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PLAINS INDIAN AGE-SOCIETIES: HISTORICAL AND
COMPARATIVE SUMMARY

BY

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INTRODUCTION.

The age-societies of the Plains Indians suggest a number of theoretical considerations. As a striking cultural phenomenon within a definite area they prompt inquiries of a strictly historical nature into the mutual relations of the several tribal systems; and since the graded systems are obviously connected with societies of the same region not correlated with age, a complete historical survey must embrace the ungraded as well as the graded systems. But these immediate questions do not exhaust the scope of even the purely historical problem. As a result of recent discussions linked with the names of Graebner, Rivers, and Elliot Smith we have become familiar with hypotheses tracing the beginning of a cultural element (or of a combination of such elements) to remote portions of the globe. If no extraneous origin has yet been advanced for the Plains Indian age-societies, this must be considered a pure accident since analogous phenomena certainly occur elsewhere, notably in Africa and Oceania. A thorough-going discussion of principles would thus be obliged to take in the possibility of diffusion from an alien source. The actually existing theories, to be sure, revolve about the opposite pole of ethnological speculation. According to Schurtz and Webster, there are laws underlying the history of human societies, and at a definite stage in the series, age-societies are bound to appear independently of one another in distinct areas. Here, then, is another hypothesis to be reckoned with. Again, it may be that the Plains Indian societies and the comparable phenomena from elsewhere have sprung up from originally diverse conditions by a series of converging steps. Finally, the phenomena from distinct areas may not be homologous at all but prove to be essentially as distinct as their geographical centers.

In the following pages I will treat the subject-matter under the two headings of an historical and a comparative summary, arbitrarily limiting the former to a consideration of the Plains Area problems that naturally fall into this category. Beginning with those tribal systems of societies that are not graded by age but whose constituent elements approximate the age-societies of the same region, I shall deal with their interrelations among themselves and their relations to the graded series. I shall then consider, one by one, the graded systems, which form the central topic of this investigation, and seek to determine their historical unity or diversity, chronological sequence, and chronological relations to the ungraded systems. I shall next pass on to the comparative discussion. Since my object is not to

furnish a complete topical survey of the globe, I will limit consideration to two areas for which good descriptive data are available,— the Masai of East Africa and the Melanesians of Oceania. This comparison will, I hope, throw into relief the essential characteristics of Plains Indian age-societies, and to determine this is the purpose of the present paper.

December, 1916.

HISTORICAL SUMMARY.

UNGRADED SYSTEMS.

Although systems of societies graded by age are confined to five of the Plains tribes — the Hidatsa, Mandan, Arapaho, Gros Ventre, and Blackfoot —, many other tribes of this area have societies so closely resembling the age-organizations in name, regalia, and functions that a hard-and-fast line cannot be drawn with the age-factor as the basis of classification. Accordingly, earlier writers have automatically assumed the historical or psychological unity of all the organizations under discussion and grouped all of them under such a generic term as "military (or warrior) societies." Thus, Schurtz was certainly warranted, on the basis of Maximilian's data, in assuming that the series of Crow societies corresponded to the Hidatsa system; and Kroeber's assumption that at bottom all these organizations represented the same type¹ is intelligible in the face of their many startling resemblances and in fact still largely holds.

Nevertheless, between a series in which every member has a more or less definite place and a series of coördinate units there is at least one important difference. The complexity with which we have to deal in almost any tribe is, of course, the result of accretion, in some cases demonstrably so. But where disparate units receive a relative rank, they become parts of the same *system*, regardless of their diversity as units, and the original differences may even be obscured by processes of "analogic leveling," — by the influence of the tribal pattern and the wholesale adoption of features from linked organizations. But where there is no grading, it is not necessary for a *system* to develop at all: there may be mere coexistence with only partial community between distinct units. This is eminently true of the Eastern Dakota, where a classification of societies must accordingly be largely arbitrary. In other tribes, for example among the Crow, there is general conformity to type and we are justified in speaking of an ungraded system, which term I shall extend, for convenience' sake, to the series of all the tribes in question; excluding, however, all organizations of a manifestly distinct order from that dealt with in this volume, — *e. g.*, those in which membership is based on a common supernatural revelation.

While the less systematic character of the ungraded series might have been deduced *a priori*, there is an empirical difference between the graded

¹ Kroeber, (c).

and ungraded systems that is quite independent of logic. In each and every one of the five graded systems, two conditions for entrance seem to coexist, age and purchase. On the other hand, in each of the ungraded systems, with two exceptions to be discussed presently, there is neither age-qualification nor entrance fee. Both the joint presence and the joint absence of these factors are unintelligible on abstract grounds. As Schurtz fully realized, an entrance fee militates against the notion of a pure age-grade. On the other hand, no reason can be advanced why purchase should not be as prominent in the ungraded as in the graded series. We find, as a matter of fact, that the very people to whom the idea is quite foreign of exacting payment for admission to the military societies have ungraded organizations of another type where entrance follows only on payment of fees. The Tobacco order of the Crow and the Horse dance of the Assiniboine may be cited in illustration. Why was not this familiar notion extended to their military organizations?

The two exceptions, instead of weakening, strengthen the case. They occur among the Sarsi and the Arikara. Now the Sarsi series is known to be a weak reflection of the Blackfoot societies, and it is not surprising that a principle of admission should have been borrowed with the dances themselves. The Arikara have not only been similarly exposed to the influence of tribes with a graded system, but some earlier writers have even definitely ascribed to them the same type of system as the Hidatsa and Mandan. Assuming these statements to be correct, we should merely have an additional instance of the adhesion of the purchase and age factors. On the other hand, if later data be accepted, the intimate relations of the three Village tribes seem to give a quite satisfactory explanation of the facts. Why is it precisely among two tribes in especially close contact with other tribes possessing a graded system that the correlation observed among the latter occurs?

To the implications of these facts we shall have to revert later. For the present we shall consider the several systems of ungraded societies for the purpose of tracing their historical connections.

SOUTHERN SIOUAN.

Regarding these tribes we have data, though relatively meager, on the military societies of the Iowa, Ponca, Omaha, and Kansa. When we compare the organizations of this type with others in the same tribes, or with corresponding organizations among the Northern Plains Indians, their relatively subordinate character becomes manifest. Thus, the Omaha have a series of societies in which membership is dependent on the character of one's supernatural communications, as well as other organizations of a

sacred nature, all of which obviously loom much larger in the tribal life than those in which the military feature appears. Indeed, with the exception of the Helocka (which appears with slight phonetic change of name among these tribes and the Pawnee), the military societies of the Southern Siouan are clearly of recent origin, and in the case of the two that are most prominent we can determine rather definitely the center of dispersion.

The Omaha have a Tukala and a Mawadaⁿthiⁿ dance; the Ponca a Tokala and Mowadani; the Iowa a Tukala and Mawatani. This similarity of names at once suggests a relationship of these societies not only to one another but to the Tokala and the Miwatani of the Oglala and the Tokata (Tokā'na) and Mawatani of the Eastern Dakota, to the first of which also corresponds the Tokan of the Assiniboine. A comparison of each society with its almost namesakes establishes their genuinely homologous character. In addition we have a positive statement from J. O. Dorsey that the Omaha learned both these dances from the Ponca, who in turn got them from the Dakota; Miss Fletcher and Mr. La Flesche also trace the two societies to the same source.¹

There can be no doubt that the Iowa societies and the Omaha-Ponca equivalents had a common origin. In addition to the practical identity of name, we find the following distribution of characteristic traits:²—

TUKALA.

	Iowa	Ponca	Omaha
Haircut	×	×	
"Tails"	×	×	
Women singers	×	×	×
Obligatory bravery	×		×
2 leaders	×		×
2 hooked lances			×

MAWATANI.

	Iowa	Ponca	Omaha
Hoof-rattles	×	×	×
Owl-feather headdress	×	×	
"Tails"	×	×	
Log-drum	×	×	×
Picking-up taboo	×	×	
Women singers	×	×	
Performance at death			×

¹ J. O. Dorsey, (c), 354; Fletcher and La Flesche, 486.

² Dorsey, (c), 273, 332, 354; this volume, 691 f., 697-700, 707f.

The comparison would doubtless prove even more satisfactory if our data were more extensive. Indeed, so far as the Iowa and Ponca are concerned we have corroborative evidence in the identical *relations* of the two societies to each other: in both tribes the Tukala and Mawatani are rival associations, mutual theft of wives being the common method of exhibiting this antagonism. This feature does not occur among the Omaha, where the relations of the two organizations seem to be of a quite different character (see below). Thus, the connection between the Iowa and Ponca societies is much closer than that between either pair and the Omaha societies. The geographical position of the tribes concerned makes this fact confirmatory of J. O. Dorsey's data as to the borrowing of the Ponca societies from the Dakota. It remains to be seen whether the Dakota were merely borrowers themselves and acted as intermediaries between the Iowa and the Ponca, or transmitted the organizations to both.

Comparing the Tukala of the Iowa with the Tokala of the Oglala (whose habitat renders a consideration of other Dakota groups unnecessary) we find a fair agreement in point of the constitution of the membership (14, table, p. 907). Both have two leaders, four women singers, and two waiters; the character of the Iowa "tails" is not sufficiently clear to establish equivalent officers for the Dakota. Of the other specific Iowa traits the Oglala share the haircut and the bravery obligation. That the societies are homologous can thus hardly be doubted; the only question relates to the direction of the borrowing. In this context it is interesting to note that while the native designation of the society has a doubtful meaning (or none) among the Iowa (p. 697) and other Southern tribes, *tokala* in Dakota means "a small gray fox" (see Riggs's *Dictionary*). This presumptive, if slight, evidence in favor of a Dakota origin is strengthened when we discover the same society with the same or phonetically equivalent name and the same translation thereof among such widely divergent branches of the Dakota as the Assiniboine,¹ the Santee Sisseton (p. 105f), and the Oglala (p. 14). As regards complexity the Oglala organization is clearly more elaborate than that of the Iowa, and both the traits it shares with the latter and those lacking among the Iowa are common to the Oglala Tokala and the Kit-Fox society of tribes farther north, such as the Crow and Village tribes. Thus, everything indicates that the Iowa organization was borrowed from the Dakota.

The Miwatani of the Oglala clearly corresponds to the Mawatani of the Iowa (see table, p. 920). Of special significance, from a general comparative point of view, are the hoof rattles and owl-feather headdresses, which also

¹ Lowie, (c), 70.

occur among the other Dakota, where likewise are found the four female singers of the Iowa (p. 111). As Mr. Skinner has pointed out (p. 692), the term *Mawatani* is Dakota for "Mandan" while in Iowa it seems to have no meaning. This presumptive evidence is again confirmed by independent data. As I hope to show later, the *Mawatani* is the equivalent of the Dog society of other Plains tribes north and west of the Iowa. In all of these, as well as among the Dakota, it is much more highly developed than among the Iowa. We may therefore confidently conclude that the Iowa derived the society from the Dakota.

Mr. Skinner notes with some surprise that the rivalry, coupled with wife-stealing, of the Iowa and Ponca societies turns up again among the Crow, while it is absent from the equivalent Dakota organizations (p. 692). The manifestations of this antagonism are, to be sure, so specific that we seem to have a miraculous action at a distance of the Crow upon the Iowa or *vice versa*; for in both tribes the rival organizations are pitted against each other in games, steal each other's wives, and strive to outdo each other in warlike deeds. It is true that this antagonism is not described as existing between the Dakota *Tukala* and *Mawatani* societies, but it was nevertheless in full swing among their societies generally in regard to all the points enumerated (p. 74). The Crow resemblance is really of the same type as that of the Dakota, for here, too, the rivalry is between the Foxes and the *Lumpwoods*, not the Foxes and the Dogs, who are equivalent to the *Mawatani*. It may be significant, however, that according to a statement cited from an early writer the Foxes and Dogs were the rival societies at one time (p. 182). It is interesting to note that these are societies that have the widest distribution in both graded and ungraded systems and therefore presumably are among the oldest of the military organizations.

Since the mutual relations of the *Tukala* and *Mawatani* of the Iowa are certainly paralleled among the Oglala, though not to our knowledge between the same societies, and since each of these societies was derived from the Oglala, I suggest that the pair was borrowed as a complex in imitation of a similar couple of Dakota societies. In other words, it seems probable to me that among the Dakota the spirit of rivalry once existed between the Fox and Mandan organizations. To be sure, the only definite statement as to particular societies as rivals relates to the *Mawatani* and Braves (p. 74) and the Foxes and No-flight dancers (p. 106). However, the Crow case cited, with another more recent instance from this tribe (p. 191), indicates that the rivalry might readily shift from one organization to another.

The relation between the *Tukala* and Mandan dancers of the Omaha, while widely different from that just described for the Iowa and Ponca, presents a distinctive feature of theoretical moment. The Mandan dancers

were exclusively "aged men and those in the prime of life," while the Tukala dance was "for boys what the Mandan dance is for the aged men and men in the prime of life." In the absence of fuller descriptive matter for the Southern Siouan tribes, a definitive interpretation of this phenomenon cannot be given. However, two alternative suggestions may be advanced. Since the Omaha borrowed their organizations from the Ponca, for whom no corresponding age factor is reported (which, indeed, would not be consistent with the intense rivalry recorded), we may recognize in the development of the Tukala and Mandan societies on the Omaha plan an independent tendency for age-groups to assert themselves. This phenomenon will receive further consideration in another section. On the other hand, J. O. Dorsey's data must be considered in connection with relevant Oglala information. It is true that in this tribe neither the Kit-Foxes nor the Miwatani were *definitely* correlated with youth and age. Nevertheless, a significant difference in point of age appears. The Kit-Foxes included boys of fifteen or even younger, as well as men in middle life (p. 18); the Miwatani, though not barring promising youths, were regarded as composed on the average of men older than those of the akitcita societies (p. 41f). It is easy to understand how, with this tendency given, its accentuation might lead to the Omaha condition; we need merely assume that the Ponca adopted the Dakota plan as found and that the stressing of the age division occurred among the Omaha.

The Heluck¹ of the Southern Siouan (pp. 694, 755, 784) ¹ or Iruska of the Pawnee (pp. 608, 624), is in several regards comparable with the military societies but its relations with the Grass dance seemed to warrant its consideration in the preceding paper of this series. Suffice it to repeat that its southern, presumably Pawnee, origin is assured (pp. 629, 860 f.), and that it constitutes perhaps the only complex related to our problem that can be definitely traced to this region of the Plains.

There are several other societies among the Southern Siouans that require consideration. The Pu-gtho² of the Omaha ² was a society of chiefs; they wore buffalo headdresses with the horns and carried shields and spears or other weapons used in striking the enemy. There can be no doubt that this is simply the Oglala Chiefs' society (p. 36), which in fact at one time bore a name identical with Dorsey's rendering of the Omaha name. As Dr. Wissler points out, this is simply the Bull organization of the Northern Plains. Since it occurs in nearly all the tribes of that area and has, to my knowledge, not been reported from the Southern Siouans generally, we may

¹ Also J. O. Dorsey, (c), 330; Fletcher and La Flesche, 459 et seq.

² J. O. Dorsey, (c), 352; Fletcher and La Flesche, 481.

safely regard it as another feature of Omaha culture that was borrowed from the Dakota.

The Ponca Iskaiyuha (p. 786) is possibly, as the name indicates, of Dakota origin, but unfortunately we lack full data for its Oglala namesake. The use of crooked spears is at all events a trait distinctive of the military societies.

The Not-afraid-to-die society (p. 785) obviously belongs to the same category. There are two hooked and two straight spears with the customary bravery obligation, four headdresses with buffalo horns, a whip bearer, and four female singers. It may well be that this organization corresponds to the T'e gaze of the Omaha, "those expecting to die,"¹ as Mr. Skinner suggests, though the meager data at hand show only a partial coincidence, including, however, a female singer, and two straight lances. Several features of the Ponca society suggest affinity with the Oglala Crow-owners (p. 23): thus, both have four drummers with small drums, in both there are lances associated with bravery obligations, and the presence of two rattlers is a common element. The Acting Dead society of the Iowa (p. 701) must also be considered here. It shares with the Omaha organization the use of hide rattles by every member, which among the Ponca was restricted to two officers. Hooked spears were carried by two members.

The Brave society of the Iowa (p. 700) may correspond to its Oglala namesake, though again lack of adequate data for the Iowa makes a definite identification impossible. If Mr. Skinner's suggestion that a dance described by Catlin may refer to a performance by the Braves were demonstrable, the association of feasting and a celebration in honor of the dead, which is common to the two societies, would be reasonably good evidence of relationship.

The Make-no-flight society of the Omaha² is identified by Dorsey with the Napecni of the Dakota. It is characterized by the obligation of all members never to flee from the enemy. Among the Oglala the Napecni are in some way related to the Braves, who blacken their bodies, a trait that is also shared by the Omaha organization. The Napecni seems to be common to all branches of the Dakota (pp. 29, 196 ff.)³ and the Assiniboine.⁴ The much higher development of this type of society among the Dakota as compared with the Omaha certainly suggests once more that the Omaha were the borrowers.

The general conclusions I draw with respect to the military societies of

¹ J. O. Dorsey, (c), 352.

² J. O. Dorsey's "Make-no-flight" is obviously a misprint, (c), 352.

³ See also Keating, I, 418-421.

⁴ Lowie, (c), 70.

the Southern Siouan tribes are the following. With the exception of the Helucka these tribes have neither originated nor transmitted anything of consequence. So far as the organizations of the military type are concerned, the Southern Siouans have a merely marginal significance,— these organizations occur in a rudimentary or vestigial form and are of relatively slight importance in the tribal life. It seems certain that some of their societies were derived from the Dakota, and in other instances there is at least a strong presumption to this effect.

Before leaving this group, an interesting point must be emphasized. All of the tribes dealt with in this section had a police body prominently associated with the buffalo hunt and exercising the customary privileges in the course of this enterprise. The Osage also had a similar constabulary known as *akita*.¹ But in none of these cases was the police power associated with a definite society or the military societies as a whole. The nearest approximation to such a thing is among the Ponca, where the chief is said to have chosen the bravest warriors of some society for one occasion and of some other society for the next; but even here the fact is emphasized that the duty did not devolve on the whole organization. In this respect the Southern Siouans differ from the Oglala but resemble the Eastern Dakota (p. 141).

The obvious similarity of some of the native terms for "police" to Dakota *akitsita* has been pointed out by Dr. Wissler (p. 874).

PAWNEE AND ARIKARA.

The Pawnee have the distinction of having developed the most elaborate system of societies outside the age-series. Apart from the shamanistic fraternities, which are of only subordinate moment for our problem, they have two distinct series of organizations: those deriving authority from the sacred bundles of the tribe, and those organized by private individuals obeying the call of a vision. Each of the three categories has its counterpart among the Dakota: to the Pawnee bundle societies correspond the Oglala *akitsita*; both tribes had what may be called private organizations; and the Oglala dream cults strongly suggest the Pawnee fraternities both in character and name. In examining the Pawnee system from a comparative point of view, special attention must thus be paid to the Oglala.

Of the shamanistic fraternities only the Iruska is connected with the military societies, and these have already been fully discussed in this volume by Dr. Wissler (pp. 859 *et seq.*), the rather intricate historical

¹ J. O. Dorsey, (b), 233-237.

interrelations being summarized (pp. 871-873, see also the chart facing p. 868).

Turning to the Pawnee organizations that are strictly comparable to the military societies, we are confronted with unusual difficulties as to identification. The public organizations, especially, have been so largely dominated by the tribal pattern (p. 642 f.) that their individuality is almost completely merged in it. Where so closely related a tribe as the Arikara has a society of similar name, we may with some show of reason assume historical identity, as I have done in the discussion of the Arikara. Elsewhere identification is a hazardous, if not impossible, procedure in the present state of our knowledge. In several Northern Plains tribes, for example, a hooked lance is rather definitely associated with the Kit-Foxes, but among the Pawnee this emblem is shared by a number of organizations (*e. g.*, pp. 568, 576, 578).

But while the emblems and activities of single societies give little or no clue as to their genetic affiliations, the Pawnee system as a whole has very clear relationships. The principle of selecting one of the societies alternately for police duty during the hunt (p. 557) differs from the Omaha usage and is strictly parallel to that of the Oglala (p. 13) and Crow (p. 149); according to Wissler (p. 370) this applies also to the Blackfoot, though other sources represent a particular society as exercising police functions there. The element of rivalry seems lacking; but another Dakota characteristic, the ready organization of new societies by a founder who obtains a following, as well as the contrary tendency towards the lapse of societies so formed (pp. 69, 140) is well marked (p. 579). The reorganization of societies in the spring (p. 559) allies the Pawnee with the Oglala (p. 63), Crow (pp. 158, 165, 176, 185, 187), and Blackfoot (p. 425). The same distribution is found for the duplication of officers (pp. 560, 643, 63, 158, 164, 176, 183, 189), except that among the Blackfoot it is much less developed, and the fact that it crops up most clearly among the Northern Blackfoot (p. 426) suggests that its appearance in this tribe at all is a matter of accident. Double leadership occurs among the Kiowa, but the concept of duality is not extended to other offices and cannot therefore be regarded as part of the pattern (p. 846f.). In the Pawnee system, as among the Oglala, the free association of both straight and hooked lances with societies is noteworthy; these emblems appear to be not so much distinctive of particular organizations as elements that may be combined with any one of them (p. 67f.).

In an enumeration of this kind it is of course possible to miss some significant traits. But taking the foregoing data jointly, we shall not go far wrong in concluding that the Pawnee system is most closely related to that of the Oglala. It is another question to what extent features common to

both are of Pawnee origin. The only point in regard to which a presumption exists in favor of the Pawnee is the duality of office. As Dr. Wissler suggests (p. 643), this is at once intelligible from the Pawnee notion of dividing participants of ceremonies into a northern and a southern group according to the geographical relations of their villages (pp. 551 ff., 560). This method of division, which also appears in games, strongly suggests the Arapaho grouping, by which in every ceremonial lodge the "stout men" are segregated on the north side as against the "short men" on the south side, with whom a race is run in the course of the performance.¹ A similar division occurs among the Gros Ventre.² It is thus possible that the Pawnee have influenced the Arapaho and Gros Ventre through one feature of their scheme, the dual grouping of members, and the Oglala (and indirectly the Crow) through another correlated feature of their scheme, the duality of office. Apart from minor features, the contribution of the Pawnee to the systems of other tribes may be limited to the dual scheme and the Iruska. The atypical character of the Pawnee system as a whole and the lack or only vestigial occurrence of societies highly developed elsewhere, indicate that, however interesting in itself, it has not played a large part in determining the evolution of military societies generally. I rather get the impression that specific suggestions, such as emblems and forms of activity, reached the Pawnee from the north and were absorbed in an older ceremonial scheme.

The historical connection of the Arikara with the Pawnee justifies their being treated under the same head. As I pointed out in the Arikara section of this volume, the resemblances are rather fewer than might be expected. Both the Pawnee and the Arikara lacked the element of grading and invited desirable individuals to join a society; among the latter there were at least traces of matrilineal descent of membership on the Pawnee plan (p. 655), but the Arikara differ fundamentally in having likewise the purchase factor. Since this tends to assume the exact form, though attenuated, that is current among the Village tribes, including the surrender of wives and the application of a kinship term to the negotiating individuals (pp. 654 f., 670), we may attribute this series of features to Mandan-Hidatsa influence. Of the bundle scheme we can discover no trace among the Arikara; since it is based on the geographical position of Skidi villages, this is intelligible in a mere offshoot of one local subdivision of that tribe. A considerable number of offices in the Arikara organizations are duplicate as among the Pawnee, and this may be a survival from the old parental system of the two tribes.

¹ Kroeber, (b), 163, 166.

² *id.*, (a), 242.

The two women's organizations, as well as the Bull and Black Mouth societies, seem to have no equivalents among the Pawnee and may be referred to a Mandan-Hidatsa origin. In some other cases, the genetic relationship of similarly named organizations remains doubtful owing to lack of data or of individual traits; this applies notably to the Crow society and Maximilian's and Curtis's Foolish Dogs. In a different sense this is true of the two Fox organizations (pp. 582, 666). There can be little doubt of a general correspondence, but the direct connection of the Pawnee society, for all we know, might be with the Oglala system and of the Arikara society with that of the Mandan and Hidatsa. Thus, the Mandan and Arikara, unlike the Pawnee, both have female associate members (302, 667). As a matter of fact, I believe the closest resemblance obtains between the Arikara Foxes and the Cheyenne Coyotes (897).

This reduces the number of Arikara organizations directly related to the Pawnee system to four,—the Taróxpà, the Hot Dance society, the Sakhū'nu, and the Young Dogs. The first-named I have identified with the Pawnee *tirupahe*; indeed, Maximilian writes the Arikara word *Tiru'h-Pahi'*, which may suggest some dialectic variation among the Arikara. He translates it "the Soldiers," which well expresses the distinctively military character of both the Arikara and Pawnee organizations (576, 665). His identification with the Mandan police society is probably erroneous, since the *tirupahe* of the Pawnee was not associated with the hunt and because the Arikara had a Black Mouth society strictly comparable to the police body of their neighbors. The Hot dance has been sufficiently discussed in relation to the Pawnee Iruska, and the case for the Sakhū'nu seems equally convincing. As for the Young Dogs, the evidence at one time did not impress me (p. 660) but a wider comparative survey indicates that the regalia shared are sufficiently distinctive to prove community of origin, especially when taken together with the identity of name and the historical relations of the tribes concerned. An additional point may be made here. The Young Dog society is the only one named for this animal among the Pawnee, and in most of the Arikara lists (p. 683) only the Foolish Dogs are added. The oldest statement, on the other hand, speaks of a "band of dogs" embracing the bravest young men (p. 649). When we compare the regalia of the Young Dogs with those of the Big Dogs or Dogs of other tribes, the resemblances are clear. They are especially so for the Arikara, where we find sashes, owl-feather headdresses, dewclaw rattles, whistles, the log-drum, and the whipper. All this strongly suggests that the Young Dogs represent the missing or obsolete Dog society (see table, p. 920); this relationship will require further treatment in another section.

The part played by the Arikara in the evolution of the military societies

appears to be a modest one. They were the intermediaries between the Pawnee and Village tribes of the Upper Missouri in transmitting the Hot dance, and there is no reason for denying that organizations not known to occur elsewhere were developed by themselves. But so far as alien systems are concerned, the Arikara were borrowers rather than transmitters. The Cheyenne are probably the only tribe that was influenced by the Arikara to a considerable extent, and the nature of this influence will be discussed below.¹

CHEYENNE.

The Cheyenne system has a distinct individuality, which is in some measure reflected in the unusual designations of the societies. Since this tribe has not been treated in the present volume, it is necessary to summarize the essential facts rather fully.² Inasmuch as my object is comparative, I shall use names of societies bringing out their relationships to equivalent organizations elsewhere rather than their more popular synonyms among the Cheyenne of today.

G. A. Dorsey enumerates six organizations,—the Buffalo Bulls (Red-Shield), Kit-Fox (Hoof Rattle), Coyote (Headed Lance), Dog-Men, Inverted (Bowstring), and Wolf (Owl-Man's Bowstring) Warriors. To these Mooney and Curtis add as a seventh the Foolish (Crazy) Dogs, but according to both this is a recent acquisition confined to the Northern Cheyenne, so that we may disregard it for our present purposes. According to Mooney, it is so similar in ritual to the Bowstring society of the Northern Cheyenne that members of the two consider themselves ceremonially related and participate in the same dances. Unfortunately he identifies G. A. Dorsey's Wolf and Inverted (Bowstring) organizations without reference to the discrepancy. He makes it clear, however, that the Wolf society at all events is recent, its organizer, Owl-man, having died about forty-five years ago (in 1907). The natives themselves, according to Dorsey, regard the Inverted society as the most recent of the five introduced by the great tribal prophet. Assuming its distinctness from the Wolf organization, its relative recency as compared with the four others is probable because of its somewhat unusual character and on account of the ceremonial significance of the number Four in this area.

¹ Looking over Maximilian's data once more, I have come to the conclusion that his White Earth dance corresponds to my Chippewa society. A bow-lance formed part of the emblems in both, and the native designations, *Nahni' Schahi'a* and *nā'ne chi'a* correspond closely.

² G. A. Dorsey, (d), 3, 15-33; Mooney, (c), 412-415; Curtis, vi, 105-108.

Membership in the Cheyenne organizations depended neither on age nor on purchase. According to Curtis,

A man joined a society at the invitation of its members, some of whom conducted him from his lodge to that in which the company was then assembled, where, arrayed in their distinguishing regalia, he danced, sang and feasted with them and thus became a member. This, however, did not debar him from ever changing his affiliation; for after the election of chiefs any one had the privilege of providing a substitute and joining another society.

An important feature that allies the Cheyenne with the Oglala system (p. 65) is the expulsion of unworthy members; among the Cheyenne the slaying of a tribesman, even though accidental, would bar a man from belonging to any one of the organizations. Essentially the societies were coördinate, though the Dogs loomed as the most important, possibly on account of their numbers, which were increased, apparently in the early part of the last century, by the joint admission of all the men of one camp-circle division. It may be, of course, that this wholesale entrance was prompted by a recognition of the importance of the society. Whether police functions devolved on the Dogs exclusively or alternately on the several societies, is not clear from available accounts.

All the societies are preëminently military associations and are collectively known as "warriors." Nevertheless other traits were not lacking. Thus, we find elements of a fraternal comradeship, as well as distinctive songs and dances. In several ways a tribal pattern is manifested. Thus, each society has four distinctive sacred songs, four additional sacred songs sung to the Great Medicine, and four battle songs for individual warriors. Each derives its origin from the Prophet, each, is controlled by a chief and seven assistants, and usually there are additional officers. In the Buffalo, Coyote, and Kit-Fox societies there are four virgin associates regarded as the members' sisters.

The Buffalo Bulls clearly correspond to the similarly named society of the Northern Plains tribes (see table, p. 928). The mask, made from the head of a buffalo, is lacking, but we find the horned headdress of buffalo skin, the shields carried by all the members (Dorsey) or only the leaders (Mooney), spears, and the imitation of buffalo. Two specific features are worthy of note,— the presence of female associates and an emblem consisting of a red apron with rattles. Both occur among the Crow and Hidatsa (pp. 190, 291f.), women also appearing among the Mandan (p. 317) and a suggestion of the apron among the Assiniboiné.¹ A distinctively Cheyenne

¹ Lowie, (c), 73.

feature is the emphasis on red, for the bodies of the dancers, their spears, shields, the horns of their headdresses, and their aprons are all red. In this connection we must note, however, that in Maximilian's day the Mandan Bulls carried shields decorated with red cloth, wore a piece of red cloth attached to the back and had a woman attendant whose face was painted with vermilion (p. 315) and that according to one of my informants red body paint was used to symbolize wounds received in battle. In determining the source of this Cheyenne organization it is worth while noting that of the tribes surrounding the southern range of their territory, the Kiowa, Pawnee, and Arapaho have no comparable organization. The Oglala must also be excluded because their equivalent Chiefs' society not only lacked the two specific traits mentioned but because it developed a quite distinct character by becoming preferably an elderly men's organization, of which there is no trace among the Cheyenne. Of the remaining tribes the Assiniboiné and Crow trace their Bull dances back to the Hidatsa, and it is with the Mandan and Hidatsa that the Cheyenne society shows the closest affinity. Since both had a more highly elaborated Bull society than the Cheyenne, I conclude that the Cheyenne organization was borrowed from the Village tribes.

The Kit-Fox society of the Cheyenne is highly anomalous when compared with its namesake elsewhere. The most convincing indication of its identity beyond the name is the occurrence of two officers' emblems in the form of hooked lances wrapped with otterskin. A ceremonial club with pendent kit-fox skin carried by the leaders (Mooney) may be connected with a *Biitahaⁿw* club of the Arapaho or the emblem of the Oglala whippers (p. 22). A drumkeeper and the presence of four female associates constitute an additional point of similarity with the Oglala (p. 14). But there is nothing to indicate any close relationship. The Cheyenne had no rawhide rattles, no kit-fox jaw headbands, nor employed the characteristic *tokala* haircut. On the other hand, they employed a dewclaw rattle more commonly associated with the Dog society and at all events lacking in the *tokala*; and they used a notched musical instrument of elk antler representing a snake and serving to charm buffalo or other game. The last-mentioned feature is evidently allied to a buffalo-calling ceremony of the Arikara, associated with the medicine (not military) societies, in which a notched bone is rasped with a stick (p. 675). Among the Hidatsa of Awaxā'wi village there was a boys' society characterized by the use of a notched wooden instrument with sacred associations; while not connected with buffalo it is said to have represented a snake (p. 238). I feel that with the data at hand it would be rash to theorize on the genetic relations of the Cheyenne Kit-Fox society with equivalent organizations of the area. All

I care to point out is that it appears to have combined a few Kit-Fox traits with a feature either belonging to the Dog society complex or to be regarded as a free element, and with a third feature found among the Upper Missouri Valley tribes.

The Coyote society seems to have no equivalent namesake among other tribes, the *kaiyōna* of the Wahpeton (p. 129) being clearly of an altogether different type. However, we are justified in inquiring whether there is no connection with societies named after such closely related animals as the wolf and fox. This seems especially desirable since the precise meaning of the native term is not always rendered by an interpreter. Thus, J. O. Dorsey speaks of a Coyote dance performed by the members of an Omaha war party, while Miss Fletcher and Mr. La Flesche (of whom the latter has a native's knowledge of the language) translates the same Omaha word as "wolf."¹ As a matter of fact, the Cheyenne organization under discussion has very pronounced relations with the Fox society of the Arikara (p. 666). In both we find unmarried female associates, two bowspear emblems, hair roaching, one rattler to direct the musical performance, and a crescent-shaped badge suspended from the neck. There is also relationship in an apparently different direction, however. One of the distinctive features of the Cheyenne society is a sacred coyote hide carried by the leader. Now in various Plains tribes a wolfskin plays an important part on a war party (p. 873). Among the Crow the scout always carried a wolf or coyote skin, apparently as part of the captain's war medicine.² The Oglala wrapped up the war leader's pipe in a fox or wolf pelt and had their war lances made by a man who had dreamt of a wolf (pp. 55-59). Miss Fletcher and Mr. La Flesche figure a wolfskin from a sacred war bundle of the Omaha; they state that the wolf was regarded as connected with war and was imitated by the warriors.³ With the Pawnee, the consciousness of the association is so strong that the members of a war party "constitute a kind of society of the wolves;" the god of war is a mythical wolf, a wolfskin is contained in the sacred war bundle, as among the Omaha, and the wolf is imitated by the braves (pp. 595-597). The use of white paint is another trait common to the Pawnee and Omaha (J. O. Dorsey). The Pawnee war party also presents one very striking resemblance to the Arikara Fox society: both employ no drum but substitute a rolled-up hide (pp. 596 f., 666). This feature is not recorded for the Cheyenne organization, while the sacred wolf or fox hide has not been reported for the Arikara. In short, both the Arikara and the Cheyenne societies closely agree with each other

¹ J. O. Dorsey, (c), 323; Fletcher and La Flesche, 416.

² Lowie, (a), 233.

³ Fletcher and La Flesche, 412-416.

in a series of distinctive traits; and in addition each shares at least one distinctive feature with the Pawnee war party. From this I conclude that they are homologous, and that both are related to the Pawnee war party. The concepts associated with the latter were undoubtedly borrowed by the Cheyenne since they are so highly elaborated not only among the Pawnee but a neighboring tribe as well, in a part of the Plains only reached by the Cheyenne in very recent times. Whether the Cheyenne borrowed the sacred-hide idea from the Arikara with the remainder of their Coyote society complex at a hypothetical period when the Arikara Fox society possessed this trait, or obtained it in recent times from some other tribe sharing the concept, and tacked it on to a pre-existing series of traits, must remain doubtful. So also we cannot be sure where the series of traits shared by the Arikara Foxes and the Cheyenne Coyotes arose, though their community of origin is demonstrated. In addition to this relationship, a point of interest lies in the proof of some connection between a military society and a war party. The possibility of such a relationship was pointed out in a previous paper¹ and supported by Dr. Wissler with Oglala data (p. 67). The Cheyenne-Arikara complex furnishes an additional illustration from other tribes.

The Dog-Men obviously correspond to the Dog society of most of the other tribes, sharing with them such characteristic traits as the sashes connected with bravery obligations, dewclaw rattles, bone whistles, and feather headdresses. It is not so easy to prove a special relationship with the equivalent organization of some particular tribe. From the foregoing we are tempted to begin our survey with the Arikara, but they had no Dog society in recent times and while a Young Dog organization takes its place, its resemblances with the Cheyenne Dog-Men are too generic. Turning to the other Village tribes of the Upper Missouri, we discover some indication of specific similarities with the Hidatsa. Thus, the Hidatsa have four sash-wearers (one of higher degree), their emblems being of two types and degrees (p. 286), their dancers carried bows and arrows (pp. 287-290), while a performance in which boiling meat is extracted from a kettle in Hot dance fashion (p. 288) *may* correspond to the custom of the Dog-Men taking meat from a pot in which it had been left for four days, each biting off, chewing, and swallowing a large piece. Another possible point of similarity is the shape of the dewclaw rattle. That of the Cheyenne differs from the more usual pattern in representing a snake and being composed of distinct head and tail pieces fitted into the customary straight stick. Although the association with the snake is not reported for the Hidatsa,

¹ Lowie, (c), 93ff.

Maximilian's picture (reproduced in this volume, p. 287) shows a curvature of the stick somewhat suggestive of the Cheyenne emblem. None of these resemblances, it must be admitted, is especially convincing, and we have nothing to prove a closer connection between the Cheyenne and Mandan. Turning to the tribes the Cheyenne encountered farther west or south, the Oglala may be disregarded: their Dog society appears under a different name (p. 41 ff.), and its positive traits, so far as they are not of general distribution, differ. The Dog society of the Crow has only one special feature of resemblance, the presence of two pairs of sash-wearers differing in the emblems worn (p. 179), but since these do not correspond closely to the Cheyenne sashes this rather suggests an indirect relationship. Finally, we come to the Arapaho, and here at last we get indubitable evidence of historical connection. Both the Cheyenne and the Arapaho had a four days' performance, and since this feature belonged to the Arapaho pattern while it is not reported for other Cheyenne societies we may regard the Cheyenne as the borrowers in this respect. Secondly, we find here not only the Crow and Cheyenne grouping of the sash-wearers into two pairs, but a specific resemblance between the sash emblems of one type.¹ Finally, we get a specific statement that the dewclaw rattle of the third degree of the Arapaho represents a snake like the badge of the Cheyenne rank and file. From this it appears that the Dog society of the Cheyenne is most closely related to that of the Arapaho. Whether either tribe borrowed from the other merely the specific resemblances enumerated, is doubtful so long as consideration is restricted to them. Each has a fair number of individual traits not found in the other, and both were in contact with a number of tribes from which the generic features of the organization might have been adopted. Arguments of a more general character (p. 945) lead me to assume that the society came from the Village people to the Arapaho and was transmitted by them to the Cheyenne.

The Inverted or Bow String Warriors of the Cheyenne are at first sight a somewhat puzzling phenomenon. They differ markedly from the societies hitherto considered, thus justifying the native view that they stand apart from the four organizations said to have been first organized by the Prophet. This difference lies in the absence of the customary mode of organization: there is neither chief nor assistant chief, and instead of the special standard-bearers found in three of the other societies there is complete absence of offices or degrees. All the members were unmarried, carried a bowspear, painted their bodies and clothes red, wore a stuffed owl over the forehead and a bone whistle suspended from the neck, practised "backward" speech,

¹ Dorsey, (d), plate IX, fig. 2; Kroeber, (b), plate XXXVI.

and were brave to the point of foolhardiness; no one was allowed to pass in front of them. In attempting to ascertain the relations of the Inverted Warriors, we shall do well to lay stress on the two characteristic activities,—backward speech and foolhardiness. Backward speech occurs in the Arapaho Crazy Lodge in conjunction with an owl-feather circlet, a bone whistle, and a bowspear. It seems improbable that this combination should occur in two neighboring tribes by chance. On the other hand, it is equally important to note that the correspondence is only partial. The dauntless bravery of the Cheyenne warriors is not reported for the Arapaho lodge; on the other hand, the Cheyenne did not practise the fire dance, or wear the capes typical of the Crazy dancers, and lacked most of the other features of the Arapaho society. Starting from the trait of foolhardiness, we find that the Kiowa Dogs were especially brave, used backward speech, wore bone whistles, and used red as their ceremonial paint (p. 848 f.). The Pawnee "Children of the Iruska" were reckless in battle, never married, wore the skin of a blackbird on the head, and acted and spoke by contraries (p. 580 f.): the equivalent Sakhū'nu of the Arikara were reckless, used backward speech, and blew whistles (p. 673 ff.). Foolhardiness in connection with a Dakota society was reported by Lewis and Clark, who regarded it as an imitation of a Crow Indian prototype (p. 12 f.). While the data given by the explorers are inadequate for purposes of identification, we know of Dakota organizations in which dauntlessness played a prominent part. Thus, no member of the Napeeni and Dog organizations was permitted to flee (pp. 29, 54, 108), and the Sotka tanka, who carried bowspears, required great bravery, the members vowing to die in battle according to one source of information (p. 61 f.). But the nearest approach to backward speech is found in none of the military societies but in the heyoka cult in the form of contrary conduct (pp. 82–85, 113–117); in other words, there is no Dakota society that represents the Cheyenne complex. The Crow Crazy Dog couple practised backward speech and also deliberately courted death (p. 193 ff.); the other Cheyenne traits are not reported. Among the Mandan and Hidatsa there does not seem to be any society all of whose members are pledged to foolhardy conduct. We find in short that the two features of the Cheyenne organization are found united in the Kiowa Dog society, among the Pawnee, Arikara, and in the Crow Crazy Dog couple.

Since two of these four complexes are connected with the name of the dog, a comparison of the Inverted Warriors with the Dog society is suggested. The universal features of this society that are lacking in the Cheyenne organization are the sash connected with bravery and the dewclaw rattle; but the latter is also generally absent from the derivative (i. e. Little, Crazy, etc.) Dog societies. Otherwise, the resemblance between the Inverted

Warriors and the Kiowa and Hidatsa Dog society is rather far-reaching. Backward speech, bone whistles, and red paint are shared by all three, and foolhardiness by the Cheyenne and Kiowa, while among the Hidatsa it is at least represented by the bravery of the officers; in addition the Hidatsa have an owl-feather headdress corresponding to the owl of the Cheyenne. The use of red paint may appear *a priori* of little moment, but it is so constantly associated with the Dog complex as to become significant (pp. 47, 110, 178, 285, 318, 849). It appears then, that the resemblance between, say, the Kiowa Dogs and the Inverted Warriors is at least as great as that between the latter and the Arapaho Crazy lodge. The important feature lacking among the Kiowa is the bowspear of the Cheyenne, but the readiness with which a particular emblem of this sort enters different combinations causes me to attach less importance to it than to characteristic modes of action. We must recollect that the bowspear also occurs in the Cheyenne Coyote society, and in both the Lumpwood and Half-Shaved Head organizations of the Hidatsa.

The suggestion I venture to make on the basis of the foregoing is the following. The Inverted Warriors of the Cheyenne correspond at bottom to the Crazy Dog couple of the Crow or the Dog society of the Kiowa; that is, they are directly related to some organization of this category. In addition they seem to have influenced an otherwise independent Arapaho organization, from which in turn they may have borrowed the bowspear though this may also have been adopted from their own Coyote Warriors. The details of these relations may of course be conceived differently, but the essentials are probably as just outlined.

As already stated, the Wolf organization seems to have been instituted in quite recent times since Mooney ascribes its origin to a medicineman of the last century. It conforms to the Cheyenne type in that there are a chief and seven assistant chiefs, and two pairs of distinctive spear emblems, the one having eagle feathers hanging down their entire length, the other being wrapped with otterskin. Spears of various types were also carried by the rank and file, who wore as a badge a wolfskin with a hole cut at the back, the head hanging on the breast and the tail down the back of the wearer. Several members carried small hand-drums. Noisy gaiety is said to characterize the actions of the fraternity. This was the only society that danced with guns, discharging blank cartridges during their performance. Owing to the recent origin of this society, its historical significance is relatively slight. The spear emblems seem to have no characteristic traits; accordingly, we must fall back on the badge worn round the neck. A coyote skin was worn in similar fashion by the Piegan All-Brave Dogs (p. 382) and this method may have been used by the Kit-Fox leader of the

same tribe (p. 399). More to the point, for geographical reasons, is the use of such foxskin capes by the Fox society of the Crow Indians (p. 156) and by the Oglala Kit-Foxes (p. 16). From one of these two tribes the suggestion was presumably received.

To sum up. The absence of grading and the purchase factor together with the practice of inviting men to become members definitely allies the Cheyenne system with that of the Kiowa, Oglala, and Crow; in these basic features it is strikingly different from that of the Arapaho. Of the societies, considered singly, only the Dog-Men are homologous with an equivalent Arapaho organization. The Inverted Warriors and Kit-Foxes only present single elements of resemblance to the Arapaho Crazy and Biitaha^wn lodges, while their genetic connections seem to be with the Dog societies (proper and derivative) of other tribes, including the Crow and Hidatsa. The Buffalo Bull society corresponds to its namesake among the Village tribes, the Kit-Foxes have a highly characteristic element that suggests an Arikara ceremony, the Coyote Warriors doubtless correspond to the Arikara Foxes, the Wolf Warriors indicate affinities with the Oglala and Crow. In short, the two last-named tribes have had some influence, perhaps especially on the general scheme of entrance, while specific features and societies have been most deeply affected by the Village tribes. Of the latter, the Arikara may be assumed to have played a particularly prominent part when we remember that the unusual combination of the Arikara Hot dance features, and the meat trick with the fire dance, is shared by the Cheyenne.¹

DAKOTA AND ASSINIBOINE.

Compared with the systems of other tribes, that of the Dakota is marked by its instability, which occurs in similar degree only among the Pawnee (p. 579). That is to say, though the tribal pattern remains, the societies themselves seem to have shifted continually and among the Eastern Dakota there is even a question whether, apart from the Napecni and Tokana, the dances were performed by a definite membership at all (p. 140 f.). Dr. Wissler has expounded the reasons for this fluidity, which may be sought in the dreams of shamans prompting them to organize a new troop; in the spirit of rivalry that would lead to distinct groups using more or less the same regalia and dances; and in the desire of boys to mimic the adults' organizations (pp. 28, 69). While these factors seem to constitute a really characteristic feature of Dakota society and naturally tend to complicate

¹ Mooney, (c), p. 415.

the study of the growth of the Dakota system, it is nevertheless true that so far as the ceremonial complexes themselves are concerned there is not less permanence than elsewhere. That is to say, while a certain ceremony might fall into desuetude through the lack of a definite body performing it, its memory seems to have been preserved so that at a favorable time it could be revived (see e. g., p. 120). That there was indeed this element of stability of usages over and above the instability of society membership appears clearly from both historical and comparative data. Thus, Hennepin, in 1680, describes the characteristic *akitcita* soldier-killing very much as it was practised two centuries later. One of Dr. Wissler's Oglala informants declared that the *Napecni* originated about fifty years ago as a branch of the *Ca'te ti'za* (Dauntless Ones) and flourished about thirteen years (p. 29). But the Santee also identify the *Napecni* and the *Ca'te ti'za* (p. 107), and so did the Yanktonai in the early twenties of the last century.¹ Moreover, the No-flight society occurs among the Assiniboine² and it seems probable that this is the organization found by Lewis and Clark among the Western Dakota (p. 12). It is therefore clear that the *Napecni* concept is an old one, which was simply *revived* by the Oglala half a century ago. The Kit-Foxes also appear under the same native name, and dialectically changed, among the Eastern Dakota (p. 105f.), Oglala (p. 14), and Assiniboine.³ The same applies to the Raven or Crow society (pp. 23, 109).⁴ The *Heyoka* occurs, at all events, among all the Dakota proper (pp. 82, 113). In short, the state of flux that characterizes Dakota organizations as such must not be considered typical of the ideas underlying them.

So far as these ideas are concerned, the Oglala belong to the same group as the Cheyenne, Kiowa, and Crow, their closest affinities being probably with the last-mentioned tribe. All four tribes lacked a graded series based on age, and in all membership depended not on purchase but mainly on invitation. Like the societies of the Kiowa (p. 843) and the Crow (p. 149), — for the Cheyenne we lack data — those of the Oglala took turns at policing the camp (p. 13). The trait that particularly allies the Crow and Oglala systems is the intense rivalry between societies, which is manifested in precisely the same dual form, wife-stealing and emulation in war (pp. 74, 169 ff.). The imitation of adults' societies by boys, with the counting of coups on animals (p. 28), has its exact counterpart in the Kiowa Rabbits (p. 844) and the Crow *bū'ptsake* (p. 187). A formal reorganization in the spring is found among the Oglala (p. 17), Pawnee (p. 559), Crow (p. 176),

¹ Keating, I, 418-421.

² Lowie, (c), 70.

³ *Ibid.*, 70.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 74.

and Blackfoot (p. 425). The dual scheme of officers, which the Oglala may have derived from the Pawnee, is shared by the Crow, who carry it out far more consistently than the Kiowa or Cheyenne. The office of the whipper seems to be more highly developed among the Oglala and the Crow than anywhere else. As promoters of social and fraternal relations among the membership the Oglala and Crow organizations also agree (pp. 64, 150). The combination of lance and sash emblems with a variety of societies (p. 68) is another point of resemblance. The resemblances with the Pawnee — alternating police duties, spring renewal, dual offices — have already been commented upon (p. 891); they are indicative of historical connection, but the highly specialized character of the Pawnee systems puts it in a class by itself. As might be expected, certain Assiniboiné features are strongly reminiscent of the Oglala scheme: among these may be mentioned the herald's office and the tendency to invite men of wealth to join (pp. 14, 25, 31, 34, 64).¹ Certain usages recall the Village tribes. Thus, certain officers in the Black-chin, Miwatani, and Dog societies have the privilege of seizing food belonging to others (pp. 29, 45, 52) like the Hidatsa Dogs, Little Dogs, and Crazy Dogs (pp. 288, 271, 281). The notion of appointing a few young individuals as junior associates in order to stimulate their parents' generosity on behalf of the society (p. 65) is shared with the Blackfoot as well as with the Mandan and Hidatsa (pp. 291, 349). Again, the custom of having female and particularly virgin associates, (pp. 14, 25, 32, 34, 61), while found in the Gros Ventre Kit-Foxes, appears strongly developed among the Cheyenne (p. 895) and in all the Village tribes (pp. 271, 298, 666). Among the other specific traits shared with the Cheyenne may be mentioned the practice of disbarring unworthy members from all organizations (pp. 19, 65, 895); expulsion was also practised by the Wahpeton (p. 112).

While the Oglala organizations were not age-societies, the element of age entered in several cases in a rather suggestive way inasmuch as we find on the one hand boy organizations modeled on those of the adults, while on the other hand the Chief, Miwatani, Ska yuha, and Omaha societies were composed of rather older men than the rest. The same tendency to have members of mature age, without any formal regulation to that effect, appears in the Crow Bull society (p. 189) which corresponds to the Oglala Chiefs.

In determining the part the Oglala have played in the development of the military societies, it is convenient to discuss first those organizations which there is some reason for ascribing to an alien source or to a recent founder within the tribe. We naturally assign greater importance to statements relating to events that occurred within the memory of men still living. The Omaha society was borrowed from the Omaha about forty years ago

¹ Lowie, (c), 70-74.

(p. 48), the Sotka tanka from the Crow or Pawnee about forty-eight years ago (p. 62); the Ska yuha arose in Agent McGillicuddy's administration in emulation of the Chiefs' society; the Sotka yuha appears to have been learned from the Crow Indians about forty-six years ago; a relatively recent origin also seems probable for the wic'iska (p. 34). Dr. Wissler has pointed out the relations of the two last-mentioned societies to the Badger society, suggesting that they may be merely variants of the latter (p. 36). That the Badger organization is of older date seems probable from its occurrence among the Sisseton as well. Though this community is doubtless due to diffusion (p. 31), the Western Dakota must have borrowed the organization while it was not yet obsolescent among the Crow or Village tribes and for the process of transmission to the Eastern Dakota the lapse of some time must be allowed. These considerations corroborate the native statement that the organization is at least sixty years old. I have already shown that the Badger society was probably borrowed from the Crow or Hidatsa Kit-Fox society, the foreign designation being interpreted according to the significance of a closely similar Dakota word (p. 109).

The Chiefs and Miwatani organizations are probably of greater antiquity than those cited above, yet there are reasons for not assigning them to the oldest Dakota stratum.

The Chiefs undoubtedly correspond to the Bulls of other tribes; indeed, they formerly shared this name (p. 36). An equivalent Buffalo dance occurs among the Assiniboiné,¹ but since these derive it from the Hidatsa (Xeā'-ktukta) the connection is probably not a direct one. Among the Eastern Dakota at least one (Sisseton) dance (p. 102 f.) is also homologous, and the occurrence of the same ceremonial complex among these distinct groups might be used as an argument for fairly great Dakota antiquity were it not for the restriction of the Chiefs to the Red-cloud band of the Oglala (pp. 7, 11). This last statement, however, may be meant to apply only to their political functions. On comparing the Eastern and Western forms of the society, we find relatively little similarity beyond the imitation of buffalo and the carrying of shields. It is not clear that the buffalo *mask* was used by the Oglala at all, the headdresses being simply described as "made of the skin from the neck and head of the buffalo with the horns attached" (p. 37); the Sisseton, however, (p. 120 f.) and probably the Assiniboiné also² used the masks which among the Village tribes were the badge of certain special officers.³ The wide divergence of the Dakota societies leads me to suppose

¹ Lowie, (c), 73.

² Lowie, (c), 73.

³ The statement of one Sisseton informant that there were forty-four members in the Buffalo dance suggests the Cheyenne chiefs' council, which, however, was not associated with the societies of that tribe.

that their relationship is indirect, that the Bull organization is not very old among the Dakota but was independently borrowed by several of their subdivisions from the Village tribes, among all of whom a Bull or Buffalo organization played a great part. The fact that the Oglala Chiefs form "after all an old men's organization" (p. 38) might, as Dr. Wissler hints, be the result of borrowing from the Mandan or Hidatsa, in whose graded system the Bulls stand at or near the top. This may, however, be only a coincidence, for the nearest society seems to me to be that of the Arikara. There we find the same emphasis on the fringed shirt, on philanthropic activity, peaceableness in camp and the duty to protect the people in time of war (p. 661 f.), and Maximilian states that the Arikara Bulls were the most distinguished men. In short, I suggest that the Oglala borrowed the Bull dance from the Arikara. The Assiniboine contention that *their* Buffalo dance came from the Hidatsa is confirmed by special resemblances, such as the use of flannel clouts and the participation of a junior associate. The Eastern Dakota also share, in addition to the more general features, a specific trait with the Mandan (p. 317) and Hidatsa (p. 293), viz., the watering of the performers personating buffalo. Since practically all the traits found anywhere in this context occur jointly among the three Village tribes of the Upper Missouri, I regard these tribes as the starting-point from which the society spread.

The Miwatani society of the Oglala corresponds to the Mawatani or Mā'tano of other divisions. Its relations to similarly named organizations of the Southern Siouans have been discussed (p. 886). The translation given for the Dakota designation points almost uniformly to the Mandan as the source of origin. There can be no doubt whatsoever that the organization is simply the equivalent of the Northern Plains Dog society (see table, p. 920). The combination of sashes, owl-feather headdress, dewclaw rattle, bone whistle, and log drum with the privilege of seizing food belonging to others definitely fixes its identity.¹ Since the Dog society occurs nearly everywhere with a remarkably stable complex of features, the particular relations of the Miwatani must be determined by a consideration of apparently unessential traits. As a matter of fact we find that, disregarding the Southern Siouans, the log-drum occurs only among the Dakota, Mandan, Hidatsa and in the equivalent Arikara Young Dog society. A whipper who lashes a dancer to make him perform or sit down occurs likewise among the Arikara, Crow, and Hidatsa, though also among the Arapaho and Gros Ventre. The staking down of the sashes (p. 43) is common to the Oglala,

¹ There is a Dog society among the Oglala (p. 52) in which the last-mentioned trait occurs; its other characteristics are, however, very much specialized and betray hardly any affiliation with the Dog society as found elsewhere.

Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Kiowa, but the sum-total of resemblances is greatest with the Upper Missouri Villagers and thus corroborates the evidence contained in the native name.

This reduces the core of the Oglala system to three societies,— the Kit-Foxes, Crow-Owners, and Braves, with the two variants or branches of the latter, the Black-Chins and No-flight men. It may seem significant that all of these presumably ancient Dakota societies served as akitcita, while the Miwatani, Chiefs, and Omaha dancers did not; on the other hand, it seems more plausible to connect this fact with the greater age of the members of the last-named societies, for several recent organizations did act as police. As I have already pointed out, the great age of the Kit-Foxes, Crow-Owners and No-flight society is attested by their occurring with the same native designations not only among the Eastern Dakota but the Assiniboine as well. The No-flight men, indeed, seem to be found nowhere else under this name.

KIT-FOX SOCIETY.

	Blackfoot	Mandan	Hidatsa	Gros Ventre	Assiniboine	Arikara	Oglala	Eastern Dakota	Cheyenne	Crow	Iowa	Ponca
Kilts			×	?				?×				
Jaw-headband		×	×		×		×	×				
Roached hair		×	×			×	×	×	×		×	×
Hooked spears	×	×	×	×	×				×	×		
Straight spears	×	×	×	×			×			×		
(2) Rattles		×	×	×		×	×		×			
Spear-bow			×			(1)	×		(1)			
Hood	×	×				×	×		×			
Female associates		×		×		×	×		×		×	×
Whippers					×		×					×
Kit-fox necklace					×		×			×		
Crescent badge						×			×			
Yellow body paint							×		×			×
Rank and file lances							×		×			

The Tokala of the Oglala may be one of the contributions to military organizations made by the Dakota, but owing to the very wide distribution of the Kit-Fox society this must be taken as no more than a reasonable conjecture. The affiliations of the Tokala are fairly clear; it belongs with

those Kit-Fox organizations which lack the hooked-lance emblem,—with that of the Arikara and the Cheyenne Coyote society (see table, p. 907). With these it shares the hair-roaching, bow-spears, and girl associates. Common to the Oglala and Cheyenne are, in addition, yellow body paint and small lances borne by the rank and file. The presence of the jaw-headband and kit-fox necklaces allies the Assiniboine with this group, but the hooked-lance emblem also puts them in a class with other tribes. With the solitary exception of the last-mentioned badge, all the important Kit-Fox peculiarities are found united among the Oglala; their organization, in other words, compares favorably with any other as regards elaboration, and this fact seems to favor a Dakota origin, at least so far as the tribes lacking hooked spears are concerned. The Arikara and Cheyenne societies, however, seem to me more closely allied than either is to the Tokala, because they share the otherwise lacking crescent-shaped neck ornament and have only one rattle. I consider these resemblances of greater weight than the small lances of the Oglala and Cheyenne and the yellow body paint of the same tribes. The hair-roach, as a regular method of dressing the hair, is usually associated with other tribes than the Dakota. Its occurrence among the Oglala is, however, vouched for by Lewis and Clark,¹ and accordingly its presence as a Tokala trait need not be regarded as an alien intrusion.

According to a native informant (p. 13), the Crow-Owners and the Badgers were most frequently chosen for *akitcita* duty, and since the latter are of Crow origin, the Crow (Raven)-Owners would appear to be the police society *par excellence*. However, the same claim is also made on behalf of the Braves (p. 25). Taking both statements as significant, I suggest tentatively that the two organizations may be related to each other and to the Black Mouths, the police organization of the Village tribes.

We have, in the first place, the presumptive evidence of synonymous designations for the societies concerned. Thus, the Mandan also called their Black Mouths "Brave Men" (p. 314), while "Black Chins" is the name applied to an Oglala branch of the Braves. The Oglala Braves wear bone whistles and have two pipe men like the Black Mouths of the Arikara, Mandan, and Hidatsa. Black face paint is too general a trait to be especially significant, but its restriction to the part from the mouth downward certainly constitutes a similarity between the Black-Chin branch and the Black Mouths that is not negligible. What is said of the central tipi of the Braves and the meetings held there (p. 27) suggests that they formed the most important *akitcita* body and in this sense prefigured the character of the Black Mouths with their monopoly of police duties.

¹ Thwaites edition, p. 138.

The Crow-Owners of the Oglala correspond to the Sisseton Raven-Owners, for the native names are identical and both societies have four singers, two rattlers, wore skunkskins round the arms, and used black body paint. One of the most suggestive traits is the crossing of each other's path by the Sisseton rattlers (p. 109), for it is common to the Arikara, Hidatsa, and Mandan Black Mouths (pp. 663, 277, 314) and the equivalent Muddy Mouths of the Crow (p. 198). We find it again in the Red Lance society of the Chaui, Pitahaurata, and Kitkahaxki (p. 560) which is considered the counterpart of the Skidi Two-Lance society. Now the emblem of the last-mentioned organization (p. 562, fig. 3) is to all intents and purposes identical with an Hidatsa Raven emblem, of which I have an unpublished sketch made by my interpreter, there being in both the same alternation of groups of black (crow or raven) and white feathers. It is conceivable that either the Chaui or the Skidi organization lost a distinctive feature and that originally both had the complex of the raven lance and the crossing of officers' paths, in other words, that as in the case of the Sisseton a Black Mouth and a Raven trait occur in conjunction. From another angle a similar point may be made. The Mandan and Hidatsa Black Mouths both have a "Raven" lance, decorated with raven feathers and a raven head associated with bravery obligations; in fact, Maximilian explicitly likens the Mandan Black Mouth pole to the emblem of the Piegan Crow society (pp. 275, 313).

While the evidence is far from convincing, I cannot escape the suspicion that a relationship of some sort exists between the Brave, Crow-Owner, and Black Mouth societies.

Returning to our general problem, the question confronts us whether the Crow-Owners and Braves originated with the Dakota, and whether such similarities as the Black Mouths reveal to either organization are due to Dakota influence. Unfortunately, I see no way for a satisfactory reply. The Crow-Owners occur among the Piegan, Arikara, Crow, Hidatsa, Oglala, and Sisseton, not to mention similarly named Pawnee organizations of unascertained identity. Of the tribes mentioned the Crow data yield some evidence of Hidatsa origin (p. 199) and on general grounds the Piegan society may be traced to the same source (p. 949). However, the Crow society more closely resembles the Oglala equivalent. The Braves (Napečni), if really equivalent to the Black Mouths, are as likely to be of Dakota as of Village origin. While the great importance of the Black Mouth society on the Upper Missouri seems to favor its having arisen there, we must recall that the Braves, too, especially in the Napečni form, are undoubtedly of considerable prominence among the Dakota and their distribution warrants the assumption of a fair antiquity. How seriously we should take Lewis and Clark's remark that what seems to have been

the Napecni of their day was borrowed from the Crow (p. 12), remains a question.

One very important feature of Plains Indian societies may be due to the Dakota, to wit, the police duties in connection with the buffalo hunt. Historical data, being too recent, cannot settle the question, nevertheless it is a noteworthy fact that the earliest report on "soldier-killing" I have been able to find, made by Hennepin in 1680, relates to the Dakota (p. 130 f.). A strictly parallel institution existed among the Menomini with regard, not to the hunt but to rice-gathering, and in 1820 Marston describes it for the Sauk and Fox as a protection of the corn crops (p. 498f.). It is inconceivable to me that the rigid regulations intelligible from the conditions of the coöperative buffalo hunt should have developed among the Central Algonkians in connection with the quite different circumstances of rice-gathering and corn-planting, which do not seem to demand anything of the sort. I do not hesitate, therefore, to regard the Central Algonkians as the borrowers of the institution. So far as they are concerned, then, the Dakota habitat formed presumably the center of dissemination. Beyond this it is not possible to go with any degree of assurance. The linguistic evidence fails for while obviously the same phonetic element to designate the police functions has been carried to a number of tribes, a satisfactory analysis for any one of the languages concerned is lacking. Dr. Michelson writes me that the Algonkian interpretation of *okitcitan* as "brave men" is merely a folk-etymology, and I am strongly under the impression that the same applies to the Crow explanation of *ak'isat'e* as "those who bar." There remains the fact that the akitcita institution is remarkably well-developed among all the Dakota groups and the Assiniboiné as well, assuming throughout very nearly the same form and appearing as a specialized type of a more general constabulary activity. Taken with Hennepin's early testimony and the spread of the custom into the Woodland area, this seems to me to warrant the statement that the Dakota have at least as good a claim to having originated the buffalo police as any other Plains tribe.

One difference between the Eastern and Western Dakota is of significance in this connection. The akitcita function of the former was quite distinct from the dance associations (p. 141), and although one statement connects the Soldier organization of the Assiniboiné with an archetype of the modern Grass dance the weight of evidence seems to me to point to a similar condition among them also.¹ In other words, the association of the police with military societies is a peculiarity of the Western, as distinguished from other groups of Dakota, and need not have originated with them since it is found in a number of neighboring tribes in the same form.

¹ Lowie, (c), 35, 66.

The part played by the Heyoka in influencing the military societies of the area has already been dealt with by Dr. Wissler (p. 859 et seq.).

Before leaving the Dakota, it is well to recall an important fact. Both among the Eastern and Western Dakota are many cult associations based on similarity of supernatural experiences. These religious fraternities are strictly comparable to an important type of organization found among the Omaha and seem related, though more remotely, to the shamanistic associations of the Pawnee. As pointed out above (p. 884), the Omaha have but a weakly developed system of military societies, probably of recent Dakota origin, which is certainly quite insignificant as compared with their system of religious societies. In the Northern Plains, on the other hand, while military associations loom up conspicuously, religious fraternities of the Omaha type are lacking, for the medicine bundle groups of the Blackfoot and other tribes represent again a different pattern. On the other hand, the Dakota have a simultaneous elaboration of both the military club and the religious fraternity scheme, and it is probable from comparison of the Eastern and Western groups that both are of considerable antiquity with them.

Among the Assiniboiné religious fraternities of the type described are lacking; the names of a number of dances recorded without further data suggest military rather than religious societies. Of the military organizations the No-flight and Fox societies represent the old Dakota core; though we have no data except the name, the Crow-Owners may reasonably be included in this category. To the same cultural stratum may be referred traits that appear in other organizations also: the tendency to have an even number of officers and the distinct offices of the whipper and the herald. The parade about camp with repeated (fourfold) performance of the dance is shared by the Oglala, Hidatsa, Blackfoot, and Arapaho, and perhaps with several other tribes. There seems no reason to doubt that the Buffalo dance was derived from the Hidatsa, as the Assiniboiné themselves believe, and such names as Little Dog and Big Dog which I recorded, unfortunately without being able to secure a description of the correlated organizations, also suggest Village Indian influence. The *ajū'owatc* is derived by the natives from the Crow, but I know of no equivalent in that tribe. On the other hand, the shooting of an arrow into the air so that it shall fall among the crowd is a distinct feature that allies this dance with that of the Piegan Braves (p. 380) and the Gros Ventre Crazy dancers.¹ The Fool dancers correspond, as Mr. Skinner points out, very closely to the Windigokan of the Plains-Ojibway (pp. 500 ff.) and the Wetigokanuk of the Plains-Cree (p. 528 f.). The wearing of the same type of masks, the stalking of meat repre-

¹ Kroeber, (a), 247.

senting a buffalo, and the use of backward speech establish the absolute identity of the performances; and the adaptation of what is almost certainly an Algonkian word to designate the dance indicates that the Assiniboine were the borrowers. To sum up: the Assiniboine system reflects in some measure all the tribal influences that might *a priori* be expected, with the old Dakota element perhaps remaining the strongest single constituent. It does not appear that as a distinct tribal unit the Assiniboine have been to any extent originators and disseminators.

CROW.

The system of the Crow is best considered in the light of their historical connections. With the Hidatsa they form a subdivision of the Siouan stock. This subdivision is sufficiently distinct in my opinion to regard any cultural resemblances between its constituents and members of other Siouan groups as the result of diffusion. That is to say; in view of the notorious rapidity with which cultural elements are borrowed as compared with any far-reaching linguistic differentiation, I should consider, say, specifically Crow-Dakota parallels invariably due to contact and in no case to the persistence of traits from a hypothetical primeval Siouan culture. The theory of persistence, in my opinion, could reasonably be applied only to Crow and Hidatsa parallels. Here we are, however, beset with the difficulty that there is also a recent period of contact between these tribes, by which the River Crow particularly were affected. So far as this later influence is concerned, the Hidatsa contact stands on the same level as that of other Western tribes. Of these, the Dakota are doubtless the most important: Dakota and "foreigner" are almost interchangeable terms with the Crow. In point of influence the Piegan and Cheyenne probably follow in the order given.

A chronological discussion of the Crow system might therefore be expected to begin with the early stratum common to the parental Hidatsa-Crow tribe, and then to proceed to the influences due to later borrowings. Since the order of these influences, however, can only be inferred and in some cases guessed with more or less probability, other methods of attack must be adopted.

With regard to two societies there can be no doubt because their adoption falls within the memory of my informants, viz., the Crazy Dogs (p. 191) and the Muddy Mouths (p. 197). Their recollection is confirmed by the very specific resemblances found. The Hidatsa Crazy Dogs, like those of the Crow, had loop-shaped rattles and their officers wore horned caps with

weaselskin trimming and sashes, while one or two acted as whippers (280 f.). The Muddy Mouths agree with the Black Mouths in the characteristic crossing of the rattlers' paths and the privilege of shooting dogs¹ (pp. 277, 315).

The Bulls, Big Dogs, Crow-Owners, and Little Dogs evidently belong to an older stratum since they are cited in Maximilian's list (p. 147), but to them also is ascribed an Hidatsa origin. Unfortunately we know next to nothing concerning the two last-named organizations (p. 199) because they had become obsolete before my informants' day. The list of Assiniboiné dances includes one named "Little Dog," but no such organization is reported from the Dakota. Since the Village tribes abound in societies named after the dog, with or without specifying adjective, there is a certain *a priori* probability, in view of the known historical relations, that the Crow society came from the Hidatsa or developed from a society of the parent tribe. One feature mentioned in connection with the Crow Little Dogs supports this view: two officers are said to have carried a notched board trimmed with crow feathers. This is an emblem of the Arapaho Tomahawk lodge,² the equivalent of the Hidatsa Lumpwoods, which has a similar badge. Since such boards do not seem to occur elsewhere and the Crow had no close relations with the Arapaho, this strengthens the hypothesis of the Upper Missouri origin of the Crow Little Dogs. But whether the society was borrowed at a fairly early period or was in existence among both the Hidatsa and Crow prior to their separation, cannot be definitely decided. The same informant who asserts an Hidatsa origin for the organization just discussed derives the Crow-Owners from the same source. Here we are confronted with the fact that this society existed also among the Dakota. In fact, the presence of a herald and of two sash-wearers allies the Crow society more closely with that of the Oglala (p. 23) than with its Hidatsa equivalent. While ultimately the Crow-Owner organizations of all tribes must have been related, the immediate relations of the Crow society are thus probably with the Dakota equivalent and it may have been borrowed from the Oglala. Transmission may, of course, have occurred in the reverse direction; on the other hand, the occurrence of this society among the Eastern Dakota and Assiniboiné favors greater Dakota antiquity.

For the Bulls and Big Dogs we have better data. A detailed comparison of the Bull societies of the Crow and Hidatsa shows practically complete agreement except for the Crow pattern influence and the fact that the Hidatsa have certain additional traits. In so specific a point as the designa-

¹ The latter is not reported from the Hidatsa but only for the Mandan; its existence among the Hidatsa also may safely be inferred.

² Kroeber, (b), 184.

tion of the mask-wearing officers the Crow and Hidatsa alone coincide (pp. 189, 292). A common origin thus seems assured, the only question being whether we are dealing with diffusion since the separation or preservation from a period antedating it. Several circumstances seem to me strongly to support the former hypothesis. In the first place, a very close resemblance seems improbable, if so considerable a lapse of time is assumed for the existence of the Crow organization as is necessitated by the alternative hypothesis; for example, the Lumpwood organizations of the two tribes concerned differ very widely in their most conspicuous features. Secondly, the Bull society seems to have been composed of elderly men. This is at once intelligible if the society was borrowed from the Hidatsa at a time when their age-graded system had already developed; but it is not in accord with the society pattern of the Crow.¹ Similarly, the participation of outsiders in the Bull dance (p. 191) is an irregularity from the Crow point of view, which indicates that the Bull society or dance had not yet had time to become perfectly assimilated to the Crow norm. Finally, we must remember that the Bull dance is highly developed among the Mandan as well as among the Hidatsa; we must therefore reckon with the possibility that the Hidatsa borrowed their society from the Mandan. But everything indicates that the Mandan influence on the Hidatsa began after the Crow secession; hence the possibility mentioned adds another mite to the evidence for the relatively late appearance of this society among the Crow.

The Hidatsa and Crow Dog societies do not reveal the same degree of correspondence, nevertheless there are certain significant resemblances. The whipping of dancers to make them sit down or rise (pp. 179, 290) is one of these; it occurs among the Oglala, but is remembered there as a recent Crow importation (p. 47). The special relationship between the Real Dog and his attendant (p. 289) in the Hidatsa society has its Crow counterpart (p. 181). In both tribes there is a differentiation into sash-wearers with one and with two sashes (pp. 179, 286). By interpolation we may perhaps add the use of backward speech: while not reported for the Crow Big Dogs (though found in their Crazy-Dogs-wishing-to-die), it is distinctive of the Kiowa (p. 849) and Hidatsa (p. 285) Dog societies. Although we may be dealing with a free element that readily enters all sorts of combinations, it is also possible that the connection of the trait with the Dogs is fairly old and has merely dropped out from the Crow Dog complex; the Kiowa are known to have had relations with the Crow but, so far as I know, none directly with the Village tribes.

¹ Reasons for assuming the priority of ungraded societies will be given in a subsequent section.

The foregoing suggests the historical unity of the Crow and Hidatsa organizations. Nevertheless, there are profound dissimilarities, each tribe having developed a number of features not traceable in the other and the Crow society being in complete accord with the tribal pattern. This would indicate a considerably greater antiquity for the Big Dogs, so far as the Crow are concerned, than for the Bulls. On the other hand, we cannot push the period of resumed intercourse between the Crow and Hidatsa too far back without curtailing the time that must be allowed for their cultural differentiation. Since the Dog society is one of the most widely diffused of Plains organizations, it is also presumably one of the oldest. I, therefore, regard it as a tenable hypothesis that the Dog society existed in the parent tribe and has persisted in its branches from the period of separation.

We may next consider two societies shared only by the Crow and Village tribes. These are the Half-shaved Heads and the Hammer-Owners. Both are reported by Maximilian and in both cases the native appellations are practically the same in Crow and Hidatsa.

According to the Crow their Half-Shaved Heads are of great antiquity, some identifying them with the Lumpwoods or even regarding them as the predecessors of the latter. It is perhaps significant that while the Crow generally have a tendency to ascribe cultural features to the Hidatsa, they fail to do so in the present instance, while on the other hand, the Hidatsa believe that the society was founded by the Crow (p. 272). There is a very strong tendency on the part of the Hidatsa to explain their societies by a native vision; when such an origin account is not known to an informant, he at once assumes a foreign origin. It is possible that the Half-shaved Head society existed among the Hidatsa from the earliest times but that for some reason its origin was forgotten and no new tradition regarding it had arisen when they again met with the Crow; finding that these also had a society of the same name, the Hidatsa may have hit upon the idea that the Crow were its founders. Unfortunately, the information about the Crow society is so meager that its very identity with the Hidatsa equivalent would be doubtful but for the unusual name and the peculiar relations of these tribes. As things stand, it is impossible to exclude the hypothesis that the Hidatsa actually borrowed the organization from the Crow since the renewal of intercourse, and the whole matter remains unsolved.

We are in a somewhat better position as to the Hammer society. This is the only representative of a genuine age-class among the Crow, practically all the young boys being members (pp. 154, 188). It is true that such an organization might have developed independently, merely in imitation of the adult men's clubs, as happened ostensibly in the case of the Oglala and Kiowa. On the other hand, the Rabbits of the Kiowa may be genetically

related to the Crow Hammers, considering known intertribal relations, and the Oglala boys' societies may also be genetically connected with them in view of specific resemblances (p. 28). This being so, we may plausibly suggest that the one Crow instance of an age-class was borrowed from the Hidatsa, who had developed a definite system of age-grades, and that the other tribes may have borrowed from the Crow. The fact that the organizations of the Crow and Hidatsa correspond so closely in point of the members' age is to my mind another circumstance that favors borrowing. There can be no doubt that in the Hidatsa series there was considerable shifting of societies during historic times and during a very long period the Stone Hammers would hardly have remained permanently at the bottom; in fact, in the village of Awaxā'wi the Notched Stick society is known to have supplanted it there.¹

The Muddy Hands are probably of Crow origin since I have been unable to find an equivalent elsewhere. On the Crow data alone it would be quite possible to hold that they developed rather recently for they do not appear in Maximilian's otherwise complete list. Other facts, however, show that this is probably due to Maximilian's imperfect experience with the Crow (see p. 944 f.).

The Crazy-Dogs-wishing-to-die (p. 193) may also be briefly dismissed. A strictly equivalent organization is represented by the Blackfoot Brave Dogs (p. 398), who differ essentially merely in not using backward speech. In both tribes the institution seems to be well-developed, and I see no indication as to which originated it and transmitted it to the other. There can be little doubt that the Kootenai Reckless Dogs² were patterned on the Blackfoot Brave Dog couple. They exercised the interesting privilege of appropriating the food belonging to others, which is reported for the Blackfoot Dogs (p. 395) and officers of other societies (pp. 381, 384), but not for their Brave Dog couple.

There remain the Lumpwoods and Foxes, the two rival organizations that figured so prominently in Crow society from about the middle of the last century. An early reference (p. 182) suggests that at one time the Dogs were rivals of the Foxes, but this need not have been a permanent or exclusive state of affairs. It is quite possible that at an earlier period there was a general sentiment of emulation among all of the societies and that the dual antagonism recorded was due simply to the accident that other societies became obsolete. Nevertheless, the alternate possibility of an essentially dual division, though with varying opponents, cannot be dismissed. We

¹ Field data obtained since my description of the Hidatsa system make it clear that this was an Awaxā'wi society not shared by the other Hidatsa.

² Curtis, VII, 123 f..

find it among the Iowa, who presumably borrowed it directly from the Dakota, and there is a suggestion of the same phenomenon in the relations of the Santee Kit-Fox and No-flight men (p. 106).

The Lumpwood society is in my opinion a persistent element of the pristine Crow-Hidatsa culture. Had it been borrowed during the period of resumed intercourse, we should expect more of the fundamental traits to coincide in both tribes. The Tomahawk organization of the Arapaho and its Gros Ventre equivalent (p. 923) present at first sight far more evidence of kinship with the Lumpwood society of the Hidatsa than does its Crow namesake. It is only the identity of the native designation, its restriction to the Crow and Hidatsa, and the known relationship of these tribes that lead us to inquire as to a possible connection between the two societies, and their genetic unity is satisfactorily established, in view of these facts, only by traditional Crow statements as to former emblems (p. 163). These had been completely superseded, in later times, by insignia of the Fox society type; in other words, the Lumpwoods became in a measure assimilated to the Fox type, as well as to the Crow pattern otherwise, and in addition they developed peculiarities of action (p. 167), all of which factors jointly obscure its origin. The differences it has undergone are so profound when compared with those between the Bull or even the Hammer societies and so much more pronounced than those developed by the Arapaho Tomahawk lodge that my conclusion as to its antiquity seems warranted.

The case for the Fox society is, to my mind, more doubtful. An approximately equal number of the Crow traits is found in the equivalent Oglala and Hidatsa organizations. The hooked spear, shared by Crow and Hidatsa and certainly a very common Kit-Fox emblem, is lacking among the Oglala; on the other hand, the characteristic kit-fox necklace of the Crow, Dakota, and Assiniboine, is not reported from the Hidatsa. From its wide diffusion over the Plains area we may reasonably infer the antiquity of the Kit-Fox society; but this does not mean that it must be very old among the Crow and Hidatsa. In a preceding section no convincing grounds were found against a Dakota origin of this organization while its antiquity among the Hidatsa is problematic (see p. 942). It is possible, then, that the Dakota transmitted the society to both the Crow and Hidatsa without any direct connection between their respective equivalents. However, nothing positive can be said on this subject.

So far we have considered the Crow societies singly, but the scheme that underlies their organization is of at least equal comparative interest. In this respect the Crow are clearly very far removed from their next of kin, standing much closer to the Western Dakota, Cheyenne, and Kiowa. In the first place, the purchase factor is entirely absent from the Crow system.

Except in the boys' Hammer society, the element of age, so far as it is present, enters in quite a different way, age-mates being never united in a single organization; nor is there any other evidence of grading. On the other hand, there is a very strong development of rivalry — quite lacking in the Hidatsa system — and probably carried to a higher degree of elaboration than anywhere else. Thus, the parade incident to the capture of a woman from the rival society's camp and the taking away of songs are specifically Crow features. Similarly, though the dual scheme of officers resembles the Oglala and Pawnee arrangement, its details differ and the Crow have established a definite and individual pattern: two leaders, two pairs of men with bravery obligations, two rear officers, two *akdū'cire*. The latter show considerable resemblance to the bear braves of the Piegan; their restriction to the lower societies and lesser development altogether in other Blackfoot divisions (p. 426) suggests that the trait originated with the Crow and was borrowed by the Piegan. Individuality is also shown in the tendency to develop age-groups or other subdivisions within one and the same society (pp. 156, 164, 183). In short, the Crow display an appreciable measure of originality and may be credited with a certain degree of active participation in the development of traits common to them and neighboring tribes.

To sum up. In separating from the Hidatsa the Crow probably carried with them a number of ungraded societies existing at that time in the parent stock.¹ These included the Lumpwoods and probably several others, though in each of the other possibilities that occur an alternative hypothesis seems equally probable in the light of our defective knowledge. Then came a period in which the Crow encountered new neighbors and partly borrowing from them developed their characteristic system as outlined above. Finally, the Crow met the Hidatsa once more and without adopting any basic features of their system borrowed a number of the societies that figure in the most recent history of their military organizations. In the sum total of the societies the Crow had throughout all periods their kinship is closest with the Hidatsa; in everything pertaining to their system as such they resemble most closely the Western Dakota.

¹ See footnote, p. 914.

GRADED SYSTEMS.

HISTORICAL UNITY OF GRADED SYSTEMS.

If the Blood, Piegan, and Northern Blackfoot are counted as a single group, the system of age-societies existed among five of the Plains tribes,—the Blackfoot, Gros Ventre, Arapaho, Mandan, and Hidatsa. The features common to all five systems were these: In each tribe the societies were graded in a series, the difference in grade corresponding to a difference in age. Except for the very young and the very old, practically every male member of the tribe belonged to one of the societies. Age was nowhere the sole condition for joining; either membership itself or the requisite emblems and instructions had to be bought, and this purchase, even among the Blackfoot (pp. 375, 388, 425) was normally collective rather than individual. As part of the purchase price, the buyer ceremonially surrenders his wife to an older man in some, at least, of the societies of each tribe.¹ In every case the function of a tribal police during the hunt is associated either with the entire system or with one of the societies in the series. Finally, in every one of the five tribes a women's organization connected with the buffalo is associated with the series while no such society is reported from tribes having ungraded military organizations.

These features are sufficiently important and numerous to prove the historical unity of the age-systems. This is further strengthened by the curious absence of the purchase factor from the ungraded societies (p. 884), which serves to demarcate the two types rather sharply.

On the other hand, a system can be diffused only with the diffusion of its constituent parts. Hence, we may expect *a priori* that many of the societies, singly considered, can be traced to a common origin. Here, however, an important possibility must be considered. Any particular society within any one of the five graded series may have been adopted from a tribe with ungraded societies subsequent to the acquisition of the graded system. Consequently, homologous organizations found in different graded series may have the same ultimate origin without being *directly* related: each tribe may have borrowed independently from the same or from different tribes lacking the age-system.

In the following pages I shall discuss societies found in at least two of the five graded series with special reference to the question of homology and historical unity.

¹ Kroeber, (b), 193, 200; *id.*, (a), 243; Wissler, this volume, 402, 413 (Blackfoot); Lowie, *ibid.*, 228 (Mandan and Hidatsa).

A Dog society occurs in all the five tribes and is everywhere associated with a deer-hoof rattle, feather headdress, and sash.¹ That its five forms go back ultimately to the same archetype is clear, but we must consider the possibility that the immediate ancestor of some particular Dog societies in graded series may be an ungraded namesake, while other Dog societies developed elsewhere. As a matter of fact, there is just one case in which the data lend some credibility to such an assumption,— that of the Arapaho in relation to the Cheyenne. To prove historical unity we must show that the differential Dog features shared by the Arapaho and Cheyenne do not indicate that the society was borrowed by the Arapaho from the Cheyenne unless we can demonstrate a Cheyenne origin for the other graded Dog societies. For one of these traits we have already been able to show the lesser probability of a Cheyenne origin (p. 899). Of at least as much importance as any specific trait in a given society is its serial rank. Now in this regard the Arapaho and Hidatsa systems agree as closely as could reasonably be expected. What is more, the Arapaho Dog society is one of the two in its series that is characterized by a specifically Hidatsa-Mandan trait, the ceremonial surrender of the wife. This not only offsets the two Cheyenne resemblances by an equal number of rather significant Hidatsa analogies, but also clearly indicates the direction of the cultural borrowing. In addition, we may note that the Arapaho and Hidatsa share two societies of undoubted equivalence, the Lumpwoods (= Tomahawks) and the Dogs. Now the Lumpwoods have an Hidatsa origin (p. 950) and I hope to prove the same for the general scheme of the age-societies. Taking this with the other facts presented, the probability is overwhelming in favor of the Dog society being transmitted by the Hidatsa to the Arapaho. There is thus no reason to doubt that it was transmitted as part of the entire system.

In considering the Kit-Fox society a very different condition of affairs confronts us. It ranks very much higher in the Blackfoot and Gros Ventre series than among the remaining tribes. Indeed, among the Arapaho it lacks all individuality, being merely a preliminary boys' group, while the Mandan lacked the society until recent times (see below). This leaves only the Blackfoot, Gros Ventre, and Hidatsa for a fair comparison, and the organization of the last-mentioned tribe differs sufficiently from the others to render a diverse origin probable. In short, the Kit-Fox society probably formed no part of the original graded scheme but entered it independently at least twice. This matter is complicated, however, by the

¹ Lowie, this volume, 268, 317 f. (Hidatsa, Mandan); Wissler, *ibid.*, 395 (Blackfoot); Kroeber, (b), 201 ff.; *id.*, (a), 252. See table, p. 920.

existence of another society, of different name but with marked resemblances to the Kit-Foxes, which will accordingly be considered next.

The Half-Shaved Heads of the Mandan and Hidatsa are identical. Both had hooked spears wrapped with fur, as well as straight spears, horned bonnets, one horseman apiece, and drums, but no rattles (pp. 272-274, 309-312). The hooked spear is so distinctive a feature that its occurrence in both the Half-Shaved Head and the Kit-Fox societies prompts the question whether these organizations are not related. It should be noted that while my informants spoke of a Mandan Kit-Fox society this does not yet appear in Maximilian's otherwise full account (p. 295). Thus, it seems plausible that the Half-Shaved Heads were anciently in a sense the equivalent Mandan society, while the Kit-Fox organization is a recent acquisition borrowed from the Hidatsa. If the Hidatsa adopted their Half-Shaved Head society from the Mandan, they thus developed a certain duplication inasmuch as they thereby secured a second organization with a hooked-spear emblem. The hypothesis of a relationship between Half-Shaved Heads and Kit-Foxes is not without additional evidence. The Hidatsa Kit-Foxes are said to have once shaved the hair on the sides so as to leave a central roach (p. 254). The Fox society of the Arikara practised the same custom (p. 666), and so did that of the Eastern Dakota (p. 105) and the Oglala (p. 16). In the origin account of the Crow Fox society there is a reference to the founder's roaching his hair (p. 156). It is not necessary, of course, to assume that the Half-Shaved Head and the Kit-Fox societies were originally identical. If, however, each had adopted a fur-wrapped spear as an emblem, they might readily become merged in native consciousness. An alien observer of the Kit-Fox organization might identify it with his own Half-Shaved Head society and transfer borrowed Kit-Fox features in the most natural way to the Half-Shaved Heads and *vice versa*.

An equally interesting question develops as to the relations of the Kit-Foxes and Half-Shaved Heads to the Arapaho and Gros Ventre *biitahaw*. The obvious feature of similarity is, of course, the hooked spear.¹ In addition we find straight lances in the Arapaho society, the Hidatsa Kit-Fox organization (p. 254), and the Mandan Half-Shaved Head society (p. 310), and the warclub carried by one Mandan Half-Shaved Head may be the equivalent of the highest Arapaho dancer's club, though here as in the case of the club carried by the legendary founder of the same Hidatsa society (p. 272) the details given as to the emblem differ considerably from those pictured for the Arapaho.² If the Half-Shaved Head society is in a

¹ Kroeber, (b), 159.

² Kroeber, (b), 170.

measure the equivalent of the Kit-Foxes, it should be noted in this connection that from the Arapaho club there is suspended a kit-fox skin. Among the most conspicuous insignia of the Arapaho organization are the belts, or waist pieces, painted red in the lowest degree and decorated with bunches of feathers and tin cones. According to Hidatsa informants, the Kit-Foxes wore kilts similar to those of the Bulls, which are described as of red cloth and edged with tin cones, with small bells above the cones (pp. 253, 292f.). To be sure, so characteristic a feature as the notches of the Arapaho belts is not described for the Hidatsa; this, however, may be due only to the inadequate description obtained. Finally, may be mentioned the fact that the Gros Ventre etymologize the native name to mean "drum dance," and that the Arapaho members use drums but not rattles. While rattles were used by the Hidatsa Kit-Foxes, Maximilian expressly noted their absence at a Mandan performance of the Half-Shaved Head dance. All this does not prove an identity of the *biitaha^w* with the Kit-Fox and Half-Shaved Head societies; but it does seem to me to establish historical relations, whether directly or indirectly.¹

While no definite conclusion seems permissible for these organizations with the hooked spear, this does not apply to the Lumpwood society of the Hidatsa (p. 259 et seq.), though at first blush it seems to have no parallel among the organizations of the four other tribes. However, an intensive comparison with the Arapaho Tomahawk organization² establishes significant points of similarity. One of my informants was twenty-three or twenty-four years of age when he joined, the age of the Arapaho group is set at twenty-five. One of the emblems of the Hidatsa society is a painted flat board, trimmed with feathers and with a buffalo tail attached to the handle; a very similar badge occurs among the Arapaho. Unknobbed sticks carved with representations of animal heads were carried by the rank and file of both societies. The trimming of a bunch of hair on the head of this Arapaho "tomahawk" was the exclusive prerogative of a man who had taken a scalp; in the Hidatsa society the same restriction applied to the decorative use of raven feathers, the hair and feathers both symbolizing a scalp. Finally, not only do the sticks in both cases represent buffalo but there are continual references to the buffalo and each society as a whole is associated with the buffalo. While there has undoubtedly been considerable differentiation, the original identity of the Tomahawk with the Lumpwood society must therefore be regarded as proved. The question naturally arises whether the society exists also among the Gros Ventre. Kroeber

¹ Kroeber, (a), 260.

² Kroeber, (b), 182 et seq., 227.

found no name that corresponded with the Arapaho "Tomahawk," but points out resemblances between the Arapaho Tomahawk society and the Gros Ventre Nanāⁿnahaⁿwu. Nevertheless, he prefers to identify the latter with its almost namesake, the Arapaho Hinanahaⁿwu.¹ I think there can be little doubt that the Gros Ventre society really corresponds to the Arapaho Tomahawks and that here the similarity of name has proved deceptive. Apart from the name, the only point of resemblance is the rank of the two organizations in their respective series. Even as regards the name we find that while the name of the Gros Ventre *dance* is the one given above, the dancers are also called "those who have war-sticks," the term used being apparently the phonetic equivalent of the Arapaho word for "tomahawk." It is true that the Arapaho Hinanahaⁿwu are said to have hooked one another like buffalo, but the primary association of the society is quite clearly with the prairie-chickens. On the other hand, we have practical identity of the tomahawk emblems of the Gros Ventre Nanāⁿnahaⁿwu and the Arapaho Tomahawk society and a very definite association of both with the buffalo. The Gros Ventre dancers sang for the buffalo and their ceremony always caused the game to come even if previously none had been seen near the camp. This specific custom is not indeed reported for the Arapaho, but appears in full force among the Hidatsa: the Lumpwoods had songs by which they were wont to entice buffalo into a pen (p. 260). It therefore seems reasonable to write the equation: Nanāⁿnahaⁿwu = Tomahawks = Lumpwoods.

The Crazy Dog societies of the Mandan and Hidatsa are homologous: both have rattles, whistles, horned headdresses, and sashes (pp. 280 ff., 306 ff.). Of the Piegan organizations the All Brave Dogs (p. 382 f.) or All Crazy Dogs, as Grinnell calls them (p. 366), naturally suggest discussion in this connection. Here we find indications of kinship but no satisfactory proof of identity. The Piegan society had two officers wearing a headdress with two bearclaws representing horns, and these may correspond to the men with horned caps among the Hidatsa and Mandan though the similarity between these badges is not great beyond the fact that they were horned. A more specific resemblance is that officers of both the Piegan and Hidatsa societies (pp. 384, 281) might at any time appropriate meat in the camp. Nevertheless, this trait rather proves historical connection between the Hidatsa and Piegan series as a whole than between the specific societies at present under discussion since the same feature is shared by the Hidatsa Little Dogs (p. 271), Dogs (p. 288), and the Piegan Braves (p. 381). The words of the Piegan song — "It is bad to live to be an old man," (p. 387)

¹ Kroeber, (a), 230 f., 258 f.

I have repeatedly heard among the Hidatsa, but as a general adage rather than as associated with the Crazy Dog society. The historic significance of this feature among the Blackfoot is therefore exactly the same as the occurrence of the meat-seizing prerogative. The members of the Piegan society seem to have been much older than those of the Village tribes, for Grinnell sets their age at forty, while one of my informants entered its Hidatsa namesake at twenty and the corresponding Mandan organization comprised only boys in Maximilian's day. On the other hand, we must recall that according to Maximilian older men with special obligations of bravery had once been members and that these are possibly equivalent to these "old men comrades" of the Piegan though the functions ascribed to them by Wissler are advisory rather than military (p. 386). More satisfactory than any of the criteria mentioned is the use of a feathered rawhide rattle by every member of the Piegan (p. 387) and Mandan (p. 307) societies. Unfortunately, the use of such rattles was too general to be a decisive test of relationship; such a specific Piegan feature as the determination of facial painting by that on the rattle is not mentioned for the Village tribes. The absence of whistles (according to Maximilian, the badge of the Mandan society) and of sashes among the Blackfoot and of the leader's coyote skin, the horsemen, the begging dance, and the characteristic method of carrying blankets among the Mandan and Hidatsa is fatal to a definite identification. The argument is clinched by McClintock's information that the Blackfoot society has been quite recently borrowed from the Gros Ventre¹ and the fact that it corresponds to a Gros Ventre society outside the graded series (see below, p. 934).

The Crazy lodges of the Arapaho² and of the Gros Ventre are clearly variations of a single society, as Kroeber has indicated.³ But it is impossible to collate them with the Crazy Dogs of the Village tribes. The highly characteristic cape and owl-feather headband have no parallels on the Upper Missouri; on the other hand, we hear nothing of the sashes and rattles of the Mandan and Hidatsa. Extravagance of action with the use of inverted speech⁴ connects the Arapaho and Gros Ventre Crazy dancers with a different organization,—the Real Dog officers of the Hidatsa Dog society (p. 288). The Fire dance is identical with part of the Hot dance of the Village tribes, performed according to Maximilian by the Hidatsa Stone Hammers (p. 252) and the Mandan Crazy Dogs (p. 308). The last-mentioned fact might be interpreted as evidence of direct historical connection

¹ McClintock, 452.

² Kroeber, (b), 188 ff.

³ *id.*, (a), 241.

⁴ Kroeber, (b), 192; (a), 246.

with the Mandan society. However, Maximilian gives us to understand that the Hot dance had been only recently acquired from the Arikara in his day and this seems confirmed by its presence in only one Mandan village; the looseness of its connection with the Crazy Dog society appears clearly from Maximilian's discussion. Any direct borrowing would thus have to be ascribed to the most recent period. But the Gros Ventre and Arapaho, whose Crazy dance is practically identical, were last united in the twenties of the nineteenth century.¹ Hence, they could not have derived the Fire dance from the Mandan Crazy Dogs, who at that time probably practised no such performance. The other significant activity of the Crazy dancers is the surrender of the wife to a ceremonial elder.² Among the Arapaho this feature is shared by the Dog society.³ It was prominent in all the organizations of the Village tribes (p. 228) so that nothing can be inferred from its occurrence in the Crazy Dog purchase.

However, there can be no doubt that the Crazy Lodge has historical relations with the Brave (Brave Dog) society of the Piegan though the individuality of the two is distinct. Except for the four young men assistants of the Gros Ventre, the Crazy dancers have nothing to correspond to the rather elaborate organization of officers found among the Blackfoot (p. 377). On the other hand, the highly characteristic Fire dance, the paralyzing power associated with a root used, and the surrender of the wife — all shared by the Gros Ventre and Arapaho — are lacking in the Blackfoot Brave organization. Nevertheless, there are specific similarities that can only be the result of borrowing. First of all, the Gros Ventre, Arapaho, and Blackfoot all have as one of the regalia a robe with a circular hole, the cut-out skin not being entirely detached (p. 380). Then there are two characteristic activities, the shooting of arrows into the air and the casting off of moccasins (*ibid.*), which the Piegan have in common with the Gros Ventre, and a third shared with the Arapaho as well, — the use of "backward" speech.⁴ An interpretation of these resemblances will be offered in another section. For the present, it suffices to indicate the existing relations. Since nevertheless the societies are radically different, they will not be collated in the comparative table.

The Little Dog societies of the Mandan (p. 302) and Hidatsa (p. 267) are equivalent. In addition to the identity of name and the intimate relationship of the two tribes concerned, we find in both organizations a whip, sacred sashes, a feather ornament for the back of the head, and a bone

¹ Kroeber, (a), 146.

² Kroeber, (b), 193; (a), 243.

³ *id.*, (b), 200.

⁴ McClintock, 463; Uhlenbeck, 49.

whistle as the instrument of all the rank and file. The other tribes seem to lack an equivalent organization.

The Black Mouth societies of the Hidatsa (p. 274 et seq.) and Mandan (p. 312 et seq.) are clearly identical. Both were either solely or preferentially the police of the camp, especially during the tribal hunt. In both we find two officers bearing spears decorated with otterskin and owl feathers and obliged to stand their ground in battle. In both were two pipe-bearers whose main function was to adjust quarrels peaceably; and the faces of members were painted black as indicated by the name. Neither the Arapaho nor the Gros Ventre seem to have a comparable organization. It is true that while Kroeber's account does not connect any particular organization with police duties, Mooney ascribes these functions to the Biitaha^w.¹ However, the Biitaha^w have the distinctive hooked spear characteristic of the Kit-Fox or Half-Shaved Head society of other tribes and possess none of the conspicuous Black Mouth features. The Catchers of the Piegan are credited with specific police duties by Maximilian.² Though this information remained uncorroborated by Dr. Wissler's informants (p. 370), according to whom no organization had a monopoly of these activities, he states that two "tomahawk men" had the duty of stopping fights or boisterous conduct in camp (p. 404). These officers thus correspond in a measure to the Hidatsa pipe-bearers although the Catchers also had two pipe men, whose emblems are ritualistic. On the other hand, the rank and file of the Hidatsa carried tomahawks, so that we might plausibly assume that the tomahawk has been specialized into an officer's badge with specific associations by the Piegan, while the pipes were assimilated to their ritualistic conceptions as to pipes. Moreover, there is evidence for at least a partial use of black face paint by the Piegan. The proof is not convincing, for the straight poles wrapped with otterskin and emblematic of obligatory bravery are lacking in the Blackfoot society and there is no evidence of equivalent insignia; on the other hand, the Piegan leaders' bows and arrows are not found in the society of the Village tribes. All we can safely say is that there is some indication of affinity but no proof of identity.

The Bull society is lacking among the Arapaho and Gros Ventre. The identity of the Mandan and Hidatsa organizations is obvious. In both there were two officers wearing a whole buffalo head for a mask while other members had horned buffalo skin caps and at least some wore the equivalents of buffalo tails; the place of the society in the two series was practically the same in Maximilian's day, viz., near the highest; members

¹ Mooney, (a), 988. His statement is not confirmed by my own investigations in the field.

² Maximilian, I, 578.

BULL SOCIETY.

	Hidatsa	Mandan	Crow	Cheyenne (Red Shield)	Piegan	Assiniboine	Oglala (Chiefs)	Eastern Dakota	Arikara	Omaha
Junior members	×				×	×				
Woman comrades	×	×	×	×						
Blind Bulls	×		×							
Shields	×	×	×	×		×	×	×		×
Horned cap	×	×	×	×	×	×	×		×	×
Buffalo head mask	×	×	×					×	×	
Spears (feathered)	×	×	×	×		×	×		×	×
Buffalo tail	×	×	×					×		
Hooking and other imitation	×	×	×	×	×		×	×		
Horseman	×				×					
Watering of buffalo	×	×	×		×			×		
Warlike performances	×	×	×			×				
Red aprons with bells	×		×	×		×				

imitated buffalo, and an offering of water was made to them in the course of the dance (pp. 291–293, 315–317). When we compare the Hidatsa with the Piegan Bull society (table, above), we find in both two specific features that are of significance in this connection,— the participation of a horseman in the public ceremony and the presence of junior members in the organization. Since the Piegan Bulls occupy about the same rank as those of the Hidatsa and resemble them in the characteristic activities and costume described above, a specific historical relationship seems established.

In dealing with the Raven (Crow) society we must exercise caution since quite different organizations have been thrown together under this head. The Crow society of the Northern Blackfoot (p. 423) may be completely ignored since its origin dates back only to the most recent period. But we must also segregate Maximilian's "Rabenbande, la bande des Corbeaux," for which he gives almost identical Hidatsa and Mandan names (Haideröhka-Ächke and Hä'derucha-O'chatä). Since the rank of this society in the two series is about the same (pp. 266, 309), we may infer their original identity. It is equally clear (see p. 266) that neither of these organizations has anything to do with the Raven society that ranks highest in Maximilian's Hidatsa list and for which he gives a quite different native term that really refers to the bird while his word for the young men's

society seems to designate not the raven or crow but the Crow *Indians*. On the other hand, the older Raven society of the Hidatsa corresponds closely to the Piegan Raven-bearers. The latter, to be sure, stood exactly in the middle of the series rather than at the upper end, but the specific resemblances suffice to establish their historical connection. Every Hidatsa Raven, according to Maximilian, carried a lance wrapped with red cloth and trimmed with raven feathers (p. 283) and he ascribes the same type of emblem to the Piegan.¹ This stick was further decorated with bells according to my Hidatsa informants (p. 283) and also according to Dr. Wissler's Piegan (p. 392). Another Hidatsa emblem was a necklace made from a whole raven skin with a piece of red cloth hanging from the mouth (p. 282) and this corresponds exactly to the Blackfoot badge described and figured in this volume (p. 392 f.). Considering the very meager account of this society secured from both tribes, no more satisfactory evidence could be expected.

The Fly dancers of the Gros Ventre² are obviously identical with the Blackfoot Mosquitoes (pp. 376 f., 420) and Bees (420 f.), whom they resemble in occupying the lowest position in the series³ and in the highly characteristic pursuit and scratching of outsiders with eagle claws. That the Gros Ventre borrowed from the Blackfoot will be shown to be practically certain (p. 935).

On the basis of the identifications established above, the following comparative table, presenting only societies shared by two or more tribes, is now presented.

In interpreting the table in the light of the foregoing considerations, certain imperfections of our ethnographical record must be taken into account. It is rather probable that later transformations and changes of name have masked the relationship of certain societies while others have dropped out and thus lessened the resemblances of distinct series. Nevertheless, enough similarity persists among the graded systems even when single societies are compared to prove that the age scheme, which must have been diffused from a common center, spread as a combination of specific organizations.

It remains to consider the forms this historical unit assumed in the several tribes and to trace, as far as possible, the historical processes involved in their development.

¹ Maximilian, I, 578.

² Kroeber, (a), 239.

³ According to Maximilian's Blackfoot data.

AGE-SOCIETIES.

BLACKFOOT	GROS VENTRE	ARAPAHO	HIDATSA	MANDAN
Mosquito	Fly			
	Crazy Dance	Crazy Dance		
Kit-Fox	Kit-Fox Biitaha ^{nwu}	? Kit-Fox Biitaha ^{nwu}	Kit-Fox Half-Shaved Heads	Kit-Fox Half-Shaved Heads
Dog	Dog	Dog	Dog	Dog
	Nanā ^{naha} wu	Tomahawk	Lumpwood	
			Hē'rerō ka'i'ke'	Hā'derucha O'chatā
			Little Dog	Little Dog
Catchers?			Black Mouth	Black Mouth
			Crazy Dog	Crazy Dog
Raven			Raven	
Bull			Bull	Bull

ARAPAHO AND GROS VENTRE.

The evolution of the Arapaho and Gros Ventre series must be considered in the light of our historical knowledge concerning these tribes. Of their divergence from a parental unit there is no doubt, since their speech varies only dialectically. The time of their separation, however, is said to date back at least two centuries, and during this recent period there was little intercourse except for about five years' association, from 1818 to 1823. At least from the middle of the eighteenth century the Gros Ventre habitat lay in Blackfoot territory, between the Saskatchewan and the Missouri.¹

These data at once give us our bearings with regard to the graded systems

¹ Kroeber, (a), 146; Scott, (b), 545.

of the two tribes. The basic similarity that will presently be demonstrated to exist between them, over and above the generic resemblance to other series, cannot possibly be the result of the brief period of recent contact. Apart from the improbability of a thoroughgoing assimilation of a strange system within five years, such as would be involved in this hypothesis, we find that the much longer contact of the Gros Ventre with the Blackfoot has produced only a slight degree of acculturation in this regard. The Blackfoot system was certainly well developed in 1818 and we might suppose that during the tribal reunion the Gros Ventre should have transmitted some Blackfoot features to their kinsmen, but of this process no trace can be detected in the Arapaho system. What we find is that the Gros Ventre share with the Blackfoot some minor features which are lacking among the Arapaho; that the conceptions underlying the Gros Ventre and the Arapaho are almost identical; and that certain distinctive traits of the Gros Ventre societies occur in neither of the two tribes historically connected with them nor in any other part of the Plains Area. The simplest way to synthesize the facts is to assume that the undivided parent tribe had a graded series prior to the separation and that this series was carried northward by the Gros Ventre, where it underwent modification, partly through internal and partly through external causes. In the meantime, of course, we cannot assume the Arapaho system to have remained stationary but to have undergone corresponding changes, and in both instances the probable disappearance of pristine as well as the assimilation of new factors should be considered.

The system of the Arapaho and Gros Ventre presents certain interesting similarities and equally significant differences as compared with the other graded systems. Since the early disruption of the Gros Ventre renders information on their scheme both less extensive and less trustworthy, I will for the present confine myself to a comparison of the Arapaho system with that of the Village tribes and the Blackfoot.

The generic traits of all the graded systems have already been summarized (p. 919). To these must now be added for the Arapaho a differential feature of great historical importance. According to Kroeber, the youngest Arapaho group, while forming the Kit-Fox society, secures a group of "elder brothers whom it thenceforth retains through all its successive ceremonies" and who render assistance in the organization of the younger brothers' dances.¹ It remained uncertain whether these elder brothers, whose equivalent had not been found elsewhere, corresponded to any definite group. During a brief visit to Arapahoe, Wyoming, in 1916, I

¹ Kroeber, (b), 159, 181, 182.

discovered that the elder brothers belong uniformly to the second higher group ($M + 2$) and that they are expected to assist their younger brothers (M) in the requisite payments, which fact accounts for their reluctance to serve when chosen, as recorded by Kroeber. Now, this tallies in a remarkable way with conditions among the Hidatsa and Mandan (pp. 229-231), where the older of a pair of "friendly" groups corresponds to the elder brothers. The resemblance is so specific that it can be due only to borrowing, and it constitutes a point in which the Arapaho system, while differing from that of the Blackfoot, coincides with the Hidatsa-Mandan scheme. Moreover, it is a trait of which the transmission presupposes a more intimate contact than seems requisite for the borrowing of merely external features. The latter might be adopted after casual observation during intertribal visits; the relation between two groups of a graded series cannot be borrowed without a comprehension of the system. We should, therefore, expect a far-reaching coincidence of the Arapaho and Village schemes.

Here, however, we are doomed to disappointment. The Arapaho differ no less decidedly from the Hidatsa and Mandan than they do from the Blackfoot as regards the principles underlying the acquisition of membership in a society. Among the Village tribes and the Blackfoot a group M normally purchases membership from the group $M + 1$ immediately ranking it in the series, and invariably from a single definite group then in possession of the society bought. Corresponding to these selling "fathers" the Arapaho have a group of "grandfathers" who are similarly compensated for the regalia and instructions furnished to the dancers; but unlike the "fathers" of the other tribes, the "grandfathers" do not form a definite age-group but are recruited from among any of the men who have passed through the grade to which the buyers desire to attain. In short, they constitute a miscellaneous assemblage of men from groups $M + 1$, $M + 2$, . . . $M + n$.¹ Another important peculiarity of the Arapaho is the performance of each dance or, what comes to the same thing the acquisition of a new grade only in fulfillment of an individual's vow and on condition of his own or a relative's delivery from danger.

There is another peculiarity of the Arapaho system that requires emphasis. From the Blackfoot, Mandan, and Hidatsa we have positive evidence that the customary order of acquiring membership in the several societies of the series was not absolute. For instance, Poor-wolf, an Hidatsa, never joined the Lumpwoods (227, 264) and in other cases a man absent while

¹ This conclusion was permissible from Kroeber's data and has been definitely established by my recent queries in the field.

his group purchased a society continued to associate with his mates in their new activities even though he might not be regarded as a full-fledged member. But with the Arapaho the rule is more stringent. The order in which the memberships are secured is apparently fixed. If an absentee fails to provide a proxy for the occasion of a new dance, he does not automatically rise to the status of his age-mates, but has to wait until the next lower group is ready for the step he has missed and join in their performance. Thus, an Oklahoma informant interviewed by me in Wyoming was away while his mates became Crazy dancers. He cannot join his proper group whenever they may be ready for the Dog performance unless he first passes through the Crazy grade in company with the ranking junior group.

These seem to me the most significant features, both of resemblance and of dissimilarity. Turning to a comparison of the Arapaho with the Gros Ventre, these possibly lacked the elder brother institution (at least, it has not been reported among them), but shared the practice of selecting presumably indeterminate "grandfathers" instead of "fathers" of a definite group, and likewise performed ceremonies only as the result of a pledge. Other features common to the two tribes are a begging procession and a race in at least some of the dances, while a glimpse of the table (p. 930) shows how largely the societies of the two series in question coincide; even where societies are not obviously equivalent, as in the case of the Kit-Foxes, there is at least a significant similarity in their native designations. The genetic identity of the Arapaho and Gros Ventre systems is thus an established fact, and we may proceed to an historical reconstruction. Before comparing single societies, however, it will be well to note certain more general features in which the Gros Ventre stand out in striking contrast to their next of kin.

Most important of all these is the correlation of dances with societies. Each Arapaho dance was correlated with a definite society, and with that society only. But among the Gros Ventre the number of societies was several times that of the dances. The age-divisions were thus more minute and several adjoining but unrelated age-groups shared the same ceremony, though it was always performed independently by them. Each society had a distinctive name independent of the ceremony last performed and preserved its identity throughout its ceremonial existence. A man was a life member of the Holding-to-a-dog's-tail society, but he was a Fly or Dog only during and after the corresponding ceremony and might then share the name with the members of two or three societies besides his own.

Another feature that is unrecorded for the Arapaho suggests a comparison with the Crow (pp. 155-175). The Foxes and Lumpwoods of that tribe, though they danced somewhat differently, carried the same emblems,

yet developed a feeling of intense rivalry. This "gang" sentiment between essentially similar and coördinate groups is a noteworthy phenomenon, which is found again among the Iowa (pp. 697-700) and the Oglala (pp. 69, 74). In these three tribes the rivalry is manifested as regards warlike deeds and the stealing of wives, so that an historical connection of some sort may be assumed. Our Gros Ventre data on this subject seem too vague to permit more than a reference to these analogies.

Finally, we may mention the far greater development of the ceremonial surrender of wives found among the Gros Ventre.¹ This was very prominent among the Mandan and Hidatsa (p. 228), and we are tempted to assume that in this respect the Gros Ventre have preserved a feature common to the system of the parental tribe and that of the Village tribes better than the more numerous Arapaho.

To turn now to the specific societies.

Among the problematical elements of Arapaho and Gros Ventre organizations is a Star dance occurring in both, yet in both more or less outside the regular series. The data concerning the Arapaho society are so meager that it is not possible to give satisfactory evidence for its identity with its Gros Ventre namesake; the one common element is the use of rattles for badges. On the other hand, there is very good evidence for connecting the Piegan All-Brave-Dogs (p. 382 ff.) with the Star society of the Gros Ventre.² We have in both two mounted officers whose duty it is to force members to dance; in each organization the rank and file carry feathered rattles; both have four drummers; and the two servants of the Gros Ventre dancers correspond to the "single men comrades" of the Piegan, who "perform certain services such as gathering food and receiving presents"; the begging dance is also a common feature. If the Arapaho and Gros Ventre shared the Star dance before their separation, the presence of horned headdresses among the Arapaho³ would also be significant and we might assume that the Gros Ventre had lost this trait after transmitting it to the Blackfoot. As a matter of fact, some Piegan assert that they acquired the society from the Gros Ventre about 170 years ago (p. 388). This date may be disregarded, not only because Maximilian records no such organization, but for the sufficient reason that according to McClintock's informant the organization was borrowed by the Blackfoot chief Omistaipokah,⁴ which would make it date back to approximately 1840. This makes it a tenable hypothesis that the Star society was an old possession of the undivided tribe

¹ Kroeber, (a), 228.

² Kroeber, (a), 234 ff.

³ *id.*, (b), 182; Dorsey and Kroeber, 22.

⁴ McClintock, 452.

from which Arapaho and Gros Ventre sprang and that it degenerated among the former into its present state.

Of the other peculiarities of the Gros Ventre system, viewed from the Arapaho angle, the Fly dance is easily accounted for as a feature recently borrowed from the Blackfoot. This tribe practised it in Maximilian's day (p. 365), and among the Northern Blackfoot there were two practically identical organizations, the Mosquitoes and the Bees, one of which is said to have been introduced by the Sarsi (p. 420). As a matter of fact, such a society was found among the Sarsi by Dr. Goddard (p. 465), but I have not succeeded in finding it reported from any other tribe. The only fairly close analogy I know of occurs as part of the "Dukwally" ceremony of the Nootka, where naked boys impersonate hornets, sticking needles into the spectators.¹ Whether this last instance be of historical significance or not, it is clear that in the absence of an Arapaho equivalent all the indications point toward the introduction of the Fly dance from the west or northwest.

The Kit-Fox lodge of the Gros Ventre presents a difficulty not so easily disposed of. Since its Arapaho namesake is a quite colorless boys' organization, it is not possible positively to identify the two in the present state of our knowledge. The presence of the Biitaha^{wu} among the Gros Ventre, with its similar emblems, would indicate a certain duplication, which is, however, not without parallel among other tribes, e. g., the Oglala. We may assume that both societies were fully developed in the old Arapaho system (cf. the Half-shaved Heads and Kit-Foxes of the Hidatsa) and that the Kit-Foxes degenerated into their recent insignificant position. Or, we may attach no particular importance to the occurrence of the name among the Arapaho and regard the Gros Ventre society as an independent historical unit. In either case the relations of the latter should be traced.

If the Gros Ventre derived this organization since their separation, they must have obtained it from the Piegan, Assiniboine, Cheyenne, Crow, or Oglala. The influence of the Piegan would explain the relatively high rank of the Kit-Foxes among the Gros Ventre; on the other hand, too much weight cannot be attached to this fact by itself, because the Arapaho namesake may originally have ranked higher, assuming its equivalence. Nor can special significance be ascribed to the surrender of wives by the Piegan Kit-Foxes, for that is common to the Crazy, Kit-Fox, Dog, and Nana^{naha^{wu}} lodges' of the Gros Ventre. The hooked and straight lances, being shared by practically all tribes with a Kit-Fox society, may be disregarded in a specific comparison. We then find that the distinctive features of the Gros Ventre are the participation of girls, a rattle carried by

¹ Swan, quoted in Boas, *Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl*, 640.

one dancer, and a neck-band of badger skin; I am especially impressed with the absence of the girl members among the Blackfoot. A feature of organization of this sort seems less likely to be adopted than a purely external part of the costume and presents a more certain index of historical relationship. Since it does occur elsewhere, I therefore consider it unlikely that the closest relative of the Gros Ventre organization is to be sought among the Piegan. The Assiniboine may be excluded for the same reason.¹ Girl members and the ceremonial surrender of wives are also lacking in the Fox society of the Crow, which may thus be eliminated from the present discussion.

There remain, accordingly, the Cheyenne and the Oglala. The Cheyenne Kit-Fox, or, as Dorsey calls them, Hoof-Rattle Warriors² had straight spears and two hooked spears, and four maidens were admitted into their lodge; however, this significant trait was shared by the Red-Shield and Coyote organizations. Moreover, the Cheyenne society has very characteristic features — a snake-headed notched musical instrument of antler, used to charm buffalo, and dewclaw rattles — that have no parallels in the Gros Ventre organization. The dewclaw rattles are almost always associated (and indeed are so among the Cheyenne themselves) with the Dog society; the notched instrument suggests an Hidatsa organization that derives its name therefrom and in which that emblem also has sacred, though different, functions (p. 237 f.) and the calling of buffalo is of course a widespread Plains Indian feature, associated, for example, with the Lumpwoods of the graded age-series (p. 260) and with a notched bone among the Arikara (p. 675). Partial borrowing of features has undoubtedly occurred again and again; nevertheless the Cheyenne society is of so specialized a type that I doubt its having served as a pattern for the Gros Ventre organization and should rather entertain the hypothesis that both tribes had borrowed from a common source.

The Oglala have at least three societies in which female participants figure, — the Badgers, the Sotka (with possible derivatives), and the Wićiska (pp. 31–36, 61 f.). The two last-mentioned were both introduced from alien sources in the most recent period and are thus devoid of significance in the present connection. The Badger society, to be sure, is in a way a duplicate of the Dakota Kit-Fox organization, which has no girl members, and derives its present name from a reinterpretation of the Crow word for “Kit-Fox” (p. 109). On the other hand, it would be strange if the Gros Ventre had adopted the Oglala Badger society and then renamed it “Kit-Fox.”

¹ Lowie, (c), 70.

² Mooney, (c), 412; Dorsey, (d), 16, 18.

As I cannot discover convincing proof for the recent acquisition of the Kit-Fox society by the Gros Ventre, I incline to the hypothesis that the Arapaho lodge of that name is a vestigial representative of a society that once corresponded to the Gros Ventre form. This assumption derives some support from the fact that the Kit-Fox societies of two Upper Missouri tribes, the Arikara (p. 667) and the Mandan (pp. 298, 302) also had girl associates, which permits the assumption that this once held for the Hidatsa equivalent as well, especially since this feature occurs in their Little Dog organization (p. 271). In other words, the specific trait that characterizes the Gros Ventre Kit-Fox society as contrasted with that of the Blackfoot, Assiniboine, and Crow occurs, not only among the Oglala and Cheyenne, but also among the Village tribes. But the Mandan certainly and the Hidatsa possibly acquired their Kit-Fox organization recently; hence, the Arikara namesake remains as the closest relative and possible prototype of the Gros Ventre society. The highest two societies of the Arapaho recorded by Kroeber may have developed since the separation of the Gros Ventre; the data are too inadequate to permit more than guesses as to their history. The Star society, which, moreover, stands somewhat apart from the regular series, may well be a peculiarity developed by the ancestral Arapaho, since it has not been possible to identify it with any society except one of the Blackfoot, who borrowed it from the Gros Ventre (see p. 934).

The Crazy lodge likewise cannot be derived from alien sources, at least not in its entirety and as a part of the system. Its historical relations with the Blackfoot Brave society have already been pointed out. The robe with circular hole, being common to the Arapaho and Gros Ventre, may be assumed to have been borrowed by the Piegan from the Gros Ventre. Possibly the same inference may be entertained as to the use of "backward speech," though this is a very loose feature readily entering various combinations. The casting off of moccasins is as likely to be of Piegan as of Gros Ventre origin since the Arapaho do not have this element. They also lack the shooting performance of the Gros Ventre, which not only occurs among the Piegan but is well-developed among the Assiniboine,¹ so that a northern origin of this feature is fairly likely. The employment of four young men assistants by the Gros Ventre is probably due to Piegan influence since this trait seems to form part of the Piegan pattern. All this, however, does not touch the origin of the core of the Crazy lodge. Perhaps the best clue to its historical connections is furnished by the Fire dance. This formed part of the Upper Missouri "Hot dance," which among the Hidatsa was associated with the Stone Hammers (p. 252) and among the Mandan with the

¹ Lowie, (c), 72.

Crazy Dogs (p. 308). Since the Hot dance of the Village tribes had only been secured from the Arikara about the time of Maximilian's visit, it cannot, however, explain the origin of the Arapaho performance. Mooney gives an account of a Fire dance practised by a Cheyenne medicine fraternity standing outside the series of warrior organizations.¹ Owing to the geographical proximity of the Cheyenne, I venture to suggest that possibly the Arapaho were influenced by this tribe in the origin, or at least development, of their Crazy lodge, which they incorporated into the system of graded organizations.

BLACKFOOT.

It will be pointed out (p. 947) that the Blackfoot system resembles that of the Village Indians in the emphasis laid on the purchase factor: membership is acquired by buying it from the owners outright, and by not selling it may thus be preserved for an indefinite period. In addition to this basic conception there are a number of historically significant features common to the two systems. Thus, we find among the Blackfoot the trait already recorded by Maximilian for the Mandan,—the union of several old men with a group of very much younger individuals. Conversely, we find in both Blackfoot and Village organizations the presence of junior members and the same reason for their selection (pp. 377, 405, 291, 330, 349). In at least one instance among the Piegan the musicians are "ex-members" (p. 379), and this applies regularly to the public processions of the Hidatsa, where the "fathers" play this part (pp. 238, 246, 255, 265, etc.). In the method of acquiring the special regalia constituting a higher grade of membership there is also considerable resemblance. The automatic acquisition of office from one's individual seller is clearly established for the Mandan and Hidatsa (pp. 264, 275, 301, 344), corresponding to the purely individual transfer of regalia among the Blackfoot (pp. 376, 429); and while the Village tribes also had the practice of electing officers (pp. 244, 257, 281), a similar custom existed among the Blackfoot when vacancies were to be filled (p. 429).

Certain other features distinguish the Blackfoot societies from those of the Upper Missouri and connect them rather with their recent neighbors. Among these traits the annual reorganization each spring (pp. 367, 425) is perhaps the most important. It is found as a marked element of the Oglala (pp. 17, 63) and Crow (pp. 160, 165, 176, 185, 187) systems and is not lacking among the Assiniboine.² Another feature, the two Bear braves

¹ Mooney, (c), 415.

² Lowie, (c), 72.

who form part of the pattern for the organization of the lower Piegan series, has an exact counterpart in the Crow *akdū'cire* and bearskin-wearers (pp. 158, 176). We have no means of ascertaining in which tribe either of the peculiarities mentioned originated.

The order of the Blackfoot societies in this series presents several points of interest, especially in view of the native theory that the higher the rank of an organization the more remote is the period of its acquisition by the tribe (pp. 368, 425f.). This opinion doubtless contains a modicum of truth. Practically all the societies not shared by the Northern Blackfoot with the Blood and Piegan fall in the lower half of their series. The Pigeons, absent from the two other divisions, rank lowest among the Piegan and date back only to about the middle of the nineteenth century. The Mosquitoes, at or near the bottom of the Blackfoot series, are not found at all except among the Blackfoot, Sarsi, and Gros Ventre, and must thus be considered of later origin than so widely distributed an organization as, say, the Dogs or the Kit-Foxes. On the other hand, the native statement cannot be accepted as having anything like general validity. For example, the Mosquitoes were reported by Maximilian in 1833, but not the Braves, All-Brave-Dogs, and Front-Tails; yet all of these are of higher rank. Again, the Dogs are placed above the Ravens by all modern authorities, but in Maximilian's day the positions were reversed.

In the absence of adequate data for the Blood and Northern Blackfoot, we are hardly in a position to trace the historical development of the three Blackfoot systems. Confining our attention to the Piegan, we may regard as relatively old those organizations that are common to the three divisions and are recorded by Maximilian for the Piegan. In this way — and adopting Maximilian's order — we get the Mosquitoes, Dogs, Kit-Foxes, Raven-bearers, Horns, Catchers, and Bulls. From this starting-point we can give a plausible account of the subsequent Piegan development. The Braves or Brave Dogs, in their present form, cannot be identified with the Crazy lodge of the Gros Ventre and Arapaho. On the other hand, very specific resemblances between these organizations have been pointed out. It is therefore possible that the Blackfoot adopted certain traits from the Arapaho and then elaborated them partly by adding quite new features and partly by automatically moulding them in accordance with the pre-existing tribal pattern. The All-Brave-Dogs correspond to the Star lodge of the Gros Ventre and according to McClintock's data have not been borrowed before the early manhood of men still living. The Front-Tails cannot be quite definitely correlated with any other society, nevertheless there are striking similarities with the Lumpwoods. Both organizations are associated with the buffalo, members of both wear belts with buffalo tails attached

to one side, and in both the hands of dancers rest on the rump or hip. Nevertheless, we cannot assume a direct connection. Not only are distinctive regalia of the Hidatsa society missing in the Front-tail organization, but any direct borrowing from the Village tribes would imply greater antiquity for the Piegan society than seems admissible. Against such antiquity are its absence in Maximilian's list and also among the Blood and Northern Blackfoot. Finally, we have the Piegan informant's conviction of an Assiniboine origin. This last statement may furnish the clue. Since we are dealing with a period not antedating the thirties of the last century we may accept the native tradition and refer the Front-Tails to an as yet unknown Assiniboine organization that in turn was related to the Lumpwoods. The intimate intercourse of the Assiniboine with the Village tribes is a well-known fact. Finally, a word may be said as to the Brave-Dog couple, which may be identical with Maximilian's *Tollkühnen* (pp. 365, 397 ff.). That this institution was historically related to the Crazy Dog couple of the Crow (193 ff.), is certain; I know of no other tribe where it occurs in precisely the same form. It must remain doubtful, however, which of these tribes first developed the custom.

Apart from the new societies introduced, we also notice an interesting transposition in their order since 1833. The Dogs and the Kit-Foxes have come to rank higher than the Raven-bearers, and this applies to the Northern Blackfoot as well as to the Piegan. The merging of the Kit-Fox with the Horn society (p. 399), which in turn seems to have incorporated elements of the Bull ritual satisfactorily accounts for the high position of the Kit-Foxes. It is a noteworthy fact, however, that the Kit-Foxes already rank the Dogs in Maximilian's list, where both are mentioned as bodies of young married men.

Having indicated the recent changes in the Blackfoot system, we may now turn back to its character in 1833 and compare it with the contemporaneous Hidatsa system. Here a pitfall to be avoided is to suppose that all the modifications are on the Blackfoot side. This by no means follows from the assumption, to be justified later, that the Blackfoot borrowed their system from the Hidatsa. On the contrary, it is both *a priori* obvious and also established by evidence supplied by Maximilian that the societies of the Village tribes had undergone and were undergoing modifications in his day. Accordingly, where the systems differ as to the rank of societies the Blackfoot are as likely to have preserved the old order as the Hidatsa.

Aside from the three lowest Hidatsa societies, the system as found in the Village tribe is rather well represented among the Piegan. The Little Dogs and the Half-Shaved Heads are lacking; on the other hand, there are the Horns. These do not closely correspond to any known Hidatsa organi-

zation, but several of their regalia may well go back to an Hidatsa source. Thus, the Mosquito society remains as the distinctively Blackfoot addition to the graded series.

Considering the ease with which societies can become transposed in the series (cf. p. 233), and the length of time during which the two series have developed in mutual independence, the agreement in serial order is not so poor as might appear at first blush, provided only we begin at the top and ignore non-equivalent societies at the bottom. Then we find that the Bulls, highest among the Blackfoot, are very near the top among the Hidatsa. The possibly equivalent Catcher and Black Mouth societies immediately follow in their respective series. A central position is occupied among the Hidatsa by the Half-Shaved Heads and among the Piegan by the Horns, but here we must remember that these organizations are not equivalent. Finally, we get the Dog societies, in both cases at the bottom of the series. I omit the Kit-Fox society because of its possibly recent origin among the Village people. The one glaring exception is the Raven society, which heads the Hidatsa list and ranks much lower among the Piegan. Otherwise, the societies ranking high and low in one system rank similarly in the other, and no more than such rough correspondence should be expected.

I should then suggest the following line of evolution for the Piegan series: the Piegan core comprises the Bull, Catcher, Raven, and Dog societies, the status of the Kit-Foxes remaining doubtful. The Horns evolved by a combination and amplification of elements shared with the Hidatsa societies, and the Mosquitoes were added as the lowest of the series. Whether the last-mentioned society was derived from the Sarsi, must remain doubtful. It is true that the Northern Blackfoot tradition traces the Bee society to a Sarsi origin (p. 420) and also that the name for the Mosquitoes given by McClintock¹ — *tsin-ksi-six* — suggests connection with the equivalent Sarsi word *ts'i* (p. 465). However, the native Piegan terms given by Maximilian (p. 365) and Uhlenbeck² — *sohskriss* and *soisksissiks* are rather different. Further, while the Bee society is doubtless ultimately related to the Mosquito organization, there is also a Mosquito society among the Northern Blackfoot, which is *not* referred to a Sarsi model. Finally, the Piegan,³ who had the society as early as 1833, have a tradition tracing the origin to a native vision, thus offsetting the Sarsi legend. The question must thus remain undecided.

¹ McClintock, 448.

² Uhlenbeck, 43.

³ Wissler, (j), 105.

HIDATSA AND MANDAN.

So far as the basic features of their systems, collective purchase and age-grading, are concerned, these two tribes reveal no differences whatsoever. This does not apply, however, to the societies themselves. Here we find partial, but only partial, coincidence,—no greater than might be expected from the unusually close relations of these tribes. In order to have absolutely comparable data we had best use Maximilian's lists. Whatever reservations might be expressed regarding his information on other Plains Indian groups, his long stay with the Mandan and the extraordinary trustworthiness of his observations on other points of their culture entitle his evidence on the Mandan and Hidatsa systems to the highest consideration.

In 1833 five of the eight Mandan dances recorded by Maximilian were shared by the Hidatsa: the Hä'derucha-Ôchatä, Half-Shaved Heads, Black Mouths (Soldiers), Dogs, and Bulls. The Hidatsa lack the Crazy Dogs, Old Dogs,¹ and Black-Tail Deer; the Mandan lack the Stone Hammers, Lumpwoods, Kit-Foxes, Little Dogs, and Ravens. It is somewhat startling to find that the Kit-Fox society was not found among the Mandan until later times. This may perhaps be taken as confirmation of the suggestion made above (p. 917) that the Kit-Fox society does not date back very far among the Hidatsa; since it has been so widely and readily diffused over the Plains, it is not clear why the Mandan should not have adopted it from the Hidatsa at an earlier time if the Hidatsa had had it. This argument does not apply to the other organizations, such as the Lumpwoods, on account of their far more restricted distribution. The Crazy Dog society may with considerable probability be referred to the Mandan as its founders. Organizations with at all comparable names seem to be confined to the Northern Plains. The Braves (Brave Dogs) and All-Brave-Dogs of the Blackfoot are of relatively recent origin (p. 939); among the Cheyenne the Crazy Dogs are confined to the northern branch of the tribe (p. 894); the Crow recollect borrowing the society from the Hidatsa (p. 191); the Hidatsa lacked it in 1833 and derive it from the Northern Cheyenne (p. 280). While the Pawnee have the organization (p. 597), it forms part of the private series and may have been borrowed recently from the Arikara to whom Maximilian assigns a society of the same name. Thus, the Mandan have apparently the best claim to the title of originators, and if the Hidatsa tradition is accepted, which may safely be done in view of the recency of

¹ The Hidatsa Old Dogs of Maximilian's list clearly correspond to the Mandan Dogs, not to their Old Dogs. This appears also from an inspection of the Hidatsa words.

events concerned, the Hidatsa obtained the society by a circuitous route, through the Cheyenne, who must have borrowed it from the Mandan.

A suggestion may here be inserted regarding the Crow, Crazy-Dogs-wishing-to-die, manifestly of greater antiquity than their Crazy Dog society and corresponding to the Piegan Brave Dog couple. Though informants vigorously deny any relationship with the societies of similar name found in these tribes, a suspicion remains that this refers to the later developments rather than to the essential character and early history of this institution. A remark by Maximilian is significant in this connection: his Mandan Crazy Dogs were boys of from ten to fifteen years of age but he was told that in former days old (older?) men had also belonged to the organization with the understanding that they were never to retreat from the enemy (p. 306). In other words, we have here evidence of a few officers with bravery obligations. This, however, is only a somewhat milder form of the Crow and Blackfoot institution by which two individuals court death in battle. A comparison of the regalia confirms the hypothesis of relationship. The Mandan Crazy Dogs have a bone whistle, a globular or ring-shaped rattle trimmed with raven feathers, and a raven-feather ornament in the back of the head; several officers wore red sashes, others horned skin headdresses (p. 307 f.). The Piegan Brave Dog couple had bone whistles and small bulb rattles (p. 398). The Crow Crazy Dog couple had rattles, red sashes, and war-bonnets (p. 194 ff.); these features resemble their own Crazy Dog *society* (p. 193). The songs used are also said to have been similar, and objective traits likewise occur in the Hidatsa Crazy Dog society (p. 280 f.), the essential similarity of which to the Mandan equivalent cannot be doubted. In short, the Crow and Blackfoot Crazy Dog couples are genetically related to the Mandan Crazy Dog officers.

This digression leads one to suggest the basic unity of the various societies named after the dog, whether with or without qualifying adjectives. Practically all of these organizations have for their emblems sashes, whistles, feather headdresses, and rattles, the rattle of the Dogs proper being uniformly of the distinctive dewclaw type. That such a complex should develop by chance over and over again, seems inconceivable. On the other hand, it is readily intelligible how an original Dog society might be subdivided into groups that would ultimately become distinct organizations. The division of Arapaho societies into a Tall and a Stout moiety embodies the germ of what I have in mind; so does the Crow division of the Fox organization into a Fox, Little Fox, and Bad group (p. 156). Another possibility is the imitation of an adult men's Dog society by a group of boys, who would then be distinguished as Little Dogs or perhaps Crazy Dogs.

By this theory the complexity of the Mandan scheme is appreciably

reduced, three societies — the Dogs, Old Dogs, and Crazy Dogs — being interpreted as fundamentally one. The mode of elaboration of such a scheme is further illustrated by the demonstrable cases of borrowing within the historic period. Regardless of the basic similarities between the Hidatsa Little Dogs and their own Crazy Dogs, the Mandan adopted the Hidatsa society, thus acquiring a fourth Dog society. Similarly, the Hidatsa, in recent times, borrowed the Crazy Dog organization in addition to their Little Dogs and Dogs, all of these having the status of distinct units.

In this connection a point of importance should not be neglected. Both the Mandan and Hidatsa were subdivided into village groups with dialectic and also cultural variations. Certain societies, say, the Dogs and Bulls, doubtless antedate this differentiation. Others, however, must have sprung up later in a particular village, from which it may or may not have spread to the rest of the tribe. In view of the close proximity of the villages the probability is certainly in favor of diffusion, and thus we have an additional explanation of the great number of organizations in the Village area. It was not one group that created them all, but a number of distinct local subdivisions, each imbued with the basic notion of a military society, and consequently likely to develop new variants, which by cultural contact were disseminated from village to village. It is idle to speculate what part was played by the several villages in this development for we simply have no relevant knowledge. That they functioned as distinct units, however, is clear. In 1833 Maximilian's Ruhptare Mandan — but not his Mih-Tutta-Hangkusch — had learned the Hot dance (p. 308); and my Notched Stick organization not only originated in Awaxā'wi (p. 239), but according to later field notes remained confined to that Hidatsa village.

To return to the origin of the societies common to the two tribes. The lowest of these in both schemes in the first third of the last century was the *hē'rerō'ke i'ke'* (Hä'derucha-Óchatä). Maximilian interprets these native names as referring to the crow or raven. I have shown that the Hidatsa term has nothing to do with these birds but means "Crow Indian imitators" (p. 266). I am now able to prove that this interpretation holds for the Mandan as well. A consultation of Maximilian's vocabularies¹ shows that the equivalent Mandan designation was not applied to either bird species but to the Crow tribe. In other words, the name belongs to the same category as Dakota *mawatani*. This at once raises the suspicion that the organization was borrowed from the Crow in the recent period of resumed intercourse. In support of this theory we have the Hidatsa tradition that the organization originated with the Crow, among whom it is said to have

¹ Maximilian, II, 541, 544.

been also called "Black Eyes" (p. 266), the native term given by an Hidatsa informant being *i'cte cipī'E*. While there is no such society among the Crow, they do have a Muddy Hand organization and its Crow name, *i'tse cipī'E*, could readily be misunderstood and reinterpreted by the Hidatsa. The argument would be perfect if a close correspondence of features could be established. This unfortunately is not the case: all we have is a remark about four sash-wearers in the Hidatsa society (p. 267) to correspond to those of the Crow. Nevertheless, the relationship suggested above seems very plausible.

The Half-Shaved Heads have already been discussed in the Crow section. It was there stated as possible that the society originated with the Crow and transmitted by them to the Village tribes, as the Hidatsa origin account suggests (p. 272).

On the other hand, the Mandan-Hidatsa origin of the Black Mouth organization in its reported form cannot be challenged. The only other tribes sharing this organization are the Crow and the Arikara, but the former recollect its introduction and the absence of a Pawnee parallel suggests that the Arikara, too, borrowed from the other Village tribes. In this instance there is some evidence for a Mandan rather than Hidatsa origin for the society. All Hidatsa informants derive it from the Mandan (p. 274), while the Mandan consider it of native origin (p. 313). Since there is a strong tendency in both tribes to explain origins by visionary or mythical experiences, there is no reason for rejecting the traditionary account here. This statement must, however, be qualified inasmuch as the ultimate origin of distinctive Black Mouth traits may coincide with that of the Raven society and the Dakota Braves, as hinted in a preceding chapter (p. 909).

The Dog society is so widespread that it seems rash to single out any one tribe or group of tribes for the founders. Nevertheless, the case of the Mandan-Hidatsa is a fairly strong one. The Dakota Mawatani came from there, and all the Crow informants assign the origin of their Big Dog organization to the Hidatsa (p. 175). If I am right in holding that the scheme of grading by age originated with the two Village tribes and that it could not be transmitted as an empty form but as applied concretely to definite societies, then the Dog society because of its antiquity must have been transmitted to the Arapaho-Gros Ventre and the Blackfoot. The military societies of the Kiowa are not sufficiently elaborated to warrant us in attributing even tentatively the origin of so important an organization to them. As for the Cheyenne, they, too, appear to have been on the whole receptive rather than originative. There remain the Pawnee and Arikara with their Young Dog organization, but the resemblances of the Arikara society are so much greater to the Dog society proper that we may safely regard a Mandan or

Hidatsa origin as the most probable, especially as practically all the significant features found anywhere occur there in combination. Whether the Mandan or the Hidatsa originated it, remains a question. While one Mandan informant derived it from the Hidatsa (p. 318) and there is a fairly elaborate Hidatsa origin myth (p. 284 f.), these facts are offset by a Mandan tradition cited by Maximilian, according to which the legendary tribal hero instituted four societies, of which the Dogs were the first.¹ It may be noted incidentally that this myth bears a general resemblance to the Cheyenne story of the Prophet founding the four original warrior societies, to which afterwards a fifth was added (p. 894).

As regards the Bulls, we may be even more certain of a Village origin than in the preceding case. Every statement as to origin by other tribes points in this direction, and where definite statements are lacking the relative degree of development of the Bull organization favors the Mandan and Hidatsa, though we again have no grounds for assigning priority to either of these two.

HISTORICAL CONCLUSIONS.

Having dealt with the development of the several tribal systems both graded and ungraded, we are now confronted with two general historical problems. In the first place, if the five graded systems, representing three subtypes, constitute an historical unit, which of them must be taken for the original form? Secondly, since the graded and the ungraded societies have demonstrable historical connections, have the ungraded organizations become dissociated from a series of graded societies, or has the graded series developed from the grading of originally ungraded units?

Original Graded System. Before considering the relative priority of the three historical sub-units (the Arapaho-Gros Ventre, the Blackfoot, and the Mandan-Hidatsa series), I will devote a few words to the relative degree of kinship obtaining, respectively, between the two Western Algonkian sub-units, the Blackfoot and Village series, and the Arapaho-Gros Ventre and Village series. For this purpose we must compare both the organizations themselves and the principles associated with the three systems.

Turning to our collation (p. 930), we must remember that the Fly society of the Gros Ventre, as shown above, is a recent Blackfoot intrusion. Eliminating accordingly, we find no societies common to the Western Algonkian that do not occur among the Village people as well. On the other hand, the Village tribes share with the Blackfoot at least two societies,

¹ Maximilian, II, 162.

the Ravens and Bulls, which are lacking in the Arapaho series; and perhaps two others of less certain identity. It should further be noted that the Bull society is uniformly among the very highest and presumably most important organizations in their series.

This propinquity is borne out by shifting the comparison from single societies to the notions underlying the systems themselves. The Blackfoot idea is clearly that membership in an organization is a form of property bought from those immediately preceding the buyers in ownership; if a membership was not sold an individual accordingly remained a member (p. 427).¹ This corresponds exactly to the Hidatsa and Mandan scheme (p. 234 f.). The form of explanation used by Dr. Wissler's Piegan informants for a maintenance of membership coincides word for word with that of my Upper Missouri Indians. On the other hand, a different conception prevailed among the Arapaho and Gros Ventre. Here instructions and regalia were secured not from the next higher age-class then in possession of membership but from older men of heterogeneous society affiliations who of course had at one time been members and either sold the very insignia once used by them or newly-made equivalents. It should be noted that among both Blackfoot and Village tribes the mode of purchasing membership seems only a special application of the principles underlying all ceremonial transfer, while no such generic principles are recorded for the Arapaho. We have seen, moreover, that the principle of relative order within the series is far more rigid among the Arapaho than in the other tribes. Nor is this all. The unique form of correlation of age-groups with dances found among the Gros Ventre (p. 933) requires some time for its development out of the parental Arapaho-Gros Ventre type; and this means that, other things being equal, a longer period of time must be assumed for the differentiation of the Arapaho and Gros Ventre series than seems requisite for the evolution of the Blackfoot type. Other similarities of detail connecting the Blackfoot and Village tribes have already been enumerated. It appears, then, that the Arapaho-Gros Ventre system is the most aberrant and most highly specialized of the three subtypes of graded series.

Nevertheless, the resemblances between their system and that of the Villagers must not be minimized. In addition to the generic features of graded series, we have the curious correspondence of elder brothers and senior friendly groups (p. 932). Moreover, it is essential to recollect with Kroeber that four societies form the core of the Arapaho system, and of

¹ Cf. also Curtis, V, 22: The last exchange of the songs and costumes of All Brave Dogs took place in 1877. Those who then purchased the society rights still own them, and hold their dance each summer.

these the Dogs and the Tomahawks are identical with Hidatsa organizations, even corresponding in rank, while the Biitaha^w are partly equivalent either to the Hidatsa Half-Shaved Heads or to their Kit-Foxes. Of these features the elder brother group and the Tomahawks are not represented among the Blackfoot.

The only conclusion possible from the data is that both the parental Arapaho and the Blackfoot must have been in intimate contact with the Village tribes,—the latter more intensely or in more recent times. On the other hand, there is no clear evidence of any direct connection between the Arapaho and Blackfoot series antedating the most recent period.

Since there is no documentary evidence for the historical connection of either the Blackfoot or the original Arapaho with the Mandan and Hidatsa, the proof of such contact, which alone renders the cultural facts presented intelligible, constitutes an historical conclusion of some importance.

In the light of the foregoing considerations we may now attack the questions of relative chronology. The empirical data cited enable us to eliminate certain logically possible assumptions and thus simplify our problem. That is, we need not consider the hypothesis that the Arapaho developed the age-societies and transmitted them to the Village tribes through the Blackfoot, nor that the Blackfoot transmitted them to these tribes through the Arapaho, nor that the Village tribes transmitted them through either of these two Algonkian tribes to the other. If the system developed outside the Village group, we are thus reduced to the assumptions first, that the Arapaho originated it and transmitted it to the Villagers, who passed it on to the Blackfoot; or second, that the Blackfoot originated it and transmitted it to the Villagers, from whom it spread to the Arapaho.

To begin with the second alternative, the hypothesis of a Blackfoot origin is, of course *a priori* as probable as any other. There are, however, empirical reasons to the contrary. In the first place, the system of the Village tribes is far better integrated and homogeneous, making the Blackfoot system, in spite of its quantitative development, appear as a deteriorated replica. To be sure, this argument alone cannot be considered decisive, for it might be plausibly contended that looser association would precede as a necessary stage the perfect coördination of the Mandan and Hidatsa organizations. However, there are additional reasons in favor of the view here taken. The ceremonial surrender of the wife, a custom shared by all graded systems, occurs only in the Kit-Fox society of the Piegan and the equivalent Horn society of the Blood. It stands, moreover, as an anomaly in the ceremonial life of the Blackfoot groups while among the Village people it is simply a constituent of ceremonialism that is automatically introduced into the particular form of ceremonial transfer con-

nected with the age-societies. The probability, then, is overwhelming that the Blackfoot are the borrowers of this usage. But it is hard to conceive that the notion of the ceremonial surrender of a wife should have been borrowed without the concrete cultural elements in the transfer of which the principle found expression. The probability is, then, again in favor of Mandan-Hidatsa priority. So far as the societies themselves are concerned, the Villagers were certainly a center of dispersal for the Bull dance and we have also found reasons for attributing the Dog society to them. The greater importance of the Ravens among the Hidatsa, where they ranked highest in Maximilian's time contrasts sharply with their low position in the Blackfoot series and again favors the hypothesis of the Hidatsa as the transmitting tribe. The only organization common to the Village tribes and the Blackfoot for which there are no indications of Hidatsa priority is thus that of the Kit-Foxes, but on the other hand, there is also no suggestion of a Blackfoot origin. A more general argument may be advanced. As explained above, the hypothesis of a Blackfoot origin for the graded system involves the transmission of that scheme by the Villagers to the Arapaho. But the Arapaho and Village systems have been shown to differ far more decidedly than the Blackfoot and Village series, and this means — especially in consideration of the Gros Ventre peculiarities that require some time for development — a far greater lapse of time for the differentiation of the Arapaho and Gros Ventre schemes than for the differentiation of the Village scheme from the hypothetical original Blackfoot one. The hypothesis involves the assumption that during the sum of the periods required for the development of the Arapaho, Gros Ventre, and Hidatsa systems the Blackfoot and Hidatsa varied so little as still to preserve all the essential resemblances enumerated. This hardly seems plausible and we must, therefore, regard the hypothesis of an Arapaho origin as more probable than the one just considered.

We are thus reduced to the alternative: Did the system originate with the Arapaho or with the Village group? To a certain extent we may simply duplicate against Arapaho claims the arguments just advanced against Blackfoot priority. The Arapaho series is not only smaller but is not equally well integrated as that of the Village tribes; as Kroeber indicates, their highest two lodges really stand quite apart in character from the linked organizations. Again, we find that among the Arapaho the ceremonial surrender of the wife is vestigial and even among the Gros Ventre it does not form an integral part of ceremonialism aside from age-societies, as it does among the Mandan and Hidatsa. Another suggestive fact is the occurrence of the Lumpwood society not only among the Hidatsa, Arapaho, and Gros Ventre but among the Crow as well. The Lumpwood society

cannot have been borrowed in recent times either by the Crow from the Hidatsa or *vice versa*, because of the far-reaching differences between the societies so named in these tribes,—the Crow Lumpwood organization having practically become a duplicate of the rival Fox society. Nothing in the past history of the Arapaho and Crow warrants the assumption that the Crow could have borrowed the Arapaho society, which differs from their form of it as much as the Hidatsa variant and in addition differs in name. Therefore the Lumpwood organization may be regarded as an old possession of the Hidatsa and Crow prior to their separation. If this is so, the transmission was not from the Arapaho to the Hidatsa but in the reverse direction. But the similarity in the relative position of the three Arapaho and Hidatsa organizations suggests that they were borrowed together; this indicates that the nucleus of the Arapaho series came from the Hidatsa.

There are, I think, still more decisive arguments on behalf of Hidatsa-Mandan priority. As I have already pointed out, both the Village and the Arapaho systems have in common two groups of older individuals standing in a special relation to the purchasers of a society,—the “friendly” or “elder brother” group and the grandfathers’ or fathers’ group. But while the former is identical in the two series, representing group $M + 2$ where M stands for the rank of the buyers, the grandfathers of the Arapaho belong to any and all of the older groups while the fathers of the Hidatsa are uniformly $M + 1$. This difference is correlated with a very important difference as to the transaction of acquiring membership. The Village people of group M buy the membership outright and the sellers ($M + 1$) lose it by the transfer and hold no dance until they purchase a new one. With the Arapaho no group as such disposes of membership or any of its characteristics, but only several individuals differing in group affiliation.¹ From the point of view of the Arapaho system, there is thus nothing to prevent an indefinite number of successive age-groups from acquiring and holding simultaneously the same ceremonial privileges. This, in fact, seems to be precisely what happened among the Gros Ventre where each dance was the property of contiguous age-groups, each performing it separately and thus preserving its status as a distinct society. The Arapaho, on the other hand, had each dance correlated with a single society or age-group.

It was unavoidable, to be sure, that two groups should collide. Since the acquisition of a new dance depended on a vow and there was nothing to insure a pledge being made simultaneously by contiguous groups, a group M would attain a given grade before $M + 1$ had risen to the next higher one.

¹ It is not even certain that the same individual may not dispose of his ceremonial knowledge to subsequent groups desiring its purchase.

Instead of developing along the Gros Ventre lines the Arapaho invariably regarded the younger and later purchasers as those properly owning the dance, the others being called imitation Dogs (or whatever other society was in question). As a result of modern conditions the Oklahoma Arapaho now have no less than three Crazy lodges, the two upper ones being unable to advance for lack of old instructors with the requisite ceremonial knowledge. The two higher groups are called "Imitation Crazy Dancers," and only the youngest of the three is regarded as composed of the Crazy dancers proper. This is intelligible only as a survival from an imitation of the Hidatsa system.

This argument is strengthened by a subsidiary consideration. We have seen that the elder brothers of the Arapaho correspond to the next older "friendly" group of the Hidatsa. Now, in the Hidatsa system the relations of this group to the buyers are perfectly in keeping with the general scheme. Group 1 tries to buy a society from Group 2 at the lowest possible price, while the latter tries to squeeze out the highest amount of property; and the same applies to Group 2 in relation to Group 3, and so forth, Group 2, in short, is naturally antagonistic to 1 and 3, while their common antagonism to 2 forms a bond of union between 1 and 3. But in the Arapaho scheme the friendly relations of 1 and 3 are utterly meaningless, for there is no Group 2 to which they stand in relation of buyer and seller, respectively. When Group 2 wants to buy the ceremony associated with Group 3, it turns not to Group 3 but to a selected body of varying grade; and correspondingly it never gets a chance to sell to Group 1 as a group. Hence, the Arapaho elder brothers must be treated as a survival from or an imitation of corresponding elements of the Hidatsa scheme. The system now found among the Hidatsa is older than the system now found among the Arapaho.

Uniting this presumptive evidence with that already advanced, we are emboldened to say that the parental Arapaho borrowed their system from the Hidatsa without a full comprehension of it. I assume further that the Gros Ventre, in the period of separate existence, developed that apparently anomalous, but in reality very logical peculiarity which, as I have just shown is in no sense alien to the spirit of the Arapaho system but quite naturally develops out of it.

From all this I infer that the graded system originated among the two Village tribes. Whether it existed first among the Mandan or Hidatsa, it is impossible even to conjecture, but that the Hidatsa rather than the Mandan transmitted it seems clear from the table of societies (p. 930). The Hidatsa passed it on in two different forms and at different periods to the Blackfoot and the Arapaho, both of whom came to develop tribal

peculiarities. The greater resemblance between the Village and Blackfoot systems may simply point to more intensive intercourse, but it probably has chronological significance; that is to say, the Blackfoot borrowed at a later point of time than the Arapaho.

Priority of Graded or Ungraded Societies. According to Schurtz, whose work has been the stimulus to much recent investigation of the subject, the grouping by age is a basic and primeval characteristic of human society that is only at a later stage superseded or modified by classifications of a different type. Applied to the Plains Indian data, this means that wherever we find conditions of membership other than age — e. g., an entrance fee or a supernatural revelation — such conditions are relatively recent intrusions into the original age scheme.¹ It is clear that this view would no longer be tenable if the Plains Indian societies cited as illustrations of the classification by age turned out to have an entirely different basis. I think this can be shown, but perhaps more effectively when analogous phenomena from other parts of the world shall have been passed in review. For the sake of argument I will therefore assume at present that the ostensible age-grouping reflected in the Plains Indian age-societies is basic so far as they themselves are concerned and will merely inquire what reasons may be advanced for or against the priority of the graded as contrasted with the ungraded societies. In the light of the conclusions reached in the preceding paragraphs, we may narrow the question down to this: Are the graded Hidatsa-Mandan societies the pattern upon which all other military societies of the area have been formed?

Looking at this problem without any theoretical preconceptions, the unreasonableness of Schurtz's interpretation becomes apparent. Of well over a dozen tribes with military societies, only five (or at most six) have a graded system. It might be argued that among the other tribes the military organizations are so poorly developed as to suggest degeneration, but this is certainly not true of the Cheyenne, Oglala, or Pawnee. The most natural assumption seems to be that graded societies merely represent a special and later development of military organizations generally. It is true that of the societies of this type the Bulls, the Ravens, and the Dogs probably originated in the Village group, but this does not mean that they originated there as graded societies. On the other hand, the Kit-Foxes — unrivaled in distribution except by the Dogs — most likely developed elsewhere, while the important police function may with much plausibility be traced to the Dakota. The bravery obligation, which certainly forms one of the most conspicuous features of the type of organization here con-

¹ Schurtz, 151f; 161.

sidered, is very prominent among the Cheyenne, Crow, and Dakota. Here, indeed, we touch on the fundamental error in Schurtz's point of view. The concrete content and geographical setting of the Plains Indian societies elude his scrutiny because it is centered on the purely formal and external matter of age-grades. When we look at the matter from the wider North American angle, we find that the Plateau Area lacks organizations of any kind, graded or ungraded, while to the east of the Plains secret societies of a wholly different pattern appear. Indeed, a different type crops up even in the southern part of our area, completely overshadowing the military societies there in the case of the Omaha and their next of kin. Why are the allegedly universal causes that produce age-grades recessive in these regions? Why does a particular form of graded society develop in the Northern Plains? What empirical reason exists for supposing that the non-military organizations of the Plains and elsewhere ever corresponded to age divisions? For these problems Schurtz offers no solution. One fact, in particular, militates strongly against his proposed sequence,— the negative correlation of purchase with ungraded societies (p. 884). If the purchase factor in the age-societies is always a later development, as Schurtz contends, and if ungraded organizations uniformly represent a later stage, then the principle of purchase should be found in conjunction with ungraded organizations rather than with the graded ones, which we have seen to be contrary to fact. We must recall that according to Schurtz, societies of different type form an organic series, in which what he calls clubs, i. e., organizations requiring an entrance fee, are relative newcomers. Why then, do rudiments of the club idea appear uniformly with Schurtz's earliest type in this area, the age-grades, and practically never with what he regards as a later type?

Without entering into details, I suggest the following generalized interpretation of the conditions among the Plains Indians. The tendency to form societies at all exists in North America as the correlate of a certain complexity of social and religious culture. A particular type of "military" organization developed in the Northern Plains correlatively with other cultural features such as military customs and war parties and coexisted with quite different types, sometimes in the very same tribe. There is nothing to show either that the military organizations antedated those of the religious or other types nor that the latter were, as a rule, graded by age. Age-grading thus appears as a very special feature, very much limited in distribution, of a special type of society, and to regard it as the original trait of Plains Indian societies is, to say the least, extremely arbitrary. There can be little doubt that in recent times graded societies, such as the Bulls, were borrowed by tribes lacking the series and thus became ungraded, just

as we know that, on the other hand, the Hot dance became secondarily associated with a graded society (pp. 252, 651). But for the earlier period of social evolution we must assume that the Blackfoot, Arapaho-Gros Ventre, and Village systems developed by the serial ranking of previously ungraded organizations.

To summarize, then, the most general historical conclusions that result from our study: —

1. The parent stock from which the Arapaho and Gros Ventre have sprung must at one time have been in close cultural contact with the Village group.

2. The Blackfoot must at one time have been in close cultural contact with the Village group.

3. The system of the age-graded societies originated with the Village group and was transmitted by the Hidatsa at one time to the parental Arapaho tribe and at another, possibly later, time to the Blackfoot.

4. The graded system is not the original from which ungraded military organizations have developed but arose through the grading of originally ungraded societies.

COMPARATIVE SURVEY.

MASAI AGE-GRADES.

Most general accounts of the tribal life of the Masai lay stress on their triple organization into uncircumcised boys, unmarried warriors, and married elders. This threefold division is undoubtedly very important. As Schurtz realized, the essence of this system lies in the existence of a single sharply-defined class,—that of the bellicose bachelors who have been initiated into the status of a warrior by a circumcision ceremony and live segregated from the rest of the community, except for the companionship of the unmarried girls, with whom promiscuous relations are maintained. The two other classes are defined solely with reference to this pivotal group; the boys are those who have not yet risen to the warriors' grade through circumcision, while the elders are those who have passed out of the warriors' class through marriage.

It is further clear, as Schurtz also points out,¹ that a system of this type does not rest exclusively on a grouping by age. The circumcision ceremony, to be sure, coincides roughly with the period of puberty, though in the case of poor families it is deferred for a number of years; but the act of marriage, while usually consummated between the ages of twenty-seven and thirty in the old days, bears no relation to any physiological or chronological event and has purely social significance. Instances occur, in fact, where the inheritor of a large herd will marry soon after circumcision for lack of a suitable caretaker and become affiliated with the youngest group of elders; on the other hand, a bachelor may feel too young to forego the warriors' life in company with his contemporaries and is then allowed to join the next younger group just advancing to the warriors' estate.² In short, economic and other motives crisscross the age-classification, such as it is, even under primitive conditions, and the prohibition of raids in modern times has brought it about that warriors settle down and marry at an earlier age than formerly.³

To this triple organization of the Masai the Plains Indian societies present no analogies. The puberty fast, as an individual undertaking, bears not even a formal resemblance to the collective circumcision ceremony,

¹ Schurtz, 84.

² Merker, 75.

³ Hollis, (a), xvi.

from which it differs of course fundamentally in spirit; and it is expressly stated to be lacking among the Arapaho and Gros Ventre, where only mature men seek visions.¹ There is no restriction of warlike activity to a single body, nor is there, as a rule, any organization distinguished from others by virtue of bachelorhood.² Neither any initiation festival nor ultimate marriage constitutes a social bond in the Plains Indian societies. So far as we have hitherto considered the Masai data, they are not comparable to those from North America.

The case, however, is altered when we turn from the triple organization to another group of phenomena, which have figured far less prominently in theoretical discussion, but are of at least equal importance in Masai society.

A priori, we might expect that if the age factor forms a psychological motive for grouping there must be some classes additional to the three grades of boys, bachelors, and elders, for the differences in point of age in the last-named class are enormous, including as it does men of thirty and of eighty. This assumption is substantiated by the facts. The circumcision rite not only separates the initiated from the uninitiated males but lies at the root of a far more refined classification. All boys circumcised during the same quadrennium belong to the same "age" (*ol poror*); this period is followed by an interval of about three and a half years during which no circumcision festival takes place; the boys circumcised during the quadrennium following the interval form another "age"; and so forth. Reckoning from an apparently arbitrary or at least unknown starting-point, the Masai regard the individuals of a certain quadrennium as of the "right-handed" and those circumcised during the next quadrennium of the "left-handed circumcision." That is to say, judging from Hollis's list, the different ages are not dextral or sinistral with reference to others as regards relative priority but are each necessarily and absolutely of one or the other group by virtue of their chronological relations to the point of departure. A right-handed "age" and the immediately following left-handed "age" constitute a "generation" (*ol aji*).³

Now it is of paramount importance to remember that the divisions created in this way do not terminate with the initiation rites but persist throughout life, profoundly affecting social relations. Immediately after initiation the apprentice braves find themselves in a peculiar position with reference to the full-fledged warriors. The relationship is somewhat suggestive of that between the buyers and sellers of an Hidatsa age-society, where

¹ Kroeber, (b), 418; (a), 221.

² The Mosquito society of the Blackfoot will be discussed below.

³ Hollis, (a), 262; Merker, 71 et seq.

everything likewise centers in the supplanting of an older by a younger group, with all the initial advantages on the side of the older. The fundamental difference lies in the fact that among the Masai there is no suggestion of purchase from the group in possession. In order to attain to the coveted status of a full-fledged warrior the tyros must acquire as a preliminary a name for their age-class and a distinctive shield-design, but these are not bought from the warriors. The name is bestowed by the headman of the tribe, who receives a herd of cattle by way of remuneration; black designs for the shields of the novice are selected by the most distinguished of the elders, a one-time spokesman of the warrior class. This, however, does not suffice. Before being esteemed warriors proper, the apprentices must mark their shields with the red paint characteristic of that grade and must construct and inhabit a kraal of their own. But attempts in both directions are resented and forcibly resisted by the warriors, who attack the new kraal and if victorious effect the obliteration of the red designs. This postpones the graduation of the younger men, who may improve the interim with raids against hostile tribes. If they are conspicuously successful, the warriors may gracefully assent to their promotion; otherwise the novices must overcome opposition by force. When they finally succeed, there are then simultaneously two distinct kraals of warriors in the district, though they are united for all martial enterprises. But this condition is anomalous and transitional. The older braves soon decide to leave and obtain the spokesman's and the headman's consent. After signaling his exit by a feast, each member then marries, settling down either in his father's or his fellow-members' kraal. Only when all the members of the age-class have wives they come to rank collectively as elders, build individual kraals, and discard the badges of the warrior grade, leaving the younger group in sole possession.

Nothing would be more misleading, however, than to describe the departing braves as being merged in a society of elders. It cannot be emphasized too strongly that the elders do not form a social group except by contradistinction to the bachelors. Only the members of a right-handed and of the correlated left-handed age-group are ultimately united into a "generation," which takes place long after all of them have married. They then receive a joint name, and as the warriors' age-class can be determined from the markings on shield and spear so each elders' generation has its distinctive arrow brand.¹ Even after the welding together of two age-classes into one generation, it is clear that the constituent classes in many ways preserve their individuality. Whether the food prohibitions

¹ Hollis, (a), 291.

and lexical taboos distinguishing right-handed and left-handed classes form permanent peculiarities is not certain,¹ but the importance of the ages as such is certainly a striking phenomenon. If a Masai elder beats his wife, she may seek refuge with a member of her husband's age and thereafter her husband will not beat her for fear of being cursed by his age-mates.² Girls who are initiated during a certain circumcision period are reckoned as belonging to the same age as the boys initiated therein; since in later life a husband is tabooed from calling his wife by name, a favorite method is to designate her by the age to which she belongs.³ No warrior or boy must commit adultery with a woman of his father's age, but fornication with a woman of one's own age or, from the woman's point of view, with a man of one's husband's age is not considered an offense.⁴ A Masai visiting a strange kraal enters the dwelling of a member of his age, who withdraws from the hut leaving his guest to sleep with his wife; the host has no choice lest he incur the curse of his age-mates.⁵ That, on the other hand, a sharp line is drawn as regards hospitality even between adjacent age-classes, at least if they do not belong to the same generation, is clear from Hollis's concrete example. In some localities the *jus primae noctis* may be claimed by the bridegroom's comrades.⁶ Generally, widows or divorced women may entertain relations with their husbands' age-mates.⁷ Finally, it would appear that even after the generation name has been acquired, the designations distinctive of the component ages remain in vogue; at least, Hollis was able to ascertain the names of classes dating back approximately to 1791.⁸ My personal impression is that the relation of the age to the generation is somewhat like that of some of our North American clans or gentes to a very loose phratric union: some of the clan or gentile peculiarities are extended to the larger body, but the vitality of the social bond remains much stronger in the smaller group. The view that the generation is of minor importance is corroborated by data from the Nandi, a people closely related to the Masai. Here there are seven ages based on collective initiation during a certain period, and corresponding to Masai subdivisions which I have ignored in the foregoing account for the sake of simplicity, there are three "fires" in each age. Among the Nandi some of the privileges associated with the Masai ages are linked with these lesser divisions, while

¹ Merker, 72.

² Hollis, (a), 304.

³ Merker, 72; Hollis, (a), 303.

⁴ Hollis, (a), 312.

⁵ *ibid.*, 288.

⁶ Merker, 48.

⁷ *ibid.*, 47.

⁸ Hollis, (a), 262 f.

nothing is said of larger groups equivalent to generations. In particular, hospitality is expected from a member of the same fire, or failing that from a member of a contiguous fire, but under no condition from any one not belonging to the same age.¹ All this suggests that among the Masai the generation may be a unit of more recent development than either the ages or their subdivisions, both of which are shared by the Masai and the Nandi. But whether this interpretation be sound or not, social solidarity obtains not among the elders as a group, but among the much smaller bodies composed of men either of the same age-class or of the same generation.

We are now in a position to comprehend, on the one hand, the resemblances between the Masai and the Plains Indian systems, and on the other, the relations between the Masai ages and the triple organization of this tribe.

An inspection of Hollis's table shows that at any one period there were probably from eight to ten distinct age-classes,² closely corresponding in number and range of ages to the Mandan-Hidatsa series. In neither case is there any theoretical limitation of the number of groups: among the Village Indians there are as many distinct groups as have acquired membership in the lowest society; among the Masai the number depends on the number of groups that have undergone circumcision.³ In both cases the collective acquisition of a certain status is the thing of fundamental importance, though the initial step was rigidly prescribed only among the Masai and not among the two Indian tribes. That is to say, every male Masai was obliged to pass through the one circumcision stage, but a Plains Indian might grow up without entering any organization, though failing to do so would be detrimental to his social standing. With the Mandan and Hidatsa, moreover, it was not essential to begin with any one particular society, as is shown by the recent history of their systems. Only among the Arapaho the order of the societies seems to have been fixed within the period of which we have knowledge, and every one had to pass first of all through the two preliminary lodges. Though the Hidatsa system was flexible as to the order of societies, each age-class had the task of successively acquiring a series of society memberships, or in other words of passing through a number of degrees; and the mechanism of this progressive advancement was by purchase from another age-class that had preceded in the ownership of the societies. The Masai had only a single degree, that of warrior, in regard to which any question of one group supplanting another could arise, and the method, as pointed out above, was not by purchase. Beyond the

¹ Hollis, (b), 12, 62, 69, 76, 77, 80.

² Hollis, (a), 263.

³ The Nandi had seven ages with fixed names.

warrior stage the several age-classes remained distinct groups but not groups endowed with prerogatives transferable to other groups.

This dearth of concrete features associated with the elders' age-classes seems to constitute a striking difference from the corresponding Plains Indian groups. The warrior class presents interesting analogies to the military societies. In addition to the distinctive clothing and modes of decoration, we find a differentiation of rank: a spokesman carrying a club as a badge of office, several officers called Bulls who wear bracelets and bells as a sign of distinguished bravery, and others, known as Benefactors, who frequently slaughter bullocks to feast their comrades.¹ The pompon which bold Masai warriors place on the tip of their spears to show that they will make a stand against the enemy and remove the ball of feathers by piercing his breast² at once recalls Plains Indian bravery obligations. Finally, we may cite the dances the warriors perform in company with the unmarried girls.³ In contrast to these elements the older age-classes have no distinctive dances or activities; the concentration of all martial manifestations in the warrior grade deprives the various groups of elders from the possibility of much resemblance to the Indian military organizations. Closer inspection shows that the difference is not at all between the age-classes as such but between their correlates, the things acquired by the age-classes. The age-groups themselves, are as colorless among the Hidatsa as among the Masai; more so, if anything, since they are not even distinguished by name except as owners of such and such a society. Only the Gros Ventre had definite and permanent designations for their age-divisions independently of correlated dances.

To sum up. The Masai age-classes resemble the age-groups of the Hidatsa and Mandan in number and range of age, as well as in the fact that they are formed by the collective attainment by a group of approximate age-mates to a certain social status. Their system differed in that there was not a series of degrees, through which each age-class had to pass, but only the one well-defined stage of mature bachelorhood and the subsequent nondescript married condition. After leaving the bachelor state there was thus no possibility of superseding older groups, and the element of purchase by which this process was effected in the Plains was completely alien to the Masai scheme.

Let us now turn to the relations between the Masai age-class system and the tripartite organization. It ought to be clear from the preceding discussion that the latter does not correspond to three genuine social units.

¹ Merker, 86 f.; Hollis, (a), 298 f.

² Merker, 92.

³ *ibid.*, 90.

Socially the "boys" are non-existent; under that convenient caption the Masai simply lump together all uninitiated males. But neither are the married men more than a complex of heterogeneous age-classes, negatively defined in contrast to the warriors, from whom, incidentally, the youngest class of elders is not so sharply divided since they are subject to military service. In reality two conceptions underlie the whole Masai scheme, one related to status, the other to an approximate age-grouping. It is misleading to regard the warriors as an age-class or as one society except secondarily. We have seen above that while usually the warriors embrace only one age-class, occasions arise when two classes simultaneously exercise the privileges of warriors and that in these cases the two classes strictly preserve their individuality. Warriordom, then, is something that successive age-classes successively *acquire*. The warrior status is fundamental to Masai tribal life, but it is not primarily an expression of Masai age-classification, nor does it primarily involve that consciousness of kind which underlies the formation of societies. When the warrior grade is occupied by a single age-class, then and then only the warriors form a homogeneous body united as age-mates. It is the age-class, based partly on real community of age, partly on the conventional inclusion within the same initiation quadrennium, that forms the essential social unit of the Masai.

MELANESIAN GRADES.

In parts of Melanesia, notably in the Banks Islands and the New Hebrides, every village has a men's clubhouse subdivided to correspond to differences of rank. Codrington describes this institution as an essentially social one, into which religious concepts intrude only in the sense in which they enter all of everyday life: the requisites of promotion can be acquired only through *mana* since all success is reducible to this supernatural influence.¹ In the light of more recent data collected by Rivers and Speiser this conception is no longer tenable without some modification. The natives of the New Hebrides doubtless have clubs in which social and religious elements are blended; and though the club (*sukwe*) and the secret societies (*tamate*) of the Banks Islanders are largely distinct units there is a definite connection inasmuch as admission to a certain grade in the club presupposes initiation into one of the secret organizations, while some of the latter are only open to club members.² Indeed, no reader of the Banks Islands

¹ Codrington, 103.

² Speiser, 65 et seq; Rivers, I, 61, 64, 87, 126 f.

sources can fail to note the intimate connection of aspects of culture which for descriptive purposes it may be necessary to separate, as well as the influence of a tribal pattern on associations, no matter of what type. The secret societies, like the club, are normally nothing but social gatherings for male loungers and messmates;¹ both forms of organization have distinctive insignia designated by the same generic term; both share initiation ceremonies and the *kolekole* performances. The situation bears a striking resemblance to that in the Village tribes of the Plains area, where such features as the ceremonial surrender of wives or the purchase factor are not restricted to the military or the esoteric associations but are common to both. Since my present object is primarily comparative and does not include the presumptuous attempt to elucidate the historical development of Melanesian organizations, I will confine my attention largely to the club, which in its dual character of a graded and a secular organization clearly bears a closer relationship to the Plains Indian age-societies than do the secret societies.²

The first thing to be noted in connection with the club of the Banks Islanders is its correlation with the social segregation of the sexes. The clubhouse is the normal place for males to eat and sleep, each grade having its own oven and mats.

If a man cannot enter the *Sukwe* he has to feed with women and this may sometimes so excite the pity of a friend that he may undertake to act as introducer, knowing that he will thereby have to spend a large sum of money.³

Accordingly, an attempt is made to procure an early initiation for a relative, and while poverty may postpone entrance until manhood or even later, the initial entrance may take place in infancy. Certain essential traits of the *sukwe* already appear from these few statements: initiation is an individual affair, pure and simple, not bound up with an age class; and it depends on economic factors. The same features associated with admission characterize the entire institution. As social prestige is unthinkable without membership in the club, so a gain in prestige is directly proportionate to advancement within the lodge; and advancement, in turn, is possible only through an increasingly great pecuniary sacrifice on the part of the novice. Most individuals enter the society while still boys; but most of them never rise beyond the middle rank, and many fail of attaining to it.⁴ While the ranks are ranged in a definite order, each being localized in a

¹ Codrington, 82.

² The following statements are based on Codrington, 101-115; Rivers, I, 60-143.

³ Rivers, I, 63.

⁴ Codrington, 103.

particular fireplace in the clubhouse, an individual is not required to pass through them in succession and the lowest grades are usually skipped so that in many villages they have disappeared. Theoretically, indeed, one can advance to any grade directly, but the obstacles in the way of pecuniary requirements are practically insuperable; moreover, acquisition of a high rank presupposes membership in the *tamate liwoa*, one of the secret organizations.¹ In the lower grades the expense falls mainly on the introducer, who is preferably a mother's brother; in the higher grades the novice still has an introducer, but the charges fall upon himself, his relatives and friends. Several points of interest are connected with the attainment to a certain rank. The act of initiation consists in the ceremonial eating of food by the members of the *sukwe* division the candidate is entering; but in the payments made the holders of the rank just reached by the novice do not seem to enjoy any preferential position. It rather seems that *all* the members of the club present the candidate with a certain amount of shell-money but receive in return both their own gifts and an additional amount of shell-money, the increment being, at least for some grades, equal to the gift.² The broad analogy of this procedure with the potlatch usages of the North-west Coast of North America hardly requires mention.

The psychological attitude associated with the *sukwe* is perfectly clear from the statements of our authorities. Social position is predominantly a matter of club status. This is true to such an extent that the concepts of chief and of member of the highest grades cannot be clearly separated. The exceptional man who has attained to the highest rung is the great man in tribal opinion and folklore. He is able to retrieve with interest the fortune sacrificed in order to secure his position by exacting payments from subsequent initiates. At the same time the basic idea is not to hoard wealth but to exhibit one's greatness by contempt for it. A man who occupies the highest *sukwe* rank is still able to advance in prestige by providing the lavish entertainment connected with a *kolekole* festival.³ Indeed, maintenance of his position is dependent on such performances, in which "every one will try to excel his neighbor in the splendor of the dance, the number of the slaughtered pigs and the liberality of payment."⁴ Here we are again reminded of North American features,—not only of the North-western potlatch, but also of the ostentatious liberality of the Plains Indian Grass dancers (p. 205) and of the Omaha *wathiⁿethe*.⁵ In short, the *sukwe* is

¹ Rivers, I, 63 f.

² Codrington, 107; Rivers, I, 67.

³ Codrington, 110.

⁴ Rivers, I, 132, 141.

⁵ Fletcher and La Flesche, 202 et seq.

very largely an end in itself: the Melanesian prizes affiliation with the higher grades as the Plains Indian prizes war honors or the Hopi activity in ceremonial affairs.

It seems desirable to comment briefly on certain theoretical interpretations of the Melanesian graded clubs by Schurtz and Rivers.

Schurtz's explanation, as usual, does not rest on an intensive analysis of the concrete data found, but consists in arbitrarily citing these as illustrations of his *a priori* scheme. He declares that the grades are simply transformed age-classes, while the clubhouse harboring practically all the male population is an outgrowth of an earlier bachelors' hall.¹

The latter hypothesis is not only without any historical basis but even seems inconsistent with the fundamentals of Schurtz's social philosophy. No principle is more strongly and persistently emphasized by Schurtz than the distinct social character of the sexes. He practically denies the instinct of sociability to woman, limiting her normal social activity to the family sphere, while man by his natural gregariousness is said to found age-classes and other organizations of various types. Granting this distinction, which is debatable, of course, we should not be surprised to find a men's house as a direct correlate of the secondary sexual traits postulated and need not assume that the men's house developed in a roundabout way out of a bachelor's hall.

So far as the more important point for our present discussion is concerned, I agree with Radin that Schurtz's interpretation of degrees as vestigial age-classes is quite arbitrary.² Gradation certainly may arise in the most natural way through the causes Radin mentions, to wit, length of membership, insistence upon separate payments, and so forth. Faithful to the principle of interpreting specific institutions by specific causes, we must first examine whether the Melanesian degrees cannot be correlated with coexisting cultural features. In the native conception of social advancement through sacrifices of money and pigs we have a sufficient cause for the evolution of steps. If in the New Hebrides the club can be defined simply as an association of men who have sacrificed pigs,³ it is clear that those who sacrifice pigs in greater number or with greater frequency will come to rank higher, and a corresponding conclusion is permissible for the Banks Islands. It might be objected that the social conception with which I am correlating the grades is of merely secondary significance; that it may indeed have multiplied pre-existing grades, but could not have created degrees because these antedated the notions in question. When, however,

¹ Schurtz, 205, 328, 335.

² Radin, 203.

³ Speiser, 66; Cf. Sebbelov, 273-280.

we consider the intensity of the feeling that social prestige is dependent on the performance of certain ceremonies connected with pecuniary sacrifice and contrast with it the extremely restricted portion of Melanesia in which the graded men's club (as distinguished from secret societies) flourishes,¹ we are justified in regarding the latter as a localized product, not necessarily of high antiquity, and may legitimately derive it from the observed cultural trait mentioned above. The restricted region in which the graded club occurs in Melanesia is really fatal to viewing it as an outgrowth of age-classes which *ex hypothesi* are of universal occurrence. Why should vestiges of the supposedly early age classes have persisted only in those regions where degrees can be very readily explained not as remnants of some hypothetical antecedent but as the product of observed conditions? These conditions likewise account in the most natural way both for the multiplicity and varying number of the grades. This is not due to the loss of a fixed principle of division, such as Schurtz ascribes to an age-classification,² but to the perfectly definite principle that every additional sacrifice is tantamount to promotion.

Dr. Rivers applies to the problem of the graded *sukwe* his favorite principle of cultural contact of distinct peoples. This, however, he uses to account for the occurrence not so much of the clubhouse itself as of the degrees. An immigrant group is assumed to have brought with it the institution of the men's house, possibly with a moderate number of degrees dependent on original differences in rank, class, or provenience. But the multiplication of degrees was due to the successive admission of batches of the aboriginal population, each successive group being placed below its predecessors.³ This interpretation contains a very plausible and to my mind valuable suggestion as to the method by which the grades of any series may multiply and acquire their relative status. The newcomers, being in a disadvantageous position with reference to the old stagers, would naturally have assigned to them the lowest rank until belated arrivals would automatically affect their position in the series. Incidentally, this view of the matter reminds us of the theory held by the Blackfoot regarding the order of their age-societies (p. 368). While, however, Dr. Rivers's theory embodies this generally valuable suggestion as to the elaboration of a series he seems to be in doubt whether to assign the ultimate origin of grades to this process or to assume grades as pre-existing in the club introduced by the immigrants. In the latter case, of course, the ultimate origin remains unsolved, and accordingly an hypothesis which accounts for all the

¹ Rivers, II, 510 f.

² Schurtz, 335 f.

³ Rivers, II, 212, 226.

empirical data, like the one I have suggested, seems preferable on the ground of logical simplicity. Its relative superiority is greatly increased in my opinion precisely because it dispenses with those hypothetical migrations that Dr. Rivers relies upon. The only hypothetical element involved in my theory is in assuming a causal nexus in a definite direction between two phenomena both of which are matters of observation and which are clearly correlated,—grades and certain conceptions as to social prestige. If my suggestion suffices to explain the Melanesian clubs, then the doctrine of diffusion and of the result of cultural contact, whatever may be its value in other fields, becomes superfluous in regard to the *sukwe*. It merely brings in hypothetical elements for which no demonstration can be given.

We are now prepared to consider the Melanesian club in comparison with the age-societies. In discussing the Masai the resemblance was found to obtain between the age-classes of that people with the usually nameless age groups which purchase societies among the Plains Indians. The series of societies really had nothing to correspond to it among the Masai except in a purely formal way the sequence of the boy, bachelor and elder stages; nor are there any concrete features in these stages that resemble the societies, singly considered, except for the warrior grade. A very different condition confronts us now. The similarity between Melanesia and the North American Plains lies precisely in the presence of a fairly extensive graded series, the order of the grades being quite definite among the Melanesians but except among the Arapaho rather less so among the Indians. This rigidity, it should again be noted, applies only to the Melanesian degrees themselves, but imposes no obligations on the order in which individuals acquire them. Another significant resemblance consists in the dominant economic motive: degrees in the *sukwe* are forms of property and as such purchasable. However, they are not so in quite the same way as among the Hidatsa. The aspirant to a new grade in the club does not pay the members of that grade as such but the members of the club generally. Among the Hidatsa the purchasing group deals only with the group of sellers; other groups, whether older or younger, are not concerned in the business transaction. In short, the concept of the series seems, after all, a different one. The Melanesian degrees are only subdivisions of the *sukwe* unit, a fact which finds expression in their having generally definite quarters within the same building. The Hidatsa societies are, as I hope to show, units quite independent of their place in the series.

The last-mentioned difference has another aspect. Speaking of the Masai, we noted the dearth of concrete content associated with the grades and classes. The same applies to the grades of the *sukwe*. It is true that each rank has its mask or hat, that some degrees use distinctive knives for

cutting breadfruit puddings, that kava drinking is restricted to the upper range of the series.¹ Nevertheless, all this bestows a very meager individuality on any particular step since both kava and pudding-knives are shared by several grades, while both the name and the character of the masks suggest that they have been patterned on equivalent insignia of the far more widely distributed secret societies. We need only cast a fleeting glance at any of the more popular Plains societies to be impressed with the difference in this respect. It matters not whether the Dogs rank high as in the Hidatsa series or low as among the ancient Blackfoot, they form a social unit fully defined by a constant combination of traits,—sashes, owl feather headdress, dewclaw rattles, food privileges. The Melanesian grades seem to have individuality solely by virtue of their position; even most of those few features that do distinguish one from another, such as the amount of payment, are a function of rank in the series.

Another difference is of even greater importance. Admission into the grades of the club is a strictly individual affair; in the age-societies it is collective, the group of buyers being composed of age-mates. This is why the Plains Indian societies are also age-classes, while the Melanesian grades have nothing to do with age.

THE PLAINS INDIAN AGE-SOCIETIES.

In attempting to arrive at a final conception of the organizations that form the subject of this paper, we may once more revert to Schurtz. Since I have had to criticise his fundamental assumptions and shall be obliged to do so again, I take this opportunity to state that his work must not be underestimated. It was more than merely a meritorious compilation of data on a hitherto neglected field. By postulating certain dynamic forces that he supposed to dominate social evolution, Schurtz gave later investigators a definite angle for envisaging the host of detailed facts, and above all he exposed clearly the one-sidedness of associating social organization exclusively with clan systems and marriage regulations, as is even now the tendency of most ethnologists. His chief error was one common among generalizers: he did not undertake an intensive investigation of the empirical data nor ascertained their correlates in the cultures where they had been reported, but imposed on them a Procrustean scheme by which they were made to fit into ready-made rubrics.

This is the obvious stricture that must be made on his treatment of

¹ Rivers, I, 81-83.

the American age-societies. He finds here organizations, members of which are approximately coevals; at once they are covered by the catchword "age-grades." For one thing, then, they must be older than any other type of organization coexisting in the Plains region,—a conclusion that we found contrary to empirical data (pp. 952–954) and which Schurtz simply deduces *a priori*. Secondly, it is obvious to him from the start that the system of age-societies was primarily an age-classification according to his favorite tripartite pattern of boys, bachelors, and married men. Wherever he finds a considerable number of classes, he at once assumes that this is a later development from the three-part scheme.¹ The Masai data suffice to show that this inference is illegitimate,—that many age-classes may develop naturally if it is an established custom for adolescent boys to undergo jointly some social experience. Obsessed with the notion that all other factors than age are of more recent development, Schurtz further misconstrues the facts, finding among the lower organizations of certain graded series what he regards as pure age-groups, i. e., groups in which membership is solely dependent on age and in no way on purchase.² He thus confounds two distinct concepts,—that of the age-class and that of the complex of ceremonial and other privileges held by an age-class. It is the latter that we have largely considered in the historical survey under the caption of "societies;" but since properly speaking it is the age-groups that constitute "societies," i. e., unions of individuals, I shall henceforth speak of the ceremonial complexes as "dances." Now, with this terminology, the fact is that membership in each and every one of the Plains Indian age-classes is normally a function of age and of age only, while the dances are uniformly purchasable commodities.

To turn from criticism to an unprejudiced survey of the data. The observed fact is that in each tribe with the graded series a certain dance is correlated with a certain age. It is surely simplest to accept this correlation as an essential one; if another interpretation is advanced, it must be for specific reasons. My principal reason for rejecting the more obvious view is that the same dance is correlated with different ages in different tribes and even in the same tribe at different periods of time.

The Dogs form an example *par excellence*. They occur in all the graded series and in most of the ungraded ones as well. They occupy widely different positions in the former and indeed differ notably in rank even in the same tribe at different periods. The most glaring deviation occurs among the Blackfoot. In Maximilian's day the Dogs comprised young

¹ Schurtz, 161, 335.

² *ibid.*, 153.

married men of the lowest rank above the Mosquitoes.¹ Yet in all recent lists they occupy a much higher position, Grinnell even speaking of them as old men (pp. 366-369). If greater weight be attached to the earlier statement, what shall we say when we find that at the very period when the Dogs held a relatively insignificant position among the Blackfoot, their rank was distinctly higher among both Mandan and Hidatsa?² In later times, according to some informants, they even came to approach the very highest place in the scale (pp. 227, 318). Among the Arapaho and Gros Ventre their position resembles that held by the Dogs among the Village tribes of Maximilian's time. Turning to the ungraded series, we find that among the Cheyenne the Dog-Men are very important but that the age-element is not involved. The Sarsi Dogs were young unmarried and married men (p. 467); it is especially interesting to note that the relative position of the Sarsi Mosquitoes and Dogs corresponds so closely to that given for the Piegan equivalents in Maximilian's account. The Oglala statements suggest a somewhat higher average age than for the akitcitan dances but emphatically no definite age qualification (p. 41 f.). The Young Dogs of the Arikara took in members as young as fifteen, though most of them were older (p. 657); it should be noted that Brackenridge speaks of the Dogs as "the most brave and efficient in war, being composed of young men under thirty" (p. 649). The equivalent Pawnee organization was important owing to the bravery and shamanistic powers of the members, but no age is specified (pp. 582-588). Among the Kiowa the Dogs were definitely the preëminent society of the tribe, but the prerequisite to membership was exceptional bravery; in age they ranged from twenty-five upward (p. 848). The Big Dogs of the Crow are said to have been generally old, though young men were not excluded (p. 176, cf. p. 155); yet an early statement by Beckwourth casts considerable doubt on the essential seniority of the Dogs as compared with other societies since we find them mentioned as rivals of the Foxes (p. 182).

The general conclusion from all this is that the Dogs certainly formed almost everywhere an important body. In the graded systems, except among the Blackfoot, the members were of mature age rather than at the uppermost limit of seniority; in the Blackfoot series they were the youngest of married men. If, as I have suggested, the Dog complex originated among the Village peoples and maintained its approximate rank there until recent times, then it had sunk to a lower position among the Blackfoot of Maximilian's period and has since risen there through the interpolation of other

¹ Maximilian, I, 577.

² *id.*, II, 142, 213.

dances. That such a thing should have been possible, shows that for the Blackfoot mind there was no necessary connection between a certain age on the one hand and certain sashes, rattles, headdresses and food prerogatives on the other. Shall we then assume that these features were definitely associated with ripe middle age by the Hidatsa? If so, why is this association lacking in some of the tribes which, on the hypothesis of Hidatsa priority, must have borrowed the dance from that people? Further, why the shift observed among the Hidatsa themselves in the direction of more advanced age? We are again driven to the conclusion that even if the Dog complex originated with a definite age-group in the first instance,¹ the association of a certain age with a certain assemblage of traits is accidental.

Analogous results, which need only be suggested therefore, appear from a consideration of the Kit-Foxes. Among the Hidatsa they were young men; they were married among the Gros Ventre since even the immediately preceding Crazy Dance was acquired by a surrender of wives; among the Piegan the Foxes were married men who already ranked superior to the Dogs in Maximilian's day, and more recently they came very close to the highest position. I have suggested that this organization did not originate with any of the tribes possessing a graded series but with the Dakota, where both young boys and mature men were admitted and remained for an indefinite period (p. 18). But whether this hypothesis be accepted or not, the Kit-Foxes' independence of a particular age is clear.

The Ravens occur in only two of the graded series, those of the Blackfoot and the Hidatsa. Both in Maximilian's day and later they represent a middle-aged group in the former tribe; in 1833 they were the very oldest of the Hidatsa, superior even to the Bulls. Since the resemblances are absolutely decisive as to unity of origin, the unessential nature of the age qualification is manifest.

Even the Bulls, though everywhere of high *degree*, do not occupy a uniform position as regards age. Highest among the Piegan, they are subordinate to the Kit-Fox (Horn) men of the Northern Blackfoot (pp. 369, 419); they were the second oldest of Maximilian's Mandan and Hidatsa groups and were ranked highest by one of my Hidatsa informants. Yet according to one informant, the Hidatsa Bulls averaged but little over thirty years in his day (p. 291).

What is indicated by a consideration of these dances, is proved even more conclusively by the statements of informants as to their dance affiliations. Thus, one Piegan said he had remained for twenty-nine years an All-Brave-

¹ This does not, of course, necessarily follow from the hypothesis of an Hidatsa origin. Even so it may have been first an *ungraded* dance independent of a particular age group and later become associated with a *definite* age (p. 953 f.).

Dog (p. 427), while an Hidatsa was a Dog from about his forty-fifth year until his death (p. 284) at about ninety. It is, therefore, not at all true that the dances are social steps to which men belong at a certain age. What happens is that owing to the collective acquisition of each dance by a group of approximate age-mates the owners of a dance must be age-mates in a given tribe at a given time; but what the age of the group connected with a certain dance shall be seems a subordinate consideration.

This is most glaringly illustrated among the Hidatsa, who were relatively indifferent to the order in which societies were acquired. It was possible at a certain juncture for the young men of the Stone Hammer dance to acquire the Raven complex, though the Raven dance normally ranked as the highest or one of the highest in the series (p. 283). But even among the Arapaho, where the serial order was rigidly fixed, variations in the actual age of members occurred. In 1910 the members of the Biitaha^{wu} in the Wyoming branch of the tribe were only eighteen instead of thirty years of age, as they had formerly been, both according to Kroeber's and my own data; while the Crazy Dancers were twenty-five instead of forty. There is also considerable disparity between Mooney's and Kroeber's figures; the former sets the age of the Kit-Foxes at twenty-five instead of eighteen; of the Stars at thirty instead of twenty; the Tomahawk and Biitaha^{wu} are described as men in the prime of life as against Kroeber's estimate of twenty-five and thirty years of age; and the Crazy Dancers are said to be over fifty where Kroeber gives forty. These differences are hardly negligible, though it is clear that where dances had to be acquired in a definite order and a beginning was made at or about adolescence there were limits to the range of variation in age connected with a particular dance.¹

We seem justified, then, in drawing the conclusion that the grading of what I regard as having been originally ungraded dances did not signify their correlation with a definite age. The complexes remained independent units, i. e., independent of age or rank except in a secondary way. On what, then, did affiliation with a dance primarily depend? Schurtz clearly recognized that almost uniformly the payment of an admission fee was the prerequisite to participation. He makes an exception only of the lowest Blackfoot groups, which he conceives to be pure age-classes, i. e., classes to which boys and men belonged automatically at a certain age without being subjected to the necessity of an entrance payment.² This interpretation, so far as I can see, is wholly without warrant from Maximilian's text on which it is based; and it is positively refuted for the dances in question

¹ For secondary feelings as to the appropriateness of a particular correlation between age and dances, see pp. 234 and 979.

² Schurtz, 153.

by more recent information (pp. 375, 377, 395). Each and every dance of the five graded series was entered upon payments: each complex of prerogatives was a commodity that could be bought and sold. What we have to explain on this view is how the observed age correlation developed.

I have already called attention to the startling fact that all the age-societies are connected with purchase, while practically all of the otherwise homologous ungraded organizations lack this feature (p. 884). This indicates a positive correlation between purchase and age which requires formulation. Now it is hopeless to derive the purchase factor from a pure age-classification, for this is a contradiction in terms. We are thus reduced to the interpretation that the age factor is in some way a result of the form of purchase, that purchase is the primary and age the derivative phenomenon, not of course with reference to the age-classes but as regards the dances.

I will now summarize the empirical arguments for the fundamental importance of the purchase factor and the secondary character of the age elements in the sense defined. It might be considered sufficient to prove this for the Mandan and Hidatsa, among whom I believe the system under discussion originated; but in order to eliminate hypothetical considerations to the utmost, I will discuss the system of each of the tribes concerned from the particular point of view mentioned.

For the Hidatsa and Mandan I have already summed up the relevant data (pp. 232-236, 294). If a man at sixty-two still regards himself as affiliated with the dance he joined at twenty, it cannot be that affiliation is a matter of age: the reason is the one uniformly given in such cases, viz., that the complex was never bought from him and accordingly was still held as a form of property. The argument is clinched when we find, both in Maximilian's records and more recent ones, that the same individuals could simultaneously hold several memberships.

Poor-wolf, at 90, still considered himself a member of the *miraraxúxi*, which he had joined at 7; of the Crazy Dogs, whom he had joined at 20; of the Half-shaved Heads, whom he had joined at 27; and of the Dogs, whom he had joined at about 45 (p. 234).

This particular case cannot of course be regarded as normal, but it illustrates admirably the native point of view. Further it should be noted, that while simultaneous affiliation with many dances was abnormal, simultaneous connection with two of them was a frequent and necessary feature of the system. Men of Group A holding a dance X might acquire a new dance Y from an older group; they would then have two dances so long as a younger group did not similarly purchase X from them. The underlying principle is clear: a man owns all complexes he has ever bought and which he has never sold.

The Blackfoot conception is absolutely identical with that of the Hidatsa. A man who had acquired the Raven membership and never sold it remained a Raven, even though he had subsequently acquired, sold and thereby lost his association with the higher Horn dance (p. 427).

The Arapaho case at first does not appear to be equally clear because the membership is not owned outright in the same way. What a group acquires by purchase here is not an exclusive possession but a quantity of ceremonial knowledge which they share with all their predecessors. Hence, prospective buyers are not limited in the choice of a selling group but select a miscellaneous assemblage of older men. Nevertheless, this very fact implies that ceremonial knowledge once acquired is held indefinitely, regardless of age. The only point that remains unsettled is whether the "grandfather" in receiving pay for his instruction thereby renounces the privilege of again dispensing such information, in which case the purchase feature would be somewhat more analogous to that among the other tribes. Given the Arapaho scheme, we cannot of course expect to find a single group holding exclusive rights to several dances, for as stated it does not acquire such rights to any single one of them. On the other hand, we do find the reverse of this condition, namely, that several distinct groups may simultaneously occupy the same ceremonial status. It is true that only the youngest of these groups is regarded as, say, the Crazy lodge *par excellence*, the others being described as "Imitation Crazy dancers." But this does not imply that the Crazy lodge properly belongs to a certain age. In the first place, the closely related Gros Ventre have this very feature as a normal part of their scheme without any invidious discrimination against any of the groups sharing possession of a certain dance. Secondly, an Arapaho does not automatically belong to the Crazy lodge because his age-mates have acquired it; unless he is present either in person or by proxy he misses his chance and sinks to the level of the next lower group (p. 933). Participation in the acquisition proceedings as against membership by virtue of age is thus stressed even more vehemently by the Arapaho than by the Hidatsa (cf. p. 232). Here, as in other elements of the Arapaho scheme, the suggestion of survivals from a system of the Hidatsa pattern forcibly obtrudes itself, while evidence for a genuine age-classification is not forthcoming. Against the latter we may also cite the limitation to seven of the number of participants in the highest Arapaho dance¹ and the fact that while connection with the graded series was a prerequisite to social prestige and consequently was eagerly embraced, both Mooney's² and one

¹ Kroeber, (b), 207.

² Mooney, (a), 986.

of my informants' statements indicate that some individuals failed to enter altogether.

On the Gros Ventre system, which generally corresponds to that of the Arapaho, our information is not altogether satisfactory, yet it suffices for an estimate of the relative significance of the age and purchase factors. The latter is, if anything, more marked than among the Arapaho since the novices not only present gifts to the "grandfathers" as payment for their instruction¹ but also surrender their wives in securing every society.² The presumption is that, as among the Arapaho, the "grandfathers" form a heterogeneous assemblage and that ceremonial knowledge is retained as an asset in the same way. That is to say, the property concept is really very similar to that found among the Hidatsa. The Arapaho and Gros Ventre differ from the other tribes in that, while sharing the feature of collective purchase, they sell not collectively, but as individuals.³ The actual performance of the ceremony with the appropriate insignia might appear to distinguish the property rights of the novices from those of the older groups; but since the privilege vanishes with the single performance when the new status is attained among the Arapaho and is not exercised more than two or three times by the Gros Ventre, this is really of no moment. Actually the newly initiated Tomahawk men *possess* nothing except the name that does not belong to every one who ever has been a Tomahawk. The case for the Hidatsa purchase notion would be perfect if we knew that the right to give requisite ceremonial instructions was extinguished by a single transfer. At all events, it is certain that we *are* dealing with a property concept. A man certainly possesses as a negotiable commodity all the ceremonial knowledge he has ever acquired and which he has never sold; the only question is whether his property rights are indefeasible or terminate with receipt of compensation.

I must now revert to a matter that has already been repeatedly emphasized,— the Gros Ventre anomaly. It has already been shown that this was really, from the Arapaho-Gros Ventre point of view, the most logical thing that could develop. A group was uniformly stimulated to gain a new status and complex of ceremonial privileges by conditions evoking a vow to that effect; such conditions were naturally of irregular occurrence; and the privileges were obtained not from a definite but a promiscuous group of predecessors. What was to prevent several distinct groups from acquiring and holding the same status at the same time? The bearing of

¹ Kroeber, (a), 264.

² *ibid.*, 228.

³ Individual relations are not, however, lacking in the Hidatsa procedure as I have pointed out (p. 225 f.).

this phenomenon on our present problem is obvious. The independence of the dances is once more strikingly exemplified. Any one such complex, it appears, can be simultaneously held by several distinct age-classes. It might be argued that inasmuch as these age-classes are adjacent, there is still some correlation of a certain dance with a certain age. But in the first place the particular dance which a given age-group holds is obviously in part a matter of accident rather than of age. While a young group might be excluded from holding the Dog complex, it does not follow from its age whether it would be the youngest of the Biitaha^{wu} or the oldest of the Tomahawk groups. Secondly, and this is a more important consideration, the social bond obtains not among those sharing the same dance but only in that numerically much smaller group which jointly acquired ownership. The fact that age-groups are contiguous, the fact that they share the same dance is absolutely without social significance; socially a man is a member only of the particular group with which he acquired his status, all other social relationships are purely imaginary. By an irony of fate the Gros Ventre case, which yields the clearest instance of age-classes, also yields the clearest evidence that age-classes and the correlated dances are distinct phenomena.

The Gros Ventre phenomenon, indeed, illuminates the whole problem. The feeling of comradeship due to community of age is not illusory. Schurtz was right in emphasizing the social importance of the age factor; but he erred in conceiving an age-classification almost exclusively in terms of a tripartite division and further in confounding dances as complexes of certain activities and insignia with age-classes owning such dances.

As regards the first point, the Plains area yields especially suggestive data as to the quite distinct ways in which the age factor may enter into societies, either in a primary or a derivative manner.

In the first place, we find the type of division that looms so prominently in Schurtz's consciousness,—a tripartite division of the male members of a community. So far as I know, it occurs only among the Omaha and in a very weakly developed form there. In this tribe men of mature age, young men, and youths from seventeen to nineteen met separately for a social gathering.¹ There were no dances or songs, nor was any serious function associated with these divisions; instead of forming the fundamental social grouping, these "feasting societies" are absolutely insignificant in tribal life as compared with other organizations. The Omaha furnish another interesting case, already referred to (p. 887 f.), of genuine age-societies in their Mandan and Tokala dancers. The former were mature

¹ J. O. Dorsey, (c), 342.

and old men, the latter were boys. It is extremely suggestive to note that these organizations are known to have been borrowed by the Omaha quite recently, and that the age element is either lacking or imperfectly developed among the tribes which transmitted these organizations to the Omaha. In other words, that tendency which Schurtz ascribes to the very earliest period enters into association with certain societies secondarily in the most recent times.

Secondly, we may note age-classes where nevertheless the tribe as a whole is not graded by age. The most striking illustration are the boys' groups imitating the adult members of ungraded series. Thus, the Kiowa Rabbits embraced all the young boys in the tribe (pp. 842, 844), and the Crow Hammers formed a similar organization (p. 188). However, as I have pointed out (p. 915), the ultimate psychological interpretation of these phenomena is complicated by historical considerations. It may be that the Kiowa, Oglala and Crow boys' societies are what they appear to be, viz., independent imitations of men's organizations by boys. On the other hand, they may all be historically connected and their ultimate prototype may be a boys' society in a *graded* series. Nevertheless, I am inclined to attach considerable theoretical importance to the tendency of boys to mimic their elders' performances.

In suggesting that a single age-class associated with an ungraded series may be an age-class simply because it is patterned on that of another tribe I have recognized another cause for the observed age-groupings, which of course is not limited in activity to the youngest part of the community. We can easily understand why the Oglala Chiefs and the Crow Dogs should be composed mainly of old men if they were derived from Hidatsa or Mandan equivalents of high rank. On the other hand, two points should be noted here. In the first place, such societies (except in the hypothetical case of the boys) rarely, perhaps never, correspond to genuine age-classes; that is to say, they do not embrace all the men of a certain age. Secondly, owing to the influence of the tribal pattern (of which, indeed, the phenomenon just mentioned is only a special illustration), there is a strong tendency for the age element to be completely effaced. I have pointed this out in connection with the Crow Big Dog society (p. 155); it can be shown equally clearly for the Oglala Miwatani (p. 42).

As a fourth type we may cite the societies in which the age factor appears because of some other selective qualification. Thus the Assiniboine usually only solicited men of wealth to join the Fox dance and since young men were poor they were barred from membership.¹ Similarly the Oglala

¹ Lowie, (c), 71.

only admitted men of distinction to their Chiefs' organization (p. 38). Very old men could hardly be expected to show that recklessness characteristic of the Kiowa Dogs (p. 848), nor is it surprising to find that the Oglala societies on which police duties devolved were composed of able-bodied warriors (p. 13). Here we must note again that generally no genuine age-class results; members of an organization may be approximate coevals but many of their age-mates are sprinkled through other societies. The age factor, in short, is not the principle of organization but a by-product.

A curious feature, for which parallels seem lacking, occurs among the Crow. The tripartite organization appears, but not as a fundamental grouping of Crow males. It is rather a secondary division within an organization, most clearly represented in the Fox society, where boys, men, and older men formed distinct groups (p. 156). That is to say, in the Crow tribe there was no union of individuals on the basis of age, but within a particular society members became grouped in this fashion.

Finally we have the type of age-classes exemplified in the five graded series. In order to understand their nature and especially their independence of the dances we had better consider once more the Gros Ventre case. Here the age-classes are sharply set off against one another not by the ceremonial status they have attained, which may be shared by three or four of them, but by a distinct name not connected with the dance at all and preserved throughout the existence of the group. Dances were performed not jointly by all or several of the groups that had attained to the proper status but by each group separately. When one of the groups had passed through all the dances in the series, "the surviving old men grouped together the available young men in the tribe, and formed them into a new company of the same name."¹

Now the fact that several groups are associated with the same dance is of the highest importance inasmuch as it gives ocular demonstration of the independence of the two distinct elements in the observed phenomena,—the series of age-classes and the series of dances. However, the same conclusion is inevitable from a consideration of the Mandan and Hidatsa schemes, in which the number of classes and dances coincides. The main difference between the Mandan-Hidatsa and the Gros Ventre condition, apart from the relative number of groups and dances, lies in the namelessness of the Village groups. The whole system, however, is built up on the individuality of these unnamed classes. We have seen that several dances could be held by the same age-classes but it is a contradiction in terms to have one age-class merge in another. When an Hidatsa age-class

¹ Kroeber, (a), 232.

had sold the Lumpwood privileges, it stood for the time being without ceremonial status but it did not therefore cease to exist or lose its identity. Given the system, this was indeed impossible. Wedged in between the new Lumpwoods and the next higher class they remained a unit by exclusion, a unit, moreover, that could become ceremonially active by a new purchase. Indeed, the existence of the "friendly" groups (p. 229 ff.) shows conclusively that the age-classes were the essential groups. There was no such relationship between the dances as such. Suppose that a Class A had acquired dance 1 with the aid of Class C holding dance 3. If, later, C purchased dance 4, A would furnish assistance and in turn C would help A in buying whatever membership it was able to purchase at the time.

Age-classification is not only present among the five tribes with graded systems but gives rise to the only social units existing there in connection with these systems. Nevertheless it cannot be said that the age-groups are independent of the dances in the same sense in which the reverse is true. For what after all constitutes an age-group, what calls it into being as an organization among the Plains tribes, if not the possibility of jointly buying the first dance? This is, indeed, the only way of forming a group here just as circumcision within a definite period is the only means of integrating the Masai classes. In both cases, the method of forming the classes is emphatically not a division of the entire tribe into rough age-groups on the principle of the tripartite organization but a union of a particular group, regardless of any others, solely because of simultaneous participation in the same social experience. This experience, then, is the fundamental thing and the five tribes have age-classes because they have societies which can be jointly entered. One dance in the tribe would suffice to form a permanent basis of organization. In such a case the majority of the age-classes would be without a dance but might remain permanent unions simply through the fact of former joint membership, just as among the Masai the fact of joint initiation establishes a lasting bond in spite of the lack of any later social experience corresponding to the higher dances in the graded series.

The fact with which every theory of the age-societies has to reckon is that in tribes where the actual age of individuals is not known there is nevertheless a rather minute gradation by age. There is, we must insist, no organization of old men or middle-aged men as such: the Dog lodge of the Arapaho is as decidedly differentiated from the Crazy lodge as it is from the Tomahawks. What is the significance of this refinement? The mystery vanishes in the light of the observed collective acquisition by boys of a particular dance. Let us assume a single society of adults, which in accordance with aboriginal notions in this area could be entered by purchase.

Even in this first stage of a graded series the collective feature may be present. On the one hand, it is likely that in such a case what we know to have taken place in recent times in the Grass dance would have happened, that is to say, all adults would seek admission to maintain their social prestige. If the society in question was obtained from a foreign tribe (a permissible hypothesis, since we are dealing only with the origin of *graded* societies not of societies generally), the collective purchase might enter as a feature from the very start at the time of a friendly visit (cf. p. 201). Thus we should have a single organization to which all or most adult men belonged. Now the boys old enough to understand and imitate their elders' activities would form an age-class with a range of, say, from ten to sixteen. All that was then required was for this natural group to acquire the adult men's dance in the familiar manner and to sell it later to the next younger group of boys, and the necessary machinery for the elaboration of the system would have been set in motion. With the popularity of this type of dance established, some one of the adult men who had abdicated their property rights by sale would be sure to found a new complex with similar characteristics, or such a new dance might be derived from an alien source. It would thus constitute a higher degree which the younger class would in turn desire to attain. On the other hand, the boys mimicking their elders might themselves exact payment from younger boys for instruction in their activities and thus an unorganized boys' imitation would acquire more definite status and enlarge the series at the lower end. This view seems to account for all the observed phenomena in the simplest way.

While apparently eliminating the age factor, we have thus fully vindicated its social significance. It bears no functional relation to the ceremonial complexes but it is nevertheless the bond of union which forms groups and renders them permanent through a collective initial experience in tribal society. Of the two factors between which we have to strike the balance, age determines membership in a group, purchase the acquisition of particular activities and functions by the group. It is the age bond that makes the purchase collective, and through the collective character of the transaction the complexes acquire an age character that is purely secondary, though the undisturbed association of a certain complex with a young or old group might color the natives' subjective attitude and make them regard the complex as properly or at least preferentially a young or an old men's society (p. 234).

With regard to the predominance of the purchase factor in the acquisition of a dance some qualifications must be made. The most important one has already been cited,—the collective nature of the transaction. Exclusive emphasis on purchase, would, of course, mean individual trans-

actions and would lead to a condition like that in the Melanesian *sukwe*. But among the Plains Indians, in spite of a few anomalies such as the presence of junior members in the highest organizations and of old men in the lowest, there is a very strong feeling not indeed that all members should be of a particular age but that all should be age-mates. Here an interesting tribal difference must be noted. Strongly as the Blackfoot and Village tribes stress the purchase factor, the age bond, or perhaps we had better say the feeling of comradeship engendered by the practical working out of the system, is so powerful as in some measure to override the other in some instances. A Piegan who had acquired a higher rank than his age-class felt compelled to buy it a second time in their company (p. 428). On the other hand, an Hidatsa who for some reason had not participated in the collective purchase of the Stone Hammer dance by his group nevertheless joined his comrades in their activities and even sold out with them, though he never quite felt that he had full property rights (p. 232). The Arapaho, however, view the matter differently. Although the normal thing is for age-mates to acquire status collectively, a man who for any reason whatsoever does not take part in a ceremony with his comrades cannot advance with his proper class but must go through the performance with the next younger group whenever they are ready for it. The Arapaho, then, insist on the dances being performed by every individual in a fixed order and in this respect lay less emphasis on age-group solidarity. It is interesting to find here still another point of resemblance between the Blackfoot and Village tribes as opposed to the Arapaho.

We are now in a position to realize clearly the relation of the Plains Indian "age-societies" to the African and Oceanian parallels considered in the foregoing sections. In order to make this comparison profitable, we must continue to resolve the Plains Indian phenomena into their two constituents, the age-classes and the dances held by them.

The Plains Indian age-classes are remarkably similar to those of the Masai inasmuch as in both cases each class originates by having a group of approximate age-mates become definitely and permanently organized through an initial social experience in which they all participate. The possession of class names independent of societies makes the resemblance of the Gros Ventre to those of the Masai especially striking. Inasmuch, however, as the social experiences involved are utterly different, we have here an instance of formal analogy rather than of substantial homology. In the Melanesian *sukwe* genuine age-classes do not occur. The age element enters only derivatively and partially inasmuch as the highest ranks will usually be composed exclusively or largely of old men owing to the obstacles to be overcome. The bulk of the population, however, never

advance beyond the middle of the series. The individual mode of entrance to any of the grades eliminated a genuine age grouping.

The Plains Indian dances may be regarded from at least two distinct angles, as a series of degrees and as mutually independent complexes of insignia, ceremonial activities, social functions, etc.

The Masai, as already explained, have at bottom only one degree,—that attained by undergoing initiation. At most we might recognize the apprentice condition as a distinct step from warriorhood, but it is so clearly transitional and preparatory to the latter that from a wider comparative point of view a separation of the two seems artificial. The classes that have graduated from the status of a warrior have no further social promotion before them; there is no such thing as one class overtaking or superseding another after the members have married. The difference from the American situation is thus fundamental. On the other hand, the Melanesian analogy is much stronger. The *sukwe* has a considerable number of degrees, often greater than that of the Indian societies, and arranged in definite order. There is thus a considerable resemblance in the gradual change of affiliation from a lower to a higher unit in the series. The resemblance is nevertheless purely external. Not only is attainment to a certain rank an individual affair in Melanesia but the point of view involved in promotion is a wholly different one. The novice does not displace a predecessor as the Hidatsa buyers supersede the sellers; he simply joins the ranks of a certain grade. This is of course also different from the Arapaho practice, in which the displacement feature is indeed obscured, but where there is no such thing as becoming a member of the same group with one's predecessors. Accentuation of the economic factor in promotion forms a noteworthy analogy, especially when contrasted with its absence among the Masai. Nevertheless, the stressing of the collective mode of purchase in the Plains gives an entirely different character to the two groups of phenomena. In the *sukwe* each grade has an absolute rank but through the omnipotence of the pecuniary factor it is possible to skip grades. Theoretically, a boy might enter directly into the highest grade, though practically the thing cannot be done and the secondary psychological attitude of the natives towards so unusual a procedure would doubtless be an additional hindrance to the very attempt. The dances have a fixed rank only among the Arapaho, and there we have found that unlike the Banks Islands series the order of progress is likewise rigidly determined. Among the Village tribes, collective skipping is possible and is connected with the fact that the dances as such have no absolute rank (cf. p. 283).

This brings us to one of the most distinctive traits of the American phenomenon. Each society is very largely an independent unit, a law unto itself. This fact is expressed externally in the separation of the lodges

as against the occupation by different degrees of the same men's house in Melanesia. Among the Hidatsa, Mandan, and Blackfoot it finds further expression in the purchase transaction, which is solely the concern of the two negotiating classes. When the Pigeons acquire the Mosquito membership, this is business that does not in the least concern the Dogs or Kit-Foxes or Bulls. The Arapaho have, indeed, a group of old men in general supervision of ceremonial life; nevertheless, here, too, the acquisition of a new status is not the business of the entire male population but only of the directors, the "grandfathers," dancers, and "elder brothers." On the other hand, the Melanesian conception does not exclude the active participation of all the *sukwe* members.

The independence mentioned above is of course connected with the mutual independence of the age-classes. The dances as such are also independent of one another because each represents an individual combination of specific traits. We have found that distinct complexes may be held by the same age-class as among the Hidatsa and that the same complex may be held by different classes as among the Gros Ventre. But the present point is that each such complex is in native psychology a thing *sui generis* and as such not subordinate to any other in the series. This kind of individuality is strikingly lacking in Melanesia, while among the Masai the warrior society is markedly individualized but owing to the absence of all other comparable complexes plays a quite different part in tribal life from that of the American organizations.

In this connection a few words must be devoted to a matter already touched on in the descriptive reports. Because the age-societies usually have a set method of procedure and distinctive paraphernalia it is justifiable to apply the term "ceremonial" to them. This must not be misconstrued, however, into an exaggerated estimate of their religious functions. These, doubtless, differ not only in different tribes but also for different dances in the same series. The Arapaho, who perform a dance only as the result of a vow, have certainly stressed the sacred aspect of their series more than the Blackfoot and Village tribes. Nevertheless, even among the Arapaho the religious features of the dances pale into insignificance beside the holiness of the tribal pipe, while the purely secular aspects, military and social, are clearly of great importance. The case is absolutely clear among the Village people, who draw a sharp distinction between the exoteric dance activities and the genuinely sacred ceremonies connected with medicine bundles (p. 236). For them, at least, we may say that the age-classes were permanent social clubs¹ which successively acquired temporary possession

¹ I eliminate the special purchase factor which Schurtz associates with the term since of course an Hidatsa belonged to his age-class automatically and purchased only the *dance* privileges.

of different complexes which might or might not include religious elements.

To revert to our comparison. The Melanesian *sukwe* is integrated into a unit by a fundamental principle of social differentiation,—the rigid exclusion of women from the activities of men. In the Plains area we find that some men's societies have female associates (pp. 271, 907), that men's age-classes have friendly relations with groups of women who assist in a purchase of membership (p. 230), that women participated in nightly processions of the men's organizations (p. 265). In short, the conception of woman as a social being was utterly different from that of Melanesia, where the *sukwe* is not only a place for special activity but for everyday eating and sleeping. A fleeting glance at the distribution of this institution of the men's house shows that the *sukwe*, i. e. its graded form, is a specialized type that has developed within a particular part of the general area.¹ Whatever may have been the cause of the gradation, the *sukwe* thus has a quite different meaning, as well as a quite different history, from those of the age-societies of North America. The *sukwe* results from the subdivision of a preëxisting social unit, the organized males. The graded series of the Plains grows out of the linking together and ranking of originally distinct units.

In short, the wider historical problem suggested above (p. 881) admits of a very simple solution. The age-classes of the Plains Indians and those of the Masai, though formally analogous, are conditioned by distinct social conditions, while parallels are lacking in Melanesia. A series of degrees is lacking among the Masai, while between the series of Indian dances and that of the Melanesian grades there is again a merely formal similarity,—no more than is involved in the very presence of degrees at all. The psychological motives underlying the graded Plains Indian system and the Melanesian *sukwe* persist in their original distinctness. We are dealing neither with diffusion nor with parallel development, we have not genuine but false convergence.

To sum up. Our historical résumé led to the conclusion that the age-societies of the Plains Indians are a specialized and later development of the ungraded military organizations of the area. It remained to determine the significance of this specialized type. On this subject the following points may be regarded as established:—

1. The age-societies represent a psychologically as well as an historically complex phenomenon, for the comprehension of which at least three factors must first be isolated, viz., the age-class, the "dance" corresponding to the society complex of the ungraded series, and the notion that dances are purchasable commodities.

¹ Cf. Rivers, II, 226.

2. The age-classes are really as genuine groupings on an age basis as can be expected under primitive conditions, and in so far forth Schurtz's insistence on the importance of age as a socializing force is corroborated by our data.

3. However, the sociologically significant result appears that community of age may find social expression in very different ways. Among the Plains Indians considered there is no age-division of the entire community according to the tripartite pattern or some similar scheme, but an indefinite boys' group is welded into an organized and life-long age-class through a collective social experience and the undergoing of the same or an equivalent experience by every successive boys' group establishes the rather elaborate system of age-classes. This is manifestly a very different phenomenon from the tripartite feasting scheme of the Omaha (p. 975) or the tripartite subdivision of the Crow Fox society (p. 156). The latter instance is suggestive in showing that the age factor is not only unrestricted in its sphere of influence but also in point of time, that it has asserted itself in very recent as well as in ancient times.

4. The dances themselves do not differ in principle from the equivalent complexes of ungraded series except in the conception of the five tribes with graded series that dances are purchasable commodities,—a general principle applied by these tribes to the special case of the military society features.

5. The notion, on the one hand, that boys form a union of comrades (age-class), on the other, that there is a dance that can be bought leads to the basic practice of the collective purchase.

6. The only additional element necessary for the production of the ordered institution is a ranking not of the age-classes, which are automatically ranged in a series, but of the dances. While we do not know the details of this process, the flexibility in grade everywhere except among the Arapaho indicates that the series represents merely a preferential and conventional order for the acquisition of the several dances.

7. The age-societies as a whole constitute an institution *sui generis*. While resemblances, sometimes of an illuminating nature, occur among the Masai and the Melanesians, the essential diversity of these three groups of phenomena is not open to doubt.

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