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**SOCIETIES OF THE ARIKARA INDIANS.**

**BY**  
**ROBERT H. LOWIE.**

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## INTRODUCTION.

In September, 1910, while engaged in studying the societies of the Mandan and Hidatsa, I found it possible to devote several days to the corresponding societies of the Arikara, who occupy another part of the Fort Berthold Reservation, North Dakota. Though my stay was brief, I had the good fortune to secure an excellent old informant in the person of Bear's-teeth, while in Mr. Wilde I had an interpreter thoroughly conversant with both English and his mother-tongue. Unfortunately our knowledge of the general culture of the Arikara is exceedingly fragmentary, so that a thorough comprehension of the special phase selected for study in its relations with other aspects of culture is not possible. Nevertheless the notes that follow are worthy of attention for purposes of comparison.

While with the Arikara I enjoyed the kind hospitality of Mr. and Mrs. Snodgrass, then teachers at Armstrong, on the Reservation, and many courtesies from Mrs. Wilde, of which I wish to make grateful acknowledgment.

February, 1915.

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## ARIKARA SOCIETIES.

Nowhere is it more difficult to bring recent data into harmony with older accounts than in the case of the Arikara societies. While, for example, the Mandan and Hidatsa of today clearly recollect nearly all of the organizations found among them in the early thirties of the nineteenth century, modern accounts of the Arikara not only fail to place on record the names of societies enumerated by Brackenridge, Culbertson, Maximilian, and Clark, but in part flatly contradict the older statements as to so fundamental a point as qualifications for membership. Under these circumstances it is essential to present the older data in full in order to enable the reader to form an independent judgment.

Brackenridge, who visited the Arikara in 1811, writes:—

They are divided into different bands or classes; that of the pheasant, which is composed of the oldest men; that of the bear, the buffaloe, the elk, the dog, etc. Each of these has its leader, who generally takes the name of the class, exclusively. Initiation into these classes, on arriving at the proper age, and after having given proofs of being worthy of it, is attended with great ceremony. The band of dogs is considered the most brave and efficient in war, being composed of young men under thirty.<sup>1</sup>

In regard to the rules of the buffalo hunt the same author writes:—

Their hunting is regulated by the warriors chosen for the occasion, who urge on such as are tardy, and repress often with blows, those who would rush on too soon.<sup>2</sup>

On the occasion of the return of a victorious war party Brackenridge made the following observations:—

They advanced in regular procession, with a slow step and solemn music, extending nearly a quarter of a mile in length, and separated in platoons, ten or twelve abreast, the horsemen placed between them, which contributed to extend their line. The different bands, of which I have spoken, the buffaloe, the bear, the pheasant, the dog, marched in separate bodies, each carrying their ensigns, which consisted of a large spear, or bow, richly ornamented with painted feathers, beads, and porcupine quills. The warriors were dressed in a variety of ways, some with their cincture and crown of feathers, bearing their war clubs, guns, bows and arrows, and painted shields: each platoon having its musicians, while the whole joined in the song and step together, with great precision. In each band there were scalps fastened to long poles; this was nothing more than the few scalps they had taken, divided into different locks of hair, so as to give the semblance of a greater number.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Brackenridge, p. 155.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.*, p. 157.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 188–189.

For two days the warriors' triumphant return was celebrated by festivities of various kinds.

The temple, or medicine lodge, was the principal scene of their dancing. I entered with the crowd, and found a spacious building, sufficient to contain five or six hundred persons. I found to my surprise that the dancers were all females, with arms of the warriors in their hands, and wearing some parts of the dress of the men. They performed in a circular inclosure, some continually leaving it and others supplying their places. The orchestra was composed of ten or fifteen men, with drums, bladders filled with shot, deer's hoofs, affixed to rods, and shaken, some striking upon war clubs with sticks; the whole accompanied with the voice. The old men of the temple were continually going round the inclosure, and raising their shrill voices; probably saying something to excite and encourage.<sup>1</sup>

The passage last cited is interesting when compared with the account given by Bradbury (a member of the same party as Brackenridge) of an *Hidatsa* "dance of the squaws, to celebrate the exploits of their husbands." Bradbury writes:—

We smoked at every lodge, and I found by the bustle among the women that they were preparing for the dance, as some of them were putting on their husbands clothes, for which purpose they did not retire into a corner, nor seem in the least discomposed by our presence. In about half an hour the dance began, which was performed in a circle, the dancers moving round, with tomahawks in their hands. At intervals they turned their faces all at once towards the middle of the circle, and brandished their weapons. After some time one of them stepped into the center of the ring, and made an harangue, frequently brandishing her weapon, whilst the rest moved round her. I found that the nature of all the speeches was the same, which was to boast of the actions of their husbands. . . . The dance did not last more than an hour, and I was informed by Jussum that it would be followed by a feast of dog's flesh, of which it was expected I should partake.<sup>2</sup>

Bradbury, who witnessed the Arikara war party's return described by Brackenridge thus records his observations:—

At the head of the procession were four standard bearers, followed by a band of warriors on foot; after which came a party on horseback: to these succeeded two of the principal chiefs, betwixt whom was a young warrior, who I understood had been severely wounded. Then came two other standard bearers, who were succeeded by another band of foot and horse, which order was observed until the four bands of which the party consisted had passed. They were about 300 in number: each man carried a shield; a few were armed with guns, some with bows, and others with war clubs. They were painted in a manner that seemed as if they had studied to make themselves hideous. Many of them had the mark which indicates that they had drank the blood of an enemy. This mark is made by rubbing the hand all over with vermilion, and by laying it on the mouth, it leaves a complete impression on the face, which is designed to resemble and indicate a bloody hand. With every band some

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<sup>1</sup> *ibid.*, p. 191.

<sup>2</sup> Bradbury, p. 146 f.



scalps were carried, elevated on long sticks; but it was easy to perceive, on a close examination, that the scalps had been divided, to increase the apparent number.<sup>1</sup>

When Prince Maximilian wintered on the Upper Missouri (1833-34), the Arikara had abandoned their villages on the Missouri; his information was accordingly obtained from Mandan informants.<sup>2</sup> Maximilian enumerates two series of dances, one of which he connects with "bands" or societies which he regarded the equivalent of the Mandan and Hidatsa age-societies.

This first series includes the Bears, Crazy Wolves, Foxes, Crazy Dogs, Crazy Bulls, and Soldiers. The Bear society comprised old men, who while dancing wore such emblems as a bear-claw necklace or strips of bear fur. The Crazy Wolves wore a slit wolfskin on the back, thrusting the head and arm through the opening. The Foxes wore pieces of foxskin on various parts of the body. The Crazy Dogs carried a rattle while dancing. The Crazy Bull organization embraced the most distinguished men, who wore a headdress made of the skin from the head of a buffalo, with the horns. The Soldiers corresponded to the Black Mouths of the Mandan.

The second series comprised seven dances. The Hot dance was called by a name that literally meant "the Black Arms." As explained in the description of the Mandan and Hidatsa organization,<sup>3</sup> Maximilian regarded this dance as one purchased from the Arikara by the Hidatsa and shared by the Mandan of Ruptare village. It is interesting to note that he connects it with one of the graded societies of both the Mandan and Hidatsa, but dissociates it from the Arikara series corresponding to the age-societies of the neighboring tribes. In the Bird Egg dance the performers wore the skin of a screech-owl on the forehead. The Dance of the Youngest Child might be performed by members of both the old and the young men's societies; at the back of the head the dancers wore a piece of swanskin with a crow feather. They pretended to be foolhardy; if one of them discharged an arrow at the enemy, the rest were obliged to follow. The Kit-Fox dancers wore a sort of woman's apron of red or blue cloth, a skin of the kit-fox in the back, short leggings, two crossing crow tails at the back of the head, and tin bells attached to the leggings. The White Earth dancers wore a cap with ermine braids hanging down, two crossing eagle feathers at the back of the head, and a sort of leather tail in the lower part of the back, decorated with ermine strips and bells. In the hand they carried a long bow-lance decorated with eagle feathers. Their robe was hemmed with foxskins, with the head hanging down, and was decorated with ermine

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<sup>1</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 159 f.

<sup>2</sup> Maximilian, II, pp. 240-242.

<sup>3</sup> This volume, pp. 252, 308.

strips. The Ghost dancers wore a large cap of owl feathers hanging down in the back and even encircling the body. A whistle was suspended from the neck, and in the hand they carried the skin of their sacred animal. Only the bravest warriors might participate in the Dance of the Extended Robe. If the performers received gifts during the dance, they accepted them with gun extended toward the donor. They dressed as though for battle and while dancing imitated the gestures of fighters, at the same time extending their robes like shields. All their wounds were painted red on their bodies. If one of them accepted a gift at the dance, another member superior in point of coups pushed him aside, reciting his deeds, but yielded to *his* superior, until finally the bravest claimed all the donations.

Maximilian states that the dances of both series were bought and sold as among the other tribes of the region and that the purchasers were accustomed to offer their wives to the father so-called.

Culbertson, who visited the Upper Missouri country in 1850, gives the following list of Arikara "bands": Bulls, Black Mouths, Foolish Dogs, Young Dogs, Foxes, and Crows. He supplies no additional information concerning them.<sup>1</sup>

Clark gives two distinct lists which do not quite tally. One of them includes the Fox, Thief, Basket, Shaved-Head (one side shaved), Big Dog, Bull, Crow, and Black Mouth organizations.<sup>2</sup> On the authority of a Mr. Girard, who had married into the tribe, Clark enumerates the Young Boys or Fox, Young Dog, Big Young Dog, Strong Heart, Bull, and Crow societies; to which should be added the Black Mouths (see below). His full statement is as follows:—

The latter [Crow society] composed of all the old men who have passed through all the bands, and are entitled to a seat in any of the others. For police purposes there was a band of soldiers, or black mouths. These were appointed for this special purpose, and taken from the above-named bands. They blackened the lower part of their faces as a badge of their authority. These several bands were, it would seem, organized mainly for social pleasure, such as dancing, etc., and the members passed through the grades by purchase. As a rule, each member had to pass regularly through each band, but if ambitious for sudden promotion, say from the *Big Young Dog* to the *Strong Heart* band, it could be accomplished by purchase and temporarily giving his wife to the embraces of the chief of the band, should the young man have one. The young man was then considered as a son, and could, if he went to war, take one of the names of his new father. If not married at the time of adoption, he could not marry into the family of his adopted father.<sup>3</sup>

A comparison of the Girard list with Culbertson's shows very considerable agreement, while the list first quoted from Clark comprises two names

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<sup>1</sup> Culbertson, p. 143.

<sup>2</sup> Clark, p. 355.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 44 f.

of societies not found in any tribe of the Plains area, viz. the Thieves and Baskets, while the Shaved-Head organization does occur among the Mandan and Hidatsa but is not recorded by any other observer of the Arikara. The Hidatsa, moreover, had a society bearing a name that is readily misinterpreted "Baskets";<sup>1</sup> and their Stone Hammers might easily be described as Thieves.<sup>2</sup> Since all the other societies ascribed to the Arikara occur among the Hidatsa, I incline to the view that the list under discussion is really an Hidatsa one and was simply credited to the Arikara through some misunderstanding.

So far as I know, Mr. Edward S. Curtis is the only modern writer who gives a list of Arikara organizations.<sup>3</sup> Three of these, the Creek, Goose, and Otter societies have a membership of women only; corresponding to the first two of this trio I was able to record the River and Goose societies. His series of men's societies compares with that of my informant, Bear's-teeth, as indicated in the appended table.

#### ARIKARA MEN'S SOCIETIES.

Curtis	Bear's-teeth
Shin Raven	
Foolish Dog	
Black Mouth	Black Mouth
Buffalo Bull	Buffalo
Straight-head	Straight-head
Young Dog	Young Dog
Chippewa	Chippewa
Tadhoh-pa	Taroxpa
Raven	Crow
Kah-kawis	Hopping Society (kaxkawis)
Speckled	
Natshaka	
Cut-throats	Cut-throats
	Young Buffalo
	Grass Dance
	Fox
	Hot Dance
	Crazy Horse

<sup>1</sup> See this volume, p. 259.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.*, p. 249.

<sup>3</sup> Curtis, V, pp. 149-150.

In accordance with my own and earlier information Mr. Curtis describes the Black Mouths as equivalent to the Soldiers of other tribes. The Shin Ravens (*Chist-kaka*), he tells us, were youths, "so named because they danced with raven-feathers hanging from slits in the skin of their shins." The Taroxpa, who were so named because they trimmed their hair in the shape of a half-moon (see p. 665), and the Chippewa "seem to be the only ones besides the Black Mouths whose function was military." The Cut-throat society, we learn, was adapted from one of the Yanktonai organizations. The most significant information, however, is contained in the following statement:—

A man might join any of the men's societies, and he could leave one organization for another, but he could not belong to more than one at the same time.

Entrance into a society would thus be a purely individual affair,—a condition differing from the Mandan and Hidatsa practice but consistent with Clark's data and at least not contradicted by Maximilian and Brackenridge. But it further follows from Mr. Curtis' statement that the societies were not graded, and this clearly collides with Clark's and Brackenridge's accounts. Maximilian, to be sure, does not grade his societies and merely defines the age of the Bears. Nevertheless, he, or rather his Mandan informants, probably interpreted the Arikara societies shared by their own tribe in consonance with Mandan tradition, as a group of graded organizations; otherwise it is not clear why Maximilian should have separated his two series of organizations.

My own informant, Bear's-teeth, fully supported Mr. Curtis' statement. He positively assured me that the Arikara organizations were neither arranged in an age series nor graded in any other way. A member might leave his society at any time, and, if possible, join another. It was preferable, however, to be invited by the members of an organization, who in such a case would come to the individual, take him by the hand, and lead him to their lodge. For this honor, of course, he was obliged to make payment to the society. This general summary of the case is fully borne out by the concrete evidence supplied. It is also corroborated by word of mouth by Mr. Murie, a Pawnee, who has spent some time among the Arikara.

While the discrepancy between Mr. Curtis' and my own data, on the one hand, and those of Brackenridge and Clark, on the other hand, cannot be quite satisfactorily accounted for, a suggestion may perhaps be offered, with due skepticism as to its correctness. Considering that the handful of surviving Mandan have preserved a perfect knowledge of the basic system of their age-societies, it is inconceivable to me that all recollection of a graded series should be blotted out among the Arikara if such a series figured prominently

among them in ancient times. This view is now corroborated by Pawnee evidence. Whether La Vérendrye is right or not in assigning to the separation of the Arikara from the Pawnee so late a date as 1734, the northward movement of the former is beyond doubt of very recent occurrence.<sup>1</sup> Hence a really old age system might reasonably be supposed to occur among the Pawnee. But no such institution has been discovered in connection with Pawnee societies. "One could be a member of all of them at the same time. There were no distinctions of age, a man being eligible at any time."<sup>2</sup> Hence I incline to the view that such features of an age-series as are recorded by Brackenridge and Clark were borrowed from the Mandan and Hidatsa, probably by only a portion of the entire tribe, about the end of the eighteenth century, and thus failed to affect the older Arikara conception of the societies as coördinate units.

It is not at all easy, however, to make a general statement as to the precise method of admission into the Arikara societies. In the Goose society, for example, the women inherited membership through their mothers, but had to pay an entrance fee. This seems to be the only instance where the hereditary factor played a part. Definite evidence that property was given by the candidate to the "father" whose place he took is available in the case of several organizations, but the psychological attitude sometimes seems to be rather different from that found among the neighboring Village tribes. Among the Hidatsa, the purchaser was normally at a marked disadvantage: he was eager to secure the privileges associated with a certain society, and the sellers attempted to extort the highest possible fee. Among the Arikara, as among the Crow, there seems to have been a tendency to draw desirable members to an organization without their necessarily taking the place of members already in the society, and the purchase sometimes assumes the aspect of an exchange of gifts. The surrender of wives might occur in any acquisition of membership privileges, but took place particularly when a man wished to become a singer and therefore offered special inducements to the incumbent of that office. The only concrete evidence for such a practice is given in the account of the Crazy Horse organization (p. 670). It is very likely that this feature was borrowed from the Hidatsa or Mandan. From available data it seems justifiable to say that the Arikara societies did not conform to a single type as regards membership qualifications but that several distinct factors played a part in the several organizations.

In other respects, too, there appears a strange lack of systematization

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<sup>1</sup> See *Handbook*, article "Arikara."

<sup>2</sup> This volume, p. 558.

not only as compared with the Hidatsa and Mandan series but even with such tribes as the Crow or Pawnee. Among the Crow practically all the military societies were coördinate bodies with a similar organization and potentially similar tribal functions. The Pawnee had a series of recognized bundle societies charged with public functions, a series of private organizations more or less patterned on the former group, and a series of shamanistic bodies. But it seems impossible to give any such definite classification for the Arikara. The Goose society obviously had religious associations and the Hot dance largely centered in a shamanistic performance, yet all the societies here dealt with are of a relatively secular type. My informant's son had no objection to Bear's-teeth's telling me about them though he would have resented any attempt to elicit an account of the tribal medicine fraternity. Contrary to Mr. Curtis' impression, most of the men's organizations seem to have been more or less military in character, and I was told that in battle each considered itself the rival of the rest. Nevertheless these traits are natural enough in a warlike community and hardly suffice to establish a definite pattern. A feature emphasized by Bear's-teeth in an abstract statement, and less apparent in other tribes, is the benevolent activity of the organizations, which made a practice of giving food to children and old people. This, however, is not by any means demonstrated for all of the societies.

When we compare the Arikara organizations with those of the Pawnee, we find a number of obvious parallels, with the case for a unity of origin occasionally supported by rather definite historical evidence. Certain other traits may reasonably be assumed to be the effect of Mandan and Hidatsa influence. Among these I should class the two women societies identical in name and at least partly in activities with those of the Upper Missouri tribes, a distinct police society, the surrender of wives to the sellers, and (as already suggested) the elements of age-grading recorded in some of the older literature. The influences to which the Arikara became exposed after leaving the Skidi seem to have obscured the older Pawnee system, while the time spent in the novel surroundings was not sufficient for the evolution of new patterns.

## MEN'S SOCIETIES.

## YOUNG DOGS.

Bear's-teeth, the only surviving member, was about fifteen years old when he joined the *xā'tcipirī'nu*. Most of the members were older than himself. He did not join together with other boys of his age, nor was he invited by the society, but his father induced the Young Dogs to take him in. The badge of the society consisted of a piece of navy-blue, white-bordered gin-cloth or broadcloth from eight to ten inches wide, passing in a loop across the neck, with another length of red cloth attached to it, so that the whole reached just below the ankle, without, however, touching the ground. These badges were always manufactured by the older retired members of the organization. As soon as Bear's-teeth's sash had been completed, he was taken to the society lodge. The members were singing inside. They used rattles called *hakx hawī'itu*; these consisted of a stick about one foot long, covered with hide, decorated with a feather at one end, and with buffalo dewclaws attached to it. Every member had one of these rattles, but only the singers were obliged to use them. Pillows of tanned deer or elk hide, stuffed with buffalo hair, were beaten as if they were drums. Besides, there was one large drum hollowed out of a swamp-willow. This drum was suspended by means of loops from four forked sticks driven into the ground for this purpose. There were said to be five drummers, who were expected to be the best singers. Actually there were only four, one behind each forked stick, while the fifth man stood up in the rear and acted as musical conductor; he was believed to represent the heavens.

When Bear's-teeth had entered, his face and body were painted with maroon paint. A band of a finger's breadth was painted with charcoal around both his wrists. With the same material a curved line was drawn from the center of the forehead down the right side of the face to the chin, forming, with a corresponding curve down the left side, a single black oval. Smaller streaks of charcoal were traced from both cheek-bones backwards, and two vertical lines were drawn,— the one in the center of the forehead, the other on the chin. A buckskin string decorated with quill-embroidery was given to the candidate for the suspension of his whistle, and a coyote skin belt was tied round his wrist. Owl feathers tied in a bunch were attached to the crown of his head, and the sash was slipped round his neck.

Bear's-teeth had a sponsor, who painted him, dressed him, and prepared the sash. This man was considered as his "father," but was no longer an

active member of the society, though still a spectator at the dances, like the other old men of the tribe. After the painting and dressing was completed, Bear's-teeth's relatives brought in a great deal of property, including two guns and a horse, for the "father." When all these gifts had been heaped up, the novice spoke to his "father." The old man then addressed the society, declaring that the gifts were his property and that he should do with his fee as he pleased. Those present assented. Then the "father" informed them that he should no longer go through the performance of the Young Dogs, but that his son would take his place. Thereupon he divided half of the property among the singers, saying that they had had the hardest work to perform, and kept the other half for himself.

Not all the men in the society were dressed exactly alike. A few would kill magpies, glue a piece of white weaselskin to their feathers, and attach them in bonnet-fashion as an external ring to a buckskin cap with an eagle feather roach. Most of the members, however, wore owl feathers.

At the close of a dance the Young Dogs stooped down, blew their whistles, went towards their place, but instead of taking their seats they would circle round several times in imitation of dogs, whereupon they finally sat down. After several dances Bear's-teeth's "father" made a bow, arrows, and a quiver for his "son," and gave them to him with the following presentation speech: "These which I give you are not for use around here, but against the enemies. Then you must not get angry (?) and go towards the enemy. You must not sleep too long in the morning, but should go on the hills to look for your enemies. We never go up the hills without crying and asking Nawá'xt (the Creator) for help. I hope our Father above will look down upon what I have gone through with you and will help you to become a man and attain old age like myself."

From that time on Bear's-teeth joined war parties, and his "father" always prayed in his behalf so that he might get out alive. He took part in all battles and got away in safety. His "father" instructed him not to be mean after the capture of spoils from the enemy, but to give his booty away to whomever he should happen to meet first on his return. "Then your name will go up, and you will be noticed by the people."

In Bear's-teeth's time an old man named Lump-face was the headman of the society and kept the drum in his earth-lodge, which served as the society's meeting place. Public parades of the organization were led by one officer wearing a black sash and carrying a pipe, and another also bearing a pipe, but wearing the ordinary type of sash. A third officer who stayed in the rear with a whip was to look out lest any member should stay behind in the lodge during the parade. The old lodge-keeper was supposed to know all about the society and see that all performances were conducted in a proper



manner, while other retired members merely sat with the society as spectators. The lodge-keeper had in his youth obtained a knowledge of all the facts possible relating to the society and was accordingly always approached for authoritative advice on society matters. He was not identical with the conductor of the drummers, who was appointed by the society.

The time for a dance depended entirely on the old drum-keeper and the officers. When they had decided to have a meeting, a feast was prepared. Then two beadles went round from lodge to lodge to collect all the members' costumes, which were taken to the lodge and hung up in a line between two poles. A crier then climbed to the roof of an earth-lodge and announced the dance. The members, after painting up, set out for the dance-lodge. Upon entering, they put on their paraphernalia. They were obliged to act in exactly the way prescribed. At the commencement of the drumming and singing they merely blew their whistles. At last one of the retired members rose and began to dance, at the same time coaxing the Young Dogs to do the same by holding up his palms and moving them towards himself while at the same time uttering a click-like sound. Only then were the active members permitted to rise and begin to dance. If the leaders decided to have an outdoor parade, they made an announcement to that effect. The members then formed a single file, led by the two officers who carried flat-stemmed pipes with quill decoration. The drum-keeper also went along, but remained outside the line of the procession. The third officer marched behind the members, but was followed by the drummers. Five women who sat behind the drummers during the dance accompanied the society. In marching outside the members blew whistles until the leaders began to turn in order to commence the formation of a circle. The other members took appropriate positions, and the drummers and the women managed to get within the circle just before it was closing. After the formation of the ring, the following song was sung: "Here there is a dog in the Society. He is lonesome. He is ready to go back to his owners." (*i. e.* he would just as soon be killed as not). Some of the old men approached and began to coax the members. Bear's-teeth's "father" coaxingly encouraged his "son" to keep his promise of not being afraid of the enemy. Other old people would already make sounds as if crying and mourning, "Hā'-u-u-u, hā'-u-u!"

All the drummers were retired members of the society. The women singers were the wives, respectively, of the drum-keeper, the conductor of the orchestra, the two leaders, and another official whose business it was to look after what had to be bought for the society. This last officer had no special badge. Before a society gathering he would find out about the arrival of fresh meat in the village and direct the members to buy it. He had to examine the condition of the drumhead and see that, if necessary, it was

renewed. In recent times it was an incumbent of this office that first recommended the substitution of a white man's drum for the instrument formerly used. The same individual also recommended the use of a bell in place of the crier's summons. On this occasion he said, "Let us invite our 'sisters' and ask them to help us in getting a bell." The "sisters" meant were the members of the Goose Women's society. These women came to the Young Dogs' lodge and were informed as to their "brothers'" needs. Then each Young Dog contributed a robe, the Geese added their share, and a large bell was purchased.

Before the formation of the circle the members all whistled as they marched. During the formation of the circle, before the drummers' entrance, they used their hoof-rattles to keep time to a song by the two leaders. The performers could dance as they pleased, either standing in position or moving about. When the dance was completed, they went to another open space and repeated the performance. There were three of these halts and performances at different places before they returned to their lodge, where the dance was repeated. Sometimes a dance was held at night without the members wearing full dress, but for daytime dances, which were usually kept up until dark, all the paraphernalia belonging to the organization were worn.

A "father" was an active member up to the time of his "son's" entrance. *i. e.*, his place was taken by the novice. However, he kept his own costumes, merely having his wife duplicate them for the candidate.

During Bear's-teeth's membership so many of the Young Dogs were killed that the few survivors agreed that there were too few for a proper dance; accordingly they dissolved the organization.

The Pawnee have a tradition to the effect that the Arikara borrowed the Young Dog society from them, giving in exchange the Sun Dance, which the Skidi joined with their own performance.<sup>1</sup> There is, however, little evidence of specific resemblance between the Young Dog societies of these tribes beyond the whistle and string, owl feathers, and headdress that constitute part of the regalia.<sup>2</sup>

#### STRAIGHT-HEAD SOCIETY.

The members of this organization (nānc<sup>px</sup>tē'hat), were noted people. When they learned of the dissolution of the Young Dog society they met and dispatched a messenger to each of the former members, inviting him

<sup>1</sup> This volume, p. 587.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.*, p. 586.

to their lodge. When Bear's-teeth arrived, he was asked to join their organization, as they had learned of his plight and did not wish him to idle about. Bear's-teeth readily consented. In this case he did not become anyone's "child," and paid no initiation fee. There was no particular costume, everyone wearing what he could get. The headman wore a buckskin shirt and leggings of the same material. The name of the society applied to the lack of a horned headdress, such as formed the badge of an otherwise similar society, the Young Buffalo. The members were not of any particular age, some being young and others older.

The chiefs of the society carried fancy pipe pouches. The members carried bows, guns, and other weapons. Dances were performed both inside and outside the lodge. The society selected the two bravest men, whose horses had been killed or wounded in battle. These men daubed themselves with white clay and put on red paint to show that they had been shot. These two braves took horses with them outside the line of the members, jumping off from time to time to join in the dance. Four hand-drums were used in the performance.

The main object of the society was to aid the poor. If, during a dance, a member caught sight of a poor man, he would present him with a horse or a shirt, while an old woman might receive a robe. Sometimes a big feast was got up. Then the old people and orphans came as spectators, and all the food was distributed among them.

#### BUFFALO SOCIETY.

According to Bear's-teeth, the Buffalo society (*nancu'kos*), which he joined next, was connected with the Straight-Heads, but possibly he merely meant that they had certain traits in common. The badge of the society was a headdress worn by every member, which consisted of a cap made from the head and horns of a buffalo and extended over the wearer's eyebrows. One member wore, in addition to this cap, a mask of buffalo-hide with the mane on, cut to appropriate size, and provided with eye-slits and a mouth-opening. While of a separate piece, the mask was attached to the headdress so as to give the impression of being part of the same piece. Hair was hanging down from the jaw. This mask was usually given, after some deliberation, to the bravest man, who also carried a lance with a point at one end, while at the other there were feathers clipped as though for arrows, and a wrapping of dyed horsehair. This masked member did not join the rest in dancing, but remained by himself: he was often referred to as the "Crazy Buffalo."

The Buffalo organization resembled the Straight-Head society in its charitable acts on behalf of old people. Owing to an epidemic, most of the Straight-Heads had died, and the leaders of the Buffalo society thought Bear's-teeth had better change his affiliation and join their own society. Accordingly they sent for him, made him sit down on a mat, placed a pipe before him, brought a trimmed buckskin shirt and leggings, and put these clothes on him. When he had been clothed, each member rose and addressed him. They said he ought to cease to dance the Straight-Head dance owing to the recent deaths, and made him a leader. In explanation of the shirt they said that the fringe symbolized the poor people dependent on the organization. All the people were to be treated amiably by the new member. If a visitor came to his house, Bear's-teeth was instructed to share his last mouthful with his guest. Bear's-teeth presented the shirt-giver with a fine buckskin horse. Thereafter he never harbored any ill-feelings toward anyone. Even if he was struck by another tribesman, he was not expected to raise his hand since he was an officer of peace. But if an enemy came, it was his duty to protect his people.

It is clear that this organization cannot be connected with that of the Pawnee Buffalo fraternity.<sup>1</sup> The only point of similarity, the buffalo headdress, may be satisfactorily accounted for without assuming a common origin.

#### YOUNG BUFFALO SOCIETY.

The members of this society once paraded to Bear's-teeth's lodge, and danced in front of it. Then two of them entered, and led him outside. He went with the society to their lodge where a side seat was assigned to him. A lance was set by the fireplace. It was wrapped with otterskin; at its extremity there was a bunch of crow feathers, with a string of eagle feathers hanging down from the center. One member rose, and said that they had had a parade on purpose to bring in Bear's-teeth and make him join their number, also that he was to receive the lance. One man after another rose, each saying something about his admission. Finally, he was requested to step up to a certain man, who presented him with the lance. They brought him a headdress composed of a buffalo-skin cap with horns, and trimmed with concentric tiers of eagle feathers. A gourd rattle was placed on his wrist, while a small whistle, covered with quillwork as far as the mouthpiece, was put round his neck. The man who furnished these

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<sup>1</sup> This volume, p. 604.

regalia received liberal compensation from Bear's-teeth's relatives, and the novice himself paid a horse.

Only one drum was used, and its owner was supposed to have a fine voice. When he started a song, each member seized his gourd, and continued rattling it until the termination of the song. These rattles were also shaken during the dance. While dancing, the members looked upward and hallooed.

The Young Buffalo continued their dance for a time, but when the Grass dance was introduced, many members left to join the new society. The Grass dance originated in the South, and a Pawnee once tried to teach it to the Arikara. However, the Sioux were the ones who actually introduced the dance while visiting the Arikara. It was a custom that when the members of a society took an individual by the hand, he must not refuse to join them. In this way a great many Young Buffalo had been made to change their affiliations. When Bear's-teeth was asked, however, he was offended because members had thus been drawn away, and, together with his associates, refused to become a Grass dancer. They had intended buying the Crazy Horse organization, but on account of their decreased numbers they resolved to become Black Mouths instead.

#### BLACK MOUTHS.

Bear's-teeth and his associates induced the old men who had belonged to the Black Mouth organization (*s<sup>xu</sup>kátit*) to make the appropriate regalia for them. One of these old men made two lances for them. Above the point, each of them was wrapped with otterskin, while a fleshed crow was tied to the upper end. Two rattles were made out of baking-powder cans; in former times gourds had been used. Two musicians with hand-drums sat in the back; as soon as the rattlers began to shake their instruments, the drummers began to sing, and then the members danced. First, the rattlers crossed each other's paths, then the other Black Mouths danced. At the close of a performance, they cried, "*Hawā'wa! Hawā'wa!*" The costume was immaterial, but the face was painted red, except for the lower portion of the face, which was black. In going out for a public parade two officers carrying pipes took the lead, followed, in single file, by the lancers, and the rattlers; the drummers were in the rear of the rank and file. The position of these officers in the lodge was as follows: the pipe-bearers in the rear; one rattler and one lancer on the left side, midways between the rear and the door; and a similar pair on the right side, the rattler of either pair being nearer the door than the accompanying lancer.

The Black Mouths were the guards of the village. Bear's-teeth says that the age of the members did not matter. In the winter the buffalo were easily scared away by the echo of tree-chopping; consequently the Black Mouths forbade the cutting of trees. If anyone disobeyed after the order had been issued, the Black Mouths beat him and broke up his ax. If a man and his wife were caught together chopping a tree, the man was severely beaten, but the woman got off with a lighter punishment. If the offender became angry, the Black Mouths were likely to kill him, and nothing further would be said about the matter. If, on the other hand, he took his punishment in the proper spirit, the two pipe-bearers took a pipe to him. If he smoked it, the society gave him presents, even horses at times, lest he harbor ill feelings against them.

Once the Arikara were camped near the Hidatsa. An Arikara went to a bluff, and discharged a new gun at a rock. Some Hidatsa came along and wanted to know what he was doing. They broke his gun. When the Arikara heard what had happened, one of them said, "We are Black Mouths; these Hidatsa broke the gun without good cause." They advanced towards the Hidatsa camp, singing a song, and asked for the offender's camp. They tore up the lodge, but no one was home; had any people been there, they might have been killed. The men punished made no remonstrance thereafter. Accordingly the Black Mouths made the owner of the lodge smoke a pipe, and gave him a new tent, a bonnet, and two horses.

The Black Mouths constitute a notable difference from the Pawnee series of societies. The Pawnee had indeed a permanent camp police, but without any functions during a buffalo hunt, while the regulation of the hunt was not the prerogative of a distinct organization but might be assigned to any one of the four hunting societies selected by the priest in charge.<sup>1</sup>

#### GRASS DANCE.

The Black Mouths decreased in numbers owing to the popularity of the Grass dance (hānāni't). Once a Grass Dancer visited Bear's-teeth, and invited him to join; he told him that if he came willingly, it would not cost him anything, whereas, if he were taken out by the hand, he would have to pay for his initiation. Bear's-teeth, however, was offended, and declined to join. He again refused when a second Grass dancer invited him. A third visitor told him the Grass dancers wished to give him a drum. Bear's-teeth ran away, but they took his little boy instead. Then Bear's-teeth's wife bade him come out of his hiding-place. The boy was sitting in his father's

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<sup>1</sup> This volume, p. 557-558.

place in the society lodge, and then Bear's-teeth paid a large amount of property, including a horse, for the membership. He found that it was necessary for a drum-owner to stay up night after night and hospitably entertain all visitors. It proved to be hard on him and his wife. His fingers grew callous from the amount of tobacco he had to cut for his guests.

#### TARO'XPÀ.

This society received its name from the fact that the members cut a small section of hair on both sides in the shape of a half-moon. The leader of the society had died. Bear's-teeth had not heard of his death, when the members came and informed him of it, at the same time asking him to join in the dead man's place. Bear's-teeth could not refuse, and was thus drawn away from the Grass dance society. The *taro'xpà*, besides cutting the hair on the side as described above, combed it up stiff in the center, and wore switches in the back. Owl feathers, with eagle feathers in the center, were attached above the switch. All members wore shell breast-ornaments. Horn-shells were strung together in rows and attached to a strip of hide, which was placed on each side of the head. The shirt worn was generally of white muslin, with red flannel around the sleeves and shoulders, and along the border.

There were two lances in the society, which were wrapped with red broad-cloth. They symbolized the two short rainbows which are sometimes seen. As the swan, the owl, and the crow wished to be with the lances, their feathers were used for decoration. If one of the lance-bearers was in battle, he stuck his standard in the ground and stayed there until some fellow-tribesman plucked it out and ran away with it, when the officer was obliged to follow. The men who tore the lance out of the ground at the same time cried, "You had better run!" When new officers were appointed, it was difficult to decide who was to become a lance-bearer. Someone would rise and take a private by the hand, who was then obliged to accept the office. A lancer who had killed a Sioux in battle was greatly honored. Lance-bearers continued in office as long as they pleased, but if an officer had carried his emblem with honor he was allowed to abdicate, and a new man was selected. There were two other officers, who acted as leader and pipe-bearer. The pipes were filled up, and smoke was offered, principally to the moon and the rainbow. Bear's-teeth was the man to keep the lodge and the drum of the society. All the *taro'xpà* were warriors. In their dancing they sometimes imitated horses and pawed the ground; they also swung their arms in imitation of horses' legs.

This distinctively military organization seems to correspond to the Fighting Lance (*tirupahe*) society of the Pawnee.<sup>1</sup>

Bear's-teeth said that the Bear society was identical with the *taro'xpà*, who sometimes performed the Bear dance. On such an occasion one man wore a bearskin robe, fastened with an arrow. It is impossible to connect this organization with the shamanistic society of the Pawnee named after the bear.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, it is worth recalling that Brackenridge and Maximilian list a Bear organization in their series of military societies.

#### FOX SOCIETY.

Bear's-teeth saw a performance of this organization (*nānc tciwáku*) before he joined the Young Dogs. Two young men were being adopted. Two mats were spread in the Fox lodge, and each of the novices sat down on one of them. All the members used a pointed stick to part their hair from front to back. In the middle the novices' hair was stiffened back, and tied. On each side a little hair was braided. A roach was left in the center, and the rest of the hair was shaved. This work of hairdressing was well paid. Strings with long beads, shells and strips of weaselskin were attached to the braids, and a mixture of red paint and white clay was daubed over the shaved part of the head. This paint was rubbed down the edges of the roach, and then the fingers were run over the head. Finally, some paint was put under the temples. A black cloth was tied round the head, and earrings were worn in clusters. When the painting had been completed, each candidate received a broadcloth shirt decorated with gold braiding, brass wristlets and armlets, a belt with bells, the ends of which fell down loose, leggings with tin bells, and fancy moccasins. Preferably, two young fox or coyote skins were attached to each side of the belt, and between them there was attached either a weaselskin or a bunch of eagle feathers. The necklace consisted of a string of brass objects of half-moon shape.

When the novice had been completely dressed, a herald went outside and summoned all the Foxes to the lodge. They dressed and painted, and then obeyed the summons. There was no drum in the lodge. Instead, the dry hide of a young buffalo was rolled up into a hollow cylinder and was beaten, not with an up-and-down movement, but from left to right. There were three musicians,—two singers to beat the hide, and between them an older man shaking a pumpkin-gourd rattle above his head. The rattle

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<sup>1</sup> This volume, p. 576.

<sup>2</sup> This volume, p. 604.



began the musical performance, his two associates keeping time with him. The rattler generally wore no shirt, and had pink paint all over his arms and face; he ran his fingers over the painted surface and put red paint on the spots thus marked. His necklace consisted of the whole of a fleshed crowskin, the tail sticking out in the back of the head. He wore wristlets. When the music had started, everyone rose. As the playing got faster, all put their hands in front of their waists and bent down, hallooing in imitation of birds (pelicans). Then they stood up straight again.

After several dances had been performed indoors, the Foxes went outside for a public parade. In passing out, the rattler wore his buffalo robe, fur side out. The leader carried a pipe, the mouthpiece of which was held in front of him. The man next to him carried a doubly-bent bow-spear. To each end of the emblem, pigeon-hawk legs, with the claws, were attached. The whole bow was decorated with beadwork and red cloth. At the end of the procession there came a second officer bearing a bow-spear, followed by the singers and two unmarried girls. The "drum" was not taken along. The paraders walked round the inside of the lodge three times before going out. Then they did not walk, but trotted. They hallooed in imitation of pelicans. The two girls trotted in line, while the singers lagged behind. At a certain point the pipe-bearer turned to form a circle, which was closed so as just to give the musicians and girls time enough to get inside, where they continued to trot around.

In selecting a girl singer, all the Foxes first debated whom they should choose, then the spear-bearers, in full costume, went to the girl's lodge, singing as they came along. After explaining the object of their trip, they took her by the hand and led her to the Fox lodge. The Foxes were not allowed to marry these girls, who were regarded as "sisters." Nor might any ordinary man take one of them to wife. The method of wooing one of these Fox girls is illustrated by the following narrative.

Once a member of the Young Dog society had lost his wife. His fellow-members urged him to re-marry. They cast about for the best girl they could purchase for him. When they had found her, they sent a man to inquire of the girl's father, whether he would give his consent. The father was greatly pleased at the honor, but said that his daughter's brother also had a voice in the matter. When the brother had been won over, he said that the Foxes also had to give their consent, as his sister belonged to their society. Accordingly, the Young Dog delegate went to the Foxes and asked for their consent, which was granted. When the favorable reply reached the Young Dogs, they called a meeting. Property was gathered for the girl, and a herd of horses was driven to her lodge. Her family entertained the visitors. The girl said she should tell her "brothers" that she was about

to get married. She did so, and the Foxes expressed their consent. At the same time they got together what property they could, and presented it to their "brother-in-law." The girl continued to sing for the Fox society. The Foxes drove a herd of horses to the Young Dog lodge, and left them there as a present. They entered the lodge, and the two organizations then discussed the marriage. Both regarded it as desirable. The Young Dogs addressed the Foxes as their "brothers-in-law."

The Fox society corresponds to the Pawnee Roached Head organization, which also goes by the name of "Fox Society."<sup>1</sup>

#### HOT DANCE.

The members of this society (kawen'hó) put their arms into a kettle of boiling water, took out meat, and carried it on their shoulders. They imitated turkeys, wearing a headdress of turkey feathers or dressing the hair itself so that it suggested a turkey. In the back, tail feathers were attached to look like a turkey's tail. There was always an attendant who had to haul water for the society. The Hot dancers also, though rarely, performed the Elk dance, but then they arrayed themselves in a different fashion, painting themselves, carrying their weapons, and using whistles. Like the Grass dancers, the Hot dancers wore a deer-tail headdress, forming a ridge on the head.

Bear's-teeth was a small boy when he witnessed a performance of the Hot dance. He saw people crowding into a lodge. When he entered, he saw the young men divided into groups, with one elderly man in each group. When the young men were ready, they asked the older men to paint them. The old men at the same time took away the young men's clothes. Bear's-teeth noticed a big fire in the center. Some people ran towards it with sticks, bringing coals. They laid sweetgrass on the embers, and smoked it for incense. It seemed to Bear's-teeth that the members tried to mimic all the animals. Sometimes a special day was set aside for the celebration of the Elk dance. The Elks used a long whistle. From the elbows and knees downward, they painted themselves with dark paint, and likewise from the collar bone to the chest; the rest of the body was painted yellow, with patches of white. White clay was used round the eyes. Sometimes they painted in imitation of bears, sometimes to resemble crows.

The musical instruments employed in dancing were a drum and a pumpkin-gourd rattle. The performers crouched low and moved round the

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<sup>1</sup> This volume, p. 582.

fire. One man, sitting near a pole, kept the fire alive. He also stirred the water in the kettle until the meat began to boil. Then the singers would say, "It is about ready." The fire-tender poked the fire once more, and the Elk actor started up alone, blowing his whistle. Then everyone rose, and followed him round the fire. They approached the fire, but dodged away from it. The leader reached down the kettle with his bare arm and pulled out meat, splashing the others with the water. Everyone had to follow suit. Those last in line had the worst of it, for they were obliged to reach farther down, some even tilting the kettle. Each performer brought his piece of meat to his "father," that is, the man who had painted him. The "father" accepted the meat, and began to doctor his "son" by chewing some medicine and putting it on the sore part of his arm. The "fathers" received the hot meat on sticks prepared for the purpose. Most of the meat used was fat, which retains heat best. Bear's-teeth saw an indoor performance only on one occasion. In parades, he thinks, the Hot dancers walked several abreast, or at least not in single file.

During a performance the old men were wont to say, "Don't be afraid, there's an enemy in front of you. This pot is pretty dangerous, but it represents the enemy." One fall the Assiniboine stole horses from the Arikara. The Arikara, joined by the Mandan, overtook the raiders, and recaptured their horses. One of the Hot dancers shot an Assiniboine in the thigh. The enemy fell, but shot an arrow into the Arikara's forearm. The Hot dancer struck him, but was killed by another Assiniboine. This story, according to my informant, illustrates the parallelism of the kettle performance with fighting the enemy.

Bear's-teeth considers the Hot dance an old Arikara performance, which his tribe practised before they had come into contact with the Mandan and Hidatsa. This view corroborates Maximilian's statement on the subject, though not accepted by all of my Hidatsa informants.<sup>1</sup>

Regardless of the difference in name, this organization must be identified with the Pawnee *iruska*.<sup>2</sup> The plunging of the arm into boiling water to take out meat forms too distinctive a feature to be otherwise accounted for, and the association of this performance with the proper attitude towards the enemy adds another specific similarity.

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<sup>1</sup> See this volume, p. 252.

<sup>2</sup> This volume, pp. 608, 609, 615.

## CUT-THROAT SOCIETY.

The members dressed well. The hair was braided in front and tied with strips of otterskin or red cloth. A space in the back was left for the attachment of a switch, which was decorated with perforated tin-disc ornaments. Bangs of hair were made to shade the forehead. The breechclout was generally long and of white broadcloth. Once young men with no society affiliations purchased the Cut-Throat organization (pā'ncū'k), and the former members of it then bought the Crazy Horse society.

## CRAZY HORSE SOCIETY.

Candidates of admission were permitted to witness all the Crazy Horse (xō'sak hō'nu) dances for a time in order to learn the correct way of performing them. This period of instruction lasted from mid-winter until spring. Then the Crazy Horses gave up their membership. Some of them would rise, call their "grandsons," and say to them, "The women we are married to amount to nothing, for we expect to drop at any time in war." This was said as a hint to the buyers in order to make them surrender their wives. When the time for the purchase had come, the candidates, who occupied a special part of the lodge, went out, brought in their wives, and led them by the hand to the Crazy Horses. The Crazy Horses went out with the women. Bear's-teeth watched them. Some merely walked a little distance and came right back with the women. The others may have assumed marital prerogatives. Each Crazy Horse resigned his membership in favor of the man who had surrendered his wife to him. The sellers had prepared costumes for the buyers. When they were ready to give up their membership, they put on buffalo robes, fringed at the neck and from the waist down, and prepared to parade. Those who had done some notable deed while on horseback painted horses on their robes. They all carried skin rattles, decorated with dyed horsehair; otterskin was wrapped round the handle. When the parade was over, the Crazy Horses did not go to their own lodge, but to the largest tribal medicine lodge. Here they performed their dance for the last time, in the presence of the candidates and their wives. Among the insignia of the organization there were two exceptionally long bow-spears. The officers carrying these emblems wore their hair loose on one side, and braided on the other; a circlet of crow feathers was attached to the side of the loose hair. At both ends of the emblem eagle claws and a woolly strip of buffalo skin were attached. The whole length of the bow was decorated

with beadwork, and at either side of the grip there was a ring of crow feathers, which was duplicated at some distance towards the ends. At the ends there were also eagle wing-feathers.

After the Crazy Horses had danced, each of them went out, and brought in one excellent horse and another of somewhat inferior quality. Then the Crazy Horse thus addressed his "son": "You may not be able to run well; you may have this horse to ride. On the other hand, when you get food for this daughter-in-law of mine, you may use this other horse for packing." Then the resigning Crazy Horse's wife gave a bundle of fine clothes to the "son's" wife. When all members had done likewise, they announced their resignation.

#### CROW SOCIETY.

The members of the Crow Society (*nānc kǎ'ka*) wore buckskin leggings, but no shirt. There were four lances, which were stuck up in the center of the lodge. Two of these resembled the emblems of the *taro'xpà*; they were wrapped with broadcloth and crow feathers, but had no white feathers. The two other lances were hooked, and wrapped with otterskin; at the end of the straight part an eagle feather was attached so as to stand up straight. Below the hook there were several twisted strips of otterskin, which ornamentation was repeated farther down. Members cut the front of their hair square, two braids were also cut in this fashion, and to the end of the braid-strings shells were attached. A long switch hung down in the back, and usually brass armlets were worn. Some painted their forehead, but the manner of painting was immaterial.

There were no rattles, but three hand-drums. In their dance the members alternately stamped each foot; they held a bow or other weapon in the left hand, and struck out with the arm of the same side. In their parades there were no pipe-bearers. The first crow-lance officer took the lead, followed by the first hooked-lance officer, then came the rank and file, in the center of whose line marched the second hooked-lance officer, while the second crow-lancer brought up the rear. The members trotted quickly, but the drummers marched in leisurely fashion. When the drummers began to sing, the members faced them and commenced to dance. When the singing had ceased, they recommenced their trotting. Two of the bravest members were mounted on horses. One of them had cut out the effigy of a person in rawhide and attached it to his horse's neck. The rider himself was not dressed, but had his face and body painted with white clay; over the mouth red paint indicated bleeding to symbolize a wound received in battle. The effigy represented an enemy. The second horseman had

two such images on his horse. At the sound of the drum, these horsemen spurred their horses and headed off the members to make them turn about and dance.

Although several Pawnee societies bear names suggestive of this society,<sup>1</sup> I find it impossible to identify any one of them with it.

#### HOPPING SOCIETY.

The members of the *káxkawis* were mostly boys about fifteen or seventeen years old, who were joined by a few men who knew the songs. There were no drums, but skin rattles decorated with hawk feathers and attached to the arm by means of a wrist-loop. Whistles were worn suspended from the neck. The hair was cut in front, and two braids were cut off square at the end. On one side of the top of the head a crow, with night-owl feathers arranged in a disc, was attached. A breechclout, with a narrow border of fancywork, hung down in front and in the back. The older members shook their rattles, and all the boys sang with them. In dancing, the members stamped each foot alternately on the ground. Sometimes the society had horse-parades.

#### CHIPPEWA SOCIETY.

Most of the members of the *nānc chiá* wore fringed buckskin leggings. Stripes on the legs symbolized war exploits. Black paint with yellow and speckles indicated presence in many battles, the black spots representing bullets. Wigs were secured on the head by means of red flannel, and the hair was worn loose in the back. The whole of a slit weaselskin was tied right above the wig, a weasel-tail hung down from the end of the right side of the wig, and from the other end there was suspended a strip of buckskin. The face was painted with specks of white clay and yellow. Some men wore a feather. Bear's-teeth has seen three, and also four, hand-drums in use. During a dance the members held some weapon in the left hand, while with the right they shook bells. They did not stand erect, but stooped, throwing the head back and extending their weapons. There were two bow-lances similar to those of the Crazy Horses, but shorter. At both ends of the bow there was a bunch of weasel-tails, with three bear-gut strings hanging down from them. The whole bow was wrapped with bear guts. The bowstring was loose, and had eagle plumes attached to it at each end.

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<sup>1</sup> This volume, pp. 570, 573, 581.

Bear's-teeth identified this society with the *miraxi'ci* of the Hidatsa;<sup>1</sup> I rather think that he was influenced in this opinion by the similarity of the bow-spear regalia.

#### FOOLISH PEOPLE.

There were two boys who decided to be *sakhū'nu*. They always did the opposite of what they were bidden. They carried a bow, arrows and quiver; there was one black arrow in the quiver. Once enemies were in sight, while White-ear, one of the boys, was sleeping. In such a case it was not permissible to rouse him, but his comrade went to his "father" and was prepared for battle. This comrade went along singing merrily. He reached the scene of battle. He went on singing into the midst of the fray, and came back, blowing a whistle suspended from his neck. He pulled out a black arrow and shot it at the enemy. Had anyone said to him, "Foolish-One, do not get angry," he would have become angry. But no one said anything to him. He went to look for his arrow right among the Sioux. His song was: "I am not afraid of anything except the Heavens." He was struck by the enemy, but got the arrow and turned back towards his people, when he was shot and killed.

By this time White-ear had made his appearance. All the people shouted, and decided not to inform him of his "brother's" death. White-ear acted like his comrade. He discharged an arrow at the Sioux, then he went right into their midst to recover it. The Sioux struck him, but he got his arrow and came back, wounded in the shoulder, but not fatally. The Arikara wished to extract the arrow from the wound, but White-ear insisted on bringing it to his "father." They said to him, "Don't go home, Foolish-One!" He went, but fainted on the way. They found him, and tried to pull out the arrow, but only succeeded in extracting the shaft. Finally, he got home and told his "father" he had left the arrow in the wound, but that someone else had removed it. The "father" had already heard of the case, and tried to discover the arrow-head, but in vain. For some years White-ear had a large lump in the spot; finally it burst, and the arrow-head was pulled out.

Whenever White-ear found a frog or toad in a river, he whipped it and played with it, saying, "This is your grandfather that is whipping you."

In later years White-ear initiated another young man into the *sakhū'nu* mysteries. Bear's-teeth does not know what prompted a man to join.

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<sup>1</sup> This volume, p. 259.

Everyone ran to the lodge where the initiation was to take place, and so did Bear's-teeth. A buffalo head was laid on the candidate's right side. White-ear rose, and tied a stick to the skull. The novice was undressed and made to step on the horn, balancing himself by means of the stick. White-ear painted the young man's face and body. He took some blackish paint in his hand, held it towards the west, and prayed. He painted an oval, of a finger's breadth, on the tyro's face. The young man's head was shaved except for one part, to which was attached a long strip of buckskin, as wide as a finger, and decorated with all kinds of feathers. An eagle wing-feather was stuck on the head. White-ear put a bow in the novice's left hand, and slung a quiver containing a black arrow round his neck. He also slipped a deer-hoof on his arm by means of a wrist-loop. Then he led the candidate away from the skull to two wooden bowls, each of which contained a solution. He took the first bowl, held it up straight above him, and prayed. Thereupon he handed it to the young man, bidding him drink the solution. The novice obeyed, whereupon White-ear took the bowl, and set it down. In taking up the second bowl, White-ear did not hold it aloft, but merely turned towards the west, took a sip himself, and then gave the bowl to the young man, who drank, whereupon White-ear rubbed the fluid sipped on his head. When this ceremony had been completed, the candidate already began to smile as an effect of the drink. He started out, holding up his head, took a whistle, blew it for a long time, and shook his rattle. He was considered dangerous, for if some child should say to him, "Don't shoot me!" he would shoot at it. Accordingly, people had to look out for their children.

Long ago the *sakhū'nu* went on a buffalo hunt with the whole tribe. The Arikara killed buffalo, dried the meat, and got ready to go home, but the Foolish-Ones lagged behind, singing. The people ran across a red snake never seen before. All of them stopped, and made offerings of smoke or bundles of dried meat. The *sakhū'nu* arrived at the spot and caught sight of the meat offerings. One of them said, "We must not go over to that pile, and must not see what they were not doing over there." They went there, and found the snake coiled up in the center of the place. One of the Foolish-Ones said, "This is not the one to whom they have given this dried meat." The other said, "He cannot be (?)<sup>1</sup> everything anyway. Let us not take all this dry meat away." They removed the dry meat. Then one of them said, "Let us not kill that snake." They killed it. Then they went after their people and overtook them. The people saw that they were carrying dry meat, and thought they had taken it from the snakes. When the *sakhū'nu* arrived at the village, they began to make plain arrows, and the people

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<sup>1</sup> Eat?



wondered at what they were doing. One night, when all the people were in bed, the Foolish-Ones stayed up, joking. Early in the morning a woman rose barefoot to relieve herself, and was bitten, first in one ankle, then in the other. She ran back, rousing the rest of her family. The whole village was seen to swarm with snakes. All the people fled to the tops of their corn scaffolds and the roofs of their earth-lodges. The snakes crawled up, and the people tried to push them down with sticks, but many of them were bitten. The *sakhū'nu* shot their arrows at the snakes, but were bitten in their shins. After a while they dropped dead. Then all the snakes, apparently knowing that they had killed their enemies, departed. Many lives had been lost.

This society obviously corresponds to the Pawnee Children of the Iruska.<sup>1</sup> The Skidi also call it the "Children-of-the-Sun society"; in a version published by G. A. Dorsey the heroes conquer the snakes, and also a water serpent on behalf of an eagle whose children it had menaced, but in a subsequent engagement with an enemy one of them is killed, and the other dies from grief.<sup>2</sup>

#### BUFFALO-CALLING CEREMONY.

In some of the medicine societies for the calling of buffalo, a human forearm bone was notched and used as a musical instrument. When Bear's-teeth attended one of these ceremonies, all the members sat in a big lodge, wearing their robes with the fur side out. No drums or gourds were there, but four of the notched bones were used. Each of these was made to rest on the ground at one end, and a stick served as a rasp. When the musicians began to sing, the members danced so as to meet in the middle of the ground. They went round in imitation of buffalo. No man living is able to conduct this ceremony. Two young men with a reputation for good runners were ordered to travel all night, with the fur side of their robes out, in order to locate a buffalo herd. When they had seen the herd, they went close enough to be seen, then they waved their robes and ran as fast as possible, trying to conceal themselves. If very tired and about to be overtaken, they covered their heads with their robes and allowed the buffalo to pass them. Their object was to entice the buffalo into a corral with extended diverging enclosures, in the back of which a hole was left to permit the drivers to slip out. There was a master of ceremonies, whose place was in the center of the pen. When the buffalo were inside, the people came and shot them.

This ceremony was observed only once in a long while.

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<sup>1</sup> This volume, p. 580.

<sup>2</sup> Dorsey, (a), pp. 57-59, 339.

## WOMEN'S SOCIETIES.

So far as I am aware, no women's societies have been recorded by early travelers,<sup>1</sup> but Bear's-teeth mentioned two such organizations, the River Snake and the Goose Society.

## RIVER SNAKE SOCIETY.

This society (*sdāns hā'nini*) was very generous in aiding the men's societies. Its badge consisted of a headband of braided grass, wrapped in front with beaded cloth. Five straws and an eagle feather were stuck in obliquely in front. When a meeting was to be held, a crier made an announcement to that effect. Then women of all ages unbraided their hair and combed it so as to make it hang loose down the back. Most of them put on dresses of goat-skin. The headbands were kept in the dance-lodge, strung on a rope between two poles. The members took them off and put them on their heads. They placed red paint on their faces from the corner of the eyes to the ears; very little paint was put below the cheeks. There were four male singers; the two in the middle had a hand-drum and gourd rattle respectively, while the two on the outside held pipes. The dance of this society was in imitation of snakes: instead of advancing in a straight line, the performers were supposed to zigzag. Beyond this, Bear's-teeth knew nothing of the object of the society.

## GOOSE SOCIETY.

The badge of this organization (*sdānc gō<sup>hat</sup>*) consisted of a headband made from the head and neck of a goose. Otherwise, the members wore their everyday clothes. During a dance the women circled about in a ring, sidestepping like soldiers (?). Each carried a bundle of sage enclosing a partly visible ear of corn. The seeds of these ears were to be planted for next year's crop; at the close of the performance they were laid on the ground.

A woman inherited membership in the society through her mother. A girl entering the organization was expected to take good care of the garden work; she was asked to join if she had distinguished herself in this line. Of

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<sup>1</sup> But Brackenridge, as already stated (p. 650), notes a dance by women.

course, she had to pay for the honor of being admitted. The society gave her further instructions with regard to the care of the fields.

Sometimes all the members assembled to have their fields blessed. They gathered together quantities of meat, paraded about, and danced, usually going outside of the village. Some carried two pairs of sticks tied together, which were afterwards set up as a meat-rack from which to suspend the dry meat. Three or four men sat down in one place and an equal number in another; these men represented the sunflowers on the edge of cornfields. Little children who sat down near the members were said to symbolize the blackbirds on the edge of the fields. When the members were ready, they entertained the men with meat served in a wooden bowl. A bowlful was also thrown to the children. Two of the men singers rose, took up meat in large pieces, and gave each member one slice. Then each of the women went out to her own field, cooked a portion of the meat, and blessed the field.

If the owner of the garden had a good crop at the time of the harvest, she selected the finest pieces of dried meat and prepared a feast by her field. She cooked most of the pieces, but left a few aside. Then she invited the owners of secret bundles to sing over and bless the field. An old man took a pipe and approached the field. He went from corner to corner and sang his songs. When he had completed the performance, he made an offering of smoke. This was done by way of rejoicing over the success of the year. The old man took some meat from a pot, "fed the corn" by running his hands with the meat over the corn, and finally deposited the meat anywhere on the field.

One middle-aged woman would not come home when her vegetables began to grow, but remained in the field overnight. At last she had a vision. The corn addressed her, saying that it was well for her to stay there overnight to watch her own corn, that all the Corn agreed to have this one representative come to let her know that they would be with her wherever she went. She was to join the Goose society and prove to the members that she had been blessed by the Corn. Bear's-teeth saw this woman perform. She stepped out from the ring into the center, and closed her eyes tight. Suddenly some corn seeds came out of the corner of her eyes. Two old men singers laid down their things and approached the performer. They placed some sage on coals and smoked it. Then one of the old men smoked his hands and placed them on the woman's eyes, thus making the corn seeds recede again. One of the two musicians had a big gourd rattle, the other a drum. The woman that makes corn seeds come out of her eyes must be old. Before the performer seen by Bear's-teeth died she had become blind. A cornstalk about eight inches long came out

of her mouth. It was pretty well withered. The reason for its coming out was that the woman was approaching death. As soon as it came out entirely, she died.

The Father in Heaven instructed the Arikara to perform the ceremony of the Goose society with sacrifices of buffalo and elk meat. As buffalo and elk are no longer in existence, the performance can no longer be undertaken. The association of geese with the corn is due to the fact that the Geese wished to have something to do with the ceremony. The Goose spoke to the Arikara as follows: "I will go to the edge of the big rivers. When it is time for you to prepare something for me to eat, I shall return. When I shall have come back, you may proceed with your garden work, and you will be sure of success." This is why the geese come in the spring, when the sowing begins, and depart after the harvest.

Bear's-teeth emphatically denied that the Goose society was anything but an old Arikara organization, his argument being that the Arikara had always had corn.



