feathers. Kangi yuha, you shall have a lance as long as a man and decorate it with crow and magpie feathers continuously from top to bottom, an eagle tail feather at the top and a spotted-eagle tail feather at each of two intermediate points.

Also I have asked men to place two calf skins at the tipi for the cante tinza; for the tokala, the same; for the miwatani a bunch of wing bones for whistles; for the kangi yuha two calf skins; and for cante tinza, a wolf skin; an antelope skin, to each of the four tipis.

The insides of the tipis, I have ordered strewn with sage grass, very thick at the back. You are to teach the different songs and the dances. All winter long there shall be many buffalo. Now, you may enter the tipis."

At the door of each tipi was stationed an old man. Each leader directed one to invite ten representative young men. All sat down to a feast. Cante tinza said, "You get an antelope and two calf hides, feathers of the eagle, spotted eagle and owl, also two otterskins and some sinew." Tokala ordered feathers of hawk, magpie, and spotted eagle, also eagle down, two calf skins, an antelope skin and sinew. Miwatani ordered eagle feathers, owl feathers, wing bones, paint and sinew. Kangi yuha ordered crow feathers, eagle tail feathers, two calfskins, an antelope skin, dark blue paint, and some sinew. Four virgins were then called in to dress some buffalo calf skins.

Toward evening four strange men were seen approaching. The leaders ordered all to sit still. Just at dark a man entered each tipi bearing a straight pipe filled with tobacco and placed it before the leader. Each said, "The one who gave you these things, sent us here to teach you the songs. You have been given long life and great power. Now stand up."

"You shall make five more lances like these. Then no enemy can overcome you. You shall use drums, whistles, and rattles. Now, I shall teach you the songs."

First, they sang ten songs and then two more. After one singing each was learned. In order they were: three songs, three dance songs, three songs, and finally three dance songs.

Now, the cante tinza had four lances wrapped with otter fur, two short lances, painted red with a buffalo horn on the end. From the buffalo rawhide two sashes were cut and decorated with eagle feathers; one sash was painted blue and the other red.

"Now, I shall instruct you how to go to war. First, you will meet a herd of buffalo, pursuing them will be four men. These you shall kill; each society to kill one with a lance. Now, I shall go away. When lances are being made you must be very careful. Take eight days for this work. I shall return each evening to instruct you."

Then, the man turned into a gray wolf and ran out through the camp passing out at the opening in the circle.

So all went out and gathered material to begin their eight days' task. They made the lances as ordered. For painting them the cante tinza uses a pinkish red; tokala, yellow; miwatani, red; and kangi yuha, dark blue. For eight nights the work went on. Thirty more young men were invited to join each society. The tokala made a globular rattle with a fox skin guard; they painted it yellow. The miwatani painted red, wore a bunch of owl feathers on a stick for a hair ornament, hung whistles on their necks and carried rattles of dew-claws. The kangi yuha painted dark blue and had four rattles for the singers.

On the evening of the seventh day the instructors said, "All will be completed by morning. You must select the best young men to hold the lances. Then you must march around the camp, dancing before the tipis of chiefs. On the ninth day you shall kill the four enemies."

All these instructions were carried out. Early in the morning one saw a herd of buffalo approaching. (They were also instructed that a white buffalo would be in the herd and that, if it was killed, the buffalo would always follow the camp.) So they killed buffalo and then the four enemies as predicted.

Now, there was great rejoicing in the camp. At the fourth evening the four strange men came again. Now, they directed that there should be two men with short lances, who in battle should thrust their lances into the ground and not run back. The tokala two lance men shall stand far apart with the members between. The kangi yuha have two lance men in the middle and one at each end of the line.

These and all other instructions were handed down.

The main points in this agree with the versions rendered by some other informants. It implies an original similarity in function and, hence that all four were akicita organizations. Though it is claimed that later the miwatani ranked with the older men and was not called upon for akicita service, it took in boys and young men. Reference to our statistics fails to show any age differences. Therefore, though this point cannot be settled, it appears likely that the exemption from akicita service and the different mode of selecting candidates was a later development. However, as we are here concerned with the functions of these societies, we have accepted the classification of the Oglala themselves. As noted we have found it generally consistent with the data collected on the various organizations.

Notwithstanding the myths there are historical traditions for the origin of many societies. It is said that the ihoka came from the Crow, the miwatani from the Mandan, and the wiciska from the Cheyenne. We have found nothing among the Crow to suggest the ihoka. As to the wiciska which is sometimes called the shield bearers, the Cheyenne afford no parallel. Thus, while there is no good reason for taking these traditions seriously, it is interesting to note that similar organizations were attributed to the Crow by Lewis and Clark (a, Vol. 1, 130).

As stated elsewhere the Oglala were formerly divided into four independent camps with slightly different forms of government. The tendency was for each of these to organize duplicate societies, except in the case of

the chiefs society. We did not learn as to the actual distribution of the various societies, but were told that the miwatani, sotka, wiciska, and the tokala occurred in each of the four; but that the kangi yuha existed in the Red-cloud division only. We were told that in case of the tokala there was a complete organization in every distinct camp in each of the four divisions, but that this was true of no other society. These were, so far as could be learned, independent of each other and not under the control of a general council of any kind.

Although all akicita societies have much in common they seem not to have felt any bonds or obligations toward each other. We are told that wife stealing was a great sport, but one was not supposed to meddle with the women of a fellow member; all not belonging to members of his own particular society being legitimate prey. In gaming there was great rivalry. An informant saw a horse race between the miwatani and the cante tinza. Each ran four horses on a course of about one mile. Two of the cante tinza came out ahead and the miwatani lost all the property they had. In hunting, there was also great rivalry, but most of all in deeds of the warpath. This intense rivalry is not quite consistent with the freedom to membership in more than one society at a time. In public and private each society ridiculed all others. The miwatani, for example, was spoken of as insane, silly, etc., because of the rule requiring the sash bearer to be staked down before the enemy; yet, many of these scoffers would have been glad of an invitation to join.

On going out with a war party, there is considerable rivalry between the members of different societies as to who shall kill the enemy first. Often the ambition for honors of that sort is so keen, that in case they are not selected to make the first charge, they steal away from the akicita and try their luck in an independent attack. Any way on returning home they hold a ceremony of rivalry. Two societies gather together, one on each side. First one member will get up and tell of how he killed an enemy, enumerating the hardships, the difficulties encountered and set up a stick as a mark. Then someone on the other side will tell of a deed, etc. Then they commence to give horses and other goods away. It will even go so far that wives are given away. There is no little rivalry at the games, members of one society trying to beat those of another.

II. FEAST AND DANCE ASSOCIATIONS.

Under this head we shall give such information as came to hand concerning associations or dances not primarily devoted to shamanistic practices.

THE SILENT-EATERS.

The society of the ainila wotapi (silent-eaters) is spoken of as a feasting society composed of middle-aged men and is said to have been organized about the time of Custer's defeat. It had a roll of about seventy members, scattered throughout the various Oglala bands. There were two head men, two food bearers who always sat at the sides of the door, and a herald. There were no special singers and neither drums nor rattles. As there was neither singing nor dancing at the feast, they were called silent-eaters. At their feasts a hole is dug in the center of the tipi into which all toss the bones. At the end all make a pipe offering. One member is designated to care for the pipe and always prays, "These are all warriors; they always overcome enemies, etc." War deeds are the usual topics of discussion. For food they are supposed to have the finest cuts of buffalo and dog. In most feasts guests are permitted to carry away food, but not here.

The members are required to exercise fraternalism. If one is in trouble, all give assistance. They must also help the aged and the very poor. If a member has a death in his family, a meeting is called at which steps for his consolation are taken. If a member die, a kind of memorial is held for his relatives, at which time someone is also chosen to fill the vacancy. Undeserving conduct at home or when among a distant tribe was punished by dismissal. As among akicita societies a member deserting another in battle, would be dismissed in disgrace.

A similar feast was sometimes made for the blotaunka, called the zuya wohaⁿpi, but there seems to have been no organization.

SHIELD-BEARERS.

There was a woman's association regarded as of great age, but which has not held a meeting for about forty-two years. A few members are still living, among them Black-elk's mother. The original name for this was kat'ela, a term of uncertain origin, but seemingly implying the celebration of killing enemies. J. O. Dorsey, (a) 498, gives another name, taniga

icu society. The later name was shield-bearers and their dance was sometimes spoken of as "the wounded." To qualify as a member one must have a husband or relatives with many deeds to their credit. The woman carries in the dance some of the arrows or regalia of the man honored. In later times, it is said, they usually carried a shield, so that the bearing of a shield became the symbol of the ceremony. Men took no part in the dance, except that four were selected to do the drumming and to assist in the singing. The members had no special regalia and no distinct organization. Their faces were painted black. The association was called together by a woman having a son or relative who returned with a horse or from killing an enemy. She makes a feast for all the kat'ela women, who dance the kat'ela songs in honor of the woman's son. They also give presents. The dance was usually in the open before the tipis of head men, where they stood in a circle, sang their songs, and danced toward the center. It seems that having once qualified to enter the dance, a woman had the privilege of participating in all the kat'ela ceremonies during her life.

In recent years, "the wounded" dance was sometimes given at the omaha assemblages. Formerly, these demonstrations were supposed to stimulate the men to deeds of bravery in that their women might glorify them.

PRASEWORTHY WOMEN.

A woman's society composed of women of all ages was called the wiⁿ yaⁿ tapika (praiseworthy-women). This was borrowed from a northern tribe. The members wear a strip of otterskin around the forehead and eagle feathers crosswise on the forehead in the hair. They leave the hair loose and wear their best clothes. About ten men sing for them and they dance in a circle.

OWNS-ALONE.

For women there is also a feast or ceremony for those who have reached forty years or more and who have had but one husband, or rather those who have been strictly true to the marriage relation. At certain times it will be shouted out by a herald, that the owns-alone (is'nula ikitc'un, for your exclusive use) will feast. They assemble in the open air where all who feel qualified may join. Here they are subject to challenge by the men. If a man sees one with whom he has been familiar, he may go into the circle, take up the feast bowl of the guilty one and toss it away. Then the crowd will shout and deride. The women may require her accuser to take an oath. One form is to hold a gun barrel, a knife, or an arrow in the mouth.

If he swear falsely he will be killed by a weapon. Sometimes a lighted pipe is prayed over and then smoked.

The following account is by one of our informants who witnessed several feasts:— Let us suppose that here is a young married woman with children and along comes a gossiping woman who accuses her of adultery behind her back. Her friends tell her of the gossip. She then gathers food for a feast and calls upon some old women who never knew but one man and who are experienced in the ceremony. When all is ready an old woman shouts about the camp stating that “her vagina was used by but one man” and that all who have the same virtue are invited to a feast.

When all have assembled, the accused woman cooks the food and carries it to the middle of the camp circle where the feast is to be held in the open. Only a few women could qualify for the feast for the rule was absolute that they must have never been intimate with any man except the one they married first. The woman herald shouts out a challenge for the men of the camp to come forward and impeach the virtue of those assembled. In the center of the circle is a gun, an arrow, a knife, and a snake cut from rawhide.

The whole camp assembles and the herald announces that the men are to challenge. If a man see among them a woman with whom he has been intimate, he will come forward and point her out. She will challenge him to take up the gun, arrow, knife, and snake and swear by each that he tells the truth. The oath is a very solemn one and most men shrink from it. If the accuser so swear, the public pelt the woman with buffalo chips and filth, running her out of camp.

The woman accused then challenges the gossip to bring forward the man having dishonored her and let him take the oath. The gossip herself may be challenged to take the oath.

Those who remain are to feast. The herald announces that all spectators are to withdraw as they are about to proceed with the feast.

There is a similar ceremony for virgins and virtuous young men called *wimanasai c'itepe*. All the people assemble and dig a hole about eighteen inches deep. Beside it they place a knife and an arrow. Then the young women who have never been intimate with a man reach into the hole and then bite the knife. Then any young man who has never been intimate with a woman or has never touched the vulva of a woman (a courting custom among young men) goes up and reaching into the hole bites the arrow.

If a young woman is guilty and yet pretends that she is not, any man who knows that she is lying will go up, throw a handful of dirt in her face, or throw her dish away, saying, “This is a feast for virgins and you are a woman,” or perhaps he will drag her forcibly from the place. There is always a large crowd looking on.

PRAIRIE-CHICKEN DANCE.

This was a ceremonial assembly of women. It has not been danced for many years. The dancers hopped about and made noises like prairie-chickens. No man took part except a few as singers. A member would prepare a feast and send an old woman out to call out invitations.

WIC'ILO.

This seems to be a ceremony over a favorite son. It first started about eleven years ago.

NO-BREECH-CLOTH-DANCE.

When preparing for an expedition the warriors may give this dance in which they are entirely nude. Every night while on the warpath they must dance it. In addition to some songs of their own, they use those of the *cante tinza*. Those who join in this dance must not desert their wounded, but bring them off safely. Usually about fourteen men took part. One informant insists that this was another name for the *cante tinza*, but others are equally positive that it was as stated.

DRAGGING-FEET DANCE.

The *nas'loha wacipi* is a modern social association, or dance, said to have come from the Skutani (Gros Ventre) ¹ about six or seven years ago. Men and women dance together holding arms, whence it is sometimes called the "hugging dance." The step resembles a waltz. It has special songs and is very popular with the young people. This has some resemblance to the kissing dance of the Blackfoot Indians and other northern tribes. The Oglala say that it originally came from the Rabbit-skin-wearers west of the Gros Ventre, among whom it was *wakan*, but here it is entirely social.

NIGHT-DANCE.

An association for young people of both sexes is known as the night-dance, *haⁿ wacipi*. (Mentioned under this name by J. O. Dorsey, a, 498.) It was learned from the Cheyenne at Fort Robinson some thirty-eight years

¹ In Riggs' Dictionary the term is rendered as "Kootenai," but our informants were sure that the Prairie Gros Ventre is the correct rendering.

ago and was quite popular for a few years. (Calico states that it came originally from the Kiowa and that formerly they, the Cheyenne, Ute, Shoshone, and Arapaho were east of the Black Hills, but were driven out by the Dakota.) The members were unmarried, but two men acting as leaders were usually married. They opened the ceremony by recounting their deeds. The young men sat on one side of the tipi, the young women on the other. As the songs for this dance were sung, a man would rise and dance with a present which he then presented to one of the young women. In the same way the young women danced with presents for young men. This was regarded as a kind of courting ceremony. Then all danced in a circle, holding hands. At the close a feast was made.

THE TANNERS.

An association of women spoken of as tanners (*taha kpoⁿ yan pe*), but properly tipi-makers, seems to have been a kind of guild. One with a tipi cover to make, prepares a feast and sends out a herald to invite all the tipi-makers. When they have assembled, an offering is made and prayers given for the good of all. The skins are then divided out and dressed. Then they are joined and sewed into a tipi cover, etc. It was said, that this served to elevate the craft.

There seems to have been some secret form of asking for food. Invitations were sometimes given by throwing skin dressing tools through the doors of tipis. At the feast, each must eat all set before her, or pay a forfeit. After the tipi is completed and set up another feast may be given to which many old men are invited. This is called "enlarging the tipi."

PORCUPINE QUILL WORKERS.

Any woman who is efficient in porcupine quill work, does it for pastime and for the sake of making beautiful things. On a certain day, the porcupine quill workers (*wipata oklakic'eya*) gather together and exhibit their work to each other. At the meeting they have a feast, talk about their work, tell how they did it, and what they have made in the past; also make presents to each other, but they keep their own work. The meeting is called by an old woman sent out by the one making the feast. The hostess may give out tasks to the guests. The association is somewhat *wakan*, since it was founded by virtue of a dream of the deer-women (two-women).

SCALP DANCE.

This is the victory dance (iwakic'ipi) in which women dance around a pole as described on p. 44. The men returning from a war party with deeds to their credit lead the dance, the women following.

Catlin made a sketch of the Dakota scalp dance and gave a brief description of the ceremony (245). Another by Capt. Eastman was published by Schoolcraft (Vol. 2, pl. 12). There is also a brief description by Mrs. Eastman who regards it as a "highly religious ceremony, not, as some suppose, a mere amusement." (xxi.)

WI^NYA^N TAPIKA.

This was a wakan society for young women started three generations ago. In later years it was known as the wakan wac'ipi. All the members wore buckskin dresses, hair loose over the shoulders, a head wreath of sage grass with an eagle feather, and a bunch of sage with a feather in each hand. Their hands and arms were painted red; faces, red with four blue marks, two on the median plane (chin and forehead), two transversely on the cheeks. The meetings were held in a tipi, the back part covered with sage grass. A pipe, two drums, two rattles, and a shaman's medicine bag are required. A shaman leads the ceremony to represent the founder or dreamer of the ritual. A few other men are called in to drum and sing. The women stand in a row when they dance. It was said that though the society originated here, the name was borrowed from some northern tribe.

According to Riggs,¹ the eastern division of the Dakota used the term wakan wacipi to designate a ceremony resembling the midewin of the Central Algonkin and connected with which was a sacred feast, a wakan-wohanpi.

We heard of a dance called the drinking dance in which tea is drunk, the men and women dancing by couples in a circle.

Another dance was known as wild carrot (paⁿgi yuta). The step was a peculiar hop. It takes its origin from the tale of Unktomi and the carrot.

¹ a, 228. See also Mrs. Eastman, XXI and J. O. Dorsey, (a), 440.

III. DREAM CULTS.

As we interpret our data these cults are in the main, groups of shamans, having similar wakan dreams.¹ We were told that not any kind of a dream is wakan, for admission to a cult requires that the dream shall conform to a certain formula. In such a dream we must have:—

- a. The dreamer.
- b. The instructor.
- c. The person requiring aid, or the one to be overcome by medicine.
- d. The person or persons giving the medicine.

It is required that *b* appear to *a* as a person, with the announcement that medicine is to be given. *b* points out or conducts *a* to *d*. The latter rarely speak, but appear as persons. *c* is then pointed out and may be a sick person or an enemy. After *b* has done this he runs away as an animal. Instead of *d*, the dreamer then sees as many different plants as there were persons. Also instead of *c* he may see something suggesting the diseases or condition to be overcome by the medicine. The plants are then to be used as the medicine (*pejuta*) according to instructions, but the dream takes its cult association from the animal form of the instructor (*b*). Any person having such a dream is a shaman.

The plant or plants are gathered, prepared, and some parts pulverized. The powder is placed in small bags and used in all shamanistic and medicinemen's ceremonies. If a shield is to be made wakan a small bag of medicine is tied on to it; if a warrior is to be protected, a small bag is tied to the hair; if a horse is to win a race, medicine is given to or rubbed on him, etc. In short, the bag of *pejuta* is always an essential. Its contents are vegetable, but it was not unusual for some dried flesh of the animal (*b*) to be combined with it.

¹ In some of the older literature we note a tendency to speak of the cult as clans. Thus Mrs. Eastman (xix) says "there are many clans . . . distinguished from each other by the different kinds of medicine they use." The medicine is a root. She seems to have had the cult in mind. Prescott writes in 1847 as follows:—

"As for clans, there are many, and there are secret badges. All that can be noticed, as to clans, is, that all those that use the same roots for medicines constitute a clan. These clans are secretly formed. It is through the great medicine-dance, that a man or a woman gets initiated into these clans. Although they all join in one general dance still the use, properties &c., of the medicine that each clan uses is kept entirely secret from each other. They use many roots of which they know not the properties themselves; and many of them have little if any medicinal properties in them." (Schoolcraft, Vol. 2, 171.)

Again on p. 175, we find reference to these clans as venerating wolves, deer, beaver, etc. While this is based upon data from the eastern division, it seems to refer to cults and not to clans as we now use that term.

As just stated, all who have had dreams in which *b* turned out to be a wolf, for example, will be regarded as members of the wolf cult. A person so dreaming may make a feast and send out a herald to shout out invitations to all who so dreamed. They assemble and go through with the ceremony custom prescribes for their cult.

In this connection it may be well to distinguish between a medicineman (*pejuta wic'asa*) and a shaman.¹ The former is one who gets medicines and formulae from a shaman, or an originator. The shaman puts him through four sweat houses, teaches him the songs and other parts of the formula and delivers a bag of the medicine. He may or may not give the directions for preparing the medicine, so that often the medicineman is entirely dependent upon him for a new supply. On the other hand, the medicineman can, it is said, create other medicinemen by a similar ceremony. Throughout we find no such conception of ownership and transfer of songs and formulae as among the Blackfoot tribes.

Should one desire to become a shaman and not have normal dreams or experiences of the requisite form, he may go to a shaman for a special ceremony. After certain preparations and instructions the shaman takes the candidate out to some lonely place, sets up four offerings on poles. Here the candidate may fast and pray. The shaman may cut and tie him as in the sun dance, or the candidate may himself cut off and offer small pieces of flesh. If a dream or vision is granted, the candidate goes into a sweat house on his return and relates to the shaman his experience. He, himself is thenceforth a shaman.

THE HEYOKA.

All who dream of the heyoka cult or the thunder, must participate in the ceremonies, otherwise calamities will befall them. The heyoka are sometimes spoken of as clowns, or lunatics, because they do things contrary to nature and expectation. One of their most spectacular feats is that of plunging the arms into boiling water and splashing it about over each other, complaining that it is cold. Before this performance, the skin is coated with the linseed-like fluid from certain roots, which participants tell us protects them absolutely. Formerly, it is said, the heyoka shaved one side of the head and were sometimes called "the half-shaved heads." Also that they wore a buckskin shirt trimmed with crow feathers and carried a rattle of dew-claws strung on a stick.

¹ See J. O. Dorsey, (a), 495, for a discussion of this point. For an account of methods of doctoring, Mrs. Eastman, XXIII.

The following account was given by Calico, now 68 years of age:—

One time when I was about 13 years old, in the spring of the year, the sun was low and it threatened rain and thunder, while my people were in a camp of four tipis. I had a dream that my father and our family were sitting together in a tipi when lightning struck into their midst. All were stunned. I was the first to become conscious. A neighbor was shouting out around the camp. I was doubled up when first becoming conscious. It was time to take out the horses, so I took them.

As I was coming to my full senses I began to realize what had occurred and that I should go through the heyoka ceremony when fully recovered. I heard a herald shouting this about, but am not sure it was real. I knew I was destined to go through the heyoka. I cried some to myself. I told my father I had seen the thunder: "Well, son," he said, "you must go through with it." I was told that I must be a heyoka, if so I would entirely recover. If I did not go through the ceremony, I would be killed by lightning. After this I realized that I must formally tell in the ceremony exactly what I experienced.

I also saw in the dream a man with hair reaching his heels while all over his back were many birds moving about. He was painted red; on the arms and legs were longitudinal marks with forks at the ends. On his face were live tadpoles and dragon flies. He carried a sinew-backed bow with four red arrows. In one hand he carried something covered with horse flies; it seemed afterward to be a dew-claw rattle.

In the heyoka I was ordered to array myself as nearly like this dream man as possible. So I had a long-tailed bonnet made and covered the tail with feathers. On my face and body I painted tadpoles and dragon flies. In one hand I carried a dew-claw rattle and a string of the same over the shoulder.

When everything was in readiness, I came out and danced around through the camp with other heyoka, sounding my rattles and dodging about. While this was going on a cloud came up and threatened rain, but after we stopped it broke away. Then I took off my regalia in the ceremonial tipi and some old heyoka took the things out to a high hill and left them as an offering. They said I did very well in the ceremony and that everything would now be all right.

After this I did not feel uneasy and afraid because of a threatening storm. Hence I believed there was much truth in the teachings.

This is the way one must do. He must make a feast and invite the heyoka. Thus I did. I told them all about my dreams. Then two heyoka took me in hand, arranged my regalia, gave me instructions and saw me through.

Now, there are two kinds of heyoka, one kind are crazy or foolish. I was of this kind. When they take in new members, they fill a kettle with boiling meat. Then all thrust in their hands to grab for the finest pieces. They have two kettle bearers to bring the kettle into the ceremonial tipi. The heyoka dance around it, singing heyoka songs. They select roots to chew and rub on their hands and bodies; this is medicine (pejuta). As the leader sings all get ready and baring their arms crowd up around the kettle, joking with each other. One will dip up water out of the kettle in the hollow of his hand and dash it in the faces of the others. Then they plunge their arms into the kettle and grope around in the soup. I went through with this. The medicine keeps the water from scalding.

Since all members of the heyoka have experienced wakan dreams each has a special song. In keeping with their clownish practices, it was said,

each sings his own song at the same time, thus producing a riot of voices. No other cult has such a practice.

Dr. J. R. Walker in an unpublished manuscript states "that the term heyoka applies to any being who acts anti-natural. Iktoi and Cnaskan are both heyoka, as well as any human being who has seen the person of Wakinyan, or had a vision from him. Some consider the Four Winds as heyoka, others not."¹ Mrs. Eastman describes in some detail a ceremony of the Eastern Dakota which resembles that of the Oglala and gives an Indian drawing of "haoka, the anti-natural god."² An interesting discussion by J. O. Dorsey³ seems to be based upon the Bush-otter accounts and therefore either from Oglala or Brulé sources. In addition to the above we quote in full an excellent discussion by Dr. Walker:—

When one seeks a vision and sees lightning or the Thunder-Bird, thereafter such a one must imitate Heyoka by being clownish and absurd in his words and actions before the public. An especial act that he must do is to dip meat from a boiling kettle with his bare hands and carry it to someone. From this action comes the term wozepi which means to dip out. Such a one is also credited with power to get others out of trouble and is permitted to appear as an intermediary in contention or strife and to bring about a settlement of differences. When one sees either the lightning or the Thunder-Bird, when seeking a vision, he returns to the camp and informs his advisors who then cause a tipi to be set up in the center of the camp. This should be an old and worn tipi and if it is almost unfit for use because of dilapidation so much the better.

After the one who has seen the vision and his advisors have undergone the ceremony of sweating and he has told his advisors what had been communicated to him in the vision, they enter this tipi where the advisors interpret the communication and advise him as to what he shall do in compliance with it. The obligation to comply with the advised course of action and conduct is much stronger in cases of this kind than in visions of any other kind. If one fails to comply with the advice given, Heyoka will visit him and bring misfortune upon him and it may be even death.

Further, one who sees a vision of this kind is an especial mark of hatred to the Thunder-Bird. He is always looking for such a one and the glance of his eye (a flash of lightning) is apt to fall on him or his tipi, his horses, or anything belonging to him so that he lives in constant fear of lightning. For this reason he is more or less shunned and is apt to become morose or melancholy and spend much of his time alone. He makes many offerings to the Thunder-Bird and to Heyoka and his songs when he sings alone are addressed to either of these beings.

After his advisors have interpreted his vision and directed his course of action he must give a ceremonial feast which must be prepared in the old tipi. All heyoka wozepi in the camp are obliged to assist in the preparation and distribution of this feast. This feast is a hilarious occasion for all the people who attend it, and every one may attend who wishes to do so. The women kill and prepare a sufficient

¹ In this connection J. O. Dorsey's criticism of Dr. Brinton may be cited, (a), 469.

² Mrs. Eastman, 206.

³ (a), 468-471.

number of dogs and build a fire in the old tipi, sufficiently large to cook all the dogs by boiling them in kettles. The other food may be prepared on fires outside the tipi. The heyoka wozepi ostensibly aid the women in all this, which being contrary to the custom that men shall not aid the women in their work, supplies grounds for fun for the people. The heyoka wozepi act the buffoon in all their helping, doing the opposite of what should be done, jesting, or doing anything which may be comical. They are usually dressed as clowns. Certain ones of the heyoka wozepi are designated to attend the cooking of the dogs. These are supposed to be the wittiest. During the time the dogs are cooking anyone may go into the tipi and suggest or do anything that may be amusing.

The one who gives the feast must take an active part as a heyoka wozepi and all the other heyoka wozepi may play any kind of a trick on him to make him appear ridiculous. During this time his advisors watch him closely to see that he performs his part in the proper manner. If he fails to act according to their advice in interpreting his vision he must repeat the feast at another time. Sometimes one must give several feasts before it is announced that he has acted according to his vision.

When the dogs are pronounced cooked the heyoka wozepi take the flesh from the boiling kettles with their bare hands and distribute it to the people. Those who wish to be served must come to the pots where they can be served quickly. The one who is giving the feast must take the hot meat from the kettle and if he scalds his hands he must give another feast. Before beginning to serve the meat the heyoka wozepi invoke heyoka and prepare themselves by dipping their hands in an infusion of some plant that covers their hands with a mucilaginous coating and prevents the boiling contents of the kettle from scalding them. This they repeat as often as necessary for protection.

It sometimes occurs that the advisors interpret the vision to mean that the one to whom it was given shall do some distasteful or dreadful thing, made known to the people. If this is a course of action for life, when the people see such a heyoka wozepi alone, or looking melancholy, they call out to him to do that which he was commanded to do. A heyoka wozepi may even be advised to kill a man, woman or child, in which case he must obey and until he does he is upbraided by the people for not doing what he was advised to do. If such a one takes life in compliance with such advice, he may plead it as a defence against the vengeance of the killed one's friends.

To be a heyoka wozepi is a misfortune dreaded by all, for such a one is held in light esteem by the people and expected to act the clown all the time. Yet a witty heyoka wozepi may exercise his wit so as to gain the esteem and confidence of the people and become a head man among them.

THE ELK CULT.

All persons dreaming of elks or the elk cult are required to perform the ceremony and give a feast to the members. Unlike the heyoka anyone may join in the dance, but only the dreamers can sing the songs and take the leading parts. A special tipi is set up. At the proper time, the dancers appear in their regalia. They wear peculiar triangular masks made of

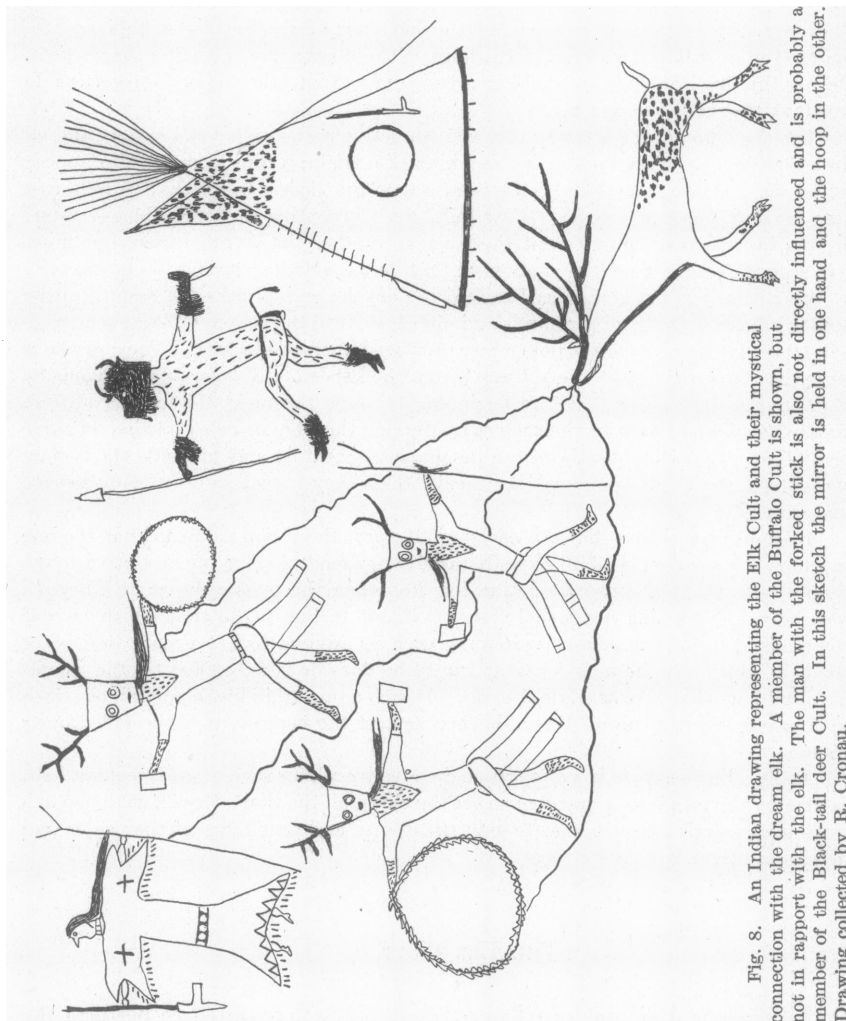


Fig. 8. An Indian drawing representing the Elk Cult and their mystical connection with the dream elk. A member of the Buffalo Cult is shown, but not in rapport with the elk. The man with the forked stick is also not directly influenced and is probably a member of the Black-tail deer Cult. In this sketch the mirror is held in one hand and the hoop in the other. Drawing collected by R. Cronau.

young buffalo skins, with a pair of branches trimmed to represent elk's antlers. These horns are wrapped with otter fur to represent horns "in the velvet," as the immature horns of the elk are described. They carry a hoop of two cross cords, supporting a mirror at the center. These are believed to have magical powers and to throw or shoot their influence into all they oppose; so, as they dance about the camp circle, they stamp a foot and flash sunlight from the mirror at persons in sight. This is supposed to put the victims in the power of the elk cult.

Miss Fletcher has described the dance of this cult, chiefly from observa-

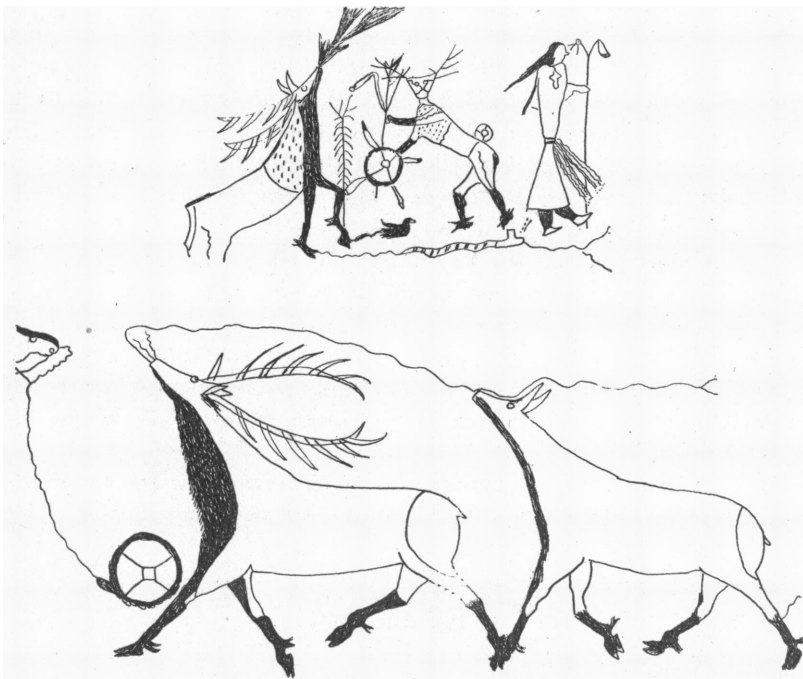


Fig. 9. Sketches showing an Elk Cult dance and the power of the dream elk over females. Collected by R. Cronau.

tions in 1882 made at Pine Ridge." (a), 276. Dr. J. R. Walker is authority for the statement that the dance is still given.

Among the Oglala the elk was regarded as endowed with special powers over the females of its kind. The dreamers of the elk are supposed to be privileged to steal women. Of course, in former times, everybody stole women, but they think it their special privilege. They profess to be acquainted with the weakness of women and to know how to persuade them.

They have a song running thus:—

“I throw a hoop,
It crushes anything it comes in contact with.
I turned a whole tribe (that is, the thoughts or prejudices).”

An elk dreamer makes a feast for the rest when they sing and make medicine for procuring women (wiⁿ c'uwa). For this they may take the white part of the eye of an elk or part of the heart, the inside gristle from the projection of the fetlocks, or the hind feet, and mix it with medicine. The flute and the mirror are regarded as powerful accessories in using such charms.

At the feast the elk dreamers are all invited and also those possessing “woman charmer” medicine may attend. In the ceremonies a member may get up, act like an elk and run about the tipi. When the people look at his tracks, they see genuine elk tracks. When a new member is indicated, they set up a tipi in the woods far away from the regular camp circle. There the members paint themselves yellow and black from elbow down and from knee down and put on the headdress. They spread fine earth over the floor of the tipi and walk out so as to make elk tracks.

The dreamer goes out the way he saw the elk act in the dream. Then two women and a few men, not elk dreamers, whom he has invited go out with the dancers. The women (virgins) have their hair hanging loose, wear a good dress, and each carry a pipe. The women lead and the rest follow, going inside the camp circle and clear around. A member carries the hoop and looking glass which is supposed to “catch the eye of a girl and bring back her heart.”

Whenever the elks thus appear, the heyoka come near and try to make medicine to harm the elks and their followers, but are usually unable to do so.

THE BEAR CULT.

It should be understood that there are seldom many members in a cult, in most cases but three or four. Naturally, since a wakan dream is the essential qualification, women may belong. In case of the bear cult, however, no women members are known. We were told that women never dreamed of bears. The shamans of this cult were held in very great regard because of their power in healing wounds. When one of them gives a feast all medicinemen having received their medicine and all who have been cured by the bear medicine are invited to attend. The wives of the shamans and medicinemen may also attend, but no other women.

At the feast the medicines are displayed. Sometimes a shaman dis-

plays his abilities by suddenly hitting the earth upon which a turnip or a small cedar tree springs up. An informant heard of a shaman putting up a plum tree, a juneberry, or cherry tree, and when the singers were singing and beating the drum, he sat there with his face painted up wakan and suddenly shook the tree upon which the fruit fell to the ground. The members usually each ate a little of the fruit and saved some for medicine. A shaman at Standing Rock, it is said, would first hit the earth, then put his hand to his mouth when all would see his canines protruding like a bear. If anyone is badly wounded in battle he is taken to the tipi and the bear cult called in. They sing all manner of songs.

An informant tells of an experience when he was shot in the breast:—

He was taken home. The bears sang all night and toward morning they painted his body red, put a war-bonnet on him, singing various songs while they were doing this. "The moon has risen. He is my relative." "The sun has risen. He is my relative," also, "A bullet is lodged in you, eat this and you will live." He then walked out first, the others following, singing, "You have eaten something wakan. Stand up so you can be seen."

Before this they brought him a stick painted red for a cane. Then, before going out a branch of a tree is placed in each of the four directions. About dawn they sang the song of the sun, an invocation for help.

It was dawn when he emerged from the tent and saw a large crowd waiting to see the performance. The cult sang, "Stand in four places (directions). Walk in four directions." He started to walk toward the south, standing where the olive branch was stuck up. His sisters and near female relatives (not his wife) danced back of him, never going in front. Then they went to the west, all the while singing the same song and so on, to the north, then to the east, and then back to the tipi.

When they gave him the cane the shaman said, "You think you will die, but if you take this you will live to be an old man." When walking to the four directions they sang, "You are walking in the four directions. You are walking with a bear." Later, when he could not sleep on account of pain, the shaman took the bed cover and holding it over the medicine grass smudge, said, "My grandfather, make this wakan (addressing the bear), make the robe like a bear (because the bear is wakan)."

The bear cult may dance at the time of the feast. They parade about the camp like the heyoka. They paint their bodies red. The shamans may wear an entire bear skin. They may run about the camp growling and chasing people. They may sit about like bears, and feeling around upon the ground, dig up a turnip and eat it with grunts like bears. They may even fall upon a dog, tear it to pieces, eat the liver and some of the flesh raw. Also, in battle they may attempt to frighten the enemy by such actions.

If anyone wants medicine from the bears he makes a feast (dog usually). He makes a sweat lodge for the shaman, tells him that he wants the medicine and then the shaman asks him what kind of medicine he wants. Then the shaman tells him that he will make a medicine pouch, but that he must

make another feast. When the medicine is delivered the shaman receives a horse.

A special study of the medical practices of this cult has been made by Dr. J. R. Walker and will appear in his contributions on the religious ceremonies of the Oglala.

THE BLACK-TAIL DEER CULT.

Unlike the elk cult that of the black-tail deer seems to have been limited to young men. The dancers wear a mask similar to that of the elks with horns like the black-tail deer. They carry hoops also, but with an imitation of a spider web in the center. Like the elks they have bells on their legs, to ring and emphasize the stamp when they shoot magic. No drums or rattles are used.

According to one informant, these dancers are rivals of the heyoka with whom they have magical trials of powers. Others claim it to have been the most powerful cult because in the ceremony when one looks around, the others fall down as if dead. The members carry small black pipes with black stems, while the elks use yellow pipes. Sometimes, like the elks, they call in two women to carry a pipe, a hoop, and a forked stick.

THE WOLF CULT.

Those who dream of wolves or the wolf cult must make a feast and go through the dance. A tipi is set up and the feast prepared. A herald shouts out the invitation around the camp; he also notifies the heyoka to get ready as "soon there will be a wolf coming over the hill." In the tipi, there are ceremonies and the candidates are invested with their regalia. They have wolf skins over their backs, on the arms, and legs. On the head, they wear a rawhide mask with holes for the eyes and one for the mouth through which the whistle is sounded. Symbols of the owner's dream may be painted on the mask. The legs and arms are painted red, their bodies white. Some carry an imitation snake from which they shoot wakan influence. When members are shot, they spit out bird claws, sage and bugs, supposed to have been shot into the victims.

No women are taken into the cult, and there are but few members. They had some power to cure the sick and to remove arrows, but never treated wounds. They made war medicines (wotawi), especially wakan shields.

Somewhat analogous to this was the *ozunya cin nupa*, a kind of war shaman wolf cult. We were told that a shaman who has dreamed of wolf will make a sweat house and whoever so wishes may join. Anyone who has been with a woman during the previous night may not enter the sweat house as he will be blinded. The shaman chooses four men who are instructed to go out, each kill a wolf and have the skin tanned by some virgin. When this is done they bring them to the tipi. Some medicines are fastened to the whistle and some on the skins, also four crow feathers and one eagle feather. Below the eyes the skins are painted red and the ends of each foot have a piece of buckskin painted red attached. The back end is strewn with wild sage while the front end is just scraped off. He sings, whistles are heard to make a noise without being blown, the wolf hides move about, and wolf tracks can be seen. When the ceremony is over the shaman announces that they are to go on the warpath. A black pipe is wrapped in buckskin and placed in charge of a young man, making five in all.

When on a war party the wolf hide bearers act as scouts. They wear the wolf hides on the back, passing the head through a slit near the neck. They paint their arms from the elbows down and their legs from the knees down with red paint. They go out in pairs and only return when they locate an enemy. They are very fleet of foot, like a wolf.

Then the war party moves forward toward the enemy's camp. As they draw near, the shaman takes the black pipe and the medicine on the back of the wolf hide and holding the pipe chews some of the medicine and blows it out into the air to make it misty and dense (a wolf's day). Thus, they approach the enemy unseen and take the horses away. The enemy goes out to look for the horses and will be killed. The shaman and the wolf hide bearers each get a horse as a reward.

BUFFALO CULT.

There was a group of men and occasionally a few women, known as the buffalo dreamers. When they had their dance, a shaman would appear in the head and skin of a buffalo. As he ran about the camp a nude young man stalked him, while the cult followed singing. At the proper time the hunter discharged an arrow deeply into a spot marked on the buffalo skin. The shaman would then stagger, vomit blood and spit up an arrow point. The wolf cult would then pursue him. Later, another shaman would use medicine (*pejuta*), pull the arrow out and at once the wound was healed.

In the regular ceremonies while the drumming is going on, the members

bellow like buffalo and some stamp a foot leaving buffalo tracks upon the ground.

Bush-otter's stepfather belonged to the "tatang ihanblapi kin, or the society of those who had revelations from the buffalo," which appears to have been our cult. In this account will be found the personal experiences of a member.¹

THE BERDACHE CULT.

This is not the native term nor do they have ceremonies, yet since they have dreams in common it may not be out of place to note them under this head. According to some informants, these abnormal persons are made so by dreaming of a "wakan woman," by others the obsession is due to repeated dreams of buffalo. One informant claimed the dreams must be of "buffalo who are men" or pote wiⁿ kte (hermaphrodite buffalo). Such buffalo are regarded as berdaches. In the old days all the berdaches were very wakan. At the present writing it is said there is a young man at Wounded Knee who wants to wear woman's clothing, carry wood and water and who makes improper advances to men. To all appearances he is male. It was said that a man formerly living on Wolf Creek once married a berdache. For further discussion the reader is referred to J. O. Dorsey, a, 467.

THE DOUBLE-WOMAN CULT.

A mythical being sometimes called the double-woman plays an important rôle in the supernatural affairs of the Oglala. This is evidently the character represented by Bush-otter's sketch on file at the Bureau of Ethnology.² It seems to have been the custom to make a feast when one dreams of this being and invite all those having previously experienced such manifestations. There is no special dance.

Allied to this, but in a way not clearly understood by us, is the quill-workers' cult. Quill work seems to have been especially wakan. It is said that once a young woman dreamed of the double-woman who taught her the use of quills. Before this no one imagined porcupine quills of any practical value. So the young woman asked for a porcupine and a separate tipi. When these were ready she went into the tipi alone and warned everyone to keep away. There she plucked out the quills and assorted them according to lengths. Then she went out into the brush looking for dyes; she

¹ J. O. Dorsey, (a), 497.

² J. O. Dorsey, (a), 480.

selected red, blue, yellow and black. Also, she asked for a white gull (called the woman's bird). The feathers of this she dyed blue. Now, she asked one to dress a skin for a buffalo robe.

She worked alone in the tipi. No one saw her save at meal time or when she came out to make her toilette. The quills of feathers she split and with them laid on the colors (?).

Now, she invited a girl friend and instructed her. They took the dressed robe and decorated it with quill work. Then she made a feast and invited many women. She sang songs and explained that all came from the double-woman. To the feast she invited all of the dream cults. Here they exercised their magic powers and contested. Among the spectators they sought women who had dreamed of the double-woman. When the mirror was flashed upon them they became dizzy, fell down and spit blood and black earth. This was a sure sign, whence they must join the cult. In this way the making of quill work was celebrated ever afterward. It was very wakan.

Dreams of the double-woman take many interesting conventional forms. Thus she may appear inviting a woman to go with her, conducting her to a lone tipi before which stands a skin dressing frame of curious pattern. As the woman comes up to the door and looks in she beholds the two deer-women sitting at the rear. By them she is directed to choose which side she shall enter. Along the wall of one side is a row of skin dressing tools, on the other, a row of parfleche headdress bags. If the former is chosen, they will say, "You have chosen wrong, but you will become very rich." If she choose the other side, they will say, "You are on the right track, all you shall have shall be an empty bag." This means that she will be a prostitute and otherwise an evil woman. In the future she may wear a miniature headdress pouch as a symbol of her experience. Such women are wakan, but not regarded as exactly normal; they are always running after men and have unusual powers to seduce them.

At the close of the dream the two women run away as black-tail doe.

A man may have a dream in which a male messenger calls for him. For him, the tipi has skin dressing tools on one side as before, but bows and arrows on the other. If he should choose the former, he will live as a hermaphrodite or a berdache.

Like other cults a feast will be made by one having dreamed of the deer-women. They parade through the camp shooting power at each other. There are always two leading women held to be very wakan (*itaⁿc'aⁿ*). A woman may secretly hide a mirror in earth, but some of the most wakan members will go directly to the spot, take it up and put some sage leaves on the back and flash it about. Many persons will fall down dead and

afterwards spit out the sage. Others spit out black dirt or blood. The two leading women with sage in their hands, hold the ends of a buffalo hair cord to the middle of which swings a small doll. Once in a dream one of the cult saw the deer-women swinging a real child in this manner. This was said to signify that all their offspring will die. The doll and rope are very wakan. When they are swung at the man with the mirror, he falls down, spits dust and blood until the sage comes out.

Should the flash of the mirror fall upon someone unconscious of a dream of the deer-women, that one also will fall and spit. The belief is that in the dream a lot of black dirt is placed in the back of the dreamer. Sometimes they spit up plant down instead of sage.

This is a powerful cult and many women when in the trance get power to make very effective shields and other war medicines.

A note on the distribution of the deer-women will be found in Vol. 2, 162. The following narrative was obtained:—

Once on Beaver Creek in the winter time a young man had courted a beautiful girl for many months. However, he was not able to win her. Early one morning while he was out driving the horses to the water and as he was driving along a narrow path in the cottonwood trees he heard someone chopping wood. He followed the sound and presently saw the girl he had been courting. He went on with his horses and after driving them back stole into the woods and surprised her. He asked her to marry him and she consented. She said, "That is why I came here." So he embraced her but immediately she vanished and a long-tailed doe dashed away. He mounted his horse, pursued the doe. It ran through the camp and into the hills but at last he overtook and killed it. He had been joined in the chase by many young men. As soon as the deer was killed, the young man began to snort and otherwise act like a deer. Soon after his return to camp he died.

This woman was the deer-woman. Anyone making love to her is sure to die. He will immediately lose the power of speech. Sometimes a man may not die, but in that case he would always be considered very wakan. If a man meets a lone woman in the woods or on the prairie, he will avoid her for fear she may be a deer-woman.

The belief is that the deer have a peculiar odor in the hoof, which becomes fine perfume when the deer takes the form of a woman, and that it is this perfume which acts as a medicine and works its evil spell on man. It is said that sometimes even wishing to make love with the deer-woman, will result fatally.

DREAMING-PAIR CULT.

If two people have dreams in which each sees the other, they may make a feast and invite those with like experiences (*wakan ic'ihabla*). We did

not learn the details of this, but it is said to be very wakan. During the dance they shoot medicine at each other. The pair seem to feel some perpetual bond like the chums of other tribes. (Vol. 7, 16.)

MOUNTAIN SHEEP CULT.

It is not clear that an active cult of this kind existed (*heciⁿskayapi ihaⁿ blapi*). Some affirm and some deny. One of our informants, however, had a wakan dream of the necessary kind. Woman-dress told of his experience in fasting on the summit of a hill. He said that after being there a considerable time, probably the morning of the second or third day, he was sleeping and heard a rumbling noise. Looking up, he saw before him a mountain sheep with its curling horns and large yellow eyes. The sheep remained an instant, then vanished and in its stead was its skull. However, he was never invited to dance with a cult of dreamers. By some, the shamans of this cult were credited with powerful war medicine.

J. O. Dorsey, (a), 497 notes this cult but translates the name as goat.

RABBIT CULT.

This was not strictly a cult, since but one man was known to have the dreams. On the other hand, if others had experienced the proper dreams, it would have been a true cult. This shaman was noted for war medicine. In his dream a man conducted him to many others each of whom gave out medicines and instructions, after which the messenger ran away as a rabbit.

We have now passed in review all the cults of the *heyoka* type. We heard of an antelope cult but received no other data. There were neither snake nor bird cults according to our informants. Some were disposed to consider the preceding as all parts of one great cult and it is true that they often held their ceremonies at the same time and all jointly participated in the ceremonies of shooting medicine, where they made a show of rivalry. We have noted examples of this in the preceding. There remain a few groups of dreamers with ceremonies of a different type, though otherwise they are similar to the preceding cults.

THE HORSE CULT.

While this is said to be more of a society than the preceding, yet it is made up of persons dreaming horse medicines. They hold ceremonies in a tipi, dance and have a spectacular parade around the camp. They do not

practise medicine shooting, one of the most striking characteristics of the preceding. Their formulae are believed to govern all phases of horse using and raising.

The origin tale is as follows:—

A man went up on a high hill to fast. After four days a figure appeared to him. As it approached, it was seen to be a person. This person explained the rules and formulae. Then he became a horse and disappeared among the thunders.

The man returned to his people bearing three roots for medicine. He waited outside of the camp, asking for a sweat house and a special tipi. When these were ready he entered. To those invited he said, "I give you three kinds of medicine for horses." Then they went to the tipi. There he sang the songs, demonstrated the formulae and prepared some accessories with buckskin, flannel, and tobacco.

"Now," he said, "we shall capture many horses." So they took their new medicine outfit and set out. The next day they saw a bunch of fine horses. These they surrounded. The magic power of their formulae made the horses powerless to run, so that they were captured. Thus the power was demonstrated.

Then, they founded a cult. They dance singly and give away to the poor flannel and tobacco. When they have a feast "it is very wakan." Once when the cult was in session, a man gave them presents and received power to capture horses. The next day he set out. Soon he saw a dun colored stallion, marked with black stripes, with long tail and mane. This he brought into camp. The leader of the horse society said it was a thunder horse, that it was fortunate to catch such a one, but that it would be best to turn it loose. This was done. At once, there was a great cloud; the horse went into it. Then it rained and thundered, the lightning flashing between the tipis. In the center of the storm, they saw the horse rising to the heaven, his halter still trailing behind.

Now, the leader of the horse cult said, "the thunder horse promised us four captures of horses. A bunch is now near by." Then the society stood in a circle, with the leader in the center, whom each of them lassoed in turn. After this dance, they set out. On the second day, they took a very swift black stallion.

This they repeated three times obtaining a dun colored, a white, and a sorrel stallion. As these were very swift horses, the leader advised that they be kept for breeding.

Then the leader demonstrated the power of his horse medicines. An offering was made and the floor cleared off in a tipi. Then the leader got up and danced about like a horse. He neighed. Then his tracks in the earth were like those of a horse; then he dropped horse dung. After this dance, he gave out three medicines, to make horses very swift of foot, also to heal the wounds of war horses and finally to cure the ills of horses. He was a great shaman and lectured the assembly. "If you believe and follow carefully these directions your tribe shall prosper, they shall capture many horses. If your horses have colts, put an offering of flannel around their necks with pendant hoofs at the end. Then they will thrive. Also paint them on the forehead and shoulders."

It seems that both men and women belonged to this cult. There were groups of members in each camp of the Oglala. There was no special regalia, except that they usually used a piece of flannel on the head. When

they met a feast was made. There was a special rectangular medicine bag in which tobacco, the medicine and a pipe were kept. When colts were born, a feast was made for the cult. The pipe was taken out and offered to the four directions, then pointed to the colts, with the prayer, "Winged-ones, may the horses that you gave us live and increase."

According to Calico the shaman to originate this cult was named Sits-in-wallow, his mother's grandfather. They had medicines to restore exhausted horses. These were carried in small bags. When a pinch of the medicine was placed on the tongue of a horse, he would shake himself, then roll and rise fresh for another dash. If a horse is sick, there are particular medicines for each ailment. As wild, or "outlaw" horses cannot be given medicine, a special kind is tied on the end of a root digger and set up on the range. The horse will be attracted by the smell and grow fond of the odor, so that he will approach a person holding some of the medicine in his hand. Brood mares were often treated with all of the above medicines to produce fine colts. For a horse that balks, runs to one side, or bolts, when charging the enemy or running buffalo, a medicine is chewed by the rider and spit upon the fore-top, mane, tail, and nostrils. This also makes him fleet of foot. For racing medicines are rubbed upon the feet and body. The end of a willow switch is chewed, dipped in medicine, and used as a whip in the race and for touching an opposing horse to make him slow.

The medicines are gathered and prepared by a shaman. A small bag is worth a horse. When sold a ceremony is necessary with a sweat lodge, after which the proper songs are taught by the shaman and instructions given. Women do not use the sweat lodge, but otherwise perform the ritual. Purchasers desiring a rehearsal, make a feast and call in the members of the cult to which all purchasers may be invited. At such feasts all the horse medicine songs may be sung of which there are a great number.

The cult may appoint a day for the horse dance. The herald makes the announcement. He also calls for sixteen horses, four of each of the following colors, bay, black, buckskin, blue-gray. A dance shelter is erected in the center of the camp to which the horses are brought. Young men are selected to ride these horses, they assemble inside with the shaman, conducting the ceremony, who instructs them. They paint their own horses, red for the bay, black for the black, yellow for the buckskin, and clay blue for the gray. Zigzag lines with forked ends are painted down their legs. Sage grass is tied on the forelock and tail. The shaman then makes the riders wakan by painting them according to the horse each is to ride, ties the hair with sage grass, a plume, and a tail feather. Four drums are painted, one with each of the four colors. Four men are selected for each drum and painted accordingly.

Two pure unmarried women are selected by the shaman to carry the wakan pipes. They wear red dresses and use red paint. Their hair hangs loose. The longest tail feather of the spotted eagle is tied on.

The leading shaman rides a black horse, but uses white paint. He paints his body black and marks it with white. Two eagle feathers are placed in the bridle like buffalo horns. The shaman wears a mask of black cloth, through which he cannot see. Two mirrors are placed over the eyes. At the top, he places two curved feathers to represent buffalo horns.

All this time the people of the camp are getting their horses ready, the men decorating them according to their deeds. At the proper time, the two women emerge with the pipes. Then come the drummers. Next the sixteen riders come out and mount. Last comes the shaman. Through a hole in his mask he sounds a whistle. The riders form a line with the shaman in the center. The other riders then fall in behind. Among them are all the owners of horse medicines with their entire outfits. At certain signals by drum the pipe bearers run forward a pace and pause. The lines move up into position, the horses are kept circling as if dancing. When they come into position, the men riders dismount and dance holding their halters. In this way they encircle the camp once. Then the mounted men charge the dance shelter; the one striking it first, will kill an enemy.

When the shaman leaves the shelter a guard is placed at the door and the ground carefully smoothed off. On the return of the procession, tracks of horses and men may be seen within, from which a shaman can predict the fate of the next war party. The appearance of tracks is called wac'aⁿkea implying that the ghost of a person left a track.

Again, hair (horse or human) may be discovered upon the pipe carried by the two young women.

The ceremony now ends. Immediately, a war party sets out. This may or may not be made up of those taking part in the dance.

The Blackfoot have horse ceremonies that are quite like the above. In their horse dance the painting of the mounts is identical and the use of medicines suggests many exact parallels.

THE WOMAN'S MEDICINE CULT.

Formerly, women who had certain dreams of buffalo, elk, and horses formed a kind of association. It is not clear to us as to whether these were distinct cults or a single organization. According to our information, the three divisions had separate organizations with four male singers in each. Their chief function seems to have been the giving out of war medicines.

Young men about to go to war would apply to them for medicines and receive a bird skin, feathers, etc., with a small bag of medicine attached. The society also made shields and gave them their wakan properties.

In summer (June) it was the rule to hold an annual ceremony, or dance. The three cults sit apart while those warriors that received medicines the preceding winter come forward one by one to count off their deeds. Thus, it could be shown which of the three divisions had the most wakan power. The women then formed a procession around the camp, dancing before the tipis of head men like the akicita societies. Before the close of the ceremonies in their tipi, they forecast the war record of the next year.

The women were not paid for the war medicine, but received a share of the spoils. Our informants regarded it as a very wakan organization.

THE MESCAL CULT.

The mescal has a firm hold among the Oglala notwithstanding official efforts to suppress it. The usual form of rattle and drum is used. It was said that a dream eagle appears to the devotees, sounding a whistle and giving instructions. Some of the songs seem to be of Christian origin. Though but recently introduced, and not generally recognized as a cult by the Indians themselves, the underlying conceptions of sanction and sources of power seem about the same as in case of typical dream cults.

A DOG CULT.

According to Woman-dress there was in very remote times a kind of cult known as the dogs. These were all considered wakan, but were a sort of fools (not heyoka clowns) who performed to make the people laugh. Their raiment was very absurd and they painted themselves up and wore peculiar ornaments.

