

**ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS**  
**OF THE**  
**American Museum of Natural**  
**History.**

**Vol. XI, Part IV.**

---

**SOCIETIES AND DANCE ASSOCIATIONS OF THE**  
**BLACKFOOT INDIANS**

**BY**  
**CLARK WISSLER**

---

**NEW YORK :**  
**Published by Order of the Trustees.**  
**1913.**



**SOCIETIES AND DANCE ASSOCIATIONS OF THE BLACKFOOT  
INDIANS.**

**BY CLARK WISSLER.**





## INTRODUCTION.

This paper, though part of a volume devoted to the comparative study of societies and dance associations among the Plains Indians, is in itself a further contribution to our knowledge of Blackfoot culture. The data were first gathered by the writer during visits to the Piegan, Blood, and North Blackfoot and later supplemented with data collected by the late D. C. Duvall and elaborated by James Eagle-child. The work was taken up in 1903 and has continued to the present as a part of the Museum's investigations among the Plains tribes. Many of the organizations and ceremonies described in the following pages passed out of existence a half century ago, in consequence of which very little of our information is the result of direct observation.

The discussions in the following pages assume familiarity with the results presented in Vols. 2, 5, and 7 of this series in which the mythology, tribal history, material culture, social organization, and ritualistic ceremonies have been reviewed at length. In the last of these papers were presented conceptions underlying the use of individually owned medicine rituals; in this paper we deal with organizations and associations in which there is a kind of coöperative or collective ownership. All the important collective ceremonies observed by us or described by informants have been presented, with the exception of the sun dance which we have reserved for another paper, since it presents some special problems and rises almost to the level of a true tribal ceremony instead of being merely the concern of a group of individuals. To a Blackfoot the idea of the ceremonial transfer or purchase is so fundamental that a seat in a society or a place in a dance association is regarded as procurable in the same manner. For the nature of this transfer and its manipulation, the reader is referred to Vol. 7 of this series.

June, 1913.



## CONTENTS.

	Page.
INTRODUCTION . . . . .	361
MEN'S SOCIETIES . . . . .	365
PIEGAN SOCIETIES . . . . .	370
THE PIGEONS . . . . .	371
THE MOSQUITOES . . . . .	376
THE BRAVES . . . . .	377
THE ALL-BRAVE-DOGS . . . . .	382
THE FRONT-TAILS . . . . .	388
THE RAVEN-BEARERS . . . . .	392
THE DOGS . . . . .	395
THE BRAVE-DOGS . . . . .	397
THE KIT-FOX . . . . .	399
THE CATCHERS . . . . .	402
THE BULL SOCIETY . . . . .	404
BLOOD SOCIETIES . . . . .	409
BLACK-SOLDIERS . . . . .	409
THE CATCHERS . . . . .	410
THE HORNS . . . . .	410
NORTH BLACKFOOT SOCIETIES . . . . .	419
THE MOSQUITOES . . . . .	420
THE BEES . . . . .	420
THE PRAIRIE-CHICKENS . . . . .	421
THE CROWS . . . . .	423
THE ALL-BRAVE-DOGS . . . . .	423
THE BAD-HORNS . . . . .	423
THE BRAVES . . . . .	424
SUMMARY . . . . .	424
WOMEN'S SOCIETIES . . . . .	430
THE MA'TOKI . . . . .	430
RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES AND CULTS . . . . .	436
THE CROW-WATER SOCIETY . . . . .	436
THE BLACK-TAILED DEER DANCE . . . . .	440
DANCE FOR THE SPIRITS OF THE DEAD . . . . .	443
THE ALL-SMOKING CEREMONY . . . . .	445
THE STICK GAME DANCE . . . . .	447
DANCE ASSOCIATIONS . . . . .	451
THE HAIR-PARTERS OR GRASS DANCE . . . . .	451
THE HORSE DANCE . . . . .	456
SCALP DANCE . . . . .	458
THE KISSING DANCE . . . . .	459
THE TEA DANCE . . . . .	459
THE NIGHT SINGERS . . . . .	460
THE BEGGING DANCE . . . . .	460

## ILLUSTRATIONS.

## TEXT FIGURES.

	PAGE.
1. Regalia of a Bear Shirt . . . . .	372
2. Regalia of the Yellow Pigeons . . . . .	372
3. Position of the Pigeon Society in a Ceremony . . . . .	374
4. Standards used by the Braves . . . . .	378
5. Regalia of a Bear Brave . . . . .	380
6. Positions of the Braves in a Ceremony . . . . .	381
7. Headdress for a Bear-all-brave-dog . . . . .	383
8. Costumes of the All-brave dogs . . . . .	383
9. Sketch showing the Formation of the All-brave-dogs . . . . .	385
10. Sketch showing Regalia of the All-brave-dogs . . . . .	387
11. Sketch showing the Costume of a Front-tail . . . . .	389
12. Order of Dancing for the Front-tails . . . . .	389
13. Skin of a Raven worn by one of the Raven-bearers . . . . .	393
14. Emblems of the Raven-bearer, the Dog, and the Kit-fox Societies . . . . .	394
15. Headdress of a Member of the Dog Society . . . . .	396
16. Rattle for a Member of the Dog Society . . . . .	397
17. Headdresses worn in the Bull Society . . . . .	407
18. Club carried by the Catchers. Blood . . . . .	410
19. Photograph showing the offerings of the Horn and Matoki Societies on the Sun Dance Field (1903) . . . . .	411
20. A Headdress used by the Horn Society . . . . .	412
21. A Headdress worn by the Horn Society, one of two . . . . .	414
22. A Pipe used by a Blood Woman in the Transfer Ceremony . . . . .	415
23. Standards used by the Horns . . . . .	417
24. Staff of the Bee Society . . . . .	421
25. Dance of the Prairie-Chicken Society . . . . .	422
26. Diagram showing the Ceremony of the Matoki . . . . .	431
27. Buffalo-wool Headdresses for the Matoki . . . . .	433
28. Smudge Altar for the Ghost Dance. . . . .	444
29. Sketch showing the Use of the Horse Bonnet . . . . .	457

## MEN'S SOCIETIES.

In each division of the Blackfoot Indians there was a series of societies for men known as the i<sup>x</sup>könnökatsiyiks (all of the same age or experience, chums, etc.), usually translated as all-comrades.

The first notice of these organizations seems to occur in Maximilian:—

The bands, unions, or associations, mentioned when we were speaking of the Assiniboinis, are found among the Blackfeet, as well as all the other American tribes. They have a certain name, fixed rules and laws, as well as their peculiar songs and dances, and serve in part to preserve order in the camp, on the march, in the hunting parties, &c. Seven such bands, or unions, among the Blackfeet, were mentioned to me. . . . New members are chosen into all these unions, who are obliged to pay entrance; medicine men, and the most distinguished men, have to pay more than other people.<sup>1</sup>

Then follow some two pages given over to a brief characterization of each society in turn. They were first listed by Maximilian<sup>2</sup> as dances: 1. *Sohskriss*, mosquitoes. 2. *Emitähks*, the dogs. 3. *Sühnipähks*, the kit-fox. 4. *Mastöhpate*, raven-bearer. 5. *Ehtskinna*, the horns. 6. *Inna-kehks*, the catchers. 7. *Stomáck*, the bulls. At another place (575) he mentions “der Tollkühnen (des imprudens ou des téméraires)” and states that the above seven all danced in the same manner but differed in the singing.

In 1892 the Rev. John Maclean read a paper before the Canadian Institute on the social organization of the Blackfoot, seemingly based upon observations among the Blood division from which we take the following:—

There are several grades of warriors among the tribes. The writer found the following grades among the Blood Indians:—

Mokaikínúki, the Brave Warriors: Heavy Shield is head of this band of soldiers.

Mastoqpatûpi, the Crow Warriors.

Imítainaki, the Dog Warriors.

Etsínaki, the Horn Warriors.

Kaispa, the Sioux Warriors.

Siksínaksí, the Black Warriors.

*Potaina*, better known as “Joe Healey,” told me that the men must be thirty-four or thirty-five years of age before they are admitted into the ranks of the black soldiers. The highest position obtainable by a warrior is after having passed through all the military grades he receives the full rank of warrior.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Maximilian, 115, 117.

<sup>2</sup> Maximilian, German edition, 577.

<sup>3</sup> Maclean, 255.

At about the same time Grinnell's "Blackfoot Lodge Tales" appeared, giving a full list for the Piegan:—

"This association of the All Comrades consisted of a dozen or more secret societies, graded according to age, the whole constituting an association which was in part benevolent and helpful, and in part military, but whose main function was to punish offences against society at large. All these societies were really law and order associations. The Müt'-siks, or Braves, was the chief society, but the others helped the Braves.

A number of the societies which made up the *I-kun-uh'-kah-tsi* have been abandoned in recent years, but several of them still exist. Among the Pi-kun'-i, the list—so far as I have it—is as follows, the societies being named in order from those of boyhood to old age:—

#### Societies of the All Comrades.

Tsī-stiks',	Little Birds,	includes boys from 15 to 20 years old.
Kük-kuiks',	Pigeons,	men who have been to war several times.
Tüis-kīs'-tiks,	Mosquitoes,	men who are constantly going to war.
Müt'-siks,	Braves,	tried warriors.
Knäts-o-mi'-ta,	All Crazy Dogs,	about forty years old.
Ma-stoh'-pa-ta-kiks	Raven Bearers.	
E'-mi-taks,	Dogs,	} old men. Dogs and Tails are different societies, but they dress alike and dance together and alike. <sup>1</sup>
Is'-sui,	Tails,	
Ēts-kai'-nah,	Horns, Bloods,	
Sin'-o-pah,	Kit-foxes, Piegans	} obsolete among the Piegans, but still exists with Bloods.
Ē-in'-a-ke,	Catchers or Soldiers,	
		obsolete for 25 or 30 years, perhaps longer.
Stü'miks,	Bulls,	obsolete for 50 years.

The members of the younger society purchased individually, from the next older one, its rights and privileges, paying horses for them. For example, each member of the Mosquitoes would purchase from some member of the Braves his right of membership in the latter society. The man who has sold his rights is then a member of no society, and if he wishes to belong to one, must buy into the one next higher. Each of these societies kept some old men as members, and these old men acted as messengers, orators, and so on.

The change of membership from one society to another was made in the spring, after the grass had started. Two, three, or more lodge coverings were stretched over poles, making one very large lodge, and in this the ceremonies accompanying the changes took place."<sup>2</sup>

In 1905 the writer gave a list and a brief characterization of these

<sup>1</sup> The statement as to similarity between the dogs and tails is evidently based on misinformation, see p. 388 and 395.

<sup>2</sup> Grinnell, 220-221, 222.

societies, mentioned here for completeness, he having gathered most of the data for this paper before that date.<sup>1</sup> The origin myths were published in 1908.<sup>2</sup>

Of more recent literature we may first note two brief references by Schultz,<sup>3</sup> a text by Uhlenbeck<sup>4</sup> and a rather full account by McClintock.<sup>5</sup> This latter is of unusual interest since it is the extended narrative of a single North Piegan informant and enumerates the kit-fox, mosquitoes, pigeons, all-brave-dogs, and braves.

The latest and perhaps the most ambitious account is by Curtis:—

The men of the Piegan tribe were organized into a series of warrior societies in which membership was based on age. Arranged in the order of the age of their members these groups were: Doves, Flies, Braves, All Brave Dogs, Tails, Raven Bearers, Dogs, Kit-foxes, Catchers, and Bulls. As a whole they were known as All Comrades. The function of the societies was primarily to preserve order in the camp, during the march, and on the hunt; to punish offenders against the public welfare; to protect the camp by guarding against possible surprise by an enemy; to be informed at all times as to the movements of the buffalo herds and secondarily by inter-society rivalry to cultivate the military spirit, and by their feasts and dances to minister to the desire of members for social recreation. This was true more particularly of the companies composed of warriors in the full vigor of youth or middle age; but the ritualistic performances of those comprising the elderly men — the Kit-foxes, the Catchers, and the Bulls — seem to have partaken of the nature of religious ceremonies. Probably the members of these three did not perform police duty.

When the various bands of the tribe first assembled in the spring, the chief invited the leaders of the societies to a feast, during which they discussed the general route of the coming summer's travel. An understanding having been reached, the chief appointed two or three of the younger societies to be the camp police for the season; and when the camp was moved again, the two leaders of each society thus honored pitched their lodges as one near the centre of the camp. These double lodges became the headquarters of the men on duty, a place of fraternal feasts and councils. Theoretically the societies chosen to control the camp were subject to the orders of the tribal chief, but their duties were so clearly defined that practically they were their own masters. The chiefs of the organizations named as guardians of the public welfare selected the camping places on the general route previously agreed upon; and differences of opinion in this matter were settled by a vote of all the police chiefs. As darkness approached, the camp soldiers shouted warnings that all should remain in their lodges after nightfall, for any man found prowling about, whether for the purpose of seeking a meeting with his sweetheart or attempting to play the wild pranks in which the youth took such delight, would be taken, beaten if he resisted, deprived of his robe, which would be slashed into ribbons, and sent back naked to his lodge. Some of the soldiers kept watch over the camp until sunrise, each man patrolling that portion of the camp-circle in which his own band

---

<sup>1</sup> Wissler, (f), 173.

<sup>2</sup> This series, vol. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Schultz, 115, 139.

<sup>4</sup> Uhlenbeck, 45.

<sup>5</sup> McClintock, 441-465.

dwelt, stopping at the edge of that section and meeting there the sentinel of the next band and exchanging signals with him. . . . Guarding the camp at night was performed in turn by the societies appointed for the season's police duty.<sup>1</sup>

In the detailed accounts that follow this author gives many dates of origin and extinction as if the exact time had been determined for each case, but he doubtless means that these are his own approximations based upon the statements of informants. The few special points raised by this writer will be considered under their respective heads.

While the preceding accounts taken in their entirety give us quite a detailed account of the Piegan series of societies, they are still far from satisfactory to such a comparative study as we have in mind for this volume; hence, we have felt justified in presenting all our data even though there is some duplication.

Mr. Grinnell seems the first to call attention to the rank and age system of the all-comrade societies, and the implication that a man must enter through the lowest rank. We have discussed many aspects of this ranking with older Indians, seeking to arrive at a consistent view of its functions. No one seemed to have formulated the principles of procedure, except that there was a definite order of rank. It was generally agreed that this rank expressed the relative ages, or dates of origin, of the respective societies. Thus, the pigeons of the Piegan would be the most recent acquisition to the series, while the bulls was the first. Should a new one originate it must stand below the pigeons. Our informants insisted that the greater worth of the bulls was chiefly due to their relative antiquity and in no wise dependent upon the ages and worth of the members. This may be but a native theory, but if such a conception is held by the leaders in society activities, it must be accepted by us as expressing the functional relations of the various ranks, even though its historical value be small. In any case we have a rank not based upon the qualifications of members but upon assumed seniority in historical origin. Yet the age qualification was not lost sight of, for our informants held to the rule that in joining a society one must secure the place of one's senior in age. This was not absolute as will be noted in the records of two Piegan Indians (p. 426) but seems to apply to most transfers.

Under such a system it is obvious that the rank, or order, of succession must be fixed like the grades in an elementary school. The Piegan and the Blood divisions were able to enumerate their societies in such a definite series, but among our North Blackfoot informants there was great difference of opinion as to the order in the list (p. 419). In consequence, the following

---

<sup>1</sup> Curtis, 6, 16-18.



table should be taken as tentative in so far as it applies to that division. In order to facilitate comparison we have arranged the lists in parallel columns.

### List of Blackfoot Societies.

Piegan	Blood	North Blackfoot
Pigeons		
Mosquitoes	Mosquitoes	Mosquitoes
		Bees
		Prairie-chickens
		Crows
Braves	All-brave-dogs	All-brave-dogs
		Bad-horns
All-brave-dogs	Braves	Black-soldiers
Front-tails	Black-soldiers	Braves
Raven-bearers	Raven-bearers	Raven-bearers
Dogs	Dogs	Dogs
Kit-foxes	Horns	Horns
Catchers	Catchers	Catchers
Bulls	Bulls	Bulls
		Kit-fox

It will be noted that Grinnell heads his list with the little-birds. Our informants objected to this on the ground that this was but a name for boys about to join a society, they having neither organization nor regalia. Others claimed that the name applied only to those preparing to join the pigeons, whence its significance. Since the pigeons are the first in order, these statements are not entirely contradictory. His list also differs in the rank of the front-tails and the raven-bearers, but on this point the list of Curtis agrees with ours. The two brave-dogs, though not properly a society were nevertheless regarded by our informants as belonging to the all-comrades and as ranking the dogs (p. 397). The existence and significance of this pair seems to have escaped other observers.

The only attempt at a list of Blood societies we have noted, is the one by Maclean previously quoted. He includes the *kaispa* (grass dance) which is certainly an error, since our Blood informants never regarded this dance association as one of the all-comrade series. Further, there is nothing in the article cited to suggest that the rank of these societies was exactly determined by its author. For the North Blackfoot we have no previous list, but a preliminary report on them was filed in the Museum by Dr. Robert H. Lowie in 1907.

Grinnell has called attention to the police and military functions of these societies. The innōki (police, or catchers) is the name for one of the higher ranks, but we were not able to learn of any special functions assigned to them. Perhaps the name is of historical significance, implying a former dominance (p. 403). According to our information no society had a monopoly of police duty, but all of those containing able-bodied men were likely to be called upon by the head men to guard the camp for a stated period. For any occasion the chiefs would call upon one or two of the societies instead of calling in individuals. The pigeons, mosquitoes, all-brave-dogs, and braves were the ones most often called.<sup>1</sup> During the summer when the tribal camp was formed preparatory to the sun dance the societies were almost constantly on duty. While on the march, the van, flanks, and rear were each screened by a society acting under the orders of the leaders. When in camp at night one or two were assigned to stand guard and enforce the camp regulations. This applied also to the buffalo hunt. In short the specific duties, modes of punishing delinquents, etc., were the same as described in the preceding papers. It should be noted that these societies were called upon for specific duties and could not act until so commissioned. Students of democratic institutions can doubtless see in the random assigning of the societies as well as their constantly changing personnel, a nice balance or check upon arbitrary personal power. Indeed it would be difficult to conceive of a more ingenious scheme to prevent the permanent seizure of power by a police or soldier organization. However, we are disposed to regard police functions as entirely secondary and ceremonial functions as primary in Blackfoot societies.

With this preliminary statement we may take up the detailed descriptions for the Piegan, Blood, and North Blackfoot in turn.

#### PIEGAN SOCIETIES.

The names and ranks of the Piegan societies were given in the introductory chapter. No distinction is made between the North and South Piegan because their separation is entirely due to the accidental fact that part of the Piegan division now lives in Canada, and because the present system of

---

<sup>1</sup> The All Comrades societies were the dominating factor in the tribal organization, and indeed the power of the head-chief depended largely on his cooperation with them. At the tribal council called by the chief, not only the chiefs and head-men but also the chiefs of the societies were summoned. These were called by name by the chief's criers, who were old men with strong voices. When the tribe was on the march the members of the warrior societies rode ahead, at the sides, and in the rear, to protect the others. The Braves, consisting of the oldest unmarried men, were always given the most dangerous position.—Curtis, 6, 16.

According to our information many of the braves were married men and in their prime.

societies was in full function at the time of this separation. It should be noted, however, that the greater part of the following information was obtained among the South Piegan and is made the basis for the discussion of the data from other divisions.

#### THE PIGEONS.

This society is composed of eight officers, an indefinite number of members, and thirteen or more special functionaries, as follows:—

The leader (1)	Old men comrades (4)
The assistant leader (1)	Single men comrades (4)
The bear shirts (2)	The drummers (4)
The yellow pigeons (4)	Women members (1)
The pigeons (x)	

The leader wears an eagle tail-feather tied on the back of his head and carries a bullet-shaped rattle, painted red with a feather on the end. His face and body are painted red. He clothes himself in ordinary costume; that is, robe, breech cloth, and leggings but does not wear a weasel-tail or hair-lock suit. He carries a quiver of buffalo calfskin in which are four arrows and a bow. These he never takes out in the ceremony.

The assistant leader may dress like his superior but also has as his distinctive regalia a skin of a coyote. According to some informants he carries a bow and arrow which, however, he does not use during the dance. He carries a rattle, but not the whistle. His face and body are painted with yellow and red, that is, a yellow ground with a red bar across the mouth and eyes. In the dances these two leaders do not leave their places, simply rising and dancing where they sit.

The pair known as bear shirts have duplicate regalia. They wear belts of bearskin about eight inches wide on which are seven bands of red cloth and a bear tail. Their shirts and moccasins are made from the smoked tops of worn-out tipis. The shirts are slit and cut in rows. The latter are U-shaped cuts so that the loose ends hang down. The edges are fringed. There are arm bands of bearskin, each with a claw attached. The moccasins are heavily fringed around the edges of the soles and the ankles (Fig. 1). The legs are bare. The body is painted red and marked down with the finger tips. The face bears the bear sign, black marks down over the eyes and at the mouth corners. The hair on the forehead is cut short and combed straight up. They carry a bow and four arrows, two of which have blunt points.

The four yellow pigeons wear no clothes except the breech cloth and



Fig. 1. Regalia of a Bear Shirt in the Pigeon Society. The wide belt of bearskin is not visible. From a sketch by Big-brave.

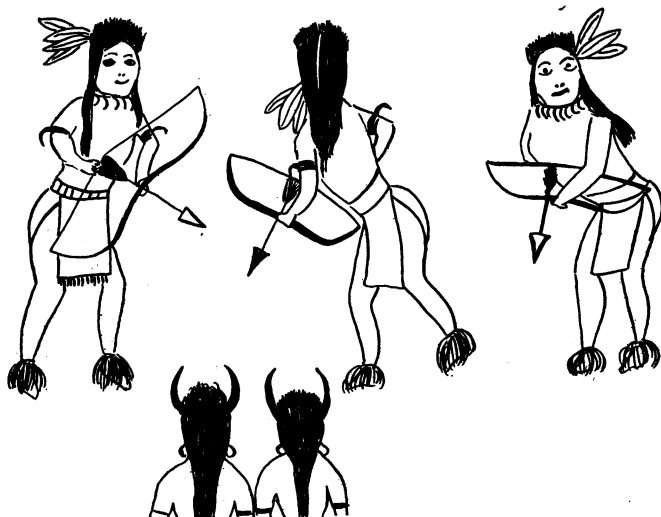


Fig. 2. Regalia of the Yellow Pigeons. There are four of these in the society, of which three are shown in the sketch. Drawn by a Piegan.

moccasins. Their bodies are painted yellow, even the hair. Some say they were marked down with the finger. They did not have the red marks on their faces like the leaders. They carried bows and arrows and wore eagle tail-feathers on their heads. Their special functions seem to have been to serve the food at the ceremonial feast, to act as messengers or sergeants-at-arms. On the back of their heads they wore eagle tail-feathers painted red (Fig. 2).

The rank and file, or the pigeons proper, are not permitted to wear clothes, except as for the yellow pigeons. Should anyone come to the dance tipi and refuse to go in the others would set upon him and tear his clothes off. Their entire bodies are painted red. They carry bows and arrows, painted red.

The four old men members enter the ceremony in regular daily dress. They carry nothing with them. As a rule, they paint their faces red. These men are taken in because of their experience in ceremonial procedure and as one expressed it, "always to have some members who could count war deeds." They make all formal announcements, harangue the camp when required in the interests of the pigeons, advise the members, adjust disputes, etc. When the society sells out they tend to go with them in the same capacity; thus they are truly old men comrades.

The four single men comrades are in this case very young boys, all the pigeons proper being unmarried men. They are taken in by their brothers or other relatives, already members, and may dance in their stead while they remain seated. These men paint and dress as the other members. Their designation is, of course, borrowed from societies of older men in which the members proper are of marriageable age.

The four drummers each has a drum in his hands. They are charged with directing the singing and during the dancing remain seated and drum and sing. There seems to be some difference of opinion as to whether it is proper to use drums or to beat a rawhide. Usually when singing and dancing, members keep time by beating upon their bows with an arrow. Some informants claim that this was the only kind of accompaniment used. The best informant, however, seemed to favor the use of four drums.

There was one woman attached to this organization. We were told that, "she had no particular function, but was taken in as a member and danced with the rest." This will be better understood after reading the accounts of other societies.

The dance ceremony of this society takes place out-of-doors, the members arranging themselves as indicated in the sketch, Fig. 3. The opening in the circle is toward the east. The four yellow pigeons sit on the north side of this opening, while the bear shirts sit facing it some fifty feet distant.

The two leaders sit at the west side, while toward the center, facing east, are the drummers. When all are in place the leader gives a signal, the drummers make four passes with the drumsticks and strike once, upon which all in unison give the call of the pigeon. (Some of our phonograph records show this to be highly realistic.) This is repeated four times. Then the songs of their ritual are begun.

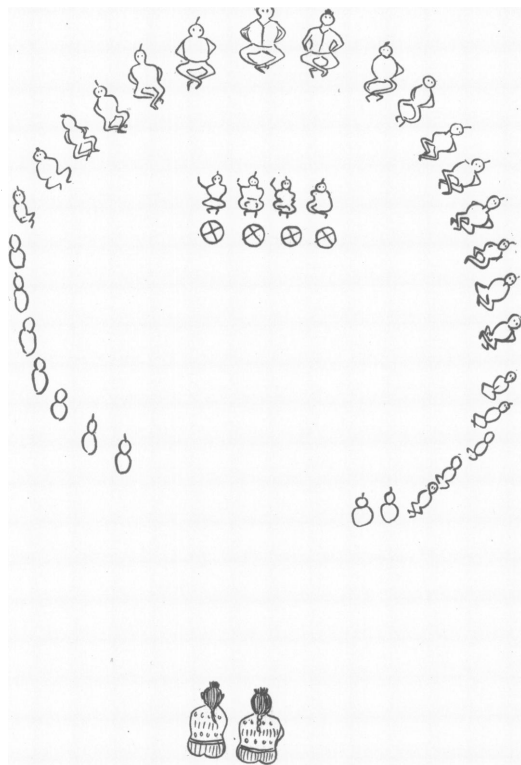


Fig. 3. Sketch showing the Position of the Pigeon Society in a Ceremony. Drawn by a Piegán.

An informant says that at the beginning of the ceremony everybody is seated, all singing and beating time on their bows with their arrows, the two bear shirts as well. This pair, unlike their representatives in some other societies, do not rest their bows and arrows on buffalo chips and sage grass. In the dance the bear shirts and the yellow pigeons do not dance around sun-wise, but in the opposite direction and around the other members, bunched up in the middle. It seems that the bear shirts give the signal for the danc-

ing by rising in their seats. At this, the whole organization including the leaders rises and dances.

Another informant says that during the dance all the pigeons dance around in a circle the two leaders facing them. When the leaders turn and dance with their backs toward the main body, this is a signal for the dance to end. Then they dance toward their seats and when the leaders sit down, they follow suit.

The society has three songs, one in which everyone joins, beating time on their bows with their arrows and the drummers on the edges of the drums with their sticks. The other two songs are dance songs.

When they sit in their places and sing, the pigeons beat time by striking arrows on their bows. At the proper moment all, except the bear shirts, rise and dance in a circle, each with a drawn bow, the arrow pointed downward. The four yellow pigeons dance in the center and as the ring of dancers threatens to close in, they threaten them and pretend to drive them back to their seats. Then after an interval of singing the two bear shirts take a hand. On the ground before them rest their bows. They lean forward holding their heads out like bears. As those in the circle rise to dance, the spectators throw buffalo chips at the bear shirts, at which they raise their heads, holding their closed fists at their cheeks and growling like bears. This is repeated once. They rise, take up their bows and dance into the circle, driving the dancers back, then dance outside and drive them to the middle again. This is repeated four times in all. When food is brought in the bear shirts growl and take it; the others wait and eat what remains. The signal for closing the ceremonies is given by this unique pair, they discharging their blunt arrows at the sky.

The usual time for these ceremonies is early in the morning.

Maximilian does not mention the pigeons. This may have no significance, for the society is regarded as of comparatively recent origin, the latest historically.<sup>1</sup> So far as we know, any male may enter this organization by purchasing the place and regalia of another; but it is considered a youths' order. Such purchase may occur at any time, but the tendency is for the whole organization to sell in a body to a new group of younger fellows. The individual sellers and purchasers must be paired off; hence, it is not unusual for some members to hold over for want of a purchaser. This transfer is a formal affair comparable to the transfer of medicine bundles. A shelter is made by combining two tipis, in which the organization assembles. Each purchaser enters with a pipe, which he offers to individual sellers

---

<sup>1</sup> Bear-skin, about 75 years old, says that he was a charter member of the pigeons in his eighteenth year. It was then originated by an old blind man, Ghost-boy, who dreamed it. This would make the date about 1853.

until it is taken and smoked. This act pairs them. A few old men, presumably former members, are called in to officiate, they having full charge of the ceremony. The following narrative may be given as a type:—

When I went into this tipi I had a pipe full of tobacco. I offered it to a man by the name of Bear-head. I told him the reason for it. I wanted his rattle. He was assistant leader. He took the pipe from me, held the stem up in the direction of the sun and prayed. Then he lighted it and smoked. All those who went in with me did the same. When all had finished their smoke, Bear-head began to paint me and give me the rattle, etc.

The purchasers are instructed by the sellers and coached as long as necessary. For all such services fees are in order. Other societies are certain to challenge the pigeons to athletic, gambling, parade, and other contests in which each member is expected to do his utmost.

After a dance they sometimes run about outside the camp, where they annoy the women carrying water by shooting through their buckets.

#### THE MOSQUITOES.

The organization of this society is similar to the preceding. It is as follows:—

The leader (1)	The old men comrades (4)
The yellow mosquitoes (4)	The single men comrades (1-2)
The mosquitoes (x)	The drummers (4)

The leader wears an eagle tail-feather on the head. His face and body are painted red with a black band across at the level of the bridge of the nose. He wears a buffalo robe, hair side out.

The four yellow mosquitoes are each painted yellow with a red band across the nose. They wear feathers in the hair and robes, hair side out. On each wrist is tied an eagle claw, representing the mosquito's bill.

The mosquitoes paint in red, wear plumes, but otherwise dress as the above four. The four drummers use half of a rawhide to beat upon.

The old men comrades wear their ordinary clothes during the ceremony, blankets, leggings, etc. They have no special regalia.

The number of single men comrades is said to vary, sometimes being two and sometimes four. It was stated by an informant, that single men were taken in in this capacity by some of their relatives. Sometimes, older men it was said, are backward about dancing or taking part in the ceremonies whence they sometimes have one of their young relatives entered as a single man comrade. Thus the member can remain seated while his young representative dances in his place. Young boys may be taken in in this way.



The single men comrades dress and paint like the other members. Again, the society itself may take in the son of a chief or other prominent man so that they may receive food and other assistance from the family.

The dance ceremony opens with a parade in single file around the outside of the camp circle, sun-wise. Having completed the circuit they proceed to the center and sit in a circle. The four drummers sit in the middle before their pieces of rawhide.

When dancing they move in single file, forming a circle. While doing this the four yellow mosquitoes march in single file to one side, thus with the main body, forming two lines. At this time, there is neither singing nor dancing. The drummers do not march with them but proceed directly to the place they select for dancing where they seat themselves. Then the files approach and form a circle around the drummers, the leader at the head with two of the yellow mosquitoes on each side. The other members sit in the circle where they wish. At the end of each song they all squat down, with heads low, making a buzzing noise like mosquitoes. When seated they lean forward and draw their robes over their heads. After four dances they again circle the camp and scatter along the outside. Anyone falling in their way will be scratched with the eagle claw. They say, "Now, I shall get blood from you." Their rule is to do the opposite of their victims' appeals; thus, if asked to be let off, they will scratch brutally; if told to be severe, they touch lightly. If a man takes off his shirt and invites them to take their fill, he must not be touched; likewise, if a woman bares her arms. They must not invade tipis or the bounds of the camp circle.

The usual way is for the mosquitoes to sell out to the pigeons. A shelter is made by combining two tipis. Some old men are invited to conduct the transfer, or selling out. This is conducted in a manner similar to that for the pigeons.

Most of the members are single men, but being married is no bar to entrance. They usually marry before selling out for the simple reason that they are of proper age.<sup>1</sup>

#### THE BRAVES.

The organization of this society is as follows:—

Leader (1)	Braves (x)
Willow brave (1)	Old men comrades (4)
White braves (4)	Single men comrades (4)
Black braves (4)	Drummers (4)
Bear braves (4)	

The leader carries a small bulb rattle, half painted red, half blue, a feather attached to the end and a wristlet of otterskin. On the head he wears a feather hanging down behind, painted red, the quill end wrapped with wire. He wears a buckskin suit with weasel or hair-lock fringes. The right half of his face is painted blue, the left red; black bands around the wrists. He carries a short lance, Fig. 4.

The one called willow brave ranks next to the leader. He carries a willow

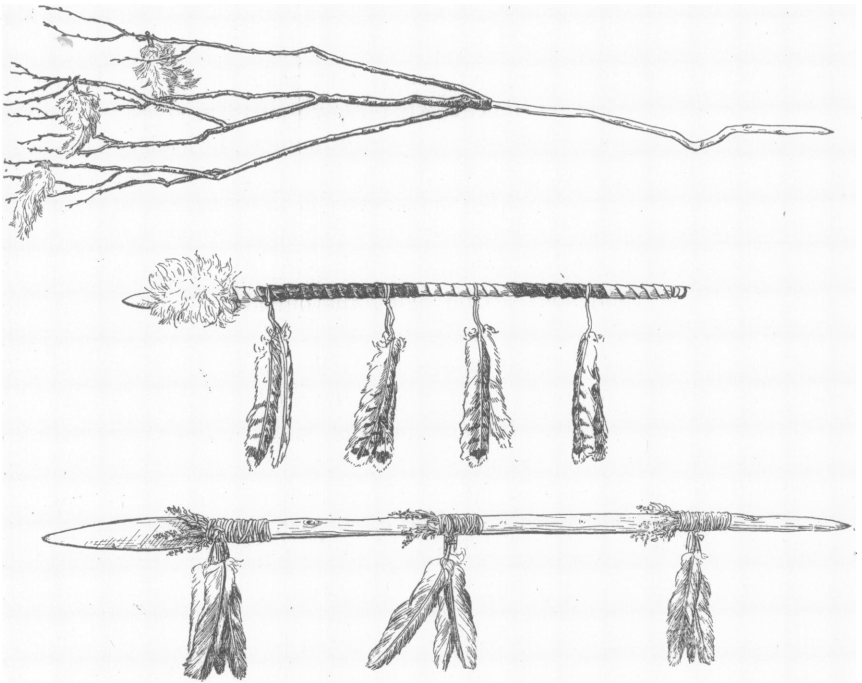


Fig. 4 *a* (50-5582), *b* (50-5573), *c* (50-6161). Standards used by the Braves: *a* The Willow Brave's Staff; *b* Lance for the Leader; *c* Lance of the White Braves.

branch to the ends of which are tied yellow painted plumes. (Fig. 4.) His robe has no hair, but is fully tanned.

The four white braves wear breech cloth and moccasins. Their bodies are painted white; under each eye four black marks and across the thighs, calves, and arms a pair of black marks. Around the ankles, neck, and head are wreaths of four sage stalks each. Their robes have no hair, have the corners fastened up and a curious hole in the back reminding one of the Arapaho crazy-dance regalia. Eagle feathers are carried only by the white braves, the braves proper using hawk feathers. All wear robes but when

they rise to dance they leave them at their seats. They carry lances, painted white and decorated with four pairs of feathers and bunches of sage grass. (Fig. 4.) The ordinary bone whistle with quill-wrapped neck cord should be added.

The old men comrades wear their ordinary clothing and are without regalia of any kind. Their functions are similar to those of the preceding societies and while they have no particular costume at the time of the ceremony, they use the painting of the lay members.

Single men comrades vary in number from one to four and are taken in as described in the preceding, both as substitute dancers and in order that food may be obtained.

The four black braves carry lances covered with black cloth and decorated with black feathers. Their bodies are painted black. Their costume is similar to that of the preceding. On their backs they wear a bladder or pericardium painted black and distended by air; this is called a water pail.

The two bear braves are similar to a pair noted in the pigeon society. They cut the front hair and paint it. The costume is also the same. Here, they wear robes with the hair on. On the head, they tie a bunch of prairie-chicken feathers. They carry bows instead of lances (Fig. 5).

The braves wear neither shirts nor leggings. They paint with dark red paint with black marks, as noted for the white braves. Their lances are painted red.

No drums are used by this society, but time is kept by beating upon one piece of rawhide. According to one informant, the drummers are "ex-members in ordinary costume."

In the ceremony an open circle is formed with the four drummers in the center. The leader sits opposite the opening and facing him on the outside, the two bear braves. The white braves sit on the outside. (Fig. 6.) When at rest the braves stick their lances in the ground points down; the white braves hold theirs with points up. The leader directs the dance. He blows his whistle a certain way as a signal, then rises. All those bearing lances rise, dropping their robes. Leaning forward with the points of their lances near the ground, they dance. The step is a slow alternate lifting of the feet. The leader's position is fixed, the others dance facing the four directions. The white braves on the outside dance in with threatening lances and crowd the braves toward the center, passing entirely round and round. The black braves have black blankets which they wear during the dance, but dance as the others. Willow brave dresses like the lay members but sits next to the leader.

The two bear braves sit quietly as in the pigeons until aroused by the

throwing of buffalo chips. They then dance into the center; holding both feet together and keeping a squatting position, they hop along with drawn bows, driving the dancers back to their seats.

These evolutions are given four times then the bear braves shoot into the air and all throwing their robes over their left shoulders pass single file out of the southwest side of the camp circle, march entirely around it, then run to the north a mile or more. When they stop, they take off their

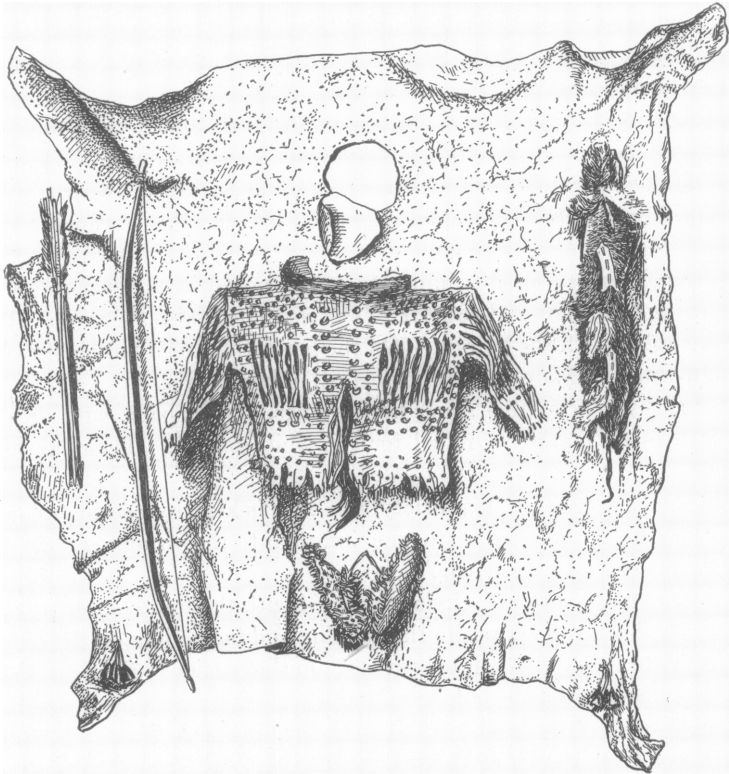


Fig. 5 (50-5581, 5578, 5576, 5577, 5732). Regalia of a Bear Brave: A Robe with a Hole; a Belt of Bearskin with a Bear Tail attached; a Shirt and Moccasins curiously Gashed and Fringed; a Bow and Four Arrows.

moccasins and throw them up into the air. Then they line up and march back, barefoot, holding the lances up before and singing. They pass around the camp circle and enter their tipi, sticking the lances up at the back.

This ceremony always occurs in the open air. When they dance in their tipi at night, the affair is social and hence, different.

At times the ceremony was held in a tipi pitched inside the camp circle

formed by combining several covers. The members of the society did not live in this tipi or stay there so far as we could learn. At other times they may make a practice of regularly meeting at the tipi of a member, frequently that of willow brave, where they dance and hold other ceremonies as may be desired. At the close of each ceremony they return to their own homes, however.

When food is brought out for the dance feast, it is set down by the willow brave. Then the bear braves come forward, growling, but as they are about to eat, the black braves croak like ravens. Then they retreat, but return to eat. When they have finished, the others eat. At any time the bear braves

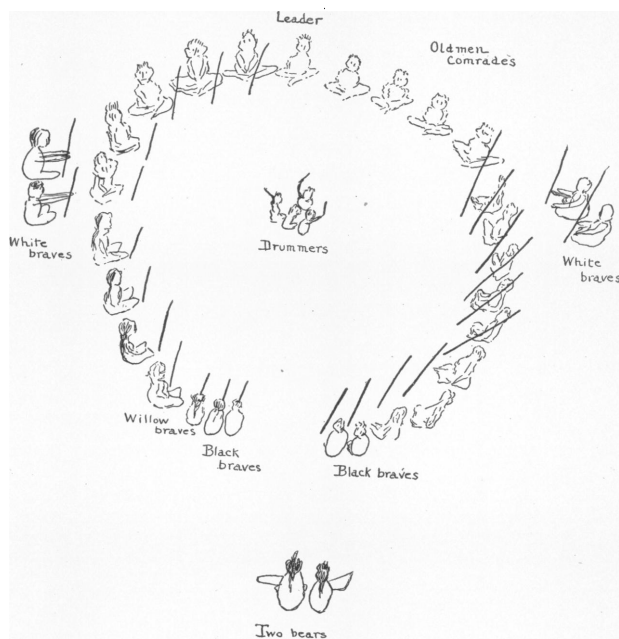


Fig. 6. Sketch showing the Positions of the Braves in a Ceremony. Drawn by a Piegan.

may meet the returning hunters and take what they choose. They go out accompanied by two braves, bearing a tipi pole, upon which the meat they seize is strung.

The mosquitoes usually buy into this society, though anyone may so join. The majority are married men and probably range in age from twenty to thirty years. Grinnell considers these warriors of the first class; but on this point we have no data save that they are to be distinguished from the foregoing societies as married men. It was said that after marriage a man

usually sold out his place in the mosquitoes. They transfer to the all-brave-dogs, all at the same time.

Regarding the casting off of moccasins, one informant says this running out was to look for buffalo and that when they were sighted the braves threw away their old moccasins and put on new ones. He narrated that once when so doing, the braves were surprised by enemies: the leader seeing the case hopeless, gave orders to dance, when they formed the circle and began. After watching them for a time the enemy seemed impressed with their medicine powers and retired.

Maximilian does not name the braves, yet they must have existed at that time. However, his account of the "soldiers" leads us to suspect that he confused them with the catchers for he says:—

They are the most distinguished warriors, who exercise the police, especially in the camp and on the march; in public deliberations they have the casting vote, whether, for instance, they shall hunt, change their abode, make war, or conclude peace, etc. They carry as their badge a wooden club, the breadth of the hand, with hoofs of the buffalo cow hanging to the handle. They are sometimes forty or fifty men in number. Their wives, when they dance the medicine dance, are painted in the same manner as the men.<sup>1</sup>

#### THE ALL-BRAVE-DOGS.

The organization of this society is as follows:—

Leader (1)	Old men comrades (4)
Assistant leaders — horsemen (2)	Single men comrades (2)
Bear-all-brave-dogs (2)	Drummers (4)
All-brave-dogs (20)	

The leader wears a coyote skin with his head thrust through a slit in its middle and in addition the best costume he can get, such as weasel-tail, hair-lock suits, and war-bonnet. He always wears his blanket across his left arm and carries his rattle in his right hand. He paints his nose, mouth, and chin red which is spoken of as the coyote painting.

Ranking next to the leader are the mounted men. For the ceremonies they secure the finest horses possible and also the best suits including, if possible, the war-bonnet with a tail. The horses are painted on the hips, neck, and face with symbols indicating the war deeds of the rider.

The two bear-all-brave-dogs are now familiar characters. They are the only ones with bows and arrows. They wear a peculiar headdress

<sup>1</sup> Maximilian, 117.

(Fig. 7), consisting of a narrow strip of skin with bear ears and two small horns (bear claws) attached. At the top, the hair is arranged to suggest the cropped hair of the analogous pair in the pigeons. They wear shirts made of white cloth which reach the waist, are fringed around the bottom and have short sleeves with long fringes. On the forearm, just below the

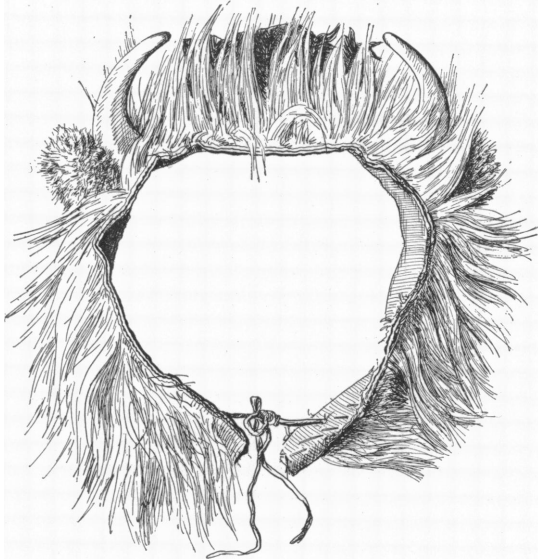


Fig. 7 (50-5730). Headdress for a Bear-all-brave-dog.

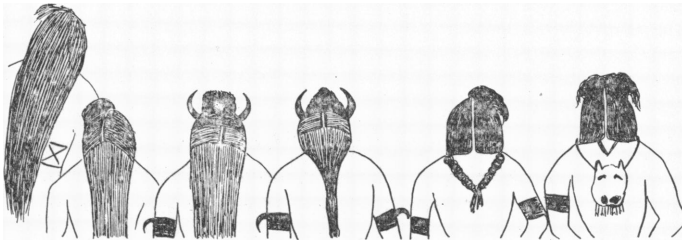


Fig. 8. Sketch showing the Costumes of the All-brave-dogs: the Leader on the Right, the two Bears in the Middle. Drawn by a Piegan.

sleeve, a narrow strip of bearskin with a bear claw attached is worn. The shirt is painted red on each shoulder. A beaded belt, breech cloth, moccasins, a belt full of cartridges and a knife, make up the costume. For painting they use the bear-face, that is, red ground with black marks down from

the eyes and corners of the mouth. When at home, each keeps his ceremonial bow and arrows tied up near the door of the tipi.

In former times if at any time the bears saw any one coming in with meat, they would intercept him. The bearer of the meat would dismount and stand by quietly while the bears helped themselves to the best cuts, sometimes taking all. It is said that if the owner of the meat sees them in time he may himself give them, horse, gun, meat, and all; the bears take the presents home and afterwards announce to the society that presents have been received. In the course of time the giver of these presents will receive liberal return from the various members.

There seems to be some kind of a taboo for the bears as to passing food at a feast. Thus, it is said that if the chief or head man should have guests in his tipi and there is among them one of the bears who still owns his membership, the woman must pass the food to each man and not permit it to be passed on from hand to hand as is the usual custom. She must do this because the bear is not permitted to pass food or to take any notice of a request to do so. If the presence of the bear should not be known and food be passed in the usual manner, the bear will take no notice of the dish. However, should he be asked to pass the food he will take possession of it and eat it all himself without speaking a word. So it is the duty of the hostess to note the presence of one of these bears and to act accordingly. An informant says, "These bears are always after grub. They even go to meet the hunters to take their meat." While, as indicated before, the bears have the privilege of taking meat whenever they desire it, this is never done in the absence of the owner, that is, they are not permitted to enter a vacant tipi and help themselves to what may be found there.

The four drummers have no particular costume but wear their blankets tied around their waists hanging down so as to leave their arms free. In the procession they are in the rear. In this procession the members form in line by two's, the leader at the head. They dance entirely around the camp. Every now and then the dancers turn and face the drummers at the rear, dancing backward and forward. As they move about the camp they may stop and dance in front of certain tipis. Here the usual procedure is to form a circle with one of the bears on each side of the "door." (Fig. 9.) The drummers always sit at the head, the leader next to them on the north. The mounted men are next in order, one on each side.

There are no women attached to the society as in those previously mentioned, but as the members are all supposed to be married men it is expected that their wives appear at the formal ceremonies to assist in the singing. They have no particular costume or painting, each one following her own taste. An informant recalls one case in which a man made a vow that when married his wife should dance in his place during the ceremonies of the



all-brave-dogs. This is the only case known in which such substitution was offered or in which the woman became a member of the same standing as the single men comrades. When the society is marching around the camp the women may follow in the rear and may sit behind their husbands during other parts of the ceremony. It seems, however, that a woman may

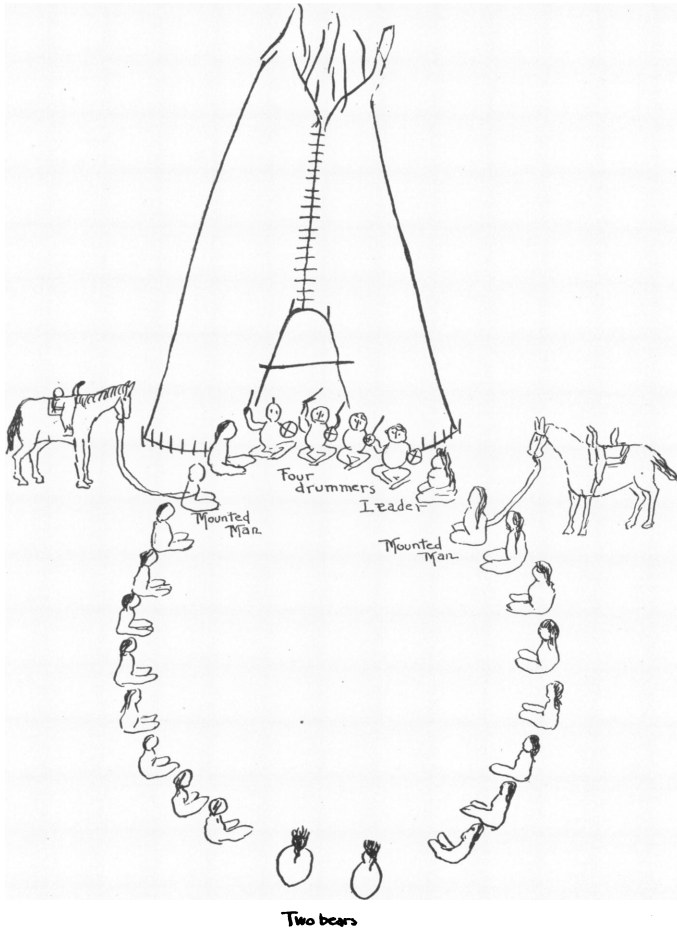


Fig. 9. Sketch showing the Formation of the All-brave-dogs before the Tipi of a Head Man. Drawn by a Piegan.

rise and dance with her husband at certain parts of the ceremony, if she so desires, and may even take his rattle in her hand and perform evolutions with it. This seems quite likely, since similar practices are found in the rituals of various medicine bundles (Volume 7).

The owner of the tipi in which the society usually meets, who is also one of the members, keeps a pipe and tobacco ready for use in the ceremonies. There is no special form of pipe, neither are there any peculiar smoking customs pertaining to this society. This individual does not buy his place by the regular transfer nor is he recognized as having any particular official status. Nevertheless, it is said that no matter where the ceremony is performed, this individual is expected to provide the pipe and care for it.

The lay members in this society are spoken of as the all-brave-dogs and are limited to twenty individuals. Some informants, however, deny that there was any special number. Later on it will be shown that each lay member purchased a particular rattle and since the rattles were, of course, of a definite number, the membership was limited thereby. The lay members have no costume of any kind, but carry their blankets over their left arms and their rattles in their right hands. On the back of the head each wears a feather.

An interesting point is that the face painting is determined by the painting upon the rattle as shown in Fig. 10. The rattles vary greatly in their painting. Each individual therefore, paints his face according to the painting upon the rattle he owns. No one now living recalls any symbolic significance for the painting on the rattles other than that it furnishes the copy for face painting. There is no special myth accounting for their origin. When the paint rubs off or it becomes necessary to repaint the rattle, the former owner of it must be called upon to perform this service. He will count war deeds and perform other ceremonies after which he paints the rattle. For this he must receive liberal fees. It was said that the person who first "dreamed the society" directed that the rattles be painted in this way.

The old men comrades are expected to give advice in the conduct of the various ceremonies, one of whom is expected to act as a herald and to ride about the camps calling the society together whenever a meeting is desired. These men have no particular costume, but each has a rattle, and may wear a feather at the back of his head.

The single men comrades are required to perform certain services such as gathering food and receiving presents. Each has a rattle according to which he paints and otherwise dresses according to his taste. The society usually elects the sons of prominent families, since they not only have fine costumes, but since their relatives are apt to make liberal presents to the society.

A tipi for the society's ceremonies is set up inside the camp circle. This is usually the tipi of one of the bear-all-brave-dogs, though other members

could be chosen for this service. Here the society meets. The formal dance is out-of-doors where the men sit in a circle (Fig. 9).

When they dance, they rise in their places. The mounted men ride around, forcing the dancers to the center. Then they pretend to ride them down, upon which dancers who have dismounted enemies, seize them by the feet and gently unhorse them. Then the two riders join in the dance. This is done but once.

They seem to have some ceremonies in their tipi. They have a number of songs. In one they say, "It is bad to live to be an old man." The latter means that to die in battle is preferred. At the end of each song, they shake their rattles above their heads and shout. Four drums are used.

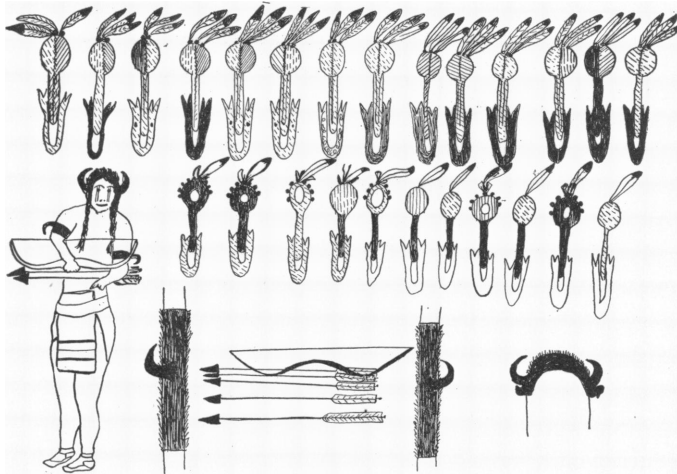


Fig. 10. Sketch showing the Regalia of the All-brave-dogs: the Twenty-five Types of Rattles and the Equipment of a Bear. The original is in colors: blue (vertical lines), green (right oblique), red (left oblique), and black. Drawn by Hairy-coat.

They are not credited with pranks, but after a dance may go about the camps and dance before tipis until the owners give them food or other presents. To refuse or to delay such bequests would be unwise. Yet they do not maltreat those they meet, and offer no violence except when on regular guard duty.

The members usually buy in from the braves. Since all the rattles are supposed to be different, the transfer really consists of the purchase of a particular rattle which is regarded as a ceremonial object or bundle as described in Vol. 7. While it is usual for the entire society to sell out at the same time, our informants state that nevertheless a rattle may be purchased

at any time. Thus, one may approach a member of the society with a filled pipe. When he takes this and smokes, the offer to purchase the membership is made and cannot be refused. The transfer ceremony is then performed and the purchaser becomes, by virtue of his ownership, a member of the society. It is said that now and then a man becomes tired of his membership and solicits a purchaser to whom he transfers his rattle. These were regarded, however, as unusual since the rule is for the whole society to sell out at once.

Maximilian does not distinguish this society. Some Piegan assert that it was introduced by the Gros Ventre about 170 years ago and that these in turn got it from the "Black Indians" (?). On the other hand, no society of this character has been reported for the Gros Ventre. We have so far encountered no Blackfoot origin myth for it. The preceding societies have definite myths and are believed to have appeared first to the Blackfoot. This is curious, since they seem more recent than the all-brave-dogs and yet bear an obvious resemblance to it.

#### THE FRONT-TAILS.

Our informants are not agreed as to a formal leader for this society, but there seems to have been a leading pair at least. Its organization may be given as follows:—

Leaders (2)	Pipe keeper (1)
Front-tails (x)	Drummers (4)
Old men comrades (?)	Women members (?)
Single men comrades (?)	

The front-tails do not braid the hair but allow it to hang free. An eagle tail-feather, trimmed with quills and small bells, is tied on the head crosswise. Narrow garters of otterskin, decorated with quills and bearing bells, adorn the legs. The chief regalia, from which they take their name, are belts, or scarfs. On the right side of the belt is an appendage, formed by wrapping a stick one hand long with the skins of two buffalo tails. This was bound around the middle with red cloth and some beading of large white and blue beads. To one end is attached a fringe of buckskin, weasel fur, and red cloth, with bells at the ends. This is the "buffalo tail seen from the front." The ends of the sash hang down on the left side (Fig. 11).

The entire body is painted black and marked down with the fingers. Small dots of white are made on the joints, the cheeks, forehead, and chin. Across the eyes is a band of red and again across the mouth.

Drums are used, but no whistles.

The faces of the women members are painted like those of the men.

The formal ceremonies were usually held early in the morning, "Because the buffalo get up early in the morning and go down to drink." Out-of-doors they sit in a circle, each man's wife, or corresponding woman member, sits directly behind him. The men dance in pairs, holding hands with the free hand on the hip. (Fig. 12.) All the pairs face the same way, except the leaders. The latter always keep in the reverse direction. The dancing is



Fig. 11.

Fig. 11. Sketch showing the Costume of a Front-tail.

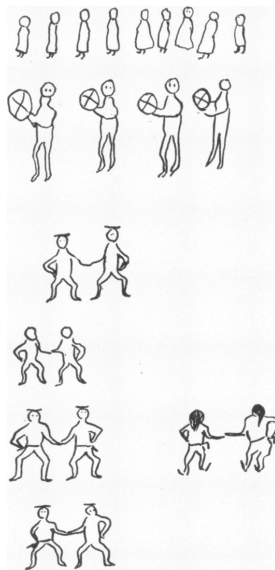


Fig. 12.

Fig. 12. Order of Dancing for the Front-tails. Drawn by Big-brave.

said to be in imitation of the buffalo. The four drummers come behind with the women, who assist in the singing. After a dance, they rest and smoke; this is repeated four times. When they are about to begin, the drummers strike four times and at each all shout, "Ho-o-o-o!" Before each rest there is one shout. It will be noted that the members carry nothing in their hands.

The transfer of membership is well described in Mr. Duvall's notes obtained from Big-brave:—

At the age of eighteen, Big-brave, joined his first society, the front-tails. As a rule each society takes as members four young men and four older men. Big-brave was taken in as one of the younger members. To begin with, all the men who were to buy in, went through the camps and invited their chums and when all were gathered together, they proceeded to the center where two tipi covers were combined to make one large tipi. Upon entering the lodge all the men who were about to become members had filled pipes, which they offered to those of the old members from whom they had chosen to buy. All the members of the front-tails are supposed to have women partners, usually their wives; but as Big-brave did not have a wife, he went with his mother.

Each purchaser sat down near the man from whom he expected to purchase. The buyers cleared the grass in front of the old members and placed some buffalo dung and sage grass on the side nearest the old members. The smudge place was about a foot square. All the new men made a smudge place near the old members. Sweetgrass was used for the smudge. The knives or axes which were used in clearing the smudge places were a part of the fee paid the old members.

The old (ex-)members did not transfer their outfits to the new members themselves, but still older members did this. The pipes were offered first to the members, to make the bargain to purchase from them.

Big-brave sat near one of the members and offered him a pipe to smoke. At first he refused to take the pipe, but finally he took and smoked it. Big-brave thought that the man was afraid he would not get a horse from him as he had just received one the day before, therefore his hesitation. Then Big-brave made the smudge place and the transferer asked him to remove his clothes. When he had done so, the transferer painted his face and entire body black and scratched the paint down with his fingers. The mother's face was also painted. A streak of red was painted across his eyes and mouth and small dots of white on his cheeks, forehead, and chin and on all his joints. His new clothes were first passed over the smudge four times, and then given to him to put on. The transferer then took up the otterskin which is used as a garter strap, spat on it four times, passed it four times to the smudge place, and before tying it around Big-brave's leg, recounted four war deeds. The strap was a narrow strip of skin decorated with small bells and quill work.

During the entire ceremony, the transferer had a piece of prairie turnip in his mouth, and before fastening anything on Big-brave spat four times on it. This is the same kind of turnip as that used by the horns in their ceremony. It is said to be very sacred.

Then the transferer took the feather which was used as a headdress, spat on it four times, made four passes over the smudge with it, recounted four more war deeds, and fastened it crosswise on Big-brave's head. The feather is an eagle tail-feather, wrapped with colored quills and has a hole in the middle through which is passed a buckskin string with which the feather is fastened on the hair. Then he took the belt of the front-tails, held it to the smudge place four times, spat on it four times, told of four war deeds, made four passes with his knife and cut off a few inches of the tail. After this he fastened the belt around Big-brave's waist and as he did so all cheered him. The tail of the belt hung on the right side. A blanket was also given him and a digging-stick was placed near Big-brave's feet. As he rose and stood by it his foot was held by the transferer and passed four times to the smudge; then he stepped over the digging stick, going forward twice and backward twice. A dog was brought in and placed before his feet and he stepped over it four times.

All the new members went through the same actions as Big-brave and each transferer related four war deeds before fastening the trappings upon the new member. Big-brave paid a horse and some blankets as a fee for buying into this society.

When Big-brave and all the other new members were dressed and painted and had stepped over the digging-stick and the dogs, they all stood up in their places with their wives and mothers or women partners. The drummers struck their drums once; all shouted, and then the drums were again struck. After the fourth time the members sang and danced in their places inside of the tipi. At first they danced facing the center, then facing the wall, then the center, and then the back. Each new member was given a drink of water by the old members' wives, the new members paying for their drinks with blankets, guns, or a horse. After this they all sat outside of the tipi in a circle and danced as before. After the dance, all returned to their homes.

Big-brave says that that evening the one who transferred to him, came to his tipi and a smudge was made. As Big-brave was to eat, the transferer took a small piece of the meat, spat four times on it and after making four passes to the smudge with the meat, placed it in Big-brave's mouth, thus giving him the privilege of eating his food.

The next day all the new members and some of the transferers went out on a hunt. When they had killed a buffalo, the transferer showed them how the backbone was broken and the buffalo tail cut off. Thus they were granted the privilege of cutting off the buffalo tail or butchering and cutting the backbone in two when they wished to do so. This completed the transfer ceremony.

During the dances and when they are seated in a circle outside the tipi, their wives sit at their backs. During the butchering ceremony the new members had to pay a fee, which consisted usually of arrows or other small articles.

In passing, it may be said that the detailed features of this transfer are common to many serious ceremonies of this kind, a discussion of which will be found in Vol. 7.

We have recorded the origin myths for this society. A version will be found in Vol. 2, 112. In one not published we find the same story with some variation. It opens as follows:—

There was once a young single man who always carried a stick around with him, like a gun rod. On the end of this stick was a small leather cross which was called the butterfly. One day, when the buffalo went over the drive and were milling around in the enclosure, the young man happened to be standing by and poked his stick under the tail of a buffalo cow. When he drew his stick out, he saw that the leather cross had come off. The cow jumped over the fence and ran away.

Otherwise, the narrative is similar to the version cited. Our informants have a conviction that the ceremony was originated by an Assiniboine who saw buffalo dancing. They recalled that some visiting Assiniboine once marched about their camp, singing the front-tail songs to the surprise of all.

## THE RAVEN-BEARERS.

The organization consists of:—

Leader (1)	Raven-bearers (40 to 100)
Assistant leader (1)	Pipe keeper (1)
Black-raven-bearers (1)	Drummers (4)

The leader carries a long red stick, trimmed with a strip of red cloth, to which feathers are fastened. His head is thrust through a slit in the back of a coyote skin. The head of the coyote is still attached. For a headdress he wears a single tail-feather. His face bears the coyote painting (p. 398). There is no special costume, he usually wears his best clothes. According to one informant the leader is said to have worn about his neck the skin of a raven. One was collected on the Blood Reserve (Fig. 13). The wings have been decorated with strips of porcupine quill work and from the beak hangs a strip of red flannel, probably to represent the tongue. We were also given a peculiar necklace made of imitation bear's claws carved from buffalo horn. This was also stated to have been worn by the leader. Other informants claim that the bird was worn only by the black-raven. According to White-man, the leader wore a coyote skin around the neck with pendant feathers in bunches, consisting of six eagle feathers and one crow feather each. The end of the crow feather was cut square. A rattle was also carried by the leader.

The assistant leader carried a staff similar to that borne by members, except that it was entirely red. Otherwise his costume was similar to that of the leader, except that in painting he wore a red band across the eyes and one across the mouth.

The black-raven-bearer has a staff trimmed with black cloth, but fringed with human hair. According to most informants he paints his face over with red (though some maintain blue), marking down with the tips of the fingers and dotting the forehead and cheeks with white spots to represent the raven's excrement.

The raven-bearers carry sticks trimmed with alternating pieces of black and red cloth (Fig. 14), bearing feathers and bells.<sup>1</sup> They paint their faces red with a pair of small white spots on the forehead, cheeks, and chin.

For the ceremony they sit in a circle with their sticks on end. As songs are sung, they shake them to sound the bells. When dancing they carry their robes on their left arms and hold their sticks up in front, inclined forward. The drummers stand, as for the front-tails.

---

<sup>1</sup> Maximilian, German ed., 578, gives a drawing of this emblem.





Fig. 13 (50-5419a). Skin of a Raven worn by one of the Raven-bearers.

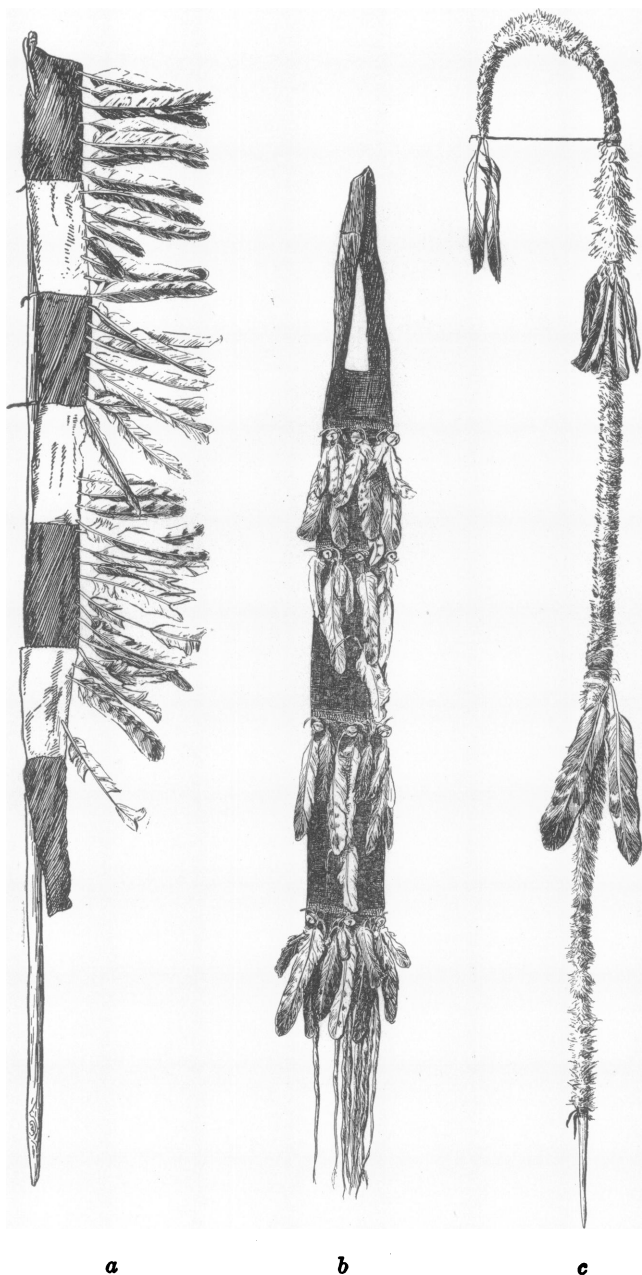


Fig. 14 (50-5411, 5728, 5726). ▼ Emblems of the Raven-bearer, the Dog, and the Kit-fox Societies, respectively. Length of a, 283 cm.

## THE DOGS.

The organization is as follows:—

The Black-Dog (1)	Old men comrades (2)
Assistant Leader (1)	Single men comrades (3-4)
The Black-dancers (2)	Pipe keeper (1)
The Dogs (40)	

The leader or black-dog wears a long black cloth sash with trailing hair fringes that reach to the ground (Fig. 14). He wears a bonnet covered with owl feathers and bearing an appendage about four fingers wide, made from smoky tipi covers and lined with red cloth. It is decorated here and there with feathers.

According to Brocky, an informant, there is some confusion among the Piegan as to the regalia for the leader of this organization. According to him there is an assistant leader who wears the bonnet covered with owl feathers instead of the leader. There is also a difference of opinion as to whether there was an assistant leader, some maintaining that the society had but one leader, known as the black-dog.

The dogs each wear a long sash similar to that of the leader, except that it is lined with alternating sections of red and black cloth and has feathers instead of the hair fringes. They also wear bonnets similar to those described above (Fig. 15). They may, if they choose, wear buckskin suits or any other costume. They carry rattles or sticks about two feet long, fringed with deer hoofs and with feathers on the end (Fig. 16). The dance of this society is performed out-of-doors. They sit in a circle while the black-dog sits some distance apart. The tail of his sash is picketed to the ground by an arrow. The ritual requires that he remain seated until the arrow is withdrawn. As soon as he is released, he joins the circle and the dance begins. It seems to have been the custom to dance in front of a tipi, the owner of which was required to release the picketed dancer. His doing this, however, obligated him to make a gift of a horse. In this way the society passed about the camp circle, collecting gifts until they were satisfied. According to some informants, when the dance begins, the leader goes about the circle and seizing the sashes of the members pulls them to their feet.

Members of this society also have the privilege of taking food whenever they choose. They go about among the tipis, imitating dogs and taking whatever they wish.

The members of the raven-bearers usually buy into the dogs, although as in other cases a man may join at any time. In former times in the transfer ceremony, it is said, the black-dog remained dancing in his place until he

was released by the one purchasing his place. However, before the purchaser could draw the arrow and release him, he must pledge his daughter as a wife to the black-dog or if he had no daughter, must furnish him with a wife. We were told that this custom originated from the following incident. Once when the transfer ceremony was under way and the black-dog was still pinned to the ground, they were suddenly attacked by Crow Indians. All of the dancers ran away except the man who was pinned fast and who by obligation was obliged to stand fast. Being a brave man he danced in



Fig. 15 (50-5409c). Headdress for a Member of the Dog Society.

his place. A woman observing his predicament ran back, pulled up the arrow and whipped him, thus enabling him to run away. It is said that

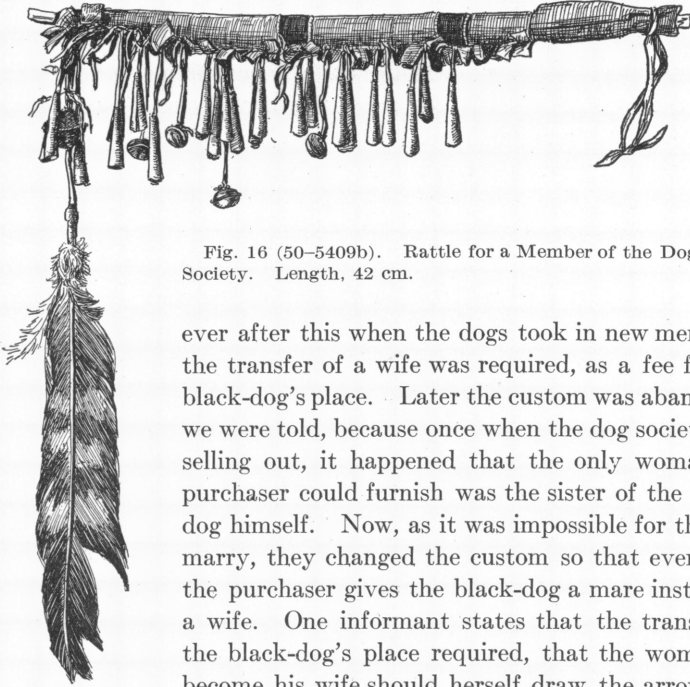


Fig. 16 (50-5409b). Rattle for a Member of the Dog Society. Length, 42 cm.

ever after this when the dogs took in new members, the transfer of a wife was required, as a fee for the black-dog's place. Later the custom was abandoned we were told, because once when the dog society was selling out, it happened that the only woman the purchaser could furnish was the sister of the black-dog himself. Now, as it was impossible for them to marry, they changed the custom so that ever since the purchaser gives the black-dog a mare instead of a wife. One informant states that the transfer of the black-dog's place required, that the woman to become his wife should herself draw the arrow and release him. This is consistent with the narrative; yet others stated that the woman did not herself draw the arrow and release the dancer, but that the man giving the woman in marriage to him simply announced her name and then drew the arrow himself.<sup>1</sup>

#### THE BRAVE-DOGS.

The brave-dogs (*motsomita*) were sometimes spoken of as the coyote-brave-dogs. The society, if society it can be called, consists of two individuals and seems to have been in no wise related to either the dogs or the all-brave-dogs. Our informants held different opinions as to the right of the brave-dogs to a place in the list of societies. Some maintain that they were not a society in any sense of the word, but others are equally positive that they had a place here and that in rank they followed the dogs. In

<sup>1</sup> See also Curtis, 6, 26.

support of this they call attention to the fact that this pair dance around through the camp at the same time and in the same manner as the other societies.

Their regalia consist of a small bulb rattle to the handle of which is attached a coyote tail and a bunch of feathers for the head. No eagle feathers were used. Bone whistles and a coyote skin around the neck complete the list. Big-brave, the present owner of one set also has a drum. This drum seems to be a special medicine object and to be used only by and in connection with the ceremonies by a brave-dog. Our informants state, however, that this drum was originated by Big-brave and was not previously a part of the regalia for the brave-dogs and is not recognized or used by the other member.

The brave-dogs usually paint the entire body in white. The face is given the "coyote painting." The entire lower part of the face is painted red. This painting was sometimes spoken of as "eating raw meat." In explanation, it is said that when a coyote has been eating, his mouth and nose are generally red with blood, and that also he is lucky and usually gets his meat whenever he looks for it.

The obligations taken on by the brave-dogs are rather exacting. They must never under any circumstances run away from the enemy or turn back. If enemies appear in their paths, they must walk straight forward regardless of the consequences. In battle they are supposed to stand in front of the enemy and dance and sing. However, if their companions desire to save them they may release them from the obligation by whipping. Thus in fighting, a friend may ride up and strike the brave-dog with a whip and at once he runs away. For example we were told that,

Running-buffalo, the father of Elk-horn was a brave-dog. Once there was a fight between the Blackfoot and the Assiniboiné in what is now the southern part of the Montana Reservation. The Assiniboiné were in a hole and hard to get at. Running-buffalo rode up, got off his horse, and with his rattle in his hand, singing the brave-dog songs, went directly to the hole and jumped in among the Assiniboiné. His war party followed close at his heels and succeeded in routing the enemy. All brave-dogs are believed to have great power. Once Running-buffalo was shot through the abdomen with three or four arrows. He asked that some buffalo intestines be cooked for him, saying that he would use them to replace the injured parts of his body. He ate them and recovered.

Like all other societies and medicines, the brave-dogs had their own songs and their dance. The sentiments expressed in the songs are in keeping with their obligations. For example one of them runs, "I want to throw my body away." Another "I want dogs to eat my body." They have a song in which they ask for arrows, and while singing it they go into any tipi and take an arrow from each quiver they find therein.

While anyone could buy a place in the brave-dogs, it seems usual for men to buy in after having passed through the dogs. At the time of the transfer ceremony the purchaser is required to sleep out in the brush four nights in imitation of dogs or coyotes.

The following statement of Big-brave may be of interest:—

All those men known as brave-dogs were very brave men. They used to dance around the circle of camps and enter a man's tipi and would take one of his arrows, but if a man did not want them to take any of his arrows, he would go out, meet them and whip them away. Then they would turn away at once. In their songs they say "I want dogs to eat my body," meaning that they are not afraid to die. When approaching the battlefield they use their rattles, sing their songs, blow their bone whistles and stand fast, unless they are whipped back by some of their people.

According to some informants the owners of the brave-dog ritual were younger than the dogs, the former being about forty years of age. But, on the other hand, it was stated that anyone could become a brave-dog in the usual manner, that is, if he took a filled pipe and called upon one of the owners with an offer to purchase. When the man took the pipe and smoked it, the transfer took place.

#### THE KIT-FOX.

Kit-fox was the name of an extinct Piegan society still regarded as very powerful and dangerous to speak of. Thus Grinnell writes, "Of all the societies of the I-kun-uh-Kah-tsi, the Sin-o-pah, or Kit-fox band, has the strongest medicine. This corresponds to the Horns society among the Bloods. They are the same band with different names. They have certain peculiar secret and sacred ceremonies, not to be described here."<sup>1</sup> In the main it is correct to regard the horns and kit-fox as one organization, but on the other hand our informants report some important differences to be enumerated later. A brief paragraph on the kit-fox is given by Curtis.<sup>2</sup> We previously gave a version of the origin myth in which occurs the following passage. "She had no dress on, but just a robe around her. She wore a plume on her head, and held a prairie-turnip in her mouth."<sup>3</sup> The full import of this will be made clear in our account of the horns.

Owing to reluctance of informants, we were unable to obtain a concise account of the kit-fox organization. The main leader wore the entire skin of a kit-fox, with the head before and the tail behind. Around the neck and legs of the fox skin were strands of beads. Small bells were tied to the feet. Four eagle tail-feathers were stuck up on the top and one at the tip

---

<sup>1</sup> Grinnell, 222.

<sup>2</sup> Curtis, 6, 26.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. 2, 121.

of the tail. The whole skin was liberally daubed with the "seventh paint." Brass buttons formed the eyes of the fox. This leader also carried a bow and arrows, thoroughly coated with the same red pigment. His body was also painted red, a blue band around each wrist and a band of blue around the face, but of a different form from that used by the horns.

There was a second, or associate leader, wearing a similar headdress and bearing a bow. His person and regalia were, however, painted over with yellow with corresponding marks in red. He is called the yellow fox.

Next in rank were two mounted men, spoken of as the single men comrades. They carried hooked lances about ten feet long, wrapped for almost their entire length with otterskin. At four equally spaced places they had wrappings of goose skin with a pair of eagle feathers. The curved portion of the lance is formed by a twig, bowed and held by a sinew cord. To the end of this bow are fastened two eagle feathers (Fig. 14). The butt of the lance is sharpened for planting in the ground. These men wore weasel skins around the heels of their moccasins. One informant states that one of the pair rode a black horse.

Of the next order, was one man bearing a hooked lance of much greater length than the others and wrapped with swan skin, having four places covered with otterskin and bearing feathers as just described. This was called the white lance.

The lay members carried curved lances, but these were not wrapped. They, however, bore feathers as just described. One informant claims that a few of these lances were painted white. Each member had a small pipe painted red (p. 413). They could paint in blue, red, or yellow, but must each use the same mark around the face. They were required to be fully clothed in all ceremonies, but could wear any costume at hand. Their moccasins were, however, without strings and always contained a sprig of sage.

According to one informant the society had three large ceremonial pipes, or perhaps three large pipes in contrast to the small ones used by other members; but we have never heard of special ceremonial pipes for this society, as for the catchers.

For the ceremonies a shelter was made by setting up a circle of tripods supporting horizontal tipi poles. Tipi covers were then stretched round the sides. When dancing in public they formed a three quarter circle with the opening toward the rising sun. Inside near the rear were four drummers. The two horsemen sat one on each side of the opening in the line. The lances were planted in the ground before their various owners. The public ceremony was opened by the drummers, who made four feints with their sticks, then struck the drums and gave the characteristic yell, upon which



the songs began and the members rose to dance. There seems to have been no special form of dance, but at times they crowded into a mass, at others formed in files and again in half circles. They always held their lances at a forward angle. The rule was to dance at various intervals as the camp was circled. The two riders mounted and crossed back and forth in front of the leaders to reverse them (p. 412). When the procession again reached the starting point the two riders dismounted and joined in the final dance.

The following account of this public ceremony is from McClintock:—

When the kit-foxes gave a dance, they opened up two large lodges and made them into one. For four days and four nights they sat inside, painting and dressing themselves, singing and making ready for the dance, only appearing at night, outside of the dance lodge. On the fifth day they marched through the camp. Their chief wore the fox-skin, with the head made into the form of a hood. The nose was in front, the ears on the top and the skin, with bells fastened to the tail, hung down his back. The face of the leader was painted green, to look as frightful as possible and inspire the spectators with awe. The second in rank, called the White-circle-man, carried a spear, with one end bent into a circle. It had bells attached, and was covered with white swan's down and white plumes. The third held a spear of the same shape, covered with white feathers, but fringed with black and red plumes. The rest of the members carried pointed spears, covered with otter skins ornamented with feathers and bells. The kit-foxes all painted their faces. They wore, for garters around their legs, wide bands of otter skins, with bells attached, and an eagle feather, decorated with red, green and yellow, in their back hair. White weasel-skins were also attached to either end of this feather, while a strip of otter skin was suspended from its centre. When they marched through the camp they formed in the shape of a fox head. The chief went first standing for the nose. Behind him were the second and third men for the eyes, and then came the rest of the society in a group, all together representing a fox head. The two second-men, as the eyes, watched the chief, who was the nose, or leader, and acted just as he directed, the rest following after. When they were ready to dance, they sat in lines. In the first line were the regular members. If there were men withdrawing from the society, or giving their spears to new candidates, they sat in the second line, while the wives of the members sat behind. As soon as the drum began, the chief started the dance. The two circle men with the white spears followed. After them came the other members, with otter spears. They danced in pairs, — the same way that kit-foxes run together. They gave short regular jumps with their feet close together, imitating the movements of a fox, barking and moving about, first in one direction, and then in another, just as a fox does. The two second-men (eyes) danced between the two lines, barking and swinging their spears. They did not move in straight lines, because the fox never goes straight. His tail always seems to guide him. When the white-circle men shouted, 'That is enough,' the dance ceased and they all seated themselves. After a short rest the dance was continued.<sup>1</sup>

Some of the songs run: "Fox says, four times I am going to run. Days are my medicine; they are powerful. Nights are my medicine; they are powerful."

---

<sup>1</sup> McClintock, 446-447.

The ceremony within the enclosure is chiefly that of the transfer. For this four days and nights were required. The incoming members were required to abstain from sleep during this entire period. During the night they often paraded about the camps, occasionally shouting. A curious thing is that during this period they are forbidden to scratch themselves with the fingers but are given scratching sticks. Should they use the fingers they will become scabby and vermin-infested like the kit-fox. At no time must fox hair be burned in a member's tipi and no rabbit meat cooked at his fireplace. McClintock states that members were not permitted to kill or trap the kit-fox.<sup>1</sup> According to Grinnell, "if they were at war in summer and wanted a storm to come up, they would take some dirt and water and rub it on the kit-fox skin, and this would cause a rain-storm to come up. In winter, snow and dirt would be rubbed on the skin and this would bring up a snow-storm."<sup>2</sup>

Unlike the horns, the wives were not members; but they were painted by the former members in the manner described for the horns, to give them the power to care for and handle their husbands' regalia. We obtained no account of this ceremony, further than the belief that it was identical with that of the horn society (p. 410). The notion that the women were not members may, of course, be but a difference in point of view, since their functions in the kit-fox seem to have been about the same as in the horns.<sup>3</sup>

In closing, it may be noted that we find a tradition that the kit-fox as here described was the result of an ancient union between two other societies. What these were, we did not learn. Big-brave says he saw the last kit-fox dance some fifty years ago, but that for many years several of the lances were kept and transferred as other bundles. The lances and headdress were often carried to war as individual war bundles. In former times, only members were permitted to touch the lances or any other part of the regalia.

#### THE CATCHERS.

The organization of this society is as follows:—

Leaders (2)	Catchers (x)
Pipe men (2)	Drummers (4)
Tomahawk men (2)	Women members (x)

<sup>1</sup> McClintock, 446.

<sup>2</sup> Grinnell, 262.

<sup>3</sup> Bear-skin and Big-brave state that the horn and kit-fox societies were the same in most respects. Their lances were alike, the women were "painted" the same way, but what is more to the point, the kit-fox songs are sung in the horn ceremonies.

Maximilian (German ed. 577) notes both the kit-fox and the horns, giving the hooked staff as the emblem of the former and asserting that the latter wear "thin horns."

The two leaders carry bows and arrows painted red. These arrows seem to have been regarded as medicine since it was believed they never missed their mark. They were therefore a very important war medicine.

The two leaders paint the face all over with dark red paint and draw a black mark from the forehead down across the nose and a black circle entirely around the face. They wear a plain buckskin suit, without weasel-tails or hair fringes, but painted all over with red paint. One informant claims that the leaders painted their faces in a different manner, the forehead, sides, and chin being red with two pairs of oblique lines extending in toward the nose.

The two pipe men were in reality the keepers of medicine-pipes. Though the society has long ceased to exist, the pipes are still cared for and their rituals occasionally demonstrated. Wolf-tail and Split-ears are the present owners of these pipes. The transfer ceremony for them is similar to that of other medicine-pipes although they are known as catcher's pipes. The pipes themselves are different and their rituals contain some of the regular medicine-pipe songs. Among the other songs are those of the catchers society and the iniskim (buffalo rock).

The pipe ceremony was described as follows:—

First a smudge is made, the owner holding up some sweetgrass above his head and singing. The words of the song are, "That which is above, it is powerful." Then he brings the sweetgrass down and lays it on the fire, at the same time the song runs, "This, the earth, it is powerful." After the smudge is made the owner of the pipe and his wife both hold their hands in the smoke and then over the pipe bundle, then make four passes and untie the strings. The buffalo rocks are then taken out and placed in a row in front of the open pipe bundle. The owner takes up the pipe, holding it in his arms as if it were a baby. At this time they sing the iniskim songs, the words of which are: "A hundred buffalo I have fallen (caused to go over the drive)." All this time the man is holding the pipe in his arms and praying to it. Then he lays the pipe down and has his face painted with a red and black circle around it and a black streak across the forehead, nose, and chin. Then they sing the dance songs of the catchers. The owner gets up with the pipe and dances, everybody in the tipi being required to dance with him. All stand in their places and dance, first to the southeast, then face the north, then the southeast, and then the north. Then the man hands the pipe to the one next him and this man dances twice towards the south and twice towards the north, while all the others dance in turn as he does. Then this man turns the pipe over to the next person and all dance as before, until the pipe has passed entirely around the circle, every man, woman, and child present being required to dance with it. Four drums are used and the dancers shout and make all the noise they can. When all have danced with the pipe, it is handed back to the owner and he lays it down. This closes the ceremony and the bundle is tied up.

The purchaser of the catchers pipe makes the sweat house for the owner and on entering with him, presents him with a pipe of tobacco with a formal

request for the transfer of the catchers pipe. He must also give the owner a horse at this time. The next day the transfer ceremony begins, requiring four days. Each day the bundle is opened and the ceremony just described performed. At present the purchaser is required to pay ten head of horses, blankets, clothing, etc., but in olden times, five head of horses were all they paid. (Vol. 7, 159.) An informant states that the two catchers pipes were formerly quite peculiar and did not resemble the other pipes. Now, however, the rituals are much the same which he attributed to the fact that they had been transferred many times and that each owner tended to add or modify the ritual according to some vision or dream.

The tomahawk men dressed in plain painted buckskin suits, but wore buffalo robes with beadwork at the two upper corners to which tie-strings were attached. In the middle of the robe was a large beaded cross. The function of the tomahawk men is to stop fighting or other boisterous conduct in the camps. It is said that they are always certain to turn up whenever there is trouble around.

According to one informant, the tomahawk men carried symbolic axes or hatchets carved out of wood while the members carried clubs covered with buckskin fringes and white beads, with buffalo and deer hoofs at the ends of the fringes to serve as rattles. In Maximilian's account of the leaders we find the following:— "They carry as their badge a wooden club the breadth of a hand with hoofs of the buffalo cow hanging to the handle." (117.) All the members wore buckskin suits and robes.

In the formal ceremony they sit in a circle with four drummers in the middle. After the dance they go about the camp and tear up the robes of anyone they chance to meet. In the dance the pipe men dance first. As in most other societies the dance is repeated four times.

When the catchers are sent in pursuit of a delinquent or misbehaving tribesman, he may escape them provided he can get into a position in which none of the members overcame an enemy. Thus, if he wades into the water on foot, he cannot be touched except by such members as have overcome an enemy in the water on foot. If he rides into the water he must be taken by a member who has dismounted an enemy in the water, etc.

#### THE BULL SOCIETY.

The oldest one of the series and the highest in rank is the bull society. It has been many years since the last ceremony and scarcely anyone alive now even saw their dance. Fortunately, the peculiar belief about war-bonnets discussed elsewhere (Vol. 7, 116) tended to preserve the ritual.

Our chief specific information was obtained from two informants whose narrative we give in substance.

According to Red-plume the bull society originated in a dream:—

A man once dreamed that he was invited to a ceremony. He felt that the persons dancing there were transformed buffalo bulls. One of them said to him, "We invited you here to show how to do this ceremony. We shall give (transfer) it to you." So the dreamer watched and noted all. Then he went home. A long time after this dream he called the people together and told them the story. He asked them to help him start the society. They agreed and so the bull society began.

The leader of the society wore a straight-up bonnet with a tail also bearing feathers. The latter are spoken of as "boss ribs."<sup>1</sup> This seems to be the same general type as used by the horn society.

Two members were known as the scabby bulls. They wore headdresses made from the horns and hairy skin of the buffalo; also robes with the hairy side out. Their position in the dance was at the end of the line, or something like the bears in the brave society.

There were two young unmarried men members. They wore caps of otterskin with a few erect eagle tail-feathers behind and before.

The lay members seem to have been of two classes; those wearing straight-up bonnets and those wearing horn bonnets.

In the dance they formed two abreast, the leader at the head and the scabby bulls at the rear. The two young members occupied outlying positions on the flanks. They sat in this position in the open before they danced. The four drummers were stationed some distance in the rear. Their first formation was always some distance outside of the camp circle. After they had lined up, they waited until a horseman performed a curious ceremony.<sup>2</sup> As he set out he carried some robes and other valuable property. He acted as if the bull society were real buffalo, being careful to keep away from the wind until he had the line between him and the camp. Then he dismounted and kindled a fire with buffalo chips. All this time the men in line were on their knees making dancing motions with their bodies, accompanied by the drummers and singers. As soon as the smoke rose, the men in the line turned to look at it. The rider mounted, shouted, and rode toward them. At this, the bulls started forward on a trot, while the musicians followed, singing and drumming. The horseman rode along on the flank. When he shouted, all stopped and looked at him. Then he threw down one of the presents he carried and shouted as before. At this the line started on again. This was done four times.

Then the rider drove them to a watering place. As the dancers neared the water, he dismounted and standing to one side of the line took up four stones. Then he counted four war deeds and gave a horse to some one (not a member). Then he threw a stone into the water at which the bulls ran back. The bulls again approached and were again frightened. At the fifth attempt, they drank.

After this they proceeded to the camp circle where they formed in a circle and danced like the other societies.

---

<sup>1</sup> Vol. 7, 114.

<sup>2</sup> Curtis, Vol. 6, 28, says this was a young man. Our informant says he must be a very distinguished man and wealthy and not likely to be young.

The bull society became extinct because of a curious belief. The originator warned them that if a dancer fell, he would soon die. It so happened once that two dancers fell and died very soon thereafter. So the people ruled to omit the ceremonies.

All the war-bonnet bundles used now, came from the bull society and when transferring them, the bull songs are rendered.

An old man named Boy says his father saw the bulls dance and handed down an account of them, as follows:—

They were the most ancient society. One of the leaders wore a robe hair side out and a headdress made from the skin of a buffalo's head, with the horns polished. The left horn was painted blue with a blue plume at the tip. The right horn was painted white. The other leader wore a straight-up feather bonnet without a tail. Weasel fringes hung from the sides. On the front was an arrow, about the length of the forearm. This was fastened crosswise and with weasel fringes at each end of the feathering. The arrow, the bonnet, and feathers were well daubed with red paint. As to the arrow, it is said that once in a fight with the Crow Indians the leader of the bulls was wounded by an arrow so he symbolically painted the headdress red (blood color) and tied an arrow upon it. He also wore a robe hair side out.<sup>1</sup>

The dance formation for the society was two abreast. The two leaders were in the front rank, but just back of them was a single individual. He wore a straight-up feather bonnet painted red but without the arrow. On the left side of the bonnet band was a brass disc. Behind this man ranged the members two by two. At the rear sat a lone man known as a scabby bull. He wore a robe minus the hair in patches as the name indicates. On his head was the entire skin of an otter, forming a band with the head and tail behind. At the front and back are fans of eagle tail-feathers. Weasel tail fringes hang down at the sides and the back. The band of otterskin is about six fingers wide. On the left side is a brass disc about four inches in diameter mounted on a larger disc of rawhide with fringes of weasel fur. The edges of the rawhide disc are beaded.

The members wore robes with the hair side out and straight-up bonnets with tail pieces and erect feathers. These are called "boss rib" bonnets.

When dancing they snorted like buffalo, turning their heads from side to side, but keeping in line. They also pretended to hook each other. Four drummers were placed at the rear. On one flank was a rider supposed to be driving the buffalo to the pound or to water. Now and then he shouted and dropped a blanket, four in all. These represented the piles of rock forming the lines to a drive.<sup>2</sup>

The things thrown down were left for the poor and aged who collected them. At the start the dancers moved slowly, then on a trot, and finally on a gallop like a herd of buffalo when pursued. The rider drove them to a watering place, but threw a stone in to scare them back as they pretended to drink. At last he fired a gun and threw it away for the poor. This ended the dance.

At other times, the musicians built fires of buffalo dung. When the bulls smelled the smoke they danced off in another direction. Again, the society sat in a circle and danced like the braves.

---

<sup>1</sup> Curtis, Vol. 6, 28, says a pointless arrow was worn but our informant is positive that the arrow had a metal point, in short, a real arrow.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. 5, 35.

All the war-bonnets we now have came from the bulls and in transferring the same the songs of this society are sung.

The importance of this society may justify the full presentation of still another account by Big-brave:—

When Big-brave's father was quite a young man he saw the bull society. The following is his account of it as told by Big-brave.

One morning the people moved their camp a short distance away, only the members of the bull society remaining behind. When the camp was pitched an old man called out, saying that someone must ride back and drive the bulls to the camps and to the water. One of the chief warriors taking some blankets with him rode back on a fine pinto horse to drive in the bulls.

The bulls all wore buffalo robes with the hair side out and painted with white earth in spots to represent mud. Many wore horn bonnets while some wore buffalo head wool bonnets which had small feathers fastened to them. One of the leaders

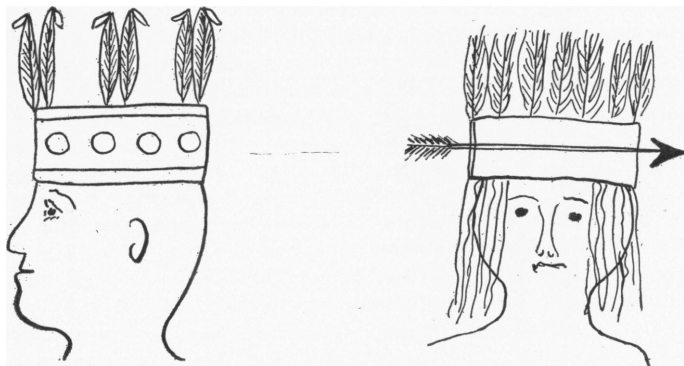


Fig. 17. Headdresses worn in the Bull Society. Drawn by Big-brave.

wore an otterskin cap with its edges decorated with bands of blue seed beads, while at four sides were quill-wrapped feathers decorated with bits of weasel tails at their tips. The width of the cap was two hands. Four pieces of some fungus growth which is found on trees in the north were attached to this cap. The other leader wore a straight-up war-bonnet similar to those made nowadays with weasel tail fringe and feathers, but with an arrow about the length of the forearm placed horizontally across the front. It is called "the bonnet which was struck with an arrow" and after the bull society was discontinued was used a great deal in war.

Two of the members were known as the scabby bulls. They wore robes that were either poorly dressed or with the hair partly worn off to represent scabby bulls. They usually followed behind the others.

When the man riding the pinto horse approached the place where the bulls were, he made a fire a short distance from them on the leeward side. He started the fire with a flint and steel. As soon as the smoke reached the bulls, they all looked in the direction of the fire, the rider mounted his horse, shouted four times and the bulls rose shaking themselves and pretending to hook one another. Finally, they

started off slowly, repeatedly looking back at the rider while their wives brought up the rear. Four men drummed and sang for them as they marched in the direction of the camp. Some of the songs ran as follows: — "The ground is our medicine; it is powerful. The wind is our medicine. Man, I want to hook."

The messenger rode alongside the bulls and dropped a blanket in their path to head them off. These blankets were picked up by others who followed behind.

When they came near the camp the bulls were driven toward a lake and then another man was asked to splash the water for the bulls as they drank. The man who splashed the water was a chief. He took four buffalo dungs and counted four war deeds. While he counted, some of his kin threw down near him blankets and other valuables to honor him. These things were taken by the bystanders.

As the bulls began to drink he threw a buffalo chip into the water. This frightened the bulls and they turned back. Again, he threw in a buffalo chip and again the bulls turned back. This was repeated four times and then the bulls drank, ending their march to the water.

During this march one of the scabby bulls fell. Not long after this he was picking berries with some women when he was attacked by the enemy and killed. It is said to be bad luck for one of the members to fall during the march or dance.

Big-brave said that they usually dance after being watered but that his father did not see them dance. All the war-bonnets used nowadays are said to come from the bull society.

While these accounts do not agree in all their details, they are in general accord. Bearing in mind that the last member of this society died many years ago, we are fortunate in receiving even these fragments. Curtis<sup>1</sup> denies that the bulls were a part of the regular series, but our informants were positive that they were. Since among neighboring tribes the bull society was one of the series and usually of the highest rank, we accept these statements as correct. We have also the testimony of Maximilian,<sup>2</sup> Grinnell, and McClintock in our favor.

In the account of the horns we noted Running-wolf's theory that the society had assimilated parts of the bull ritual. It will be noted that the headgear credited to the bulls is very much like some horn society regalia in contrast to that of the kit-fox.

---

<sup>1</sup> Curtis, 6, 28.

<sup>2</sup> Stomick (die Bisonstiere, les gros boeufs). Sie bilden eigentlich den ersten, d. h. ausgezeichnetsten aller Vereine, und sind die ersten im Range. In der Hand tragen sie ein Medicine-Zeichen mit Bisonhufen behangen. Wenn sie bei ihrem, besonderen Gesange tanzen, so rasseln sie mit jenen Hufen. Um die Polizei zu handhaben sind sie zu alt; denn sie sind durch alle Vereine hindurch gegangen und man betrachtet sie als gleichsam im Ruhestande. In gewisser Art sind sie von dem Vereine der thätigen und angesehenen Soldaten schon wieder hinabgestiegen. Bei ihrem Medicine-Tanze tragen sie auf dem Kopfe eine Mütze von den langen Stirnhaaren und der Mähne des Bisonstiers, welche lang herabhängen. (Maximilian, German edition, 578-579.)



## BLOOD SOCIETIES.

As in the case of the Piegan, our Blood informants were definite and consistent in the order and rank of these societies. Reference to the list (p. 366) shows them parallel to the Piegan series except that the places of the all-brave-dogs and the braves are interchanged. Then instead of the front-tails we find the black-soldiers and for the kit-fox, the horns. Two organizations are missing, giving the Blood division a smaller series.

The mosquitoes use tipi covers turned inside out to form the shelter for their transfer ceremony, but in all other respects resemble the Piegan society.

Though boys of any age may enter the mosquitoes they must be of marriageable age, or young men before they are expected to join the all-brave-dogs. Our informants make no mention of the two bears, but credit the two leaders with a similar costume and the bearing of bows and arrows. Otherwise, the organization is similar to that of the Piegan.

As to the braves, all-brave-dogs, dogs, and raven-bearers, no important differences from the Piegan came to our knowledge.

## BLACK-SOLDIERS.

Unfortunately, our information on this organization is meager. The members were said to carry daggers, wear no clothing (except breech cloth and moccasins) and to paint their bodies red. Around the ankles were strips of coyote skin. There was also a cap or headdress, consisting of a band of coyote skin with a pendant tip at the rear (see Vol. 7, 99). An eagle feather is placed on each side of the cap, suggesting horns.

There are two leaders each wearing an entire coyote skin over the shoulders. Another important officer is the keeper of the pipe. In the ceremonies he rides a horse, holding the pipe and wearing the headdress, feathers, etc., making up the regalia of a regular pipe owner (see Vol. 7, 138). In the dance he rides into the circle and when dismounted (p. 387) joins in the dance.

When the camp circle is formed the pipe keeper pitches his tipi inside the circle. If the society is called upon to render police service neither he nor the two leaders take part in the forcible restraint or punishment of offenders.

## THE CATCHERS.

The catchers have two pipes spoken of as the black-covered pipes (see Vol. 7, 159) whose keepers are regarded as the leaders. The members carried a curious club, spoken of as an ax (Fig. 18). It is nothing more than the broken end of a tipi pole, painted red, and trimmed with a bunch of buffalo dew claws.



Fig. 18 (50-5410a).  
Club carried by the  
Catchers. Blood.  
Length, 68 cm.

According to one informant the pipestem is covered with eagle plumes and four bunches of tail feathers. The owner wears wristlets bearing small iniskims (buffalo rocks) and some human hair. On the head he wears a fan-like bonnet of owl feathers to the top of which is fastened a small iniskim. With the pipe there is a buffalo chip enclosed in a pericardium. A specimen will be found in the collection (50-4534b). The pipes should rest on this when being smoked, but if such were not at hand an ordinary buffalo chip was substituted.

The painting was described as a black hand across the mouth and chin.

When acting as police the members cannot enter water to make an arrest in consequence of which one may escape by riding into a stream. The pipe keepers do not perform police service.

## THE HORNS.

While the corresponding society among the Piegan has long been extinct the horns still flourish among the Blood. There are many members among the North Blackfoot and the North Piegan and a few among the South Piegan, but so far as we know, the ceremonies are rarely held except on the Blood Reserve. We never saw any of the ceremonies but collected some of the regalia. It is the custom of the society to give a public ceremony at the sun dance and to offer their unwrapped hooked lances to the sun. We saw these still in place on the sun dance field (Fig. 19). Owing to the universal fear of this society and the secrecy of its ritual, we experienced some difficulty in securing information and specimens of regalia. The latter and all the general information was given the writer by various Blood Indians, but the secret part of the ceremony was obtained by Mr. Duvall from two informants whose narratives we present in full.

The following is the statement of a Blood woman who had herself taken part in the ceremonies:—

The members of the horn society are regarded as very powerful men and women. It is very dangerous even to talk about them and one must not tell what is done in the society; ill luck will surely befall him if he does. The ceremonies are secret. The power of members is so great that to wish anyone ill or dead is all that is needed to bring the realization. Among the Blood, the fear of the horn society is still so great that in court proceedings it is usual to take oath by them, that being the most solemn oath. Thus, a man will swear, "I will speak the truth by the horns."

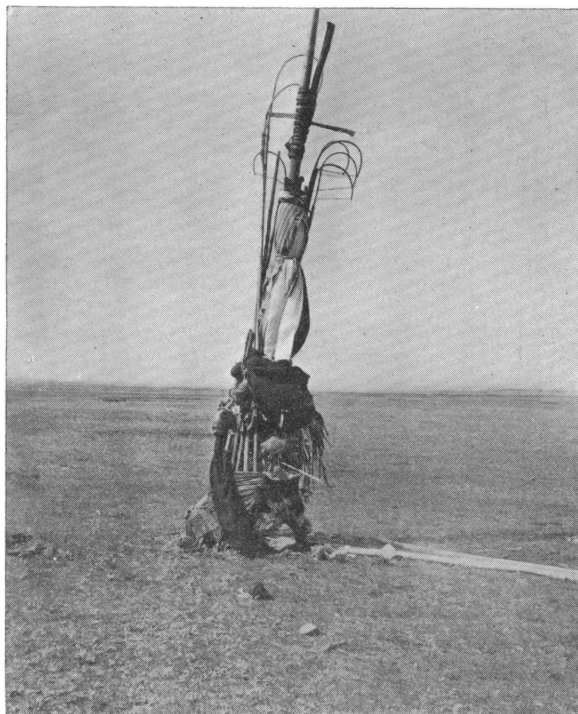


Fig. 19. Photograph showing the Offerings of the Horn and Ma'toki Societies on the Sun Dance Field (1903).

Like other societies the rule is for all the members to sell, or transfer at the same time. This transfer usually takes place in the summer. Both men and women belong, usually husbands and wives, though the latter seem to have a minor part.

There are two male leaders. They wear similar regalia; weasel tail shirts and leggings with bonnets bearing horns and tails. One of these bonnets bears a small arrow, sticking straight out in front. (Fig. 20.)

Next in rank are two men wearing "straight-up-bonnets." (One of these was

secured, Fig. 21. It is of the head band type with a fringe of weasel tails.) Each of these men carries a small bulb rattle with large wrist guard and streamers of ribbon at the end. Their clothing is of no fixed form, but should be elegant.

Of lower position is a single man wearing a cap made of swan skin who also can dress up to his means. His distinctive badge is a staff, or lance, about seven feet long, painted yellow and sharpened at one end. To it is strung a strip of flannel in sections of black and white. In the ceremonies this lance is planted in front of its bearer and is spoken of as the "mighty lance."

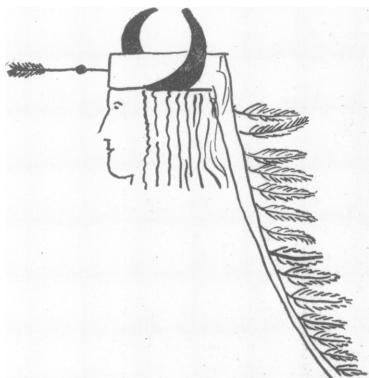
There are two mounted men, one on a black horse, the other on a white one. They are spoken of as the "ones who ride back and forth." The one on the black horse wears a black suit and uses a black saddle. His face is painted red and he ties four owl tail feathers in his hair. The one on the white horse wears a weasel-tail suit

and paints the face red. Sometimes he wears a white hat. Both men carry hooked lances about eight feet long. The one on the black horse carries an otter-wrapped lance with occasional bands of swan skin, while the rider of the white horse carries one wrapped with white swan skin with occasional trimmings of otter. Four eagle tail-feathers are strung on each.

One of the lay members carries the entire skin of a running fisher, stuffed and with brass buttons for eyes. The other members carry hooked lances also wrapped with otter fur and trimmed with swan skin.

Four drums are used in the public dances which occur in the day time, in the open air about the center of the camp circle. The members sit in a three quarter

Fig. 20. A Headdress used by the Horn Society. Drawn by an Informant.



circle with the opening toward the east. At each end of the crescent is set up one of the lances borne by the mounted pair. These are spoken of as the white and black hooked lance respectively. The two leaders sit at the middle, or west part of the circle, and the two rattle bearers to their left. The so-called "mighty-lance" is set up inside in front of the leaders. Those of the members are planted in front of their respective seats. The wives of the various members sit just behind, thus forming a second circle. The men rise and dance, holding their lances forward, dancing around in a circle to their right while the two rattle bearers move to the left. Though they keep moving in the same direction they face now to the rear, now to the front. The drummers keep their places in the center. The women remain seated also. The two horsemen do not use horses here. Also each member is free to paint as he elects. The public is permitted to gather and look on.

The transfer, or ceremony proper, is a secret affair. First an enclosure is made by setting up tipi poles and stretching over them enough tipi covers to form a screen. The old members are now to sell out entire and in secret elect their successors. A party then makes a round of the camp bringing in by force the men chosen, also their wives.<sup>1</sup> As some of those chosen succeed in eluding their ceremonial captors, the hunt continues until the required number is secured.

<sup>1</sup> For the forced transfer see Vol. 7, 156.

The men are stripped to their breech cloth and moccasins and painted all over with red paint by their ceremonial fathers and transferrers.<sup>1</sup> In the meantime, the wives of the fathers and sons exchange clothes behind curtains held up by the wives of the transferrers. The son's wife is then brought forward and given two suits of clothing, one for the son (her husband) and one for the transferrer; she also takes the lance and other regalia for the son. She goes to the entrance to the enclosure and waits. Then the transferrer rises and followed by the son, walks slowly in a stooped position, and on reaching her each kisses her and receives the clothing in turn. The woman then takes the lance and other regalia to the rear of the enclosure where she plants the former and hangs up the latter. Then she and the two men take their seats, the latter dressing themselves in their new clothes. During all this the father keeps his seat. Each son, his wife, and the transferrer go through the above procedure in turn.

At the same time the son's friends bring in horses, blankets, and other property to pay the father. Here also the transaction for each individual is separate. This accomplished, the whole body enters a large tipi previously set up inside the camp circle where they sit and sing the songs for the sons, or new members.

After a time they emerge and march entirely around the camp circle, sun-wise. The two riders now use their horses. Four times they pause and dance, the signal is given by the two horsemen riding back and forth in front of the column. Having made the circuit, they proceed to the center of the camp where the mounted bearer of the black lance invites some one to come forward and recount four deeds with the lance. If the members present cannot do this, an outsider must be called in. Then they dance once again; after which the women take the lances and headdresses and dance with them.

In all dances the man with the arrow on his headdress leads.

After a time a herald goes about the camp ordering everybody to keep close indoors, for the secret ceremony of the horns is to take place. The new members gather in a large tipi "to be painted by their fathers." The fathers, or the old members remain in their own tipis, but the transferrers meet with the sons. The wife of a son is directed to undress and cover herself with a robe. A small pipe is filled with tobacco. (One was obtained among the Blood, Fig. 22.) The woman extends her hands under the robe and holds the pipe horizontally with the bowl on her right side. She goes out and enters the tipi of her husband's ceremonial father, sits down at his left and offers him the pipe. He takes it, holds it up, and prays; then lights it and smokes. When burnt out, he refills it and hands it back to the woman. (The woman has been instructed as to her part.) The father then leaves the tipi with the woman. Once outside they walk slowly abreast, but some six feet apart. The father watches closely for if the woman stumbles, he must turn back at once, leaving her to return to her husband. When the two are out some distance the woman again hands the pipe to the father. Again, he takes it and prays, but does not smoke. The woman then reclines on her back with her feet together. *Vestem mulier ita plicat ut genitalia sola aperta sit.* The father places a piece of prairie-turnip in his mouth and stands first at the woman's feet upon which he spits; then at her right, then at the head, and finally at the left. The woman lies as if dead.

---

<sup>1</sup> In the transfer each individual sells to one other in the same fashion as with medicine bundles, Vol. 7, 272. The man selling out is the father to the purchaser, and there is a third man, or transferrer.



**Fig. 21 (50-5400a).** A Headdress worn in the Horn Society, one of two.

Pater ad mulieris pedes iterum accedit flectitque super eam. Tunc, manibus suis in lumeros mulieris impositis, genua ad eius femora collocat et facit sic ut membrum suum visile vulvam eius attingat: quo facto (ad pedes) surgit.

Now, the ceremony may end here at the option of the father. If not he goes again to her feet. Primum in formana cornus digitum vir curvat: deinde, uno femore in sinistram partem amoto, bisontis modo mugit; postremo, altero femore in dextram partem amoto mulierem futuere incipit. As he does so the father spits into the woman's mouth with the piece of turnip in his own. The father then returns to his tipi, while the woman holding the pipe as before goes to the door of the meeting place. There she stands until someone comes out to see who is there. When her name is announced, the transferrer and her husband go to the door. She then enters, being careful not to touch the sides of the door. The transferrer kisses her, receiving the turnip into his mouth. He also takes the pipe still filled. Then her husband kisses her.

The transferrer asks if she has been properly painted, and she answers according to the completeness of the preceding ceremony. If the ceremony was complete, the pipe she carried is lighted and passed. The woman is put to bed, still covered with her robe, where she must lie quietly until the next day.

All the wives of members must go through with this during the same evening.

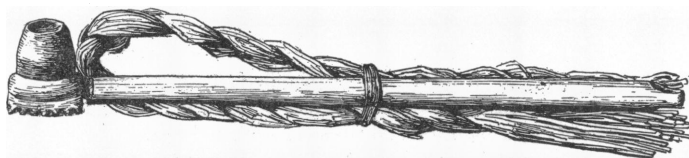


Fig. 22 (50-5401a). A Pipe used by a Blood Woman in the Transfer Ceremony, for the Horn Society. Length, 30 cm.

The next morning camp is moved. The women are taken up and placed upon travois, the horses being led by their husbands. During all this time the women must fast and abstain from drink. They must be helped on and off the travois, etc. After camp is pitched, the women each go to their fathers' tipis to be painted. He mixes up red and blue paints. The woman takes off her robe, but holds a corner over the pubes. The father smears her entire body with red paint. With the blue paint he marks a half moon on her breast. Then a circle on her back with either blue or yellow paint. On the crown of her head, he places some plumes. A blue circle is drawn around the face, a cross of the same on the left cheek and a dot on the right. (The men paint the same way.) A blue mark is made around each wrist and each ankle.

When painted the woman returns to her tipi, dresses, breaks her fast and resumes her daily life. Should the father fail to complete the ceremony the woman's face is painted differently. The left half is yellow and the right blue. On the yellow side is made a cross of blue, on the right a dot of yellow. Around the left wrist and ankle is a yellow band, around the right a blue band. Thus all may know by the painting.

After this the father prays over some pemmican mixed with back fat and berries and gives it to the woman. She takes it home and distributes it to her relatives.

The mounted bearer of the white lance seems to be under obligations to complete the ceremony. *Mulier cum viro egreditur. Velut autra, sic mulier nunc decumbit;*

vir, autem pipam prope mulieris caput collocat, at, tunica eius alrepta, libidiui dat laxas habenas. Our informant states that this white lance owner is usually jealous of his wife for obvious causes and is not likely to get on well with her.

The following is an extract from Mr. Duvall's notes:—

A — is an old man about seventy-five years old and quite absent-minded so that his narrative is somewhat disconnected. Once during the talk the clock in my house began to strike. He paused and when it stopped, prayed to it for help in obtaining food.

This man is a Piegan but once married a Blood woman and lived with that division for a time. Thus he came to be taken into the horn society. He did not care to join, but one day a horn member came to his tipi, circled it, and then came in. He said that he had come to take me into the horns. "You cannot refuse for I have circled your tipi," he said. This meant that bad luck would be his portion, if he refused. Hence, our informant became a member. He was conducted to the meeting place and painted entire with the "seventh paint." A black circle was marked around his face. The women, by the way, wear seven plumes in their hair.

It is very dangerous even to talk about the society. Once in a dance two members fell down; they died in a short time. Our informant once killed a buffalo by the power of the horns. In chasing a herd of buffalo, he began to fall behind. Then he rode back and forth across their trail four times, whipped the ground and shouted. Setting out again he saw a fat cow, down but still kicking. At another time he used the same formula to cause a rider's horse to fall. Again at a horse race between some Piegan and Flathead Indians, he spat four times upon a stone and placed it in the hoof print of the opposing racer, which soon became lame.

When a horn member wishes to kill a person, he sharpens one end of a small stick, paints it red, names the victim and casts the stick into the fire. Once when the horns were assembled, a man came in and denounced them vigorously. No one said anything in reply, but within four days the defamer took sick and died. Thus it is dangerous to speak evil of them. Even white men fear them.

Our informant's wife did not join the horns because she was blind. The society, had both day and night ceremonies. The latter was spoken of as, "sending them out," the women being sent out to be painted by the retiring members. On the evening for this ceremony, orders are sent out for everybody to remain indoors as the horns are about to send out their wives to be painted. The people fear them and obey: should anyone go out, he will meet with grave misfortune.

Once while the horns were marching around, they entered a tipi but the leader, seeing that he must pass in front of a medicine-pipe man, paused. The others told him to go on as the power of the horns was much greater. So they all passed in front of him.

In the painting ceremony the wives are usually sent out in charge of a third man to conduct them to the ceremonial father. This conductor is expected to make the woman fine presents; hence one seldom wants to perform this service, but does it only by compulsion. The woman will afterward treat her conductor in a familiar manner, she may sit by him and wait upon him, occasionally "scratch his head," and her husband can say nothing.

In the painting ceremony the husbands are assembled in the meeting place and wait there while their wives are conducted to the respective fathers' tipis. The father



takes the woman out-of-doors and proceeds with the painting. If properly done, he spits a piece of turnip into her mouth.

The woman is then conducted back to her husband. As they come near the meeting place, the conductor gives a faint signal, like scouts on the warpath. Then he announces the name of the husband after which the woman enters and spits the piece of turnip into her husband's mouth. This turnip is evidence that she was properly painted. She then squats over a smudge.

Some of the women are refused by the fathers, because they themselves are not of good repute or because their husbands are not worthy men. In any case, it is a disgrace to the husband not to have his wife properly painted.

Our informant never went through this painting ceremony. Some time after joining, a woman came one night and kicked on one of the tipi poles saying that she came to be painted. He told her that he could not because he had not received the necessary instructions. She then returned to her husband, who sent her to another man.

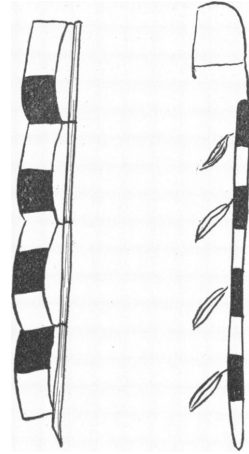


Fig. 23. Sketch of Standards used by the Horns. *a* A yellow painted Staff about seven feet long; *b* Staff carried by the mounted Members. Drawn by an Informant.

The writer has a statement from Strangling-wolf that the members wear no clothes and paint the entire body red. Some wear plumes at the backs of the head, others wear war-bonnets of several different forms. The lances, however, are the main objects. They are usually made of pine and cut thirty hands long. The leader's lance is five hands longer. The hook is made of birch and tied with sinew. Around the places where the lance is to be held, bladders are wrapped, because no one should touch any of the other parts. Nine eagle tail-feathers are used for each lance. The wrappings are of otter and swan skin. These are kept in bundles, but new sticks are required for each ceremony, the old ones being offered to the sun (Fig. 19). These are provided by certain men and the fee is a horse in each case. When the stick is cut, prayers are offered and some tobacco left at the stump.<sup>1</sup> The whole camp must keep very quiet while the stick is being prepared. The curved portion is made and then bound on to the end of the staff. Then the whole is painted red, after which the wrappings and feathers are added.

There are three kinds of bonnets: the straight-up kind, one with horns, and one without.

<sup>1</sup> Flat-tail, a Piegan, once cut and prepared a kit-fox lance for the writer. He performed the ceremony properly, but later met with misfortune and death. It was common talk that all this resulted from his meddling with the power of the kit-fox.

The leader of this society has the say as to when the camp circle shall be formed and where. He pitches his tipi within the circle.

When dancing, the lances are held out in front almost vertical. The drummers sit in the center. The members dance around them sun-wise, except those with the straight-up bonnets, each bearing a rattle. The latter go in the reverse direction. The dance is closed by the leader shaking a robe as if driving buffalo.

Mr. Duvall writes, "Near the close of the dance the man wearing the bonnet with the arrow dances in the lead while all the other members follow him. He attempts to break through the lines of the spectators who wave him back with blankets and robes and shout. The dancers seat themselves and then go through the same movements as before, trying to break through the crowd, etc. At the fourth attempt the spectators allow the dancers to pass, ending the dance."

When the unwrapped sticks are offered at the sun dance a square rawhide bag is tied on containing the paint and moccasins used in the ceremony.

A curious rule is that when a man sells his membership, he must not meet the purchasers, they being as taboo as mother-in-law and son-in-law. Once when visiting the Blood there was great confusion in the writer's tent over the unexpected entrance of a new horn member. Like the mother-in-law taboo, this can be removed by liberal gifts in a special manner.

The belief is strong that horn members have power of life and death over all outsiders. A short magic formula is known to them with which the result can be had.

Running-wolf, a very able Blood Indian, is authority for the statement that after the bull society became extinct the horns took over many of their rites. The headdress of the horn leader is said to have been worn by the bulls. His very aged mother remembered seeing the bull dance. He called attention to the large part buffalo conceptions seem to play in the ceremonies and origin myths, whereas the kit-fox of the Piegan has a different mythical origin. One of our Piegan informants was positive that the buffalo did not figure in the kit-fox ritual in any manner whatsoever. It will be noted that this theory of Running-wolf is consistent with our accounts of the kit-fox. On the whole, we believe this to be the most probable explanation of the differences between the horns and the kit-fox. In a way, this would also account for the unusual prestige now enjoyed by this organization.

## NORTH BLACKFOOT SOCIETIES.

It still remains to consider the corresponding societies of the North Blackfoot division. Our information here leaves much to be desired, chiefly because there seems to be a less definite ranking and a number of new societies included in the list. In contrast to the preceding, our informants were not in agreement as to the extent and order of the lists. They were given as follows:—

<i>Calf-child</i>	<i>Red-old-man</i>	<i>Crane-bear</i>	<i>Strange-wolf</i>
mosquitoes	mosquitoes	mosquitoes	.....
bees (namó)	.....	.....	crows
prairie-chicken	prairie-chicken	prairie-chicken	prairie-chicken
crows	.....	.....	.....
all-brave-dogs	all-brave-dogs	all-brave-dogs	.....
bad-horns	braves	black-soldiers	braves
black-soldiers	bad-horns	wolf-dancers <sup>1</sup>	black-soldiers
braves (ma'tse)	.....	.....	.....
raven-bearers	raven-bearers	raven-bearers	raven-bearers
dogs	dogs	dogs	dogs
horns	black-soldiers	bulls	horns
catchers (ii'nika)	catchers	kit-fox	catchers
bulls	kit-fox	catchers	.....
kit-fox	horns	horns	.....

Of these we believe that of Calf-child deserving most consideration, because he seemed well informed on the details of organization for the various societies. In order to facilitate comparison we have extended the lists of other informants so as to bring as many names as possible on the same levels. We believe that an examination of these lists will justify our assumption that the differences are due to faulty memories and that each informant was striving to state one and the same definite tribal order of rank. Further, a comparison with the list for the Piegan and Blood, will certainly lead to the inference, that the same order of ranking prevailed among the North Blackfoot. Again, our informants were positive that the rule was for each society to transfer to the members of another after an interval of four years, or after four annual ceremonies. Hence, notwithstanding the inconsistencies, it seems clear that the North Blackfoot had the same system of societies as the Blood and Piegan divisions. On the other hand, we find

---

<sup>1</sup> maku'ye pa'skan, not known to the other informants.

a number of new names in our lists. There are also indications of a tendency to readily incorporate new organizations into the series and to drop them again with equal readiness. This is seemingly a symptom of looseness in organization and a less developed system of societies than among the other two divisions, though it may be merely the result of an earlier breaking down of the social life of the North Blackfoot.

So far as our information goes the black-soldiers (*siksi'naki*), raven-bearers (*máesto<sup>x</sup>pátaikis*), dogs (*imitaika*), horns (*i'tskinai*), catchers (*ii'nika*), bulls (*sta'meksia pa'skan*), and kit-fox (*senopa'pasken*) were similar to those of the other divisions.

As to traditional origins, it is said that the all-brave-dogs came from the Gros Ventre and the black-soldiers from the Cree. For the other societies we give the exceptions and descriptions as the case may demand.

#### THE MOSQUITOES.

The tipi in which the transfer ceremony is held is pitched outside of the regular camp and is not a combined shelter as previously noted. Four old men meet there with the little boys to be taken in. After the ceremony they circle the camp outside in single file and when again near their tipi, sit in a circle with the drummers in the center. A piece of rawhide is used instead of a drum. Here they dance four times and then run through the camp, scratching people as previously described.

When the camp is moved, as at the sun dance for instance, the mosquitoes stay behind and dance until the procession is far away. Then they mount and charge after them, riding around and scratching people.

#### THE BEES.

The society of the bees (*namó*), it is said, was introduced by the Sarsi many years ago and according to one informant combined with the mosquitoes forty-eight years ago. As an organization it had two leaders of unequal rank. They paint their faces and bodies yellow, a transverse band of red across the eyes and one across the mouth; black bands around the abdomen and the back, the wrists, and ankles. Their clothing consists of robes, moccasins, and breech cloth. The robes are painted red and blue and bear the broad beaded band so characteristic of the Blackfoot (Vol. 5, 123). The ranking leader wears a pendant eagle feather and a strip of weasel skin at the back of the head.

A decorated staff is owned by the two jointly. The grip is at one end, wrapped with weasel fur. At the other end are two branching feathers, as

upon the staff for the prairie-chickens (Fig. 24). Along the staff is a fringe of buckskin and a row of dew claws. (According to James Eagle-child the staff is called the bee lodge.)

The lay members paint their bodies and faces red, with a single transverse stripe of black or white across the nose. They wear only robes, moccasins, and breech cloths.

All members wear an eagle claw on the wrist, painted yellow, and secured by a buckskin thong.

In dancing, the organization forms in a circle, the leaders to the west, the opening to the east, and the drummers in the center. When dancing out-of-doors a piece of rawhide is used, but for ceremonies indoors, drums

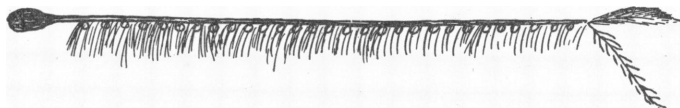


Fig. 24. Staff of the Bee society. Drawn by an Informant.

are used. The staff is borne by the first leader. All follow him, when he rises they rise, etc. After the first dance, the staff goes to the second leader, then back to the first, etc. There are four dancers and seven songs. All movements are made sun-wise. The leaders dance inside of the circle formed by the members. At the end of each dance, all quickly squat in their places.

At the close of the fourth dance the leader shakes the staff causing the dew claws to rattle loudly. At once the members scatter and run about scratching people. If any of the members have been to war and entered the tipi of an enemy, they may go into any tipi and scratch at will.

The tipi of the society is pitched within the camp circle and is made by combining the covers of the tipis of the two leaders.

When moving camp the members watch the leader bearing the staff and follow.

According to our informants the bees were older than the mosquitoes. This would give them higher rank as indicated in the list of Calf-child. We were not able to determine how two societies so similar as the mosquitoes and the bees came to exist, but think it a good guess that one of them arose as a rival organization.

#### THE PRAIRIE-CHICKENS.

An informant states that the age for entrance in the prairie-chicken society (*ke'tuki iks*) was eighteen to nineteen years. There are two leaders who seem to own the emblems of their office jointly. When the society

meets, the tips of the two leaders are joined to form a single shelter. Two old men are taken in as drummers. There is no special costume for members but each carries a rattle and paints his face yellow with red between the eyes.

The leaders carry decorated staffs. One of these is about four feet in length, the lower half plain yellow, the upper, blue and adorned with feathers. At three places is a wrapping of weasel skin to hold four eagle feathers laid on the sides of the stick. From the top extend two more eagle feathers in *y* fashion. The other staff is yellow and blue as before, but bears one

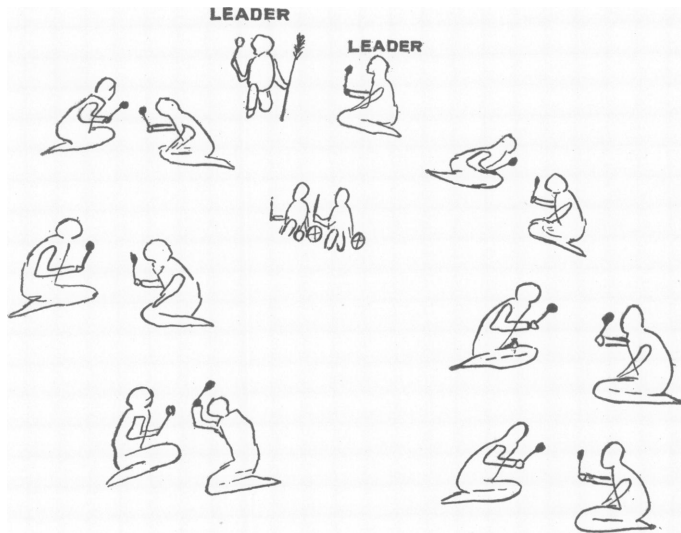


Fig. 25. Dance of the Prairie-Chicken Society. Drawn by an Informant.

erect feather, held by a wrapping of weasel skin, below which is a wrapping of beads. We were told that in the transfer ceremony, the two leaders jointly received the staffs, which is an unusual procedure.

In the ceremonies of the society there are four dances at sunrise. The members number about eighty and sit on their knees in pairs in a circle. The leaders sit at the west side. The drummers sit in the middle and lean forward and beat rapidly to make a noise like the prairie-chickens. The two leaders get up and run around the outside of the circle and at their return change places. The members then dance on their knees, throwing their heads out at each other and change places. These evolutions are given four times as stated above.

According to Calf-child the society was first organized when his father was a boy and by his grandfather. Youths only were taken into it. The

old man did not dream of it, but based it upon a dance he had seen in his boyhood.

The origin myth is as follows:—

Once an old man saw some prairie-chickens dance. He was a trapper and set some snares in which the dancers were entangled. Afterwards he had a dream in which the oldest of the chickens appeared and said, "You have killed my children and spoiled our dance. If you do not leave us alone, I will take your children away. How would you like that. If I had but few children, I would take some of yours; but since I have many, you may keep yours."

The old chicken carried a staff like that used in the society. Then he began to dance and gave the old man directions for forming a society.

#### THE CROWS.

The important point in this society is that it was organized about forty-one years ago and gave its annual ceremony four times, and then ceased to meet. It is said to have originated in the dream of a North Blackfoot boy. It should not be confused with the *ma'esto<sup>x</sup>pa'takiks* (raven-bearers). The leader and the members wore fringed black shirts and leggings. All carried buffalo tails. Their faces were painted red or yellow, with black symbols representing crow's feet.

There were three to four drummers who sat in the center of the dance circle. Near them was the skin from the head of a buffalo and upon it the head of a crow. The leader held these alternately when dancing. The dances were held in the night and were very noisy, like congregated crows.

A special drum was provided, painted black, and bore a picture of a crow.

#### THE ALL-BRAVE-DOGS.

While with the Piegan, the members paint according to their rattles, in this division they paint according to a definite formula, yellow on the face with transverse bars of red across the eyes and mouth. The wives of members take part as previously noted, but paint like their husbands and may at times dance in their stead. In the regular ceremonies they dance at four different points in the camp circle. Our informants mentioned the two bear members, described by the Piegan. The North Blackfoot name is *ma'tse*.

#### THE BAD-HORNS.

This was organized by a North Blackfoot man who believed he had died and visited the land of the dead. He came to a place where the dead were

dancing. As he stood watching, the leader shook his staff at him at which he passed again into life. His name was Calf-shakes-his-head and afterward he founded the society.

The leader carries a staff about four feet long bearing fringes and hoofs throughout its length. The fringe is made from the smoky top of a tipi. One end of the staff is sharpened for planting in the ground. The costume is a very long shirt, like a woman's dress with fringes on the sides, made of smoky tipi covers. The leggings and moccasins are of the same material. White paint is spread around the eyes, and around the mouth, red with an outer border of white.

The second leader has a staff and a costume identical with the first.

There is but one song. In the dance they stand fast, moving the head and shoulders only. The positions are as in other societies. All hold whistles in their mouths while making the dancing movements.

There are three drums. These are laid upon the ground and not held when beaten.

The name of this society is pa<sup>x</sup>ka'potskinaiye.

#### THE BRAVES.

The organization is on the whole, similar to the corresponding society among the Piegan, but an informant gave the following exceptions:—

The shirts they wear are long and reach to the feet. They are made from the smoked parts of tipis. They have a headdress that seems to be a painted cap with holes for the eyes, nose, and mouth. They have two white lances. The informant claims that formerly there were but two of these, and that later they added two more. The other features of the dance are as described by the Piegan.

#### SUMMARY.

In general it may be said that the Piegan, Blood, and North Blackfoot divisions of the Blackfoot Indians have the same series of societies for men. The same conceptions underlie their gradations and functions and in most cases the details of organization and the names are identical. This can be interpreted in two ways: either the system was acquired before the divisions separated, or it was disseminated from one center. For a long time the Blood and Piegan have been most intimate and the Indians themselves seem to recognize greater affinity between them. Consistent with this is the close correspondence between their societies. Yet, the greater differences for the North Blackfoot occur among the societies for younger men, which as we



have seen, are by tradition at least, the most recent. Hence, it is a reasonable assumption that formerly the same system prevailed in all divisions. Yet, when minute details are regarded, certain interesting tendencies appear. The organizations peculiar to the North Blackfoot tend to have certain features in common; for example, two leaders jointly owning the tipi or the badge of office, features not noted elsewhere. A like tendency toward the exemption of certain members from police duty, appears peculiar to the Blood. On the other hand, the main patterns for the societies of all divisions are the same, as shown in the arrangement of leaders, the order of the dances, etc. Thus, in general, we have a definite Blackfoot pattern common to all, with but slight deviations toward sub-patterns for the respective divisions, all of which emphasizes the similarity throughout.

This general pattern may be formulated as follows:—

1. A progressive membership.
2. Annual ceremonies, a reorganization each year at the forming of the camp circle (Vol. 7, 22).
3. Transfer of membership at the end of a four year period.
4. Absence of moral and practical qualifications for admission and of all provisions for expelling undesirable members.

The most unique feature of this scheme is the apparent ranking by degrees and the corresponding age equality of the members. We have already called attention to the Indian's notion that, functionally the system is merely the progressive membership of a group of chums or friends. On the other hand, the grading system is not dependent upon this feature, since such a system could be carried out equally well by individual promotions at irregular intervals. The important point in this is, however, that these Indians did not so much have in mind that all these societies constituted a graded series, as that they were linked together in a chain of ceremonial transfers. While a Piegan knew that one must first join the pigeons and would end when he passed out of the bulls, he thought of the procedure in this way: first one may buy into the pigeons, but a pigeon must buy into the mosquitoes, and transfer his pigeon membership to a novice, a mosquito must buy into the braves, etc. to the end of the list. Once one entered into the thing, he automatically took on a religious obligation to carry it through to its ultimate conclusion. It was precisely like taking over the ownership and obligations associated with any Blackfoot ritual, the condition here being that one entered a series of linked rituals, with periodic transfer ceremonies. This is strikingly consistent with the opinion of two intelligent Piegan informants, that the order of such transfers was determined by the historical sequence in which the society rituals were acquired. Thus, if all existing societies are linked, a new one can be added most

easily at the beginning, since there its new members are free to buy in and have no prestige to sacrifice, as would members of the bulls. We should then expect that in the ordinary course of events the first society for one to enter, would be the most recent in origin and the last one in the list, the oldest. On the other hand, it should be noted that there is nothing in the nature of the Blackfoot ritual system that precludes the introduction of a new society at any point in the series, if supernatural sanction could be secured for the change. We offer the above not as certain proof that the rank of these societies was due to seniority of origin, but as a very plausible theory as to how the Blackfoot came to recognize such a system of graded societies. Supporting this theory we have the definite statement by informants that seniority of origin did determine the rank, the consistent traditions that the lower societies had been originated recently, and the peculiar linked transfer obligation, which if held inviolate, necessitated such an order. These make a strong presumption that a historical explanation will fully account for the Blackfoot scheme of gradation. The best examples of sub-patterns are the dual ownership of a staff of office noted in the bees, prairie-chicken, and bad horn societies of the North Blackfoot and the adjunct of the two bear members in the pigeon, mosquito, brave, and all-brave-dog societies of the Piegan. The latter feature is not exclusively Piegan, however, but has been carried out by them in the construction of all the lower societies. An examination of the list of societies for each division (p. 369) will show that practically everything above the front-tails and black soldiers will cancel out as common to all. It is clear that the North Blackfoot must have developed the bad horns, prairie-chicken, and bee societies with their common and distinct pattern; as to the bear men of the Piegan it is not so clear, though it seems certain that they originated the pigeon society and it is probable that they created the whole group containing the two bear members. The higher ranks in the series cancel off so nicely that it seems a fair guess that they arose before the several divisions of the Blackfoot became distinct, or at least during a period when they were under one tribal government.

Three Piegan men gave us statements as to their membership in various societies:—

Bad-old-man bought into the mosquitoes while he was quite young but after his marriage. This was before the pigeons were started. For this membership he paid a gun and clothing. At the end of four years he sold out and joined the braves at a cost of some blankets and clothing. After three years he sold his membership in the braves and bought into the all-brave-dogs. Now, it happened that he purchased this membership from his own son-in-law and he gave as the purchase price his youngest daughter. After three years he sold his membership in the all-brave-dogs and pur-

chased a place in the front-tails, paying a horse. After four years he sold out and purchased into the raven-bearers for which he paid a horse. The next summer he joined the horns as he was then living with the Blood. For this he paid a horse, a gun, a saddle, and many blankets. After four years he sold his membership in the horns. As he never sold his membership in the raven-bearers he is still a member of that organization.

Big-brave was taken into the front-tails at eighteen years of age. The members of this society were much older than he but he was taken in as one of the young men comrades. As explained elsewhere, most societies have one or more young men and four much older men as members. This was the first society Big-brave joined. Two years after this, while still a member of the front-tails he was taken into the pigeons, according to his age, that is, all of his chums who were all about the same age as himself bought into the pigeon society. He bought the place of one of the yellow pigeons. A year after this, many members died of the smallpox and the two leaders of the pigeons were killed in war so that the next time they met, Big-brave was chosen as one of the leaders. The proper regalia were transferred to him and his yellow pigeon regalia transferred to another. He gave a gun, some blankets, and clothing as a fee when he first joined the pigeons since in those days the fees for joining were not so great as later. He was a member of the pigeon society three years in all, when the whole society sold out to younger men. All this time Big-brave was a member of the front-tails which society then bought into the raven-bearers. They urged Big-brave to join them but he told them that since he had become a man and was then married he did not care to join their society, because all the members were much older than he and that he thought it best to purchase into a society according to his age and rank, or into the society in which all his chums were. However, the front-tails prevailed upon him until he joined them in the purchase of the raven-bearers. During the same year, he with the pigeons, bought into the mosquito society. After he had been in the raven-bearer society for a year he sold out and three years later sold out his membership as a mosquito, he having been in that society four years. The year after this he bought into the brave society of which he has been a member ever since as he never sold out. Twenty-nine years ago (1911) he was made a member in the all-brave-dogs society to take the place of one of the old men members and, since he never sold out, he is still a member of this society. He also dances the grass dance as it makes no difference who dances in this association nowadays. As Big-brave explained he did not join the front-tails and the raven-bearers according to his rank or in the order in which he should, but was taken into the front-tails as a boy member and afterward induced by them to continue the association when they purchased into the raven-bearers. Then again when he joined the all-brave-dogs, who were all much younger men, he was taken in as one of the old men members. He further comments that each society took in four old men comrades and four very young men, spoken of as single men comrades, and that when a society sells out its membership they call in former members to officiate in the transfer, that is, all those of whom they purchased their membership who, in turn, transfer it to those to whom they are to sell.

When about eighteen years of age Bear-skin joined the pigeons. He claims that he and some of his chums organized this society which was dreamed by an old blind man. After remaining with the pigeons for three years he sold out to a younger man and then bought into the braves. As he was absent when his fellow-members bought

into the mosquitoes, he with them bought into the braves again and thus remained a member for five years. For two years he was a member of the all-brave-dogs but joined no other society after this because all the societies for older men had been discontinued.

Extended comment on these narratives seems unnecessary since taken in their entirety they present almost every phase of the Blackfoot system of progressive membership. We have previously noted that theoretically a membership terminated during the fourth year, but this seems to have been contingent upon opportunity to sell out. It will be observed that of the ten intervals given by our informants, four are of three years' duration instead of four years. This may be due to the stated rule that one should sell during the fourth year of membership which in some cases would give an actual interval of little more than three years. When Bear-skin corrected his error in skipping a society, he not only served four additional years, but felt obligated to buy in a second time with his companions. As noted elsewhere this companionship feature seems one of the fundamental conceptions in the Blackfoot scheme.

We understand that there were no definite age requirements for membership. On this point, however, we have very meager concrete data. Some informants were of the opinion that the ages of members would not vary more than two years, which is in keeping with the Blackfoot conception of chums (Vol. 7, 16). On the other hand, some informants were equally positive that great differences in age did exist. It is evident that if all members in a society are of equal age, there must be an absolute age limit for entrance to the first of the series. There is no evidence that this was the case.

Thus, since boys of any age were taken into the lowest society and then automatically carried through the series, there could be no great uniformity in age. It may be that the chum idea was made the basis of a symbolic equality in ages; at least, this was Mr. Duvall's opinion.

We come now to the method of joining a society. In the preceding paper on the Blackfoot (Vol. 7) we discussed the transfer conception, or scheme, that seems to underlie all their ceremonial procedure; hence we need but add that membership in a society falls under the same scheme. When it is said that one society sells, or transfers, to another, the process is in all essentials the same as for ceremonial bundles. As we have pointed out the latter are strictly of individual ownership and it is quite in keeping with this rule that when entering a society, you have transferred to you the particular regalia, seat, and functions of a given member. As is made clear in the account for the horns (p. 413) the parties to this transfer are the new member, the retiring member, and an ex-member, the latter officiating.

No other man has any part in the ceremony. This is practically identical with the son, father, and transferrer relations previously discussed (Vol. 7). While it is the rule that all members perform these various ceremonies of transfer at the same time, they may occur at any time, as is shown in our personal narratives. If for any reason *A* should privately transfer to *B*, *B* and not *A* would report when the next meeting of the society was called. It seems then that these societies are after all but organizations of individually owned ritualistic bundles (regalia) and that the whole conforms to the tribal ceremonial scheme.

This accounts for the absence of anything like election or selection of officers, or persons to fill important functions. Thus, it was the rule for the young man who held the leader's place in the lower society to receive by transfer the regalia of the next higher, etc., to the end of the list. On the other hand, any leader could privately transfer his regalia to another, who thereby became the leader. It was the custom, however, to fill vacancies by death by a kind of informal election among the surviving members. Thus, there were no important restrictions to membership, since even the purchase price was insignificant. Conversely, there are no provisions for dismissing members who fail to live up to ideals, nor were we able to find special ideals of conduct as among the Dakota societies (p. 64).

Another interesting feature of this society system is the adjunct of four old men and four very young men, the former seemingly as honorary members, the latter as assistants. Consistent with the scheme of comradeship these usually accompany the age group to which they were first attached even up through the higher ranks. The old men have very real and important functions in the pigeons and mosquitoes since the youthfulness of the regular members is likely to interfere with ceremonial decorum. Likewise the young men assistants have very real functions in the highest rank where the members are likely to be among the superannuated.

## WOMEN'S SOCIETIES.

## THE MA'TOKI.

Among the Blood and North Blackfoot division flourishes a woman's society known as the ma'toki. No one seemed to know of any such organization among the Piegan. The word cannot be readily translated and may be of foreign origin. Among the white people in Canada the name "buffalo dance" is current.<sup>1</sup> The first mention of the ceremony seems to be Maximilian's brief account:—

The medicine dance of the women does not occur every year. It is a medicine feast for the latter, at which, however, some men likewise appear. A large wooden hut is erected, the women dress themselves as handsomely as they can, and all wear a large feather cap. Some of the women take no part in the dance, and these, with the men, are spectators. Men beat the drum, and shake the schischikué, the last day of the feast; when the dance is finished, the buffalo park is imitated; the men, the children, and the remaining women form two diverging lines, *b* and *c*, which proceed from the medicine lodge, out of which the women creep, crawling on all-fours, and endeavour to imitate the manners of the buffalo cows. Several men represent buffalo bulls, and are at first driven back by the women; but then, as is the practice in this kind of hunting, a fire is kindled to windward, and the women, or buffalo cows, as soon as they smell the smoke, retreat into the medicine lodge, which concludes the festival. They sometimes perform this dance in the summer, when the fancy takes them.<sup>2</sup>

From Mr. Duvall's notes we take the following:—

The ma'toki dance but once a year when the camp circle is formed. Their ceremony lasts four days. First they make a shelter somewhat like the one used for a sun dance. A tipi pole is set up in the center, with a peculiar cross piece near the top. A number of travois are set up in a circle around this pole and joined together by tipi poles tied along the top, making a single railing all the way around. Then other tipi poles are tied to this and to the cross piece on the center pole, forming rafters like in the sun dance shelter. On the sides and over the top are stretched tipi covers. At the bottom they are weighted with stones. Along the sides within blankets are suspended.

The center pole is the ceremonial property of the leader of the ma'toki and her organization name is ma'toki-tipi-pole-owner. Near the cross piece on the pole are four transverse black bands about a hand apart.

When the shelter is ready the members bring their bedding and occupy their respective places during the entire four days.

---

<sup>1</sup> See McClintock, 450.

<sup>2</sup> Maximilian, 112, 115.

There are six men attached to the society, but all the other members are women. Four of these do the singing. The remaining pair act as messengers and attendants.

The women are organized as follows:—

The snake bonnets (6)

The buffalo wool bonnets (×)

The scabby bulls (4)

The feather bonnets (×)

The tipi pole owner is one of the snake bonnets. Each woman has a red-painted backrest stick planted before her seat to support her headdress. When they sleep, they lie with their feet toward the center. Just to the west side of the center pole is a fire. When food is brought in and handed to members, they pass what is given

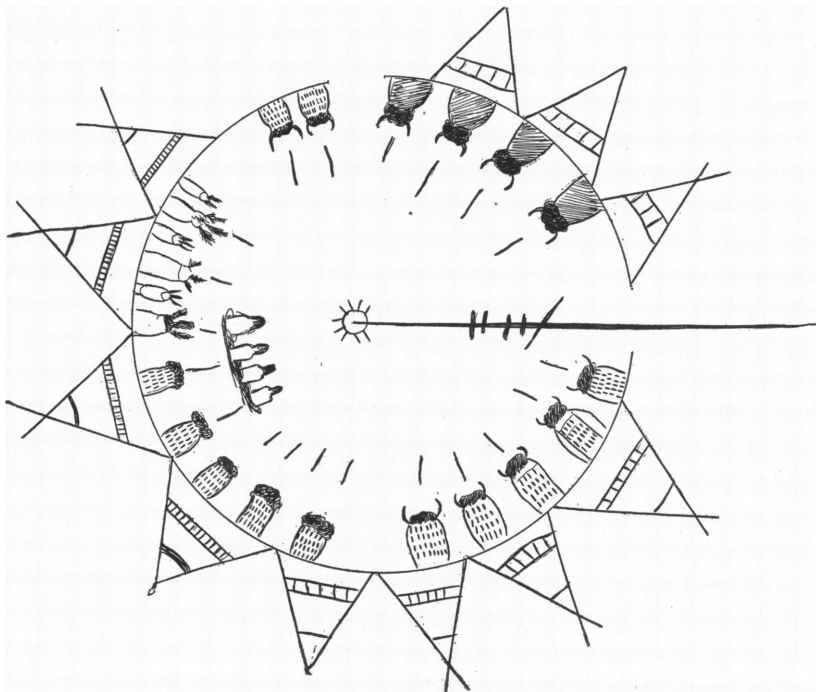


Fig. 26. Diagram showing the Ceremony of the Ma'toki. Drawn by Mrs. Heavy-runner. The top of the sketch is north. The positions of the two doors are shown; to the west of the center pole sit the four male singers; behind these to the north are the six snake-headdress members, to the south the five feather-headdress members; south of the east door sit the buffalo-wool headdress members; to the north the four scabby bulls; the marks above the heads of members indicate sticks for supporting the headdresses when not in use. The triangular figures outside represent travois.

them to members on the opposite side. Each member has an individual smudge altar before her seat. For these the grass is cleared from a small oblong. Along the sides next to the sitter are rows of buffalo chips covered with sage grass. Sweet-grass is used for the smudge. The headdresses must always be smudged four times before they are placed on the head.

During the first day men, women, and children go in to be painted, taking with them sun offerings of cloth, etc., which are tied to the base of the center pole. The faces of these donors are painted over with red and a blue mark made down the forehead and nose with a fork at the top. This is said to symbolize the tipi pole in the center and spoken of as the tipi pole paint.

The ceremonial shelter has two doors, one at the northeast and one at the southeast. In going out members use the nearest door but return by the other. The four singers use rattles and a rawhide of the same type as accompanies the beaver bundle (Vol. 7, 190). They sit west of the fireplace.

All the women wear bone whistles suspended by neck cords and upon these they blow while they dance. They do not all dance at once, but by groups. Thus, the four scabby bulls rise and dance. When they sit again the feather bonnets take a turn, etc. In all movements the owner of the tipi pole has absolute authority. Her person seems to be regarded as sacred. She wears a buckskin dress and a snake bonnet and sits to the right of the other snake bonnet wearers. This bonnet takes its name from a circlet of buckskin stuffed with hair and resembling a snake. It is painted yellow with a zigzag line beaded along the side. On each side of the head is a bunch of plumes. Fringes of weasel fur and beads hang from the sides.

The feather bonnets are covered over the crowns with a mass of soft bird feathers. They have tail pieces falling down on the shoulders and bearing transverse rows of small wing and tail feathers. All their dances occur in the daytime. The scabby bulls wear bonnets with horns and robes of cowskin, hair side out. They dance in single file, circling the pole. First they rise and dance in their tracks, then move to the south side of the fire and dance, then to the west and then to the north. Next the snake bonnets rise with the tipi pole owner in the lead and dance in the same way. Next come the feather bonnets and finally the buffalo wool bonnets.

It is customary for persons who have made vows, or pledges during the year, if their prayers be granted, to provide a feast of berry soup for the ma'toki. At various times during the ceremonies a pledger brings in a kettle of soup and some tobacco which is offered to the tipi pole owner with an announcement of the circumstances. Then the soup is dished out to the members and each and all pray for the pledger.

On the morning of the last day, before sunrise, the ma'toki forms in procession and imitates buffalo going to water. They seek out some depression or low place in the prairie. As they drift along they segregate, as they do in the dance. At a place designated by the leader they all lie down like buffalo.

Now, it is customary for a man or a boy to have made a vow that he will "drive in the ma'toki" at their next ceremony. His sacrifice must be a horse and many presents to the owner of the tipi pole. This man then rides out as if looking for buffalo. When he finds them, he builds a fire with cow dung to windward. As soon as the ma'toki smell the smoke, they rise. The driver then mounts and rides toward them, at which they start for their shelter. As they proceed, he rides on their flank. They trot to the shelter, but the four scabby bulls trail slowly in the rear. When the members get inside the shelter they run around the inside sun-wise until one by one some person lays hold of them and leads them to a seat. Two of the snake bonnets run around in the reverse way. The four bulls come in last and walk slowly around until pulled into their seats.

Like the horns and other societies the members sell, or transfer, to others, usually all transferring at the same time. The ceremony seems to require four days and



nights, during which time they are not supposed to sleep. No men are admitted at any time and the six male members are sent home at night. It is said that the entire night is given to hilarity. Joke and jest reign supreme. Some dress like men and act out the part, give orders to a wife, etc. Some roll up blankets like medicine bundles and hold mock ceremonies. The object of this seems to be that no one may go to sleep.

The fees for buying a membership are a horse, a gun, and other property. The most expensive place is that of the tipi pole owner for which twelve horses and a proportionate amount of other property are required.



Fig. 27. Buffalo-wool Headdresses for the Ma'toki. Drawn by Mrs. Heavy-runner. These are intended for different views of the same headdress. The top is heavily covered with buffalo hair while the skirt bears four rows of bird feathers. The wearers paint a circular white spot on each cheek and one on the forehead, with a cross in each produced by rubbing away the paint.

As to the transfer ceremony, we have not been informed, but have notes on an interesting proceeding between the new member and the one she displaces. In the morning each new member goes to the one she purchased of, her ceremonial mother. She enters the tipi, throws down her robe, places her hands upon the mother's head, passing them down to her shoulders and kisses her. By this the mother understands that she is to accompany her daughter. The mother is conducted to the shelter, walking behind and given a seat facing the center. The daughter then sits in front facing the mother. Some red paint in a cup and some blue paint in a shell is provided. The mother then paints the daughter's face.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The following comment is by Mr. Duvall: — Our informant did not say whether the old members had to remain there during the whole day or not. The old members had to be there every morning and painted those who came there to be painted. The ma'toki were in charge when the camp circle was formed. It seems that they meet at the time of the sun dance. I am unable to find out whether they meet at the time of the tobacco planting.

Her husband belonged to the horns but refused to talk about them as it was said to be

Outsiders may come in later with offerings to the sun and have their faces painted by the mothers. The regular painting is yellow over the face with a red horizontal band across the eyes and one across the mouth. Down the forehead and nose is the peculiar forked line in blue, previously mentioned.

It is a peculiar fact that the horn society having its ceremonies at the same time, brings in its unwrapped lances and fastens them to the center pole as an offering.

The closing ceremony of the *ma'toki* consists in taking down the shelter and the frame, leaving only the center pole, with its sun offerings. Then the members stand around the pole and sing. This concludes the ceremonies for the year. (Fig. 19.)

The *ma'toki*, like the horns, seems to be feared on account of its magical powers, though it is regarded as inferior. During their ceremonies and especially at night, they must not be disturbed.

The statement of another informant is as follows:—

The *ma'toki* meet once a year at the time of the sun dance. Should there be no sun dance, they would perform their annual ceremony anyway. The owner of the center tipi pole seems to have full powers of initiation and from her must come all instructions as to date, place, etc. In response to her call a camp circle is formed. When a sun dance is not given simultaneously, the *ma'toki* go about from tipi to tipi collecting the cloth, etc., to be offered the sun, which is then tied to the center tipi pole. If a sun dance is under way, they are tied to the sun dance pole instead.

During each ceremony, early in the morning, the new members go out and bring in those whose membership they purchased. Suppose A transferred a place to B; then B conducts A to the ceremonial shelter and A paints B. This must be done each morning during the ceremony. A remains in the shelter during the day, to paint any outsider who may come with offerings for the sun.

Dr. R. H. Lowie observed parts of the *ma'toki* ceremony among the Northern Blackfoot and writes as follows:—

In the afternoon of June 17th the twenty members of the *ma'toki* were busy constructing the lodge for their dance. After several hours' work they proceeded to the circumference of the camp circle for the selection of a lodge. They marched in single file, headed by an old man who was said to sing at their performance. After a while they were followed by a man bearing an eagle feather fan, the herald of the sun dance. They walked twice around a lodge, stood still for a while, then took down the lodge and carried it back to the dance lodge where it was superimposed on the conical roof of the structure already erected. The walls of the lodge were lined

---

dangerous. He is a member of the horns and his wife a *ma'toki*. Mrs. Strangle-wolf speaks of the horn members' wives and yet we find one man who is a horn and his wife is not. I asked them about this, and she said that she was a *ma'toki*, that her husband was not, and that she had nothing to do with the horns.

with canvas, a series of travois was fastened to the beams right around, the center pole had two pieces of calico cloth tied to it. The women sat nearest the walls, two rows deep.

The performance proper of which only a very small portion was seen (on June 19th) commenced about 6 o'clock and was said to cease at sunset. In the back, but in front of the women, sat four men in a line, who were chanting and beating their rattles. Four women crawled on their knees (not hands) to a diametrically opposite position to that of the chanters, and after the song arose and one after another touched the center pole. Then they danced in their places, moving one hand rhythmically. Their places were taken by several women wearing horn headdresses. These also danced in their places, walked a few paces to the left, and then resumed motions as before. When diametrically opposed to the singers, the touching of the center pole regularly took place. At intervals a woman seized five or six rattles, carried them near the center pole and beat them there. Two of the dancers had bone whistles, which were blown at regular intervals.

## RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES AND CULTS.

Under this head we have considered a number of ceremonies participated in by groups or organizations in contrast to the individual ceremonies connected with medicine bundles. Here again, we find the ritualistic conceptions of Blackfoot culture prevailing in the form of bundles and formulae of individual character, even though the owners form a group. One gets into a cult by having a bundle provided at the hands of other members, but once in he is expected to remain, though in practice, individuals often do transfer their bundles and hence their memberships. The peyote cult seems not to have reached the Blackfoot, neither did the ghost dance craze move them, unless the recently borrowed black-tailed deer dance should be of such origin.

As to the distribution of these religious societies we note that the dance of the dead and the all-smoking ceremony were known to all the divisions. The crow-water and the stick-game dance were practised by the Piegan alone. The black-tailed-deer dance was known to the Piegan and perhaps the Blood, our information as to the latter being doubtful. These taken with the preceding societies constitute all the strictly religious organizations we have so far discovered among the Blackfoot. All that remains for future discussion is the tribal ceremony of the sun dance.

### THE CROW-WATER SOCIETY.

There flourishes among the Piegan a religious society, or perhaps an organized cult, believed to have originated among the Crow Indians. The native name seems to signify "those that own the Crow power of waters," but is sometimes rendered as "Crow beaver medicine owners" implying a similarity to the beaver bundles described in a previous paper. A Piegan named Iron, living in 1903, claimed to have founded this society which he acquired while living among the Crow Indians. Later, he was assisted by an old woman named Good-captures. Though a Piegan, she was in early life captured by the Crow and lived with them ever afterward. She made long visits to her Piegan relatives during which she taught them the ceremony. Hence, this society cannot be more than forty years old. Nevertheless, it is a strong and flourishing organization.

The following is the substance of the founder's narrative:—

He brought it from the Crow where he lived some twelve years. He knew that it came from the seven stars. The Crow gave him some seeds of a small plant with a song, which gave him a membership. After a time he dreamed of six dwarfs and they gave him power to get horses, property, food, and long life. Since that time he has always had abundance. When he came back to the Piegan, he sold or transferred to Curly-bear some of his power and since that time the latter has prospered. He claims that all of the members are prosperous. When a member is taken in he is given the skin of an otter, blackbird, weasel, beaver, or something with a song. These songs must have been dreamed by some of the members. Women can be taken in alone, but if married, both husband and wife must join; likewise when a man joins, his wife must enter. A man joins by calling upon a member, making him gifts and asking him for some of the Crow-water power. These gifts are supposed to be many quilts, horses, etc. Each member gives him some object and an associated song.

The members receiving the gifts must divide them among other members as far as they will go, one thing for each. Each one receiving a horse must contribute some object, a song and some power, the others are free to choose. Thus, the highest price paid for membership brings the most medicines. The objects are placed in a bundle which becomes the new member's individual medicine. They are not treated as most medicine bundles, but may be opened at any time.

In the ceremonies the women usually do the dancing. The men seldom dance but do the singing. The women do not sing when they are dancing. There are no regular times for meetings, but it is usual to hold them every Sunday and at the time of the new moon. Ceremonies are held in compliance with vows of outsiders or members as with other medicines, but they may meet on any occasion. The number of members is not limited in any way. None of the proceedings are secret. Everybody may look in, but only members can come inside of the tipi or ceremonial circle.

The members usually paint their faces yellow, with red bars across the mouth and forehead. A rectangle of red is also made upon the backs of the hands. A few plumes and feathers are worn on the head. There are no other regalia, the chief things being the individual bundles of the members.

The taboos observed by bundle owners are also in evidence. Neither marrow nor bones may be placed in the fire or the owner's horse will have his leg broken. Lodge pins must not be put in the fire or the owner will have a tumor (?); nor must iron be put in the fire and allowed to become red hot, or the owner's teeth will fall out. If lodge poles are burnt up, horses will die. The owner must not touch moccasins while smoking; he will have a scabby mouth. Moccasins placed under the bed will bring bad luck. When dancing and smoking, if one should pass in front of him, the smoker goes blind. He must not lend a blanket to another as this will bring bad results.

The medicine formula or power may be used as follows: — If a member wishes a horse, he calls in other members and sings the songs and offers prayers. It is believed that one so doing will soon be called upon for some service and receive a horse as a fee. Other wishes may be gratified in the same way. An outsider desiring anything may formally announce that he provides food and presents for a meeting. Then members assemble and hold a meeting. This is usual in sickness. Vows to provide the feast may be made as in case of medicine bundles.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Vol. 7, 148, 172.

The following account is by Owl-top, an active member of this society:

The dance may be given at any time. Sometimes when a person has made a vow to give a feast because of someone who is sick the members, who are notified, pray for the sick person. As soon as he recovers, the person who made the vow makes a berry soup and goes to one of the members and tells him to have the dance. In entering the place where the ceremony is to be held, the members pass around the left of the fire to the right and take their seats. They must not pass in front of those who are already seated, but behind them. When seated the members place their bundles in front of them. In leaving the dance tipi there is no rule, the members may go out in any manner they wish.

The man who cares for the pipe, furnishes the tobacco, and tends to the fire, is seated at the left of the fire in front of the other members. Sometimes he also heats the skin on the drums, if it should loosen, in order that the drums should give a better sound when the skin is stretched. No one must ever pass in front of this man. The pipe is passed from right to left in smoking. As each man has his bundle lying in front of him a smudge is made, and after the bundle has been held over the sweetgrass smudge, it is unwrapped and the first person at the left sings to the accompaniment of six or eight drums.

The women are seated on the left and they rise and dance, the person leading in the song signalling with the skin or bird he holds, while the women imitate his movements. Each man sings all of his songs, the others joining him. After each man has sung his songs the dance ends. The men may dance if they wish to do so.

The person who makes the vow gives one of the members a horse and clothing, as well as the food. These gifts are divided among the members. Even if a man has purchased membership, his fees are divided among all the members.

When it is time for the feast, a smudge is made on the southeast of the fireplace and the pot of berries held over it, set down on the smudge, and then placed near it. The person who made the vow passes the food and just before eating each one takes up a berry and holding it up, prays. Then they all hold up the dishes with the food a little above their heads, set them down, and begin to eat. The members usually pray for the sick person for whom the vow was made. Formerly, only members were given food and allowed to witness the dance but now all onlookers are given food. During the dance they pray for health and happiness. Anyone of the members, when he wishes to do so, may give the dance.

If a member should be a guest anywhere and be offered a pipe, he must always blow some of the smoke toward any medicine bundle that may be hanging up. If one member visit another, the host must always give his visitor a present of some sort. If he was nothing to give he will give a song. This refers only to those living some distance from each other.

If anyone wishes to buy into the society, he fills a pipe and offers it to one of the members, at the same time asking him for some of his medicine objects. The member calls on the person from whom he bought the object to assist him. If the purchaser has a wife, she is also made a member.

First, the three men go through the sweat house ceremony. Then they go to the seller's house.

The new member calls the seller his father, and the man from whom his father bought, his grandfather. The father has no authority in the transfer, the grandfather doing everything. After the sweat house ceremony the new member and his

wife are given some clothing. In all, four sweat houses must be made but there is no rule as to the interval between the making of each sweat house, it being merely a matter of convenience. After the fourth sweat house and dance, the new member and his wife go to the dance taking with them blankets, calico, and probably eight horses to be given as a fee to the father. The grandfather has first choice of the horses and the rest of the things are divided among the members. Then all the members spread open their bundles and the new member may choose one object from each bundle. With each object he is given a song. If at any time the new member should visit his grandfather, he must give him a present.

Women as well as men are taken into this society, some unmarried women being members. During the dance, if there is a large attendance, each member sings only three or four of his songs, as it would take too long for everyone to sing all his songs.

Members of the society recognize the following taboos: bones must not be heated inside of a member's tipi; meat must not be cut in a kettle, nor must a knife be used to stir food while it is cooking; the picket pins must never be burned, should one be burned horses will be lost. When a member dreams of some new thing to be made up, he goes to his grandfather to do so and pays him for it. After the new medicine has been made up, he tells the others about it.

The different medicine objects in the bundles are: mink, muskrat, otter belt, weasel, blackbird, sparrows, night hawks, beaver, magpies, snow birds, a wooden hand, a whistle, robins, and other birds.

The power of this society consists in causing its members to become wealthy. Also, when the members pray, it cures the sick.

Before Owl-top joined this society an old woman, who came from the Crow, gave him a yellow shirt, a yellow robe, and a riding whip for which he gave her two horses and other things. The shirt, robe, and riding whip belong to the Crow-water medicine society. The old woman told him that some time one of his mares would have a pinto colt, and that whenever this happened, he would have many differently colored horses. Long after she told him this, he dreamed four times of many differently colored horses. Then he believed what she had told him. Now, it has been some time since the old woman told him about this pinto colt, and none of his mares have ever born such a colt, but his son-in-law's mares have had two pinto colts. He believes these are the colts the old woman prophesied about and thinks that now his horses will begin to increase. This society came from the Crow, but it is not known how the Crow got it.

We previously published two origin myths for the crow-water formula, one of which was evidently devised from the beaver bundle cycle.<sup>1</sup> In both, however, the Crow origin of the society is emphatically announced. Since Dr. R. H. Lowie, who has made a thorough study of the Crow, finds no similar society among them, some discussion seems necessary. The fact that two individuals contributed to the society seems to favor the existence of some parent ceremony among the Crow. On the other hand, the bundles and procedures of the society are typically Blackfoot, the only distinguishing characteristic as such, being the grouping of bundle owners into an organiza-

---

<sup>1</sup> Vol. 2, 77, 80.

tion. In a previous paper we discussed the ceremonial system of the Blackfoot, calling attention to the existence of a great stimulus to produce new bundles and rituals. From what we know of Blackfoot life, the most probable thing is that the founders of this society took a suggestion from Crow culture, by which they constructed a new ceremony. According to Dr. Lowie's Crow data, it seems that the most likely characteristic to impress a Blackfoot visiting the Crow would be the society organization in the tobacco ceremonies, since that feature is decidedly in contrast to the Blackfoot system of individually owned bundles. Hence, it seems a reasonable hypothesis that the founder (Iron) grasped the notion of a society organized on lines similar to the tobacco societies of the Crow. As previously noted, we fail to find any definite common inter-tribal elements, except the suggestion of the name and some mention of tobacco seeds. As to the name—the designation of this society as the Crow-beaver may have been due to the tobacco function of a beaver bundle owner presenting the only true Blackfoot analogy to the Crow tobacco society. Some of the Piegan members of this society had in their bundles small buckskin bags containing tobacco seeds which they said came from the Crow. These were not planted but used as ceremonial objects. We found no evidence of any member planting tobacco or that any considerable number of members possessed such tobacco. On the other hand, some members did dream of the "dwarfs"<sup>1</sup> who play an important part in the beaver bundle ritual, but they also had dreams of other mythical creatures. It seems then, that while there is some basis for the hypothesis that the name Crow-water society is the Blackfoot rendering of the Crow tobacco society and that the gross organization of each is similar, there the resemblances cease. The hypothetical character of the foregoing should be noted. It seems a reasonable assumption that the Blackfoot enthusiasts who promoted the new society, gave it its overwhelming Blackfoot character, perhaps in spite of the wishes of the founders.

#### THE BLACK-TAILED DEER DANCE.

This cult flourishes among the Piegan. The chief function of the cult is to make the capture of the deer easy, since members usually have dream revelations as to the whereabouts of deer. One member told us that in his dreams three catholic nuns always appeared and gave the information. It is certain that the whole ceremony was recently introduced from the Kootenai, some of the charter members being still among the living.

---

<sup>1</sup> Vol. 7. 200.



The regalia consist of a string of deer ankle bones painted red to symbolize the deer, or that the bearer "holding these bones is likewise holding the feet of the deer." When hunting they may wear on the head a pair of rabbit ears, painted yellow, to give speed and endurance. In the members' individual bundles are also weasel and other skins for which there are special songs.

Perhaps the most interesting feature of the ritual is the use of hypnotic power. There are four special songs for working this charm. In our collection of myths concerning this cult, we gave the narrative of a Piegan who came under the power of these songs.<sup>1</sup> Thus, it is said that a member painting his face yellow, taking up one of the skins and binding it on the head can hypnotize a person by looking in his eyes steadily and then making a sudden upward movement with the hands. After a time the operator wakes the subject, after which he is an undoubting follower of the cult.

We learn from Professor A. F. Chamberlain that the Kootenai have a black-tailed deer dance but for want of full published data cannot go into a comparative discussion. Naturally, the Blackfoot have the transfer and bundle conceptions concerning this ceremony as with other organizations.

Mr. Duvall secured a good account of the cult from Tailen Ashley, a mixed-blood Piegan, who introduced it among his people:—

The dance is ceremonial and was introduced from the Kootenai. Those who do not believe in the dance and ridicule it, are thrown into a trance by those who have the power, and are then awakened and become followers. Each man and woman member has a song of his or her own and some have more. The songs are bought from members and a horse or other property paid for them. Sometimes new songs are dreamed.

The dance is held in the evening, generally lasting through the night. Sometimes it is held four nights in succession. It may be given at any time, and is sometimes given the night before hunting, when it is usually dreamed where the game will be found. Sometimes a vow is made to give the dance for a sick relative. About midnight a feast is made. When the dance is given for a sick person all the dancers pray for him. If the members do not wish to dance they must remain standing to show their respect to the rest of the dancers.

At the beginning of the dance a smudge of sweetgrass is made near the rear of the house or tipi. The leader holds both hands over the smudge, places his hands near his ears, one hand on top of his head, his right hand over his heart, over his mouth and nose, and then takes his place. All the members repeat the same movements. The leader rises and stands in the center of the floor, and all the members stand around him facing the center. He shakes a bunch of deer hoofs, and prays. Then he dances in place, then turns and dances around to his right, the others following him in single file, jumping up and down to represent deer. He stops, prays, and then dances as before. Then the man next to him takes his place and goes

---

<sup>1</sup> Vol. 2, 159.

through the same performance. While dancing they all sing and some carry bells to keep time. Others hold both hands on their breasts as in the stick game. No drums are used. It is thought that the more the dancers exert themselves during the dance the better will be the result of their prayers.

Some members have hypnotic power. The prayers are for food, success in all undertakings, and protection against death. They pray to those who have given them power or songs in their dreams.

The origin of the dance is given in the following:—

A man had been ill for a long time and was not expected to recover. One time, while still ill, those around him heard him try to sing and raise himself. He supported himself on a post, meanwhile humming. Then he returned to his bed, and said, "I have had a dream. A deer came to me and said, 'I have come to help you. I have taken pity on you. You see yonder hill. I will lead you to the top of it. Hold my windpipe, but if you pull my windpipe in two before we reach the top, you will die. If not, you will get well.' We went up the hill very slowly. When we reached the top, the deer said, 'There are four deer on yonder ridge which I will give you. When you kill them take out the windpipe and lungs of one of them as you see mine now. Be careful and do not cut them in two. Take them home and cook them and give a dance and eat them and you will be well.' That is why I got out of bed and held on to the post. I thought it was the deer." Then he said to the two men, "Go to yonder ridge and kill the four deer there. Butcher one of them as I was told in the dream and bring it to me." They returned with the deer. That night they held a dance, the black-tailed deer dance.

Before hunting, a deer dance is held, so they may dream where the game will be found. Sometimes the leader dances, holding a post with both hands with bells, deer hoofs or claws in one hand, and a handkerchief or skin in the other. Anyone who believes in the dance may join whether he has songs or not. Some of the regalia for the dance are: rabbit ears, deer claws and hoofs, feathers, plumes, mink skins, otterskins, sleigh bells, and deer tails, also weasel skins, owl and other feathers. Juniper is more frequently used for the smudge than sweetgrass. The members paint in red or yellow with a stripe across the forehead and one across the chin.

Some members have power to give ill luck and to charm game. When game is killed by the members, they must not cut into the windpipe, nor give the heart to the dogs. The head of deer must not be used by anyone as food, nor must children be allowed to play with it or the hoofs. The reason that these taboos must be kept is that the member may be able to charm game. When they wish to go out to hunt, they set up a stick covered with cloth about twelve inches long at the rear of the tipi and make a smudge of juniper back of it. The men sing, but must not pass between the stick and the fireplace.

## DANCE FOR THE SPIRITS OF THE DEAD.

This ceremony is often spoken of as a ghost dance but seems to be an ancient cult. The idea was to make a dance for the dead to which their spirits were invited. At one stage of the ceremony a herald goes outside to invite the spirits, beginning his announcement by he-e-e, repeated four times. He must not, however, call any ghost by name. The dance seems to be founded upon an incident in the Blood-clot myth,<sup>1</sup> when the hero organized a dance in the stomach of the monster. "When he got into the stomach of the fish, he saw a great many people. Many of them were dead, but some were still alive. He said to the people, 'Ah, there must be a heart somewhere here. We will have a dance.' So he painted his face white, his eyes and mouth with black circles, and tied a white rock knife on his head, so that the point stuck up. Some rattles made of hoofs were also brought. Then the people started in to dance. For a while Blood-clot sat making wing-motions with his hands, and singing songs. Then he stood up and danced, jumping up and down until the knife on his head struck the heart."

The curious idea seems to prevail that the dance is also for those near death or about to become ghosts and that these Blood-clot directed to at least move their heads in unison with the dancers.

The following are two independent narratives of origin myths for the ceremony:—

## (a)

A man once pitched his camp far from any others. He had a wife and little boy. After he had been there some time, his wife died. He stayed with her in the tipi for four days and then decided to go away. He took the boy, but before he had gone very far, he heard a voice say, "Go back and stay with your wife. We will help you bring her to life again."

He didn't see who it was that spoke but returned. That night he lay in his tipi and heard people singing and dancing but could see no one. The people he heard dancing were ghosts. They said, "We will dance four nights and restore life to your wife." The man stayed four nights and each night heard the dancers when awake, and saw them in his dreams. After the fourth night his wife lived again. The ghosts gave him the dance and when he returned to his people, he taught them the dance which is still held.

## (b)

One time, when a war party was returning after a long journey, one of the members of the party died. His companions made a lodge of brush and trees and left him there. A ghost came to where the man lay and pitied him, invited a number of

---

<sup>1</sup> Vol. 2, 56.

ghosts to the place and said, "Let us all have a dance for four nights and restore this man's life to him." They agreed, and after four nights, the man came to life again and saw the ghosts, how they painted their faces, and how they dressed. One of the ghosts said to him, "We will give you this dance. When anyone is sick or about to die, have a dance, and he will recover." The man returned to his home. After some time someone was very ill. This man gave the ghost dance, and taught it to the people.

The dancers paint to represent skeletons, so it is said. The face and exposed parts of the body are painted white, while around the mouth and each eye is a bold circle of black or red. The effect is quite hideous.

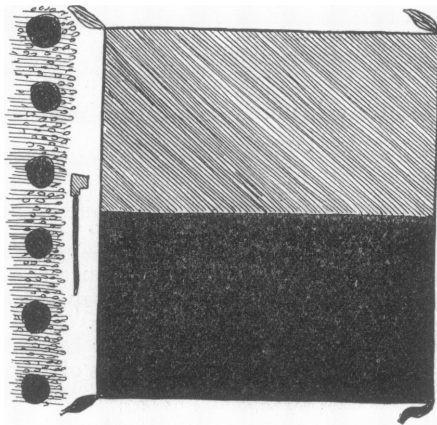


Fig. 28. Smudge Altar for the Ghost Dance. Drawn by Big-brave. The altar is about one foot square, the north half red, the south half black. Red and black plumes respectively are stuck up at the corners. At the west is a row of buffalo chips covered with sage grass. Between these and the altar lies the pipe used in the ceremony. Sweetgrass is used on the altar and the tongs should lie on the north side.

There are no particular regalia except a plume on the head, nor are there any bundles. The ceremony has, however, its own peculiar ritual and songs. Women dance with the men.

A dance rarely occurs unless some man makes a vow or formal pledge to provide a feast and dance for the dead in return for some expected or realized good fortune. At the ceremony his wife sits near the door and takes the name of Yellow-woman. She paints her hair yellow and her face red with a yellow band across the forehead. On her head, she wears a plume. A great abundance of food is expected.

The smudge altar is a large oval with the incense hearth at one end. At the other is placed a small pipe and four plumes. According to Big-brave the altar was square, Fig. 28. One member is delegated to attend to

the pipe. At the close of each dance he fills the pipe and hands it to the leader after which it circulates. As soon as it is burned out the dancing is resumed. There are four periods of dancing. The evolutions consist of dancing, alternately facing the fire and the walls, twice for each. Then all sit down, save the leader who takes the pipe and prays. Then he sits down and smokes. In starting a dance all rise to their knees, making movements as in playing the stick game, where with four movements they rise to their feet.

During the ceremonies no one must laugh nor must anyone spit. No dead person should be designated by name.

A special ceremony was sometimes given by two members. They did not use the regular painting but dressed in fine clothes and danced with ropes and whips. This was believed to bring good luck in capturing horses.

#### THE ALL-SMOKING CEREMONY.

We come now to a ceremony that goes by the name *kanochisisin*, or all-smoking ceremony. It is not clear whether this is a cult or simply a group ceremony like the sun dance. The right to lead in the proceedings seems to be owned by one individual and may be transferred like other ritualistic things. Thus it is said, "If the man who leads in the ceremony is pleased with the presents he receives, he may transfer the right to lead to one pledging the ceremony."

The distinguishing feature of the ceremony is that it is a kind of medicine coup counting. Like warriors recounting their deeds, those present are called upon to count over the different medicine rituals they have owned and all fired with new enthusiasm to secure more. In conformity to a vow or formal pledge a man will invite people to his tipi for an evening feast. He will engage a man with the right to lead to conduct the all-smoking ceremony. He will have ready a pot of tongues and berry soup; also a quantity of tobacco cut and mixed. The meeting is to last until this is used up. Each guest is called upon in turn to sing songs from one of the rituals of medicines owned by him. So they pass around in order. The process is thus a kind of counting out in that the last men are those who have owned the most medicines.

The following account was secured by Mr. Duvall:—

When a man vows to give the all-smoking ceremony he invites many men to his tipi and calls upon someone who has the privilege to lead the ceremony. A fee is paid in blankets or clothing. First the man giving the feast makes a soup of tongues, cherries, and blood. Before the tongues are cut up by the women, prayers are said

and a smudge made. The tongues are boiled all day and in the evening added to the berries and blood. During the day, a stick to which is fastened some sage grass at either end and calico or a piece of skin at the middle, is tied to a tipi pole as an offering to the sun.

The leader takes his place at the rear of the tipi to the left. A young single man is called upon to tend the smudge, light the pipes, cook the soup, etc. In payment, prayers are said for him. The pipes are lighted with four service berry sticks about a foot and a half or two feet in length, which are lighted in the fire.

The smudge place is not cut out but white earth is spread over an irregular surface. Four buffalo dungs are placed on the west side with sage grass on top of them and at the right is placed the smudge stick. In the center is placed a buffalo dung on which the smudge of sweetgrass is made.

Four undecorated black pipes are used. No metal may be used on the pipes. The man who gives the feast fills the pipes while the assistant lights and passes them. Four rattles, similar to those in the beaver bundle ceremony are used. The guests sing the songs of the different medicines owned by them. In all each one must sing sixteen songs, four at a time. Anyone who has owned the medicine-pipe may sing four of the medicine-pipe songs; as many of the beaver bundle songs as one wishes to sing may be sung; but of other medicines, only one song may be sung. One song is allowed from each of the societies. The man sitting on the south side of the tipi starts the singing and is followed by the one on his left, and so on. One of the rattles is used by the person singing while the other three are used by the three people next to him to his left. Before singing, a smudge is made, he tells of what object he is going to sing, the amount paid for it, and a short prayer is said. When a man owns no bundle and has no song to sing, he merely passes the rattles to the next person. When medicine-pipe men join in the ceremony they bring with them their own utensils, sweet-pine needles for the smudge, etc. During the feast they are served first. When the owner of the smoking-otter joins he is given a place near the smudge place, opposite the leader; the medicine-pipe man is seated to his left. While the smoking-otter owner smokes, sleigh bells are shaken four times and everyone must desist from touching his moccasins. The smoking-otter owner uses juniper for his smudge. At the beginning of the ceremony the iniskim songs are sung.

The man who made the vow goes out to bring in the sun offering, making four stops in his circuit around the tipi. It is spread out and the moon and sun dogs painted in the center in black. On it is placed the tobacco board. The leader rubs the board, steel, and knife with sage grass. He brushes the right side of his head, his shoulder, and his arm, and then the left side with the sage grass. The same movements are repeated by all the men in turn. While the man who made the vow holds the tobacco and knife to cut it, the leader holds his wrists, and another man counts four war deeds. Meanwhile the leader motions as if to cut the tobacco. The leader paints the face of the man who made the vow and his family, with red paint, a black stripe around the face, and a dot on the bridge of the nose. He cuts the tobacco, fills a small pipe, and hands it to the leader who holds the stem or mouth-piece over the smudge and then the bowl, twice for each. Prayers are said to the sun, telling of the offering made, and asking for mercy for the man who gave the feast. The moon, stars, earth and all the animals are also appealed to and then the pipe is passed around for everyone to smoke.

The four rattles are held in the smudge, four times, and shaken, between each time. Then the singing commences and continues until each man has sung sixteen

songs in groups of four. If tobacco is left over some is tied up in the sun offering and some given to some old man, who prays over it. Should the supply of tobacco give out before sixteen songs are sung the ceremony ends.

When a smudge is to be made, the assistant takes the smudge stick which lies to the north of the smudge, goes back toward the door and around the fireplace before he makes the smudge. Each time the pipes are filled, the assistant hands them to some old man, before lighting them. The old man holds the pipe in the direction of the smudge, pointing twice with the bowl and mouthpiece alternately. Then he prays.

The berry soup is served at the close of the ceremony. First the assistant takes four pieces of tongue and gives them to the leader. He holds up a piece, between his thumb and forefinger, prays to the sun and stars, and places it at the south side of the smudge. Thus he places a piece at each corner of the smudge. He places a piece on the west and east side, and the fourth piece in the assistant's mouth. Before eating the soup everyone holds up a bit of the tongue and prays.

After the ceremony is over the leader hangs the sun offering in a tree or other place. The leader may give the man who made the vow the right to lead in such a ceremony by simply saying, "You have paid me so well. You may lead such a ceremony and do as I have done." The ceremony seems to be connected with the sun dance as tongues are used and offerings made to the sun.

#### THE STICK GAME DANCE.

Within a few years a new association was introduced from a neighboring tribe passing under the name stick game dance. It was reported by Duvall during the winter of 1910-1911 as having just come to the notice of the tribe. He made no investigation of it but later James Eagle-child attended several ceremonies, participated in some and interviewed the founder. In a previous paper it was stated that rituals were still being created and developed. This is a splendid example and offers therefore an unusual opportunity for a functional study. The stick game outfit to which this ritual is attached has been used by the Piegan for some years and seems to have originated with the Gros Ventre from whom they usually obtain them. As developed in our paper on ceremonial bundles, it is difficult for a Blackfoot to look upon any curious object used by persons without a feeling that it is "medicine." Thus, we are told that when a Gros Ventre exchanges a game set for a horse and other property, whatever power the set possessed is transferred to the new owner. The suggestion is sharpened by the fact that certain special songs are used in the game, for according to Blackfoot conceptions the transfer of the bundle containing the set gives also a presumptive right to the songs.

The facts of the case seem to be that a Piegan, named Fish, once owned one of these stick game sets and later had a dream in which a ritual was

conferred. This makes the stick game set a bundle and it has already changed hands several times. At the transfer a horse and some clothing are given. (As a rule, the regular stick game sets were given to the person winning four straight games.) The new owner's face is painted red, but in the game the players paint red crosses on the face. The songs used in the game and the special songs of the ritual are also transferred. Though the set is kept in a bundle, it seems possible to open it at any time and without the ceremony. The owner is subject to no taboos but menstruating women must not go near the game. There must be no flirting among those present and the players must not cheat or members of their families will die.

The following is Eagle-child's account:—

In 1909 Big-spring bought the stick game dance bundle from a Gros Ventre. It contains twenty sticks with magpie feathers and four small plumes on the end of each. The sticks were about fourteen inches long and half an inch in diameter and were painted red. Small bells are also attached to the end of one of the feathers. There are two guessing sticks about fourteen inches long with eagle feathers and a few plumes and bells on their ends. These sticks are also painted red. There are four bones or hiding sticks two of which were blue and two white. There is a small wheel-like object about two and one half inches in diameter resembling the wheel used in the arrow game. This is worn by the guesser. Sweetgrass is used for the smudge. The only difference between the two guessing sticks and the others is that the former have eagle feathers instead of magpie feathers.

The stick game dance or ceremony is regarded as a powerful medicine. In it prayers are offered to God only and not to the stars, moon, sun, and other Blackfoot deities. In case of sickness the head of the family may make a vow to provide a feast for the owner of the stick game bundle if the sick one recover. Then some time after the recovery he invites everybody, old and young, to the feast. The ceremonies are held at night though the ordinary stick game can be played at anytime. When all have assembled, the owner of the bundle takes his place at the back of the tipi or house and makes a smudge with sweetgrass. Then he opens the bundle and takes out the contents. He then selects or calls for a woman to act as the guesser for one side to whom he gives ten of the sticks and one of the guessing sticks. He then prays for the guesser, paints her face on the forehead, cheeks, chin, and palms with a red cross. Then he selects or calls for a man who comes forward and is fitted out in the same manner as the woman. These two become the leaders for the opposing sides. All this time the singers and drummers are rendering the songs used in the game and those connected with the bundle.

All the persons present, men, women, and children, may take part in the game, sometimes as many as forty or fifty take part. The two players then choose their sides by passing their sticks, giving one to each person. The woman also hands out two of the hiding sticks to one of her side and the other to another. The man does the same on his side. The woman lines up her players on the right, the man his on the left. The woman ties the wheel ornament on her hair and play begins and continues until one side has all the sticks. Every time a game is completed, the winners rise and dance, making a great deal of noise while the losing side keep their seats. Every time a side loses a game, a new guesser is chosen in his place. The rule is that



eight games are to be played after which food is served. The two last guessers are required to pass the food.

Before Fish dreamed the stick game, Big-spring gave him a set as a present. After dreaming, Fish gave the first bundle to The-dog-takes-the-gun. The three men are related and for this reason pass the stick game bundle from one to the other.

Fish dreamed of a man who came to give him the stick game bundle. The dream person carried the bundle on his left arm. His face was painted yellow and dotted all over. In his hair was tied an owl feather. Now, one of the guessers ties an owl feather in his hair when the game is played. Fish claims the stick game bundle to be very powerful. If a person be sick he may vow to play with the stick game owner in order that he may recover. When the game is played, the bundle owner paints and prays for the person with whom he is to play. On the other hand, the game must not necessarily be played when anyone is ill but can be played at any time.

Each stick is decorated with a six-inch owl feather. Two guessing sticks are wrapped with otter fur and decorated with bells. At each end is a tail-feather used in guessing. One of the guessing sticks is painted red, the other yellow. Fish only dreamed one song for the bundle but the rest of the stick game songs go with it. The same songs are used for the three stick game bundles on the reservation. There are some twenty of these and ten tapping-the-stick songs. The songs are sung at the beginning of the game, or when either side wins. Four or more cheering songs are sung when dancing after one side has won the game.

When any member of a family is ill, the head of the family may vow to give a feast to the stick game owners so that the sick person may recover. The game takes place at his home. The owner of the stick game bundle sits at the head of the assembly. There are four or five drummers and four of the tapping-the-stick songs are sung. The owner unties the bundle placing ten of the waving sticks, two hiding bones, and the guessing stick in one pile, and the rest in a second stack. His face is painted and a cross is marked on his forehead, on either cheek, and each palm. The players must not cheat during the game. Then he calls on the person giving the feast to feed him. The stick game owner makes a smudge and prays for the person giving the feast. He paints him and marks a cross on his forehead, each cheek, and the palms of his hand. The ten waving sticks, two hiding bones, and the guessing stick are held over the smudge in one hand by the man giving the feast. The owner rubs the man's head and along his sides, meanwhile praying. He repeats the same evolutions with his wife.

The woman spreads a blanket on the ground on which the game is played. An object beaded in yellow on one side and blue on the other is rolled on the blanket until one color is shown three times. The man chooses the blue, the woman the yellow side. Should the yellow be shown three times the woman will accordingly be the one to guess first and vice versa. The man and woman guessing each represent half of the crowd. Each passes the ten sticks as far as they will go on the side for whom they are playing. To win the game one side must obtain all the twenty sticks. During all these preliminaries the tapping-the-stick songs are sung.

In the beginning, two persons are selected to hide the bones. The two (?) who are to play sit in the center facing each other, first passing around the stove or fire as the case may be, the man around the right, the woman the left. Then the stick game songs are sung. Four of the crowd of men, women, and children are selected to play. The man and woman who are to guess pass around the players to the right

and left, respectively. Standing in front of the players, the woman guesses first, throwing the guessing sticks up and down and watching the eagle feather at the end, guessing according to the feather on the stick. The man then guesses for the players on the woman's side and if he should guess both, the woman returns the hiding bones to the man's players and the game is played over again. While playing they are very noisy and boisterous. This continues until either side has collected the twenty sticks, making the game.

The winners then rise and dance, singing the cheering songs, while the ones who lost remain seated. Between games there is a resting period, when the tapping-the-stick songs are sung while men and boys drum. Four games are played in all. After the fourth game there is a feast.

If a visitor from another tribe be present, the guesser may give a present to the visitor. If a guesser loses a game, he may choose anyone from among the crowd and give him his guessing stick. Everyone losing a game does this. The stick game owner and all the others dress in their ordinary costume, the owner and the man promising to give the feast only having their faces painted as before mentioned. It is said that some of the hand game songs are sung with the others for this game.

The stick game dance songs are said to come from the Gros Ventre. Big-spring, the first owner, never used the bundle. He received it as a present from a Gros Ventre, then gave it to Fish who dreamed the ritual as stated. Later Fish dreamed and made up another bundle like the first with the exception of the feathers which are different. There are three stick game bundles now.

## DANCE ASSOCIATIONS.

There are still a number of ceremonies of a more or less social character which because of their loose organization we have designated as dance associations.

## THE HAIR-PARTERS OR GRASS DANCE.

The well known grass dance of the Northern Plains appears among the Blackfoot under the name *ka'espai* and flourishes among all the tribal divisions. A spirited description of it will be found in McClintock's, "Old North Trail." This dance was acquired some years ago from neighboring tribes. While some informants believe the first forms of it came from the Crow and Assiniboiné, all are positive that its formal installation came from the Gros Ventre, about thirty years ago. Even at the present day, a Blackfoot visiting the Gros Ventre generally brings back some new point of procedure. Quite recently the Piegan have helped introduce the ceremony to the Flathead. It seems to us that owing to the historical point of view in present-day anthropology, according to which the question of independent and common origin is vital, such data have a peculiar value. This particular ceremony presents a most interesting case of diffusion since it can be traced over the Plains without difficulty. Among the Gros Ventre, some of the Assiniboiné, the several divisions of the Dakota, and the Crow, the ceremonies are usually held in a peculiar many-sided house with a square hole or opening in the roof. We have seen a number of these houses among the tribes mentioned and find them of precisely the same form and internal arrangement. We learned that the first of these houses among the Piegan was built about twelve years ago on Black-tail Creek near Heart Butte. Two or three years later a second was erected on Little Badger Creek and about two years ago a third on Cut Bank Creek. However, the Piegan had the dance some time before the first dance house was erected. Maclean notes the presence of this organization among the Blood in 1892<sup>1</sup> and Dr. Lowie reports it as present among the Northern Blackfoot in 1907, but as to the time of its introduction, we have no data.

Mr. Duvall gathered two rather full accounts of the dance from which we take the following:—

---

<sup>1</sup> Vol. 4, 255. He translates the name as Sioux warriors.

Long before the Piegan had the grass dance, thirty-five or forty years ago, some of the regalia, the war-bonnet, tomahawk, two dancing whips, feather tail belt, and a drum were captured from the Sioux and Assiniboine. A Piegan war party went among the Sioux and found the body of a Sioux tied up in a tree with a large drum near it. The Piegan took the drum and used the leather head for the soles of moccasins.

Some years later the Piegan met the Crow who told them that the regalia they had captured were used in the grass dance. They also taught them the dance. Later, Bob-tail-horse, who had stolen the drum from the Sioux grave made another like it. The Piegan then organized the grass dance which was later improved by Big-nose and Running-rabbit who visited the Assiniboine and brought back many of the dance outfits. As I obtained this information from three or four different people, I am quite sure the grass dance was first given by the Crow. Though the Piegan captured some of the dance regalia, they did not know its use until they met the Crow. Thus they held the dance, but later the Gros Ventre and Assiniboine gave them more of the regalia and added much more to the dance.

Formerly, the rules for the dance were very different from the present rules. The first grass dance society used to throw away women, horses, blankets, and other property. A stick is thrown away and whoever gets it receives the property for which it was thrown. When a member of the dance drops anything, he must not pick it up. Now, should a member drop something during the dance all the members dance around it in a circle, until someone picks it up, relates four war deeds, and returns it to the owner.

Most of the dance regalia, such as the tomahawk, the sword and belt, were considered very sacred. For example, if a man has been with a woman the night before the dance, he must not dance with the belt. If this rule be broken, the penalty is a lame back. Women must not touch any of these things or their hands will swell. The men must also avoid smoking with women.

When the dance paraphernalia are not in use they are wrapped up lengthwise in a small bundle of calico, and tied with a cord. Before using, a smudge is made and the bundle held in it.

One of the members furnished the tobacco and filled the pipes for the others to smoke. Four single women members were taken in. These women assisted in the singing and often rode double with the men when they rode around the camps at night, singing. The evening before the dance some of the members would sing to bring good weather the next day. They had a pipe about seven inches long painted red. One of the members filled the pipe, held it up, remaining seated. While the others sang, he held the bowl and stem with both hands on a level with his eyes. Then he dropped the pipe to the ground. If none of the tobacco was spilled the day would be fine, but if some was dropped the day would be stormy.

In the dance, dogs are eaten. These are furnished by outsiders who are well paid in blankets, clothing, and possibly a gun and horse. Each member is supposed to bring with him a cup in which the berry soup or coffee is placed by two or more men. If a member has no cup the food will be poured into his hat or blanket to teach him to bring a cup the next time. While the food is being served all the members say, "How," meaning, "I have enough." Should any member omit this, he will be compelled to eat all the food alone as a punishment.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> On inquiry Mr. Duvall found that the Indians were ignorant of the origin of this word, but used it because it was taught them by the Assiniboine in transferring the ceremony. This is an interesting example of a borrowed word. In Dakota, the word is used in greeting or in expressing satisfaction.

When a dance is announced, all the members leave blankets or other property with the whip or sword owners as a pledge to attend the dance. Should a member fail to attend, his property will be destroyed by the sword and whip men. Occasionally, other property is returned in its stead.

During the dance, the whip owners aided by the sword owners, force the members to dance by striking them. Should they cause the blood to flow, the whip and sword men pay the injured man well. When the members wish to go out during the dance they give the whip owners some trinket, as a ring or necklace, in order to get permission to leave.

Later the grass dance society sold their dance regalia to the Blood. Afterwards the Piegan frequently visited the Assiniboiné and Gros Ventre and returned with some grass dance regalia and revived the dance, and added more to it every year. Nowadays, the dance is very different from what it used to be, and is not considered powerful medicine. Dog flesh is no longer eaten, although the feast itself has not been abolished. At the present time anyone may join the dance as it is only given for amusement.

Henry-no-bear, one of the best singers among the grass dance members, once paid seven horses, a gun, and blankets for the office of furnishing tobacco. When he sold to another man he received in payment only two horses and a few blankets. Nowadays, they neither sell nor buy into the society, but anyone owning a good dance outfit joins the dance. Sometimes one man can borrow the dance outfit from another and dance with it. There is no leader in the dance as all the members wish to be chiefs.

A second informant gave the following:—

At the present time the grass dance may be danced by anyone as it is not a ceremonial dance. Once the crow belt and some other things were held to be sacred. The Blood now have a sacred crow belt.

Formerly, the members feared to smoke a pipe with a woman. Should a member drop anything at any time he must leave it for another to pick up. Only the counting of four war deeds will give him the right to do so. This taboo is nowadays kept only during the dance and is entirely disregarded at other times. Often property, such as blankets, or horses, or even a woman is thrown away during the grass dance.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> An informant commented as follows:— Sometimes the grass dancers give up their wives. However, as this dance came from the Crow, the custom is more common among them. Some twenty years ago Flat-tail, a Piegan, gave up his wife during the grass dance. He threw away a stick and said at the same time, "This is my wife, I am going to throw her away." One, John-shorty, picked up the stick and took the woman as his wife. Both are still living. This was the first time this was done among the Piegan.

When a man finds fault with his wife he simply sends her back to her own people. One time a man discovered that his wife had a lover. Instead of killing her, as is usually done, he told her he would force her to marry her lover. The woman's brother heard of this and killed her. So the Piegan never make their wives marry others.

In the dog society it is the custom to give away a woman. A Blood once had several wives and decided to give the youngest to a man he liked. They were married and he called the man son-in-law and treated the young woman as his daughter. Another Piegan was very fond of the sweat house. One of his wives ran off with another man. The people told the young man with whom the Piegan's wife had run off to make a sweat house and pay the husband a horse for his wife. The man was well pleased with the sweat house and did not even accept the horse, but gave up his wife to the other and both men remained good friends.

In throwing away a blanket the stick is not used. Nowadays this custom is not adhered to very strongly. Only when visitors from other reservations are present are presents given. There are seven belts belonging to different members with which all the members must dance and present to the visitors whatever they can afford, horses, blankets, or money. Others relate war deeds and give away property to the visitors.

There are three dance houses on the reservation. Four large drums are used in the dance but only one of these may be used at a time. These drums are made of cow hide and about the size of a bass drum. Some commercial drums are also used. The cowhide drums are painted blue and red and placed on curved sticks, decorated with beadwork. About eight men sit around the drum, each man taking his turn to sing and drum.

When the women dance the singers rise to sing for them. The women dance in a circle with the men among them. Four women dance around at a time, wearing war-bonnets, all the women taking turns at wearing them. After the women have danced, the dance ends. The wearing of the bonnets brings with it the same obligations as the wearing of one of the seven belts among the men, that is, presenting gifts to visitors. The four war-bonnets are hung up at the rear of the dance house. Before the women begin to dance, four men rise, dance, and each counting four war deeds, the bonnets are given to the women.

Six or eight chiefs or old warriors are chosen to eat the dog. They are seated on a blanket near the pot of dog meat and after they have finished eating, they rise and dance, each one tells four war deeds and gives presents. The man who owns the arrow or spoon rises and dips the point of the arrow into the pot of dog meat which is then ready for the dog eaters.

Nowadays, there seems to be no leader in the dance as every one wishes to be leader. There is one man who cares for the tobacco and fills the pipes for all the members; five men to do the lashing to induce the members to dance. These men give presents at the beginning of the dance thus purchasing the right to the whipping. These men dance around and lash all those who remain seated. If they should bruise anyone while doing this, they must pay the person who is hurt. Two other men have swords, or long knives, and assist the lashers. Three men act as criers, announcing when gifts are made, where the next dance is to take place, etc.

Among the women, there are two whippers. Everyone dresses and paints to suit his own fancy. Usually the dance lasts all day and half the night. Near the end of the dance the dog meat and other food is eaten. The feast is provided by those who give the dance.

Should a member drop anything during the dance he must not pick it up. All the members rise and dance in a circle until someone picks up the object dropped, relates four war deeds, and returns it to its owner.

There are a great many dance songs for only certain men to dance. They are: songs for those who own the whips; for those who own the swords; for the one who owns a whistle; for those who were wounded in battle; for those who eat the dogs; for the man who owns the arrow; for those who were surrounded by enemies in battle; for those who did not run when fighting; for those who take down the women's war-bonnets; for those who gave many presents; for those who wear black clothing in the scalp dance; and for those who cut the ropes when stealing horses from the enemy's camp. A closing song is sung for those who were wounded in battle and who lead all the members out of the dance house.

Long before the grass dance was introduced among the Piegan they had captured some of the paraphernalia from other tribes. One time a Piegan went to steal horses from the Assiniboine. He found an Assiniboine grave with a large drum. He took the drum and returned home with it. The Piegan knew these things were for the grass dance, but did not know much about it. Later the dance was introduced by some Piegan who visited the Gros Ventre. Every year some new feature is added to the dance and all come from the Gros Ventre.

In 1907 Dr. R. H. Lowie observed this dance among the Northern Black-foot. From his notes we quote as follows:—

The dancing ground was U-shaped, bounded by a dozen wagons. In the center floated the Union Jack on a flag staff, beside it was stored a quantity of food and pails of water. The dancers and their Sarsi and Cree visitors sat inside the boundaries, the spectators occupied the wagons, or were stretched out under them, or remained standing, some being seated around the open end of the U space. Other smaller groups of spectators remained at some distance.

The paint on one man was as follows: Eye-brows blue, a blue blotch on his chin and a blue cross on either cheek. Another had his back in yellow with impress of two hands in red.

There were two distinct parts, as far as modes of dancing are concerned. In the first men danced alone, very much as the Shoshone in their ta'sayage. In the second, women took part, standing either next to each other or, subsequently between two men. This second part was a round dance quite similar to the Cree dance of the Shoshone, except that the men did not clasp the women's shoulders, or touch them in any way. The women, for the most part, wore tall feather headdresses. At the end of the dance, that one of the women who had danced best and did not yet possess a headdress was selected for receiving one as a present.

Six drummers stood in the center. Several men forming a quadrant danced around them, the closed circle of men and women dancers being outside of this group. These dancers all moved to the left. Outside of their circle a single woman, armed with a long feathered wand, and accompanied by a very young child danced to the right. Her function was said to be to whip the young men not taking part, but the duty of pulling in dancers was performed, as far as I could see by one of the men.

During the intermissions several men exhorted their fellow-tribesmen to give presents to their guests and by the end of the performance a considerable number of blankets were heaped up. The intervals were also employed to recount deeds of horse-stealing.

There was no apparent regularity (except in the women's headgear) either in paint or costume, but the regalia were rather lavish. Several feathered crooks were noted, one man carried a double-bent bow, mirrors were common, and some carried swords. Some danced practically naked, save for moccasins, breechclout, and ornaments, but fringed and beaded leggings and buckskin shirts were more common.

There was no fixed number of members. The custom was for the society to elect its members. A messenger was then sent out who took the member-elect by the hand and led him in to a seat.<sup>1</sup> His regalia were con-

---

<sup>1</sup> This is a significant fact not alone because it is unusual in Blackfoot organizations, but because this trait is typical for the Dakota from whom this dance spread to the Northern Plains tribes.

tributed by other members. On the other hand, the Blackfoot transfer conception was recognized, because if a member individually called in an outsider and turned over to him his entire regalia, he thereby himself became an outsider and could not be a member until formally taken in again. It seems safe to guess that we have here a conflict between the traditional Blackfoot way of doing and the rules of the foreign grass dance organization. The active members were men over fifteen years of age but it is usual to regard the organization as a young men's affair.

The regalia employed are almost identical with a Gros Ventre set in the Museum but instead of a "dog fork," the Piegan use a lance or stick. As has been noted the crow belt and the spreading hair headdress are used. These have been described by Kroeber.<sup>1</sup> A matter of special interest is that members formerly each had a miniature bundle, containing a feather or other small ornament which they cared for in the characteristic Blackfoot way. This was kept in a tiny cylindrical rawhide case of the type used for war medicines. As noted in the preceding, there was one particular crow belt that was regarded as a medicine object and which is now owned by a Blood Indian. The face and body painting of the society is optional as is also the costume aside from headdress and crow belts. At present, it is customary to give a public ceremony at the sun dance for which a circle of wagons is made within the southern segment of the camp circle. Many meetings are held during the winter months but these are now almost entirely social affairs.

The reference in Duvall's notes to the great care in handling the first regalia of this society, when such were treated as medicine bundles and the later abandonment of this practice under the tutorship of the Gros Ventre is a fine example of the Blackfoot tendency to adjust everything ceremonial to their scheme of individual ownership and transfer.

So far no definite mythical origin for this ceremony has been encountered except that a Piegan named Three-bears heard that a negro half-breed Dakota was given the dance in a dream, when he saw some chickens dancing. The roosters wore crow belts and large combs, the latter now symbolized by the peculiar roached headdress. Perhaps this is an embryonic myth.

### THE HORSE DANCE.

A spectacular performance with mounted men goes by the name of horseback dance, or big dance. Its chief function seems to have been the arousal of courage and enthusiasm for war. Those who take part decorate

---

<sup>1</sup> Kroeber, 271.



and paint their horses. Each marks on his horse the guns he has captured. A mark is made with red paint to show that his horse was wounded or killed; or the figure of a man is painted on the breast of the horse to indicate that a man was once ridden down. The horses are also painted in white paint as for war. The tail is tied up and beaded bridles with cross bar sticks,

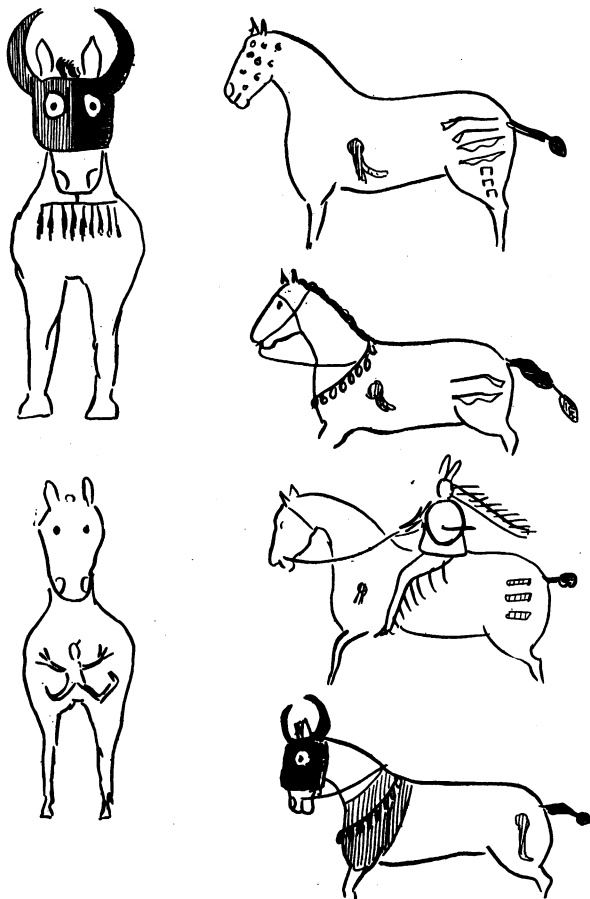


Fig. 29. These sketches show the use of the horse bonnet and the decorations of horses for the horse dance ceremony. One side of a horse bonnet is always painted red, the other blue. The paintings on the horses represent the deeds of the riders. Drawn by Red-plume.

decorated with feathers, are used. Some of the horses have horse bonnets and bells around their collars.

There are no restrictions as to who shall take part in the horse dance, but usually it is the warriors who dance before going to war. The men dress

in their best clothes, put on war paint, and use their war bundles, shields, lances, bonnets, and horn bonnets. A number of old men and women form a circle about the center of the camp and sing and drum for the horsemen who first ride out of sight of the camp and then come into the camp circle at great speed, circle around once, and then come to the center where the singers are, riding around and getting off to dance from time to time. The men shoot and shout while some admonish the others to be brave in case of war. If anyone fall from his horse, ill luck is sure to follow. There are special songs for this dance.

When the men get ready to go on the warpath they dress and paint as for the horse dance and ride around the camp in the same way.

This dance seems to have some connection with the rituals described in Vol. 7, 107-111, in so far as owners of those rituals take the leading parts in the parades. For similar ceremonies among the Teton-Dakota see p. 96.

#### SCALP DANCE.

A dance known as the scalp dance, said to come from Scabby-round-robe, is danced after a victory in battle.<sup>1</sup> The dance is held only when men on the enemy's side have been killed. Sometimes when only one man, and one of no importance has been killed on the Blackfoot side, the dancers go to his relatives and ask permission to have the dance. They present the mourners with clothing, robes, etc.

Either one or four days may be given over to a dance for the same victory. It is held in the center of the camp circle. Anyone who wishes may join. The women dance with men's weasel-tail shirts, bonnets, braid their hair as the men do, and tie weasel tails in it. They also tie their husbands' medicine bundles, like the smoking-otter, the black-covered pipe, and the lance to their hair and use guns as canes. Some women dance with a stick to which is tied the scalplock of an enemy. If a hand be cut off they hold it in their teeth while dancing. Some dress as grotesquely as possible, while others paint their faces black, the sign of victory.

The men and women stand opposite each other about twenty feet apart. The men have six or eight drums, and sing, while the women dance toward them until the song is ended when they dance backward. These movements are repeated with each song.

Those who have killed an enemy are led around on a horse by some old men, who sing the songs of cheer or praise, calling the rider by name and

---

<sup>1</sup> Vol. 2, 81.

saying, "Ha-a-e Ha-a-e." Finally, the horse and rider are led in among the dancers and his new name is announced.

Sometimes the dance is given in the evening but then the dancers do not dress in their best clothes. Most of the songs mock the enemy, as in the one about the Assiniboiné chief White-dog: "White-dog, at last had to cry," or "Why is it that White-dog cried," meaning, he was so brave, but the Blackfoot made him cry when he knew he was to die.

#### THE KISSING DANCE.

In winter evenings the kissing dance is held. There is no feast but the dancers are served with tea. Three or four drums are used in the dance. The men and women dance in place on opposite sides of the tipi, facing each other. Some of the women choose partners among the men; they dance up to each other, throwing kisses. When they are close together a blanket is thrown over their heads. Under the cover the two kiss each other. They dance between the two rows of men and women. The blanket is given to the woman as a fee for choosing the man. Sometimes other gifts are added. There are no certain members for this dance, anyone may join. It is very seldom that a vow is made to give this dance as it has more of a social than a ceremonial nature. It is said to have come from the Assiniboiné, but is sometimes called the Cree dance.

#### THE TEA DANCE.

Similar to the kissing dance and also coming from the Assiniboiné is the tea dance, a tea-drinking contest. Anyone who so wishes may join. There is no leader. The dancers divide into two bodies, both men and women may be on the same side. Each side gives the members of the other a lot of tea to drink, the idea being to see who can drink more without falling sick. If a person does not wish to drink any more tea he may pay the person who made it, a blanket, or sometimes even a horse, and thus be excused from drinking. Sometimes if one has made another ill from drinking the tea, a fee is paid.

Some men have the power to drain a pail of tea without spilling or drinking it, but by simply covering it with a cloth and singing. When the cloth is removed the pail is empty. Sometimes, one will say to another, "I have the power to empty this pot of tea in your stomach without your knowledge." Occasionally, lovers drop a ring in the cup when passing tea to each other. There is no feast and the dance is generally held in the evening sometimes

lasting until daybreak. Sometimes people are invited to attend the dance, and at others they simply come together of their own accord.

There are special songs for the dance and drums are used. The dancers rise and dance in place, beating time on a dipper of tea while dancing.

### THE NIGHT SINGERS.

It is an old custom among the Blackfoot for parties of young people to ride about the camp at night, singing. That this is a distinct thing is evident since there is a distinct series of songs used only on such occasions. At such times they often ride double, that is two men on a single horse, or often a man and a woman. Mr. Duvall writes as follows:—

These young men sometimes ride around all night and sing. Formerly, it was done to guard the camp and protect the horses from being stolen by the enemy. The singers usually go around the outer edge of the camp, making many rounds. There are usually three or four groups with three or four men in each group. Sometimes women assist the night singers.

The night singers do not necessarily have to belong to any society but anyone may join them. This custom is kept up nowadays only during the sun dance. It is not understood as good form for the women or girls to go out with the night singers. Although a great many of the grass dance songs are sung, there are special songs also. The singing is usually continued until daylight. At the end of each song they usually shout and keep time with sleigh bells when singing. They are never ordered to sing at the present time.

### THE BEGGING DANCE.

The Piegan name for this dance is "those that dance around camp for a smoke." The members do not belong to a society, but a number of men, six or twelve, or sometimes more, go to some tipi and sing and shake their bells. This may be done at any time of the night. The owner of the tipi fills a pipe and lets them smoke, gives them some food, a blanket, clothing, a horse, or money. The presents are divided up among the men. The owner of the tipi seldom knows who the men are. They repeat this at four tips and then disband. Several groups of these men may go around at the same time, but they never stop at the same tipi. Usually, the men stop at the tipi of a chief or head man as they are more sure of getting a smoke, for it adds to one's prestige to be generous with presents, feasts, etc.



