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SOCIETIES OF THE CROW, HIDATSA AND
MANDAN INDIANS.

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MILITARY SOCIETIES OF THE CROW INDIANS.

By ROBERT H. LOWIE.

INTRODUCTION.

In 1907 I was able to secure only a few salient facts concerning the military societies of the Crow, but in 1910 they formed the principal subject of investigation during nearly three months' work at Lodge Grass and Pryor, Montana. The following summer I succeeded in obtaining some supplementary data, both at Lodge Grass and in the Big Horn district. My method was to inquire of every informant what societies he had belonged to in the course of his life and to ask for a description of them. I discovered very soon that nearly all my authorities had been members of either the Lumpwood or the Fox society and that the other Crow organizations had either very few or no living representatives. Accordingly, so far as the latter are concerned, I often had to content myself with second-hand information. On the other hand, about the Foxes and Lumpwoods I gathered together a considerable mass of material until it was impossible to get additional points from new informants. Even with regard to the other organizations on which information was meager, I fear that it is no longer possible to add anything of moment to the results here presented.

As will be clear to readers of the first chapter, the present paper does not exhaust the subject of Crow societies and dances, but deals only with organizations related to the military and age-societies of other tribes. This limitation may seem inconsistent with the plan of other papers in this series. The reason for it lies in the fact that, while in some other tribes it is difficult to separate the military from other organizations, among the Crow they stand out as a clearly defined group. The chapters on the Hot Dance and Clowns have been included for purposes of comparison with other tribes.

My interpreters were the same to whom acknowledgment has already been made in the introduction to my *Social Life of the Crow Indians*, but the work on military societies was conducted more particularly with the assistance of James Carpenter, Robert Yellowtail, and Henry Russell.

A slight change in orthography should be noted. In the present paper "h" and "d" are not nasalized; "m" and "n", weakly nasalized; "m" and "n", fully nasalized.

ROBERT H. LOWIE.

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MILITARY SOCIETIES.

THE CROW SYSTEM.

For convenience' sake the societies that form the subject of this paper may be collectively referred to as "military societies." The earliest reference to them dates back to 1804, when Lewis and Clark discovered a Dakota society of men pledged to foolhardy conduct and learned that this was organized in imitation of the societies of the Crow.¹ Probably about two decades later Beckwourth noted the existence of the rival Dog and Fox societies.² In 1833 Maximilian enumerated eight Crow organizations—the Bulls, Prairie-Foxes, Ravens, Half-Shaved Heads, Lumpwoods, Stone Hammers, Little Dogs, and Big Dogs.³ When I first visited the Crow in 1907, I learned of only four societies of this type,—Foxes, Lumpwoods, Big Dogs, and Muddy Hands. These are likewise the only ones described by Mr. Curtis in his recent work, though he refers in addition, without giving names, to boys' organizations modeled on those of the older men.⁴ Persistent inquiry among practically all old Crow informants enabled me, however, to obtain, not only all the names of Maximilian's list, but also two or three additional ones.

From even the imperfect glimpse afforded by a comparison of the sources just mentioned, which is in some measure supplemented by the information recorded in the following pages, one principle may be regarded as safely established. We must view the Crow system of military societies as undergoing considerable changes in the course of the nineteenth century, and the changes on the whole do not appear to be closely connected with the influence of civilization. In other words, there is no reason to suppose that changes of a similar nature have not taken place ever since societies of this type existed among the Crow.

Roughly sketched, the development of conditions seems to have been the following. In 1833 there were eight societies, as noted by Maximilian. Of these, at least two, the Foxes and (Big?) Dogs had a few years before stood to each other in a position of mutual rivalry. Some of the societies

¹ Lewis and Clark, I, 130.

² Bonner, 183, 188.

³ Maximilian's native terms show that his Prairie-Foxes are identical with my Foxes, his Ravens with my Crow Owners, while his untranslated "Pädachischi" obviously stands for *marazi'ce*, Lumpwood. Maximilian, I, 401.

⁴ Curtis, IV, 13-27.

began to decrease in membership and later practically passed out of existence, leaving the Big Dogs, Foxes, Lumpwoods, and Muddy Hands. Probably between 1840 and 1870, the Foxes and Lumpwoods rose to ascendancy as the two great rival clubs *par excellence*, and attracted some of the membership of obsolescent organizations. At different times new societies originated, generally in imitation of the Hidatsa. As the Hidatsa were more frequently encountered by the River Crow than by the more southern bands of the tribe, the former sometimes had organizations not yet shared by the Many Lodges and Kicked-in-their-bellies. This recent Hidatsa influence must of course be carefully distinguished from the possible influence of the early association of the Crow and Hidatsa, which will be treated at the close of this series of papers. Some of the newly introduced societies were possibly never adopted by the two southern bands, and in every case accidental causes may have led to a transformation or re-modeling of the adopted features.

Elsewhere I have pointed out that when a society is borrowed by a tribe it tends to assume a different aspect because it is re-moulded in accordance with the established system of the borrowing tribe.¹

The history of the Crazy Dog society among the Crow shows how accidental causes bring about differences even within the same tribe. According to all accounts, the River Crow got this society from the Hidatsa, probably in the early seventies, when the influence of the Foxes and Lumpwoods was waning. About the same time the Hidatsa introduced the Hot dance. In the Many Lodge camp all those who did not join the Hot dance became Crazy Dogs, and at once there was duplicated the rivalry that had formerly obtained between Foxes and Lumpwoods in the very specific form to be described below (see p. 169). Thus, the Crazy Dog society of the Many Lodges became quite different in this particular from the Crazy Dog society of the River Crow simply because the southern Crow did, and the northern Crow did not, model the new societies according to the Lumpwood-Fox pattern. However, before long practically all the Crazy Dogs became Hot dancers. The Hot dance is performed to-day by four distinct clubs, which have been described elsewhere. How the Hot Dancers were split up in this way, is not quite clear to me. Characteristically enough, the old spirit of rivalry still persists, at least at Lodge Grass, between two of the clubs, — the Big-Ear-Holes and the Night Hot dancers.²

The changes that are thus known to have taken place within a limited period are a warning against direct psychological interpretations without

¹ Lowie, (b), 70.

² Lowie, (a), 243.

regard to historical considerations. In a former paper,¹ on the basis of the information first obtained, I believed that the Crow, like the Cheyenne, had only four warrior societies. I called attention to the fact that the Kiowa also had four coördinate organizations of this type, and that in the Arapaho and Gros Ventre series a quartet of societies stands out as the well-defined and probably oldest part of these systems. My covert suggestion was that the number of these societies had been affected by the ceremonial importance of the number four. It is, of course, quite possible that this idea may at one time or another have had some influence. For example, Gray-bull tells me that of the four Hot dance clubs, three were introduced from the outside and a fourth added by the Crow on their own initiative, in which case the mystic properties of the number four may conceivably have had some influence. However, it is clear that it had no fundamental significance in the development of the Crow system when we remember that what happened among the Crow is a gradual reduction in the number of societies to the Big Dogs, Muddy Hands, Foxes and Lumpwoods, with the two last-named coming to overshadow the rest. The way in which particular societies lapsed into non-existence, became allied with or merged in others, and adopted special features from other societies, will be dealt with in the descriptive sections of this paper. It is clear that most of these happenings were not due to any inherent law underlying the development of human societies. That special conditions effected certain differences in the development of the Crazy Dog society, for example, is intelligible enough, but neither the character nor the localization of the differences could have been foretold on abstract psychological or sociological grounds.

If any general principle is illustrated by the history of Crow societies, it is the one already referred to, — the great formative power of a once established pattern. In practically all the societies we find the same method of electing officers and parading through camp; the scheme of officers was, roughly speaking, common to nearly all the societies; and police duties of the same kind are known to have been assumed at different times by the Foxes, Lumpwoods, Crazy Dogs, Muddy Hands, and Muddy Mouths,² and may have been exercised by several of the rest. Such uniformity is intelligible only on the "pattern theory."

The societies here dealt with have been provisionally designated as "military." They were that in some measure, but the term covers only a part of their activity. It is true that military duties devolved on some officers in each of the better-known societies, that martial regalia were

¹ Lowie, (c), 89.

² Lowie, (a), 229.

employed, and that the idea of martial glory was very prominent. Nevertheless, we must remember, as does Professor Kroeber in discussing a corresponding Arapaho feature, that war loomed so large in the consciousness of the Plains Indian that it could not help coloring his every activity. There is neither evidence that war parties were ever composed of members of a single society nor that war parties, by becoming more than merely temporary associations, developed into military societies, as I once suggested and as seems to have actually happened among the Dakota.¹

While the evidence is against regarding the societies under discussion as of exclusively or fundamentally military character, there is practically none at all to indicate any religious or esoteric features. In other tribes the origin of military societies is explained in fairly elaborate myths generally recounting a supernatural revelation, and the corresponding dances are at least in part of the nature of religious performances. Among the Crow the origin accounts are meagre and trivial, and the dances seem to have been performed solely for amusement.

The absence of the religious factor in the dances of the military societies appears most clearly when they are compared with certain other, genuinely ceremonial performances of the Crow. Thus, the planting and harvesting of the sacred Tobacco plant, which devolves on members of a number of Tobacco societies, is a religious duty accompanied by ritualistic observances. The same applies to a Medicine Pipe dance of the Pawnee *hako* type, and to an obsolete Horse dance formerly practised by the River Crow. In the Bear Song dance all those individuals who had in their bodies such animals as bears, eagles, horses, and the like, would come together and display the supernatural presence within them, which was made to protrude part of its body from the performer's mouth. This ceremony resembled the dream cult performances of the Dakota inasmuch as all who had had a similar religious experience joined in a demonstration of their mystic relationships.

The military societies are then certainly not religious bodies and are only in part military. It is further clear that they were not organized on the basis of clan membership and that their connection with police duties was incidental. If I understand the conditions correctly, the military societies of the Crow were at bottom clubs resembling those which now take part in the Hot dance,—associations held together by a strong bond of comradeship, the members helping one another as the occasion arose and meeting frequently for purely social purposes. This conception is supported by the fact that at least some of the Big-Ear-Holes and Night-

¹ Lowie, (c), 93-95. Wissler, this Volume, 64, 67.

Hot-Dancers of today regard themselves as the modern representatives of the Lumpwoods and Foxes respectively. It is more strongly corroborated by the mode of entrance into the clubs and the military societies. Here, however, my data are at variance with those of Maximilian, and the contradictory evidence must be discussed in detail.

Some writers have interpreted Maximilian's statements to mean that the Crow had age-societies. Maximilian nowhere expressly states that they had, but he does attribute to the Crow the same method of entering the military societies as that discovered by him among the Mandan and Hidatsa. That is to say, according to him, membership was purchased, and the buyers in part payment surrendered their wives to the sellers. The following concrete data collected by myself shed light both on the supposed age-grade character of the Crow societies and on the alleged method of entrance by purchase.

Bear-gets-up had four Lumpwood brothers who were killed by the Dakota when he was a little boy. The Lumpwoods gave him presents to make him take the place of his brothers, and he joined at the age of 23 or 24. Later, when the Hidatsa introduced the Crazy Dog society, Bear-gets-up joined it without giving up his membership in the Lumpwood society. When his Hidatsa comrade died, Bear-gets-up left the Crazy Dogs. Lone-tree's uncle, a Crazy Dog, froze to death; the Crazy Dogs met and gave property to Lone-tree, then about twenty years old, in order to make him join. He consented, and never joined any other organization. Arm-round-the-neck and an anonymous informant had Lumpwood brothers who were killed, and were accordingly taken in by the Lumpwoods to fill the vacancy. For a corresponding reason Shot-in-the-arm and Sitting-elk were made to join the Fox society. One-horn had been offered presents by the Foxes as an inducement to join their society, but when a Fox brother of his had been killed, One-horn joined without accepting any gifts. When One-horn was 26 years old, one of his brothers, a Fox, was killed in battle. Sharp-horn originally entered the Fox society, because one of his brothers, a member, had been killed. When another brother who was a Lumpwood had been killed, he joined the Lumpwoods. Bear-ghost's father had been a Muddy Hand; upon his death Bear-ghost took his place. The history of Child-in-the-mouth's affiliations is especially instructive. As a boy he joined the Foxes, of which organization several of his brothers were members. When another brother, who belonged to the Muddy Hand society, had been killed, Child-in-the-mouth became a Muddy Hand. Later still, one of his Fox brothers was killed, and he accordingly re-joined the Foxes. Bull-chief had an uncle belonging to the Big Dog society and accordingly also joined. Later one of his maternal uncles who was a Fox

was killed, and then the Foxes gave Bull-chief presents, thus making him join their number. Shot-in-the-hand was also taken into the Fox society to fill a slain uncle's place, and never changed his affiliations. Gros-Ventre-horse at first was a Lumpwood from choice, but when a Fox brother of his had been killed, the Foxes gave him presents and he became a Fox. Old-dog, when a young man, was taken in by the Foxes, but later a Lumpwood was killed who resembled him so closely that the other Lumpwoods wished to have my informant take his place and accordingly made him join by presenting him with gifts. He always remained a Lumpwood. All of Black-bull's brothers were Foxes. Several of them died and one was killed, so the Foxes asked Black-bull to join, which he did remaining with them all his life. Fire-weasel was at first a Fox. When he was about thirty years old, the Dakota stole all his horses. His fellow-Foxes refused to help him, but the Big Dogs offered him horses and property, and thus made him join their society, to which he always remained faithful. Old-alligator first joined the Big Dogs to take a dead brother's place, later another brother who was a Lumpwood was killed, so the Lumpwoods took in my informant. Bear-crane joined the Lumpwoods because he liked the way they hallooed and sang.

In connection with the foregoing enumeration the following abstract statements by natives should be taken into account.

If a member of a society had been killed by the enemy, his fellow-members offered presents to a brother or other close relative of the slain man in order to make him fill the vacancy. This was done even if the brother was already a member of some other organization. If the brother of the slain man was but an infant, his parents themselves might say, "When this child grows up, we will have him join the Fox society." No matter how young he was, the boy was then considered a Fox. If the parents made no such declaration, the Foxes (or other societies) nevertheless kept the boy in mind, and when they considered him old enough, they went to his lodge in a body and said, "We wish you to replace your relative, So-and-so, who was a member and was killed." This seems to have been by far the most common way of joining a military organization. More rarely, a man who liked the songs and dances of a society or had brothers who were members simply joined without any formality or any payment from or to members. Sometimes, Bell-rock informed me, a society would give presents to a man to make him join even without his brother's being killed. Their motive in such a case was to get among them a man of great bravery who might take away the rival society's songs (see p. 174).

To sum up briefly. Entrance into the Lumpwood, Fox, Muddy Hand, Big Dog, and Crazy Dog societies was not based on purchase, but on the

contrary was most frequently accompanied with gifts from the society to the new member, who was generally invited to fill a vacancy caused by the death of one of his relatives. The payment of an initiation fee was strongly denied to have taken place under any circumstances so far as the military societies are concerned. Such a fee is exacted, on the other hand, by the Tobacco societies. Even here, however, the novice does not replace an older member, but is simply added to the membership. The notion of a collective purchase of membership by a group replacing another group is apparently quite foreign to the Crow. It is also clear that membership had nothing to do with age. Under normal conditions a man remained with a society once entered for the rest of his life; he changed his affiliations only if aggrieved at some action of his fellow-members, or if induced to join another society for special reasons.

The evidence just presented may be challenged on two grounds. On the one hand, we do not know definitely, whether the same rules held for the long obsolete societies on which information had to be obtained from non-members, such as the Little Dog and Crow Owner organizations. Secondly, it is conceivable that all the military societies on which information was obtained changed their rules for admission during the interval between Maximilian's visit and the period recollected by my informants.

So far as the first objection is concerned, the indications are that the military societies in question did not differ fundamentally from those which survived them. Maximilian himself groups them all together in one class. It would be conceivable that in such organizations as the Bulls and the Muddy Mouths, which were probably or certainly derived from the Hidatsa, the Hidatsa mode of purchase should assert itself, but there is no positive evidence to that effect.

The second objection seems quite untenable. Several of my oldest informants in 1910 were about 90 years of age. Accordingly, they must have had accurate knowledge of what the military societies of 1840 were like. Moreover, the Hidatsa, with whom intimate relations were maintained throughout the nineteenth century, preserved their system of purchase and age-grades so long that all elderly Hidatsa informants are still able to expound its principles. In view of this fact it appears to me in the highest degree improbable that within a few years after Maximilian's visit the system of entrance described by him should have been supplanted by a quite different system based largely on the substitution of a relative for a deceased member, and should have wholly disappeared, so that not a single Crow recollects anything about purchase or the surrender of wives as an entrance requirement.

When we consider that Maximilian's stay among the Crow was very

brief and that many of the Crow societies coincide in name with those of the Hidatsa and Mandan, we can readily understand how he came to conceive of the Crow organizations in terms of the Hidatsa-Mandan system which he had an opportunity to study with greater care. We may then safely disregard his evidence and view the military societies of the Crow as social clubs that did not require a formal adoption by purchase.

Although, as already noted, Maximilian does not expressly describe the Crow organizations as age-societies, it is quite possible that arguing by analogy he had come to regard them as such. Indeed, statements in the following pages might be used to support such a view. For I was told that the Big Dogs were mostly old men; that the Bulls were all elderly or old (though there is some contradictory evidence); that the Crow Owners were all elderly men; that the Muddy Mouths were middle-aged; and there is no doubt that the Hammer society was composed exclusively of boys.

In order to settle this question I must revert to definitions developed in a previous paper.¹ For the purposes of discussion in the papers of this series I understand by "age-class" a group composed of *all* the male or female members of approximately the same age. An "age-society" is one of a progressive series of organizations, admission into each of which is partly or wholly dependent on age. According to these definitions, the Hammer society was an age-class because it embraced practically all the young boys of the tribe. The other Crow organizations with apparent claims to the title of age-societies were neither age-classes nor age-societies in the period of which we have any knowledge. They were not age-classes because none of them united *all* the old or middle-aged Crow Indians. They did not unite all the old or middle-aged people because, as explained above, men normally remained in the Fox, Lumpwood and some other societies *all* their lives. The absence of *tribal* age-classes becomes further clear from the fact that some of these last-named societies were subdivided into groups of young, middle-aged, and old men (see pp. 156, 164). As there is no evidence of any relative grading of the Big Dog, Bull, Crow Owner and Muddy Mouth societies, either with reference to one another or to the Lumpwoods, Foxes, etc., it is equally clear that they cannot be regarded as age-societies, that is to say, they are not from this point of view comparable with the Hidatsa and Mandan series.

The statements as to the age of the Big Dogs, Muddy Mouths, Crow Owners, and Bulls become intelligible when we remember that the members of a society may all be of about the same age because of certain qualifications involving *incidentally* the age factor. Thus, among the Assiniboine

¹ Lowie, (c), pp. 78 et. seq.

the demand that members of certain organizations should be well-to-do excluded most young men, although the explicit principle of association was not that of age. Secondly, if some of the Crow societies were adopted from the Hidatsa, as is practically certain in several cases, it would not be unnatural for the new Crow society to resemble its Hidatsa prototype as to the age of its members. Thus, the Crow Owners represented the oldest Hidatsa group in Maximilian's day and are said to have been at least elderly men among the Crow. The interesting problem that presents itself in this connection is whether there would not be at least a tendency for the age-factor to disappear in a borrowed society because of its assimilation to the Crow scheme. This probably did occur in the Big Dog society. Though the members originally may all have been old men in imitation of the Hidatsa Dog society, vacancies were filled, within the memory of my informants, in the customary Crow style, which obviously led to the admission of younger men. A thoroughgoing assimilation to the tribal pattern must inevitably have resulted in the elimination of the age factor.

A full treatment of relevant problems, however, involves the discussion of the evidence from neighboring tribes and must therefore be reserved for the final paper of this series.

FOXES AND LUMPWOODS.

As explained above (p. 148), the Foxes and Lumpwoods had become the most important military societies in the decades immediately preceding the breakdown of the old tribal life. Accordingly, there were far more Indians who could give first-hand information about the Foxes and Lumpwoods than about other organizations, and the traits of Crow military societies will become clearer by beginning with a description of these two. They are treated in the same chapter because of their curious mutual relations. A good account of their activities has been published by Mr. Curtis.¹

The membership of the Foxes was estimated by Bell-rock at one hundred, while the Lumpwoods are said to have been far more numerous.

Foxes. The various accounts for the origin of the Fox society (İEXUXKE) are all very meager. Child-in-the-mouth says that the society was organized by a man from the south. Sleeping one night in the course of a journey, he saw many foxes come towards him, lie down, and sing Fox songs. When he first organized the society, the members were all young men, but later

¹ Curtis, iv, 14-20, 31-34.

older people also joined. Another narrative accounts for the origin of both the Fox and Lumpwood organizations. A Crow once went on a buffalo hunt. He killed a great many head. On his way home he camped and had a revelation. He saw four sticks of pine wood wrapped with otterskin. Two of them were hooked, and two were straight and decorated with eagle feathers at the end. On returning the visionary cut his hair short, so as to leave a central ridge, and plastered the shorn part of his head with white clay. He also took bear guts, tanned them, painted them with red stripes, and put them on his head. He organized both the Foxes and the Lumpwoods, but the latter cut their hair short only in front. According to one informant, a young man while out fasting heard a coyote song, and on his return took his comrades to a large tipi, where he taught them his song. They liked it, and as there was no admission fee other men joined and the Fox society developed. Still another statement is to the effect that the Foxes were so called because one old man, in accordance with a revelation he had received, was wont to hold up a fox skin while dancing the Fox dance.¹

An occasional remark made by some informants, that the Foxes used belts of kit-fox skins, or fox-skin capes with the tail hanging down the back, or tied strips of such skins to their braids or other parts of the hair, is the only intimation of a badge for the rank and file of the society. The most frequent statement was that there was absolutely no distinction in dress between the Foxes and the Lumpwoods. The fox-skin cape is said to have been made by cutting the skin into halves and uniting these so as to leave a slit for the head. According to one statement, the Foxes painted one side of the face red and the other yellow, while they put black and yellow paint on their bodies. The Lumpwoods, according to the same informant, used pink paint.

In dancing the Foxes formed a circle and moved to the left, each member making a low jump with both feet.

The Fox society was divided into a number of minor groups. Three such divisions were given by Bell-rock: the Foxes (*ṭexuxke*), Little Foxes (*ṭexuxkiete*), and the Bad Ones (*bā'kawīḗ*). These groups were in some measure age-classes. The youngest members, boys of about 18 or 20, were called *bā'kawī'ḗ* because they played about and joked in a noisy manner. The Little Foxes were about 30 years of age. The Foxes proper were quiet, good-humored men of mature age. When Bell-rock joined the Foxes, he became at first a *bā'kawī'ḗ*, later he passed automatically into the groups

¹ Gray-bull once said that all the societies were originated by the mythical Old Man Coyote.

of older members. It is important to note that in point of dress, emblems, songs, and eligibility to office, there was no difference between the members of these different age-groups within the Fox society. From several accounts it appears that the *bā'kawī'ε* had a special function. If the wife of a Lumpwood refused to go with a Fox at the time of the annual wife-stealing (see p. 169) on the ground that she had never been his mistress, the Fox was obliged to prove his former relationship with her. If he succeeded in doing so, the *bā'kawī'ε* abducted her by force. *Sitting-elk* gives but two age-groups: the *bā'kawī'ε* and the Big Hats (*ik·úp'isā'te*). When the former felt that they were old enough, they simply transferred themselves into the other division. The *bā'kawī'ε* all sat together in one part of the society's lodge, joined by two of the older men selected by them. They were young and still childish. Whenever they attended a feast, they acted like children, taking meat before it was cooked, and playing about in the lodge. The two older men were supposed to think for them. As soon as a song was sung, all the *bā'kawī'ε* immediately rose and danced. They continually joked. The older members did not at all resent their actions, but liked to see the boys enjoying themselves. *Child-in-the-mouth* gives the same divisions as *Sitting-elk*, but adds a number of additional groups of more recent origin: the Fat Foxes (*īεxuxk'irāpe*), the Foxes without Sweethearts (*īεxuxke bī'ε hīrē'te*), and the Many Hearts (*īεxuxke dā'sahō'*). This informant was at first a *bā'kawī'ε*, then a Big Hat, and still later a *bī'ε hīrē'te*. *Fire-weasel* gives a similar list, but omits the Many Hearts and includes *Bell-rock's* Little Foxes and Foxes. From this oldest informant's statements, however, it appears that these additional divisions were not age-classes, but simply groups of intimate friends designated collectively by nicknames. Thus, if, say, from five to ten comrades had never stolen any Lumpwood women, they were called "Foxes without Sweethearts." Similarly, a group conspicuous by virtue of their corpulence would be called "Fat Foxes." *Black-bull* said that the "Big Hats" mentioned by some were also not a definite subdivision but merely a group so nicknamed because its members were the first to wear the large black hats sold by the traders. He recognizes but two real subdivisions, the *bā'kawī'ε* and the Foxes proper, of which he at first joined the former, later passing into the second group.

The officers of the Fox society, as of all other military societies, were officers only in the sense of having special duties on the battlefield which involved great personal risk. Accordingly, they enjoyed a certain prestige and in some cases special privileges at feasts. They were said to be *ce''k-uk*, "doomed to die."¹

¹ Literally, "they cause to die," from *cā*, "dead," and *kuk*, "they make."

Their general attitude is reflected by the following song, though it is not certain that this was peculiar to the officers of the Fox society as distinguished from other members:—

íEXUXKEKātū'we, bacbi'EWak, cē'wak.

You Foxes, I want to die, thus I say.

The officers of the Foxes included two leaders (*basé*); two men bearing hooked staffs (*marack-úpe*) wrapped with otterskin; two men bearing straight staffs (*maratátse*) similarly wrapped; two rear or "last" men (*hā'ake* or *hā'kace*); and one or two *akdū'cire*. The last named, who were said by some informants to have been present in every society, were expected to be bravest of all. As a compensation for the risks they incurred, they were permitted to select what food they wished at a feast and to eat it before any of the other members had begun eating. Some informants gave a somewhat different list of officers. For example, Bear-gets-up enumerated only five: two with hooked staffs, two with straight staffs, and one man in the rear. Other variations appear in the accounts quoted below. However, the list of eight officers mentioned above, with supplementary *akdū'cire*, was given more frequently than others and impresses me as representing the normal state of affairs.

All officers in all the societies were elected in the spring, and their term of office ended with the first snowfall. Sometimes, however, a man was re-elected the following spring.

The four staff-bearing officers, when in battle, were expected to plant their staffs in the ground, and to stay by their standards at the risk of their lives. If, however, some friend plucked out the staff, an officer was permitted to flee, though he might never tear out the stick himself. Gray-bull says that the hooked-staff bearers were allowed to run a short distance before making a stand, while the straight-staff men might not run at all. It was also more disgraceful for the latter to shirk their duty than for the hooked-staff men. Others deny any difference in duty or prestige between these two kinds of officers. An officer who failed to live up to the rule against fleeing from the enemy was held in contempt and said to be *í'mexwek*, in the condition of a menstruating woman.

The hooked-staff generally consisted of two parts: a straight shaft of pine wood stripped of the bark and an arch formed by a red willow stick which was lashed to the pine. The shaft terminated in a point; there was no spear head of stone or iron at this lower end. A considerable part of the shaft was wrapped with otterskin, and from the end of the arch, as well as from each of two or three points on the staff, a pair of little otterskin strips hung down (Fig. 1e). The shaft of the straight-stick was also of

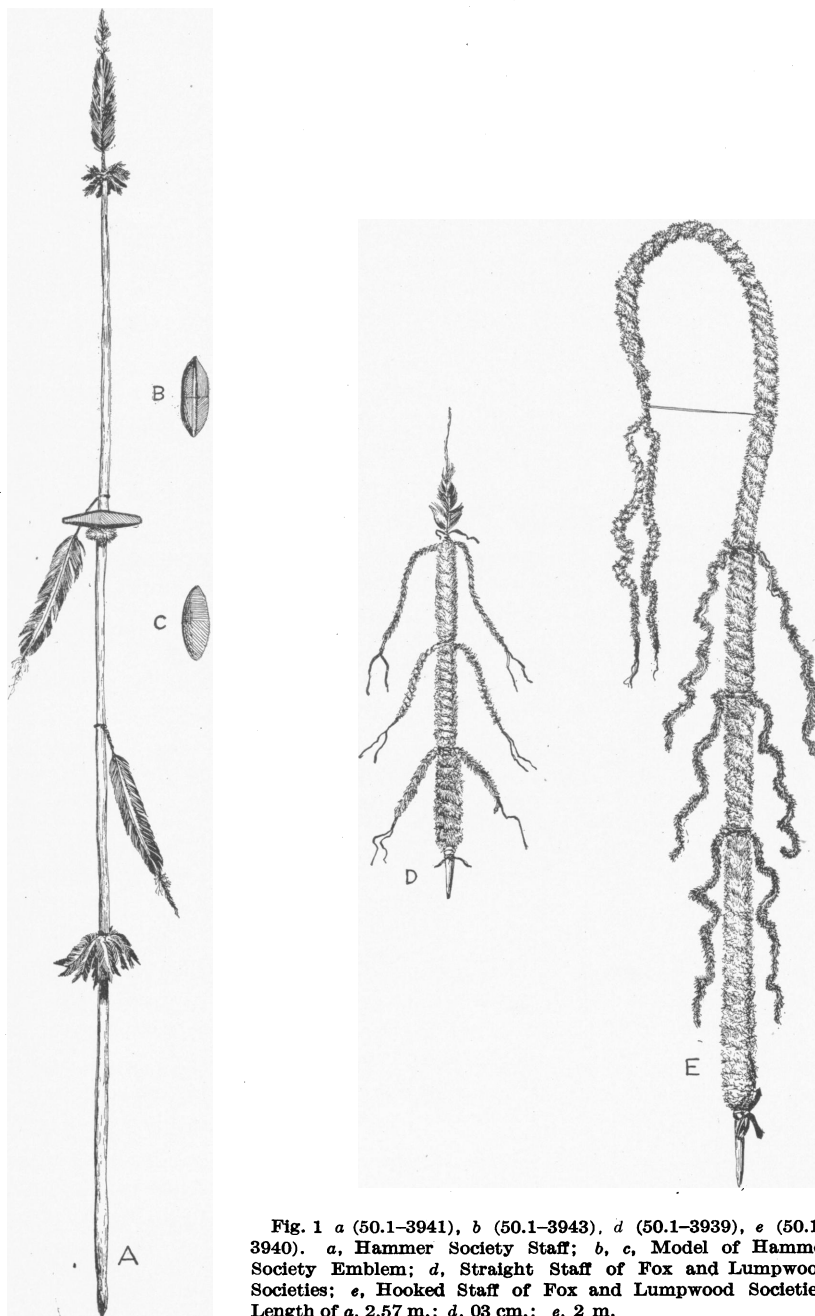


Fig. 1 *a* (50.1-3941), *b* (50.1-3943), *d* (50.1-3939), *e* (50.1-3940). *a*, Hammer Society Staff; *b*, *c*, Model of Hammer Society Emblem; *d*, Straight Staff of Fox and Lumpwood Societies; *e*, Hooked Staff of Fox and Lumpwood Societies. Length of *a*, 2.57 m.; *d*, 0.3 cm.; *e*, 2 m.

pine and similarly decorated, but was in addition topped by an erect eagle feather (Fig. 1d). The Crow did not prize the stick itself, but set a high value on the otterskin. Usually the new officer's parents paid a horse for an otterskin. Muskrat bought one for an elk-tooth dress when her son was made an officer. Accordingly, while all former officers I visited had discarded the staffs once borne in battle by them, several individuals still kept the otterskin wrapping and were able to make the models here shown with the skins once used on real standards. Child-in-the-mouth says that the hooked, as well as the straight, sticks symbolized trees that are too heavy to be lifted.

The method of electing officers and customs incident to other occasions are illustrated by the following accounts.

Black-bull was elected a leader for five different seasons. In the spring, according to his statements, the old men notified all the Foxes to assemble in a certain tipi. When all had arrived, the old men went outside and discussed who might make a good officer. One of them then took a pipe, and entered the lodge. Standing in the center, he looked round for two men who might be chosen for leaders. He offered the pipe to one of them, who either accepted and smoked it in token of his willingness to take the position, or refused it on account of the risks assumed. At the time when Black-bull was chosen, several men had declined the honor. Black-bull had already taken part in three battles and had fought well, so the pipe was offered to him, and he accepted it. When the second leader also had been chosen, two additional officers were selected in the same fashion: one to bear the hooked-staff; and another the straight-staff. Next, a third pair was selected for bearing standards identical with those just mentioned. Finally were chosen the rear men, who, like the leaders, were without badges of office. After the election, four willow sticks were brought from the brush; two of them were bent down at the top and given to the men selected as hooked-stick bearers, while the remaining two were given to the straight-staff bearers. The bark was peeled from these willows and then wrapped round the wands in imitation of the otterskin wrapping that was to be permanently attached to them; from three points strips of bark were suspended so as to hang down freely. The leaders then assumed their places, abreast of each other; behind them stood the first pair of staff-bearers followed by the rank and file of the society, including the drummers; next came the second pair of staff-bearers; and the two *hā'ake* constituted the rear. In this order the Foxes marched through camp, singing their songs. The parents of the young men chosen as standard bearers now cast about for otterskins, for it was necessary that before the end of the parade each of the four officers in question should be provided with one

entire otterskin to wrap about his pole. When the four skins had been secured, the members divided into four parties of equal number, each of which followed one staff-bearer to his lodge. There they helped cut up the otterskins into strips and wrap them round the poles. A man who had carried the stick in former years took it and recounted what exploits he had performed while holding office. He concluded his speech as follows, addressing the new officer: "I should like you to do the same that I did and to strike the enemy. We know you are a brave man. We wish you to fight for your people." According to Gray-bull, the stick might be made by the new officer himself. The knife used by the man cutting the otterskin was painted black to symbolize the coup struck by him. The trimmer of the skin kept the knife and also the awl used in stitching the strips of otter. After singing for a while, they all went home. Then, some time after this, someone occasionally asked the Foxes to come out and dance in the open air.¹ The Foxes went out with their drums and formed an unclosed ring. The four staff-bearers would turn their backs to the other members during such dances; they were the only ones privileged to act in this way. From this time on the officers were expected to be continually on the lookout for enemies. If the enemies pursued the Crow, the officers dismounted to make a stand against them. They were also eager to strike the first coup against the enemy. When Black-bull was a leader he succeeded in striking the first blow, thus taking away the Lumpwoods' songs (see p. 174).

Sitting-elk says that at a general meeting of the society, in the spring, four old men remained outside the lodge and chose the officers for the next season. They came in, and offered a pipe to one man after another. A member declining the pipe would say (according to One-horn): "I am afraid I am not strong enough." If all refused to smoke, the electors went outside and again discussed the members. When they reëntered, someone was obliged to accept the pipe and thus become one of the leaders. Four provisional badges of office had been leaned against the lodge; they were peeled willow sticks to which bark had been tied at three distinct points. Normally, the two leaders had no badges. But sometimes a man refused to accept office on the ground that he had already served as a leader during the past season. In this case, the electors might take one of the provisional straight-sticks and give it to the first leader, presenting the second leader with a hooked-stick. Thus, the number of officers was reduced, there being only one additional staff-bearer of either kind. The *hā'ake* were then chosen. The members would refuse for a long time to become officers

¹ Bull-chief stated that all the societies danced four times between each spring and the first snowfall.

of this class, because of the great dangers to which they were exposed. Sometimes the electors would stealthily touch their lips with the mouth-piece of the pipe, thus compelling them to smoke and become *hā'ake*. When the pipe offered by the electors to potential officers, no matter of what kind, had been repeatedly refused by all the members of the society, strenuous measures were resorted to. Thus, at Gray-bull's election to the hooked-staff office, the pipe had circled round several times without being accepted by anyone. Finally Gray-bull's comrade seized him by his hair-bang, pulled him up, and made his lips touch the mouthpiece.

Child-in-the-mouth gave the following account of the Fox society, which is translated from a Crow text:—

When I was a boy I used to shoot at a target of green grass wrapped with sinew. Once, while I was doing this, a man came to me, and said, "You, too, I will make a Fox." He caught me, he led me into a lodge. It was the season when the grass is sprouting. They were giving out hooked-sticks; they gave them to four¹ young men. These bought otterskins and wrapped them round the sticks. When this was all over, they wished to dance. First they elected two leaders, then two men with hooked-sticks, then two more with hooked-sticks, then two *hā'ake*. The people stood in a ring, and inside they danced. What they had done against the enemy, they acted out, and they told about it. They beat a drum, so that all could hear it. These two leaders were supposed to strike the first blow when the people met the enemy; they must not be afraid. People took note of whether they were killed or not. If they were not afraid and struck the enemy, people liked it very much. If all the other members fled, the owners of the hooked-sticks dismounted. They planted their poles in the ground, and must not run. If they did not run and did not get killed, people liked them. If they did not run and got killed, all of us Foxes grieved very much. If the people were pursued by the enemy, the *hā'ake* must turn about and chase the enemy. They were supposed to kill enemies. If they should get killed, it was the same way, we cried and grieved. If one was slain and the other came out alive, we mourned the one slain, we liked the one living. If these *hā'ake* killed an enemy, we liked it very much.

When a Fox had been killed, whether he was an officer or a private, the people got there and stretched out his body. They dressed him in all his clothes, and painted his face. Crying, we moved towards him. We sang. Some cried all the way, half of us sang. The drum was beaten while we walked and sang. We wished to cry. We got together. They distributed pointed arrows. Then they did whatever they pleased. Some ran the arrows into their knees, others into their upper arms, some jabbed their foreheads. All the friends, who saw him killed grieved. Any of them might cut themselves with knives. All the dead man's relatives also hurt themselves. Some gashed their faces. Afterwards his comrades threw back the cover of his face, and looked at his face. They cried bitterly, then they sat down. These friends hung all his clothes upon lodge poles. They stepped back,

¹ This is contrary to all other statements, according to which there were only two officers with hooked-sticks and two with straight-sticks.

crying. They sat down. Then the clothes were distributed. All his property was distributed. Then they went home. His relatives loaded his horses. Then they went to the burial site. Whether it was on a tree, or in the rocks, or on a hilltop, they laid him there. His relatives remained there, crying. If they killed any member of the tribe that killed the young man, they were quits. They painted the face black, and tied the scalp to a pole. One held it. They danced, moving towards the camp. They danced hard. They were glad. Then their mourning was over.

Lumpwoods. The origin of the society and of its name (maraxi'ce)¹ is variously accounted for. According to Hunts-to-die, the Indians of long ago divided into two parties for a kicking-game. The two sides got angry at each other and began to steal each other's wives. One division, the later Lumpwoods, made an emblem composed of a knobbed club about 4 feet long, whence their name. Pretty-enemy said that the Lumpwoods were originally called Half-shaved Heads, but that on one war expedition a member carrying a knobbed club struck the first coup, and accordingly the entire society changed its name in honor of his weapon. Bell-rock had heard his father say that the Lumpwoods originally had for their emblem a club carved at one end into a horse's head, with bells round the neck. Old-dog mentions a similar stick carved into a buffalo head, but adds that it was merely a single man's medicine, the owner praying to it when the people were hungry. It was, therefore, neither an officer's emblem nor the badge of the entire society.

The following version (Birds-all-over-the-ground) accounts merely for the origin of the staffs of the society, not for the knobbed stick referred to in its name. Long ago half of the Crow went south. They were met by the enemy and were massacred. A certain man, who had lost his parent in the fight, went about crying until he came to a moss-grown lake. Prairie-dogs were living about the lake. The Crow lay down by one hole. He heard someone hallooming inside and people talking loud. A man came out of the ground with four reeds, and went towards the lake. He came back with them. Many men came out of the ground. The first one to ascend selected four men and gave them the reeds. Then he took out red and yellow paint, and painted all the members' faces. They danced and sang. They also had a dewclaw rattle (see p. 177). This was the beginning of the Lumpwoods.

The last part of this tradition is possibly not authentic, as the dewclaw rattle is generally spoken of as a peculiarity of the Big Dog society.

So far as the knobbed club is concerned, there was certainly no such

¹ I follow Curtis in the use of the term "Lumpwood." *zi'ce* means "a lump," or "swollen."

emblem in recent times.¹ Two of the officers carried hooked-staffs and two others straight-staffs, which were quite similar to those employed by the corresponding officers of the Fox society and bore the same names. The two leaders (*basé*) and the two rear officers (*hā'ake*) had no badges. In an exceptional case, mentioned by Sharp-horn, no hooked-sticks were given out at the election of officers, because the members bearing these emblems had been killed during the preceding season and the sticks had been taken by the enemy. The following year, however, there were again two officers with hooked-sticks and two with the straight-sticks.

Bell-rock said that the Lumpwoods sometimes substituted spears wrapped with plain white buckskin for the otter-wrapped straight-staffs. The use of long switches glued to the back of the hair by the Lumpwoods was emphasized by several informants, but does not seem to have been at all distinctive. The same applies to several other articles of their personal decoration. Accordingly, it appears that there was no badge peculiar to *all* members of the society, while the regalia of the officers were identical with those of the Fox society.

The Lumpwood dance, however, differed from that of the Foxes. The members merely danced in their places, alternately moving the right arm as far back as possible and again bringing it to its normal position. Speaking of the Foxes and Lumpwoods, and apparently referring to both, Muskrat said that one man was equipped with a whip, with which he lashed the members to make them rise and dance.

Within the Lumpwood society there were minor divisions, some apparently based on age, corresponding to those existing in the Fox organization. Red-eye enumerated the Lumpwoods-without-Sweethearts (*maraxice bi'ē hirē'te*); the Tall Lumpwoods (*maraxice hātskite*); and the Old Lumpwoods (*maraxice ma+isā'te*). Bell-rock, who, however, had not been a Lumpwood, also gave three divisions: the *maraxice*, the Half-shaved Heads (*itsū'sa tsiricū'tse*), and the Wholly-shorn Ones (*daxō'xū'a*). Hunts-to-die, a Lumpwood, substitutes the Little Rumps (*isísietē*) for the last division. He himself joined the Little Rumps because his brother belonged to that group, and he always remained with them. From this it appears that *these* groups resembled the nicknamed subdivisions of the Foxes rather than the Fox age-groups. Sitting-elk, a Fox, said that in the Lumpwood society a group of young members known as the Young Foxes took the place of the *bā'kawī'ē* of his own organization. According to Bear-gets-up, all members of the Lumpwood society were called "Liver-Eaters"

¹ However, one of the officers in the corresponding Hidatsa society carried a stick carved at one end into a buffalo head. One Hidatsa informant said that the Lumpwood society existed prior to the separation of the Crow and Hidatsa.

(ak'aterū'uce), but later he said this name might have referred only to the older members. Gray-bull thought the younger Lumpwoods were called "Bad Faces" (isxawīembicè) because they used too much heavy ground paint.

The method of appointing officers, to whom the term (cé'k-uk) is applied as in the case of the Fox officers (see p. 157), is illustrated by the following personal accounts.

Old-coyote was only fifteen years old when he joined this organization. His father was also a Lumpwood. One day, in the spring of the year when Old-coyote became a member, a crier notified all the Lumpwoods that a meeting was to take place in a certain large tipi. All assembled there, and Old-coyote took his seat in a corner. Four old men selected the officers, one of them carrying a pipe. First they chose the two leaders. Then they offered the pipe to my informant. He pleaded that he was too young and did not know whether he was brave enough to resist the temptation to flee, but they insisted. Three times he declined the pipe, but the fourth time they seized him by the hair and pulled him so that his mouth touched the stem, thus forcing him to smoke. In this way Old-coyote was made one of the straight-staff officers. He thought he should not come out alive if he encountered any enemies. Provisionally four willow sticks had been peeled, and bark was tied to them in imitation of the real emblems. Old-coyote's father cried out for some otterskin, and secured one, for which he paid one of his best horses. The society marched through camp, and the parents of the four staff-bearers prepared an abundance of food, for one fourth of the members followed each of these newly-elected officers to his lodge, where they were entertained while completing the otter-wrapped stick that was to take the place of the bark-wrapped substitute. A certain member who had successfully carried such an emblem in battle wrapped the otterskin round the staff, rose, and made some such address as the following: "I had such a stick in war and had good luck. I hope this man will do the same." Then he handed the wand to the new officer. As a compensation for his services on this occasion the former staff-bearer received four different kinds of property. That season Old-coyote struck a Sioux with his staff and captured his horse. Having come out of the engagement successfully, he gave four additional presents to the otterskin-wrapper, telling him at the same time what he had accomplished in battle.

Young-jack-rabbit gave the following account of his election as an officer. After the two handsomest men had been elected leaders, the two old men who acted as electors filled pipes and went about the lodge, offering them to the members.

All declined to smoke, then they came towards me. Some one asked them "Whom are you looking for?" They answered, "For Young-jack-rabbit." I was seated in the back and tried to hide. They brought the pipe to me, but I refused to accept it, saying I did not wish to take it. One of the pipe-offerers was my own elder brother. He seized me by the hair, hit me on the chest, and said, "You are brave, why don't you smoke the pipe?" He wished me to die, that is why he desired me to smoke the pipe.¹ He said, "You are of the right age to die, you are good-looking, and if you get killed your friends will cry. All your relatives will cut their hair, they will fast and mourn; your bravery will be recognized; and your friends will feel gratified." I took the pipe, and began to smoke. They asked me, whether I wished to have a straight or a hooked-staff. I decided in favor of the latter. My comrade also smoked the pipe. After the election of officers we all went outside. A hooked willow stick was presented to me. I went home with my friends. My brother had an otterskin there. A man who had at one time killed an enemy, while bearing a hooked-staff, cut the skin into strips, wrapped these about the stick, and did the necessary sewing. My mother gave me all my old clothes. I put on a blanket of beaded buffalo-calf skin fringed at the bottom and sides, and tied round the neck with a string. We all went outside, the leaders in front. An old man slapped me on the chest, saying, "Now you are a brave man. When the enemy pursue, you must get off and keep them back. If you are willing to do this, dance backwards when we have a dance." I dressed up in my best clothes. That day I thought I looked handsome. The old men sang songs in praise of me. A man named Pretty-white took my hooked-stick, made incense of *isé* root, and rubbed the smoke over the staff. This man had owned such a stick in his day, and he said aloud, "One day when we fought the Cheyenne I had a hooked-stick and went through the Cheyenne line without being shot. I wish my brother may do the same." Then he returned the staff to me.

When a Lumpwood was killed, the old members gave each of their fellow-members an arrow or two, and a butchering-knife. The corpse was laid outdoors, arrayed in the dead man's best clothes. Everyone knelt down and cried for some time. The closest friends of the slain warrior cut off the last joint of one finger. The others ran the arrows through their flesh in the way characteristic also of the Sun dance torture, and left them sticking there for some time during their lamentations. Some ran arrows through their arms and legs, others drew blood from their foreheads. If some of the younger men shrank from lacerating themselves, the officers cut them so as to draw blood. For a time the members danced towards the corpse. Finally they stopped and seated themselves. The parents of the dead man then gave presents to the members as a remuneration for their mourning; if some Lumpwood had drawn more blood from the head than the others, he received a more valuable gift.

The activities of the Lumpwoods were not exclusively military. After

¹ This did not indicate any personal animosity on the elder brother's part, but simply a desire to have Young-jack-rabbit distinguish himself.

the first snowfall, Bear-gets-up explained, the Lumpwoods would have frequent meetings. They would gather in one lodge of an evening and stay there for supper. The next evening they would come together in another lodge. If a Lumpwood was adopted into a Tobacco society or bought a medicine-pipe bundle, his fellow members assisted him in the purchase. The Lumpwoods of the River Crow and of the Many Lodges felt like brothers towards one another whenever they met. Thus, four Many Lodge Lumpwoods once hunted buffalo for Bear-gets-up's benefit.

The custom of *batbā'tuE* (literally, "joking with each other") was originally a characteristic of the Big Dogs. But at one time the Lumpwoods bought it from this society and have practised it since then. Hunts-to-die says that a Big Dog once initiated two old Lumpwoods into the custom, renouncing it in behalf of his own society. When the two Lumpwoods died, two other old members were chosen in their place. These were considered the head-jokers. When any member had been killed, these were expected to inflict more cuts upon themselves and to draw more blood than their fellow-members. Four head-jokers were still living in Pryor in 1910, namely, Hunts-to-die, Fox, Sharp-horn, and Red-eye. Fire-weasel said that the *batbā'tuE* had been given away by the Big Dogs before his time, the occasion being that of a Big Dog chief initiating a Lumpwood into the ownership of a medicine-pipe bundle. Nevertheless, he states that the Big Dogs reserved the right of joking occasionally, though no longer as regularly as before. Sitting-elk gives a somewhat different account of the transaction. At the time when the Big Dogs still practised *batbā'tuE* one Big Dog adopted a Lumpwood into the Tobacco society. Then all the Lumpwoods brought property for him and addressed him as "father." They asked him to let them have the *batbā'tuE* privilege and requested that the Big Dogs should renounce it. *Batbā'tuE* simply consisted in the privilege of members to jest about the recent loss of another member's relatives to the mourner's face. The mourner might not get angry, provided the jesters were fellow-Lumpwoods. According to Bear-gets-up, no jokes were made about the death of a wife's brother or of a sister's husband.

If a member had lost a half-witted brother, some other member, as soon as he had discovered the fact, would address the mourner, saying, "Your brother has died, you will not be able to get another like him." If the half-witted person had any peculiarities of action, the joker imitated them. The mourner was not permitted to get angry, but was expected to laugh at the jests. Recently, when the Indians were going to the Agency for a Fourth of July celebration, a half-witted boy named Eating-fish died. His brother, Yellow-face, said that he was having bad luck and turned back. Thereupon a Lumpwood asked another in Yellow-face's presence, "Why

is Yellow-face turning back?" The other replied, "He is going back to *eat fish*." On the Little Big Horn Charges-strong was driving Bear-wolf's (his brother's) corpse to the burial site. Bear-wolf had been a noted leader in war. Charges-strong was met by a Lumpwood who had already been informed of his fellow-member's loss. This Lumpwood said, "Stop, I wish to talk with you. How much will you take for your apples in this box?" Charges-strong laughed and made no reply. "Why do you not answer? What have you in this box?" "A man." "Who is this man?" "Bear-wolf." "Oh, I thought it was a box of apples." This joking may be kept up for as long a period as the members please. A similar story was told by Fire-weasel. A Lumpwood who had lost his mother was going to bury her on a hill. Accordingly, he packed the corpse on a horse's back, and followed behind, crying. Another Lumpwood met him, and called out to the leader of the horse, "Hē! Why don't you stop? That young one is after his mother, he wishes to talk with his mother." Sitting-elk narrates that the jester might say to the mourner, "Your sister (or mother, etc.) is dead." The mourner would reply, "I eat the flesh,"¹ *i. e.*, "The flesh of the dead person is still fresh." The mourner could not get angry at the joker's speeches, on the contrary he liked to hear them.

Several instances were recounted by Bear-gets-up:—

At one time all the members of the Lumpwoods were motherless except Two-whistles and White-buffalo. These two generally made fun of the others for not having a mother. When we had moved to a new camp site, White-buffalo asked the first man he met whether he knew of any Lumpwood lodging with his mother. The man repeated the question to the first Lumpwood he met, and that evening one of the Lumpwoods told his fellow-members about White-buffalo's query. Then all waited for a chance to make fun of White-buffalo whenever his mother should die. One night she died, and White-buffalo came into the society's lodge looking for two men to help him bury her. Then I told him, "It is very good for you not to have any mother. You will never more say, 'i'g-a'."² I am very glad your mother is dead; you will be like myself, motherless." Thus I got even with him.

Another Lumpwood lost his wife. Two or three fellow-members helped him bury her. Then they sat down with him for a while, and one of them said, to the mourner, "You will not have a wife today, shall you?" Thus they joked at that very place, but the mourner did not mind it.

One time I went to the Agency for rations. A number of old men were seated there, smoking. I rode up and dismounted, not yet knowing that an uncle of mine had died thereabouts. Several Lumpwoods were among those present, and one of them said, "Your uncle has died." Another said, "Uncle-dead, get off here and take a smoke."

¹ *irū'cec bū'cik*.

² Vocative form for "mother."

Mutual Relations. Between the Fox and Lumpwood organizations there obtained a feeling of rivalry that was quite free from any personal hostility. This feeling was principally revealed in two ways: in war, and in the attempt to steal the wives of the other society's members (*bats'ū'era+u*).¹ It was also manifested in some games, in which the Foxes with their wives were pitted against the Lumpwoods and their wives. More recently the Night-hawks have played against the Big-Ear-Holes on such occasions.

Theoretically a Fox or Lumpwood was entitled to kidnap a woman only if he had been previously on terms of intimacy with her. If she had had nothing to do with her supposed lover, she would tell him he lied and refuse to go. But if she untruthfully denied her former relations, at the same time abusing her one-time lover, he and his comrades seized her by force. In practice it is obvious from various statements that men often alleged intimacy though it had never obtained and wrongfully abducted women by force. Whether a woman had any children, was of no account so far as her abduction was concerned. Once a Lumpwood stole a Fox woman with her infant. The child was put on a baby board and carried about by a Lumpwood, who danced with it. When it cried, this man ran to the mother, who then nursed it.

Least of all might a woman's husband offer resistance to the kidnapper or show any grief or resentment at her abduction. Such cases are indeed on record, but the husband invariably lost prestige, was derided in song, and was liable to have his blankets and property destroyed by the rival organization. Most disgraceful of all was it for a man to take back a woman as his wife after she had been kidnapped. Such a man was nicknamed a "holder of a crazy woman." He immediately lost caste. No matter how high his standing had been before, he was looked down upon for the rest of his life. Gray-bull said that after a man had had his wife stolen, the boys kept watch lest he should clandestinely attempt to visit or re-marry her. If he was caught in the act, he was tied up, and dog or other excrements were rubbed all over him. Besides, the rival society also exercised the privilege of cutting up the blankets of every member in the offender's organization. Accordingly, when the offence became known, the offender's fellow-members ran away with their blankets, but were pursued by the rival society.

The following instances illustrate the Crow point of view. On one occasion the Foxes came to the lodge of a Lumpwood named Small-legs for the purpose of stealing his wife. Small-legs was a prominent man in his organization; he was usually first to challenge the rival society by halloo-

¹ *bats*, "each other"; *ū'E*, "wife"; *ara'+u*, "taking away."

ing in the spring, and had himself captured two women from the Foxes. He was living with his elder brother. When a Fox seized Small-legs' wife, this elder brother pulled out a knife to prevent his sister-in-law's abduction. However, he was held back by his own relatives, who reproved him, saying, "In cases like this one does not act in such a manner. They will surely make a song about you; you should not have done this." The woman was accordingly taken away, but after some time, when her captor had turned her away, Small-legs re-married her. This greatly incensed his brother, who thus addressed him: "You have disgraced both me and yourself. Go away, I don't wish you to live here any longer." The Foxes made up the following song to commemorate the occasion:

hū'ri'etkata, bī'ē i'wetarik. irū'ukacēc. i'ik-e racē'k,
 Small-bones, woman you cry like, always insisting on it. His elder brother
 i'ik-e ē'sak.
 wished to kill, his elder brother disowns him.

On another occasion the following song was made about a husband who had gone out of the camp crying over the loss of his wife:—

"i'itsic, bārāskawī'arī'ēwāwik., i'wewā'wik. karā'wa'tsē'wik.
 Pole-crotch, I shall make him grieve, I shall make him cry. I shall cause him to run.

Once, Red-eye told me, a Lumpwood stole a Fox's wife. By way of revenge the husband cut the legs of a fine horse belonging to the Lumpwood. The Lumpwoods then made up this song:—

"iēxuxkakātū'we, cī'ritset pā'ck-ok. kawihirek kō'tdak."
 "You Foxes, the horse's legs are cut. Wrong you have done."

On another occasion the Lumpwoods stole another Fox woman. The abductor owned a fine buckskin horse. Some Fox, the Lumpwoods did not know who, killed this horse. The Lumpwoods composed this song:—

"iēxuxkakātū'we, axū'atsic ē're ducāra!"
 "You Foxes, buckskin's filth eat!" (imperative)

A Lumpwood who had taken back a kidnapped wife was derided in these terms:—

"maraxícekātū'we, dā'kakērètā'wik, dū'o awáxbē'wik."
 "You dear Lumpwoods, I'll make their children parentless, your wives I shall marry."

For a similar offense Straight-arm was thus ridiculed:—

"ā're-tatséwe ū'ē kurutsím. kandákure kō'otem, dū'ē hū'kawē."
 "Straight-arm his takes back. Keep her it is well, your let her wife come."

There was only one way a woman could normally evade abduction by a former lover,—by throwing herself on his generosity. Sometimes a woman said to the man who called for her, “Yes, I was once your sweetheart, but I beg you to let me alone.” In such a case she was generally not taken away. Sharp-horn said he was going to steal a woman once, but her parents begged him not to take her and so he desisted.

If a man expected his wife to be kidnapped, he generally stayed away from his lodge lest he should suffer the agony of having her taken before his eyes, which was considered an especially grievous affliction. Should he, however, be in the lodge at the time her kidnapper called, the ideal mode of conduct for him was to assume an air of bravado and order his wife to go with her former lover.

The details of an abduction probably varied with different cases. According to Bear-gets-up, a man would first send a messenger to his former sweetheart and have her appoint a certain place and time when she was to be taken. Muskrat said that after the selection of officers the girls were eager to find out whether their sweethearts had got hooked or straight-sticks. The two societies had a public parade and dance. The drummers went into the middle of the circle formed by the members, while the standard-bearers pointed their staff at the onlookers as if to shoot them. Then some of the Lumpwood women would tell their Fox lovers, and *vice versa*, to call for them. When the dance was over, a Fox would peep into a Lumpwood’s Lodge, and say to the woman, “I am coming for you now.” Then the girl would leave her husband, and follow her lover.

According to all accounts, the members of the two societies would cry at each other, “Hu, hu!” as a challenge indicating that they were about to begin the stealing of the other side’s wives. Then those who had mistresses in the rival society’s lodges would try to kidnap them. It would have been considered disgraceful for a man to steal the wife of a fellow-member. After Charges-camp had joined the Lumpwoods, another Lumpwood’s wife asked him to become a Fox in order that he might steal her, but he refused to do so.

At the time Gray-bull received his crooked lance from the Foxes, he had a pretty wife. A Lumpwood came for her, and though she clung to Gray-bull, he bade her go with his rival. “If you have ever been married, you know how this felt,” said the informant to the present writer. After his wife’s departure Gray-bull was disconsolate. He did not sleep for four nights, for he was constantly thinking of his loss. On the fourth day he came to, painted and dressed up, and went to the dance ground. He began to look for Lumpwood women he might steal. One of the Lumpwoods had two wives, but one of them had been concealed. The other

woman readily consented to follow Gray-bull, and took her daughter with her. Gray-bull's relatives gave her an elk-tooth dress and painted both the woman and the girl. The Lumpwood husband was so deeply aggrieved that he became a Crazy-Dog-that-wishes-to-die (see p. 193); he stayed in his lodge singing the death chant. One night he came to Gray-bull's lodge, shaking his rattle, and stuck his hand inside the tent. Gray-bull was terrified because of the ferocity of the Crazy Dogs and said, "I will send back your wife to you." He kept his promise, but as soon as the woman returned her husband tore off his Crazy Dog sashes and fled towards the mountains. Ever after he was looked upon with contempt. The woman took away with her one of Gray-bull's best horses, as well as the dress, which was decorated with 500 elk teeth.

When a woman had been stolen, the abducting society would cry out:—"One of the Lumpwood (or Fox) girls has married one of us Foxes (or Lumpwoods) of her own accord!" They took her to a lodge belonging to their society, where they continued drumming, singing, and dancing most of the night. She was the only woman present on this occasion. Her lover's relatives treated her for the time being as if she were an ordinary bride, bringing her an elk-tooth dress and other garments. Early the next morning an old member went through camp, shouting, "We are going to have a good time today, get your horses and prepare for today's big dance!" Then the stolen woman dressed up in her new clothes, for she was now to be exhibited publicly by her captors. All the members painted as though for a war expedition, and the woman's face was painted with red stripes. She was made to sit behind a member who had earned the title of *akbāpī'cēre*, that is to say, one who had once saved another Crow from a pursuing enemy by taking him up on horseback behind himself. If any other Fox or Lumpwood rode with the woman, the members of the rival society rode up and threw him down from the horse, at the same time deriding him. It was further necessary that the feat should have been accomplished on the war-path, not in defending the Crow camp against an enemy, for in the latter case the danger was accounted less great. Moreover, the horse on which the woman rode must necessarily be one that had been picketed by the enemy and stolen by cutting the rope. If the horse had been stolen in any other way, the riders were thrown off, the bridles torn, and the horse was turned loose. While the rest of the party seems to have paraded in the regular line of two abreast, with leaders and rear officers in their proper places, the *akbāpī'cēre* and his companion remained outside of the line. Thus all proceeded to the center of the camp, where the society formed a circle and danced, the woman and her escort remaining on the outside. This was continued until evening. The rival society would look on during

this public performance in order to show that they were indifferent about the loss of one of their women. Finally the members of the kidnapping organization returned to their lodge, and the woman was placed in the custody of her lover, who generally dismissed her after a short period.

The following narrative by Strikes-at-night (Bull-weasel's mother), a River Crow, is interesting because it presents the facts of the *bat-s'u'ērā* + *u* custom from a woman's point of view.

My husband was a great warrior. He was a Fox. The Lumpwoods and the Foxes were stealing each other's wives one season while my husband was on the war-path. Before I had married, another man had courted me with gifts of beef and horses, but I married Bull-weasel's father. Now this suitor came with other Lumpwoods to get me. I was afraid they were going to take me by force, so I sneaked away to the hills, where a woman was mourning her dead son. Another woman came with me for the same reason; she was the mourner's sister-in-law. It was she who planned the way to escape. "My sister-in-law," she said, "goes out every morning to fast; let us go with her." We all got mourning blankets and early every day we went out together up the hills, where no one could find us. We were not so far but that we could hear the Lumpwoods hallooing and see them searching for women to steal. When the "showing-off" ceremony was done, we saw the abductor take the stolen woman to his home. We fasted and watched up there all day. We had no water. In the course of the day the mourner's relatives came to bring her food and water. Then we two others hid, begging her not to tell about us. When the relatives had gone, we all feasted on what they had brought. At night we returned to camp with the mourner. Mourners then slept in very small tents, deprived of all decoration. We slept in such tents and sneaked out with the mourner early the next day.

My husband returned with Big-ox's war party, and I saw him looking for me. The people told him I had fled in order not to be taken away. He never came near me because he did not wish to be present when I should be kidnapped. One night I stealthily approached him. He told me that if the Lumpwoods came for me while he was present he would let me go, but if I hid it would be well. I thought that if the camp were moved during the period of wife-kidnapping I should have no way of escape. They really did move. My husband painted me all up, and I rode his horse. Now they planned to catch me, but my husband's sister warned me and bade me go with her, saying that then they would not take me. The Lumpwoods were in the rear of the line of march, riding abreast and making a show of six Fox women they had captured. I was riding with my sister-in-law when the Lumpwoods approached. My sister-in-law would not let me run away, but they were coming fast and I got scared and broke away. Some tents had already been pitched by the Crow in the van, and I ran into the lodge of a woman whose husband was a Fox. She helped me unsaddle my horse, turned him loose, and covered me up with parfleches. There I lay. I heard the Lumpwoods outside. They had taken the wife of a man who had been living with her peacefully for several years. He got furious and was going to kill her with an arrow as she was being shown off. He let fly and barely missed her. The Lumpwoods all scattered. They took revenge on the Foxes by cutting up their robes into strips and pounding their horses' feet.

Towards evening we heard a shot. We saw a man running back and forth, rais-

ing a blanket and throwing it off several times to indicate how many Crow had been killed. He did this three times, then we could not count any more. We thought the Many Lodges had been wiped out. We learned that they had had war parties out in two directions and that all the warriors had been killed. The woman who had been shot at by her husband had lost two brothers. Our whole camp mourned.

Thus the wife-kidnapping ceased, and I escaped.

Muskrat, another woman, says she was safe from molestation because her husband was a Fox while all her brothers were Lumpwoods. She does not approve of the custom of wife-kidnapping. Her husband kidnapped no less than nine wives of the Lumpwoods, but all of them afterwards left him or were sent away. Muskrat herself had trouble only with the eighth of these women, who once jerked off a blanket from her and her husband. Muskrat told her she was crazy and took the blanket back.

Certain songs used in the kidnapping of wives are said to have been dreamt. One year, just before the commencement of the wife-stealing, a Fox dreamt this song:—

“baki’ē barácte kōm, bā’wik. barácte kōm. barē’wik.”

“My sweetheart is the one I love, I will meet him. I love him. I shall go.”

The words of the following song are also put into a woman’s mouth:—

“batsímecik, diri’atsk·atdā’re. datsinetdētk.

“I am married, you think. You are as if not married.

íexuxke ítum, baki’wake.”

The Foxes are good-looking, I have them for sweethearts.”

After all the wives amenable to capture had been stolen, the Foxes and Lumpwoods went on the warpath. The societies now tried to score against each other by striking the first coup against the enemy. That is to say, each tried to get ahead of the rival society; it did not matter to them whether the Big Dogs or Muddy Hands took precedence of both. This rivalry made the members fearless. Ordinarily it would be considered an affront if the Foxes sang Lumpwood songs or *vice versa*. But if a Fox struck an enemy before any of the Lumpwoods, the Foxes were privileged to “take away the Lumpwood songs,” that is, to adapt words composed for the occasion to the Lumpwood tunes. In practice the stolen songs were only used two or three times. Muskrat said that the words of the stolen songs were changed in mockery of the vanquished rivals and that the hooked and straight staffs of the latter were also taken by the coup-striking organization. The latter part of this statement, however, remains unconfirmed. The members of the society outdone in the manner described might not use their songs until they had struck the first coup in another engagement.

The following incident, narrated by Sharp-horn, illustrates the spirit

of rivalry that obtained between the two societies when fighting against the enemy. At one time the enemy occupied a high butte surrounded by flat country. They dug holes, and were prepared to fight the Crow. A Fox hooked-staff officer went up some distance, but then lay down with his standard. A brave member of the Lumpwood rank and file asked, "Has any one struck the enemy yet?" "No, it is pretty difficult." Then the Lumpwood snatched away the Fox officer's pole, went up the hill, and struck an enemy with it. He left the standard over a hole on the butte, ran back, reached his people in safety, and challenged the Foxes to recover their emblem. None of them dared go for it. When the party came back from the war, the Lumpwoods took away the Foxes' songs. In such a case, the Foxes were obliged to borrow the songs of other societies. Red-eye gave me the following song composed by Lumpwoods in derision of the Foxes when a hooked-staff officer ran away from the enemy:—

"íexukaka tū'we, dakáre batsā'tsk. batsē't cē'wī'ēruk."

"You Foxes, you ran away fast. A man must die anyway."

Young-jack-rabbit says that on one occasion he charged the enemy and struck the first coup. Accordingly, he was going to take away the Foxes' songs, but his younger brother was a Fox and claimed the first coup for himself. Young-jack-rabbit's associates protested, saying that the Fox had not earned first honors, but seeing it was his brother Jack-rabbit yielded the point.

Two Lumpwood hooked-staff men were killed in two successive years, and in the third year one of their straight-stick officers was killed. The Lumpwoods then mocked the Foxes for their cowardice, because they did not lose any of their officers (Gray-bull).

With the first snowfall the spirit of rivalry apparently disappeared, and the two societies lived together in perfect amity until the next spring.

BIG DOGS.

I was able to find but a single man who had been a member of the Big Dog (micg-isā^ate) organization, viz., Fire-weasel of Pryor, supposed to be 93 years of age (in 1910).

According to Fire-weasel, as well as others, this society originated with the Hidatsa. An Hidatsa was traveling towards another tribe when he saw a dog on the trail before him. Going over a hill, he heard some songs and discovered that it was the dog that was singing them. The dog was very old; its songs were those of the subsequent Big Dog organization.

Thus began the society, which was joined by most of the Hidatsa and Crow chiefs. Every member carried a stick enclosed in a cover of tanned buckskin, from which there hung down deer-hoofs or dewclaws serving as rattles. In recent times tin cones took the place of the dewclaws. This emblem is called *māxaxōrē'*. It proved impossible to secure a specimen that had actually been used by the Big Dogs, but a rattle fashioned on the same pattern, which had been used by one of the Tobacco organizations and was, accordingly, of a much more sacred character was purchased at Lodge Grass. This *māxaxōrē'* (Fig. 2) is distinctly shorter than the form used by the Big Dogs and is far more elaborately decorated, with plumes, strings of beads, and ermine skin; the small bags below the ends of the stick enclose tobacco seeds. The Big Dog rattle was about two feet long and had attached to it little hawk bells in addition to the dewclaws.

As a rule the members were old, there were a few young ones. The latter were chosen in place of relatives who had been Big Dogs and had died in battle.

Every spring the members gathered in a large lodge. The chiefs remained outside debating about the choice of officers. They filled a pipe, entered the tent, and offered the pipe to various young men, who either declined the offer by refusing to smoke, or accepted, together with the pipe, the honors and dangers of office. First the old men selected two leaders (*basé*), then two rear men (*hā'ake*); next two sash wearers (*íextsewicé*); another pair of sash-wearers; and finally the two men wearing bearskin belts (*naxpitsé ihě'rupte*). The belt men hesitated for a long time before taking the pipe, for they were expected to be bravest of all and were fairly certain to be killed. They must walk straight up to the enemy regardless of danger and were never expected to retreat. At any feast of the society the belt wearers ate before the Big Dogs, for if any one preceded them he would be killed even before these two officers. It was only after the *naxpitsé ihě'rupte*¹ had eaten their fill that the other members began to eat. This seems to indicate that they correspond to the *akdū'cire* of other organizations (see p. 158). During dances the belt wearers carried quirts. At the end of the performance they went round and touched each member with their whips, whereupon all were permitted to take their seats. Beargets-up said that some men would continue to dance as a sign of bravery after being touched by the whip. Then the whippers would lash them more vigorously. Fire-weasel himself served as a sash-wearer. The sashes (*íextue*; singular, *íextse*) were of red, blue, black, or green flannel, and seem to have been quite similar to those of the Muddy Hands (see p. 184).

¹ *naxpitsé*, bear; *ihě'rupe*, waist; *ihě'rupte*, round the waist, belt.



Fig. 2 (50.1-3690). Dewclaw Rattle. Length, 28 cm.

After the election of officers the Big Dogs marched through the camp. They divided into four groups, each of which went to the home of one of the sash-wearers, where food had been prepared for them. Here the sashes were completed for their wearers and were then suspended from a pole outside the lodge. Later, they were put on by their owners, and all the men within marched outside to meet the three other groups. Then all joined in a dance, started by the belt men seizing a sash-wearer's emblem and pulling it forward.

When the Big Dogs wished to have a dance they called out to all members to dress and paint up and to assemble in a certain tipi. The member who owned the finest lodge yielded it to the society for that occasion. Beyond the dewclaw rattles and the officers' emblems no special regalia seem to have been obligatory. All dressed in their best clothes, some wearing scalp-shirts and buckskin leggings fringed with scalps. Those who had frequently struck the enemy daubed yellow paint on their shirts and leggings, and striped their arms and legs with red paint. Some Big Dogs wore war-bonnets, while others had owl feathers tied in a bunch to the back of the head. Round the neck all wore a whistle, which might be blown at will during the dance. The moccasins were sometimes trimmed at the top with skunk skins. The dance itself, like that of the Foxes, consisted of a leaping motion, but differed in that the leap was forward and that the performers separated so as to dance individually instead of lining up in a row or ring. Moreover the bodies were leaned forward more than in the Fox dance. During the singing of the last song, the Big Dogs jumped up more vigorously than in the preceding dances. Sometimes the Big Dogs assembled in the night and went through the camp, singing. Any woman that so desired might follow and join in the songs. When they came to a chief's lodge, they formed a circle outside and sang a song. Then the chief would say, "Come in, and sing inside the lodge." When they had entered, their host would order food to be cooked, and entertained them. Sharp-horn furnished the additional information that, before setting out on their nocturnal procession, the members took a rawhide, ran holes along the edge, and passed a rope through them. Then they stood up in a circle, beating the hide with their dewclaw rattles. Thereupon they went through the camp, halting at different lodges. The tent-owner came out and handed them a pipe or presented them with food. The songs on this occasion do not seem to have differed from those ordinarily sung by the Big Dogs, that is, they were not apparently chants eulogizing the prospective host.

A Big Dog who had been killed was brought to the camp and dressed up in good clothes. A bed was arranged for him outdoors. Each member sang and danced, moving towards the corpse. When at the foot of the bed,

each performer knelt down and cried, whereupon he drew back some distance. Then all sat down on the ground. The parents of the slain man gathered together leggings, shirts, and other property, and distributed them among the Big Dogs as a compensation for their mourning ceremony. If the slain man had been a sash-wearer, any member could take up his stick¹ and sash and run about with them in front of the other Big Dogs. After the dead man's burial these regalia were given to another member. During the mourning celebration the following words were sung:

hi'rakā`ta, batsírexbùEk, barē'wik.

Comrade, I dismount, I am going towards you.

The Big Dogs took turns with the other military societies in policing the tribe during the communal hunts. This service lasted for one season. If any one person scared the game away the Big Dogs went after him and whipped him. Everyone was afraid of them. The following Big Dog song, said to have been sung when the people were moving towards the game, is probably associated with these police functions:

Micékatu` barē'k. . hirén baráxūk. xatsí'sa. barē'k.

Towards the buffalo I am going. These are singing. Don't move. I am going.

On two subsequent occasions Fire-weasel in part modified the information first given by him. He reduced the number of officers to nine, viz. two leaders, four sash-wearers, two rear officers, and one quirt-bearer. The last of these was said to have worn a belt of bearskin, to have been the bravest member, rescuing those whose lives were endangered in battle, and he was identified by my informant himself as the Big Dogs' *akdū'cire*. At a dance he would rise, seize one of the sash-wearer's sashes, and begin to dance, leading the sash-wearer behind him. Then the other members also danced. When the songs had ceased, all stood still, those who had whistles blew them, and the remaining members clapped their mouths with their hands. Then the quirt-bearer touched each man with his whip and thus made them sit down. During a public parade he stayed among the singers. While the others were dancing, he was permitted to sit wherever he desired, and in general he might act as he pleased. When the members met in a lodge he always sat near the door, this seat being reserved for him. In the distribution of food, the belt-wearer preceded all others, being followed by the leaders, the sash-wearers, rear officers, and finally by the rank and file. Of the sash-wearers, two wore only one sash, the others two sashes apiece. When marching, one officer with a single sash had for his

¹ It is not clear to me what is referred to by this term.

mate an officer with two sashes. Originally, the sashes were made of raw-hide, later red cloth with black stripes was used.

The Big Dogs had no subdivisions into age-groups corresponding to those of the Foxes, Lumpwoods, and Muddy Hands.

Anyone joining must first get a dewclaw rattle. He might ask a former member for *his*; no payment was made for it. It was also permissible to make a rattle for one's self. If a member was killed by the enemy, his friends kept his rattle. His body was laid outdoors and dressed up. The Big Dogs first paraded through camp, singing, then they approached the corpse. The slain man's parents or wife led his horse, whose mane and tail had been docked, towards the paraders. Whoever mounted the horse on this occasion pledged himself to act like the dead man and to be so brave as to be killed. Sometimes one or two men got on the horse and rode round the other members, shouting. All the members took arrows, and stuck them into their legs or heads. For this each one received gifts from the parents. The members then went to bury the dead man for his parents. They either put the corpse on a burial stage, or deposited it in the rocks.

In the tribal hunt the Big Dogs sometimes acted as police. If any individual made a premature move so as to scare the game, the Big Dogs gathered together and went after him. They addressed him as if talking to a dog, saying, "Stop, go back!" The offender then halted. Next they asked him gently, "Why are you moving away?" If the man gave a gentle reply and obeyed orders, everything was well, but if he answered in angry tones the Big Dogs whipped him, sometimes so hard that he could not move. In advancing upon offenders, the officers of the society took the lead.

Information in part supplementary, in part contradictory, to that derived from Fire-weasel was supplied by Gray-bull, who, while not a former Big Dog, proved an excellent authority on most matters connected with the ancient life of his people. According to Gray-bull, all Big Dogs wore the owl feather headdress and carried the dewclaw rattle, the latter taking the place of the drum used by other organizations. The list of officers and their order of marching as given by Gray-bull is somewhat different from Fire-weasel's. The two leaders were followed by a single pair of sash-wearers, after whom came the rank and file. Behind these marched a single belt-wearer who was accompanied by an officer of different character called *akbîretsirixî'e* (urger) or *itsîratsekakê* (quirt-owner). Next came two *akdû'cîre*, and finally the two rear officers.

The leaders were expected to take the initiative in any emergency. If the enemy were protected in pits, it was the duty of the leaders to make a charge against them. On the other hand, if the Crow were fleeing from the enemy, these officers were under no obligation to dismount and make a

stand, though they voluntarily might do so, and frequently did. The *ĩextsewicẽ* wore each two sashes of red flannel crossing in front. If the Crow were fleeing from the enemy, the sash-wearers were permitted to run with the other men. But just as soon as they heard a fellow-tribesman utter a cry for help, they were obliged to turn back and rush to the rescue at the risk of their lives. They either surrendered their horses to the endangered comrades or took them up behind themselves, or turned their horses loose and fought in defense of their friends. The *naxpitsẽ ihẽ'rupte* wore a belt of bearskin with the legs and claws left on. If the Crow were victorious, no special duties devolved on him. But if the Crow were being pursued, it was his duty immediately to descend from his horse and attempt to arrest the progress of the pursuers. If he ran with the rank and file, someone was sure to cry, "Get off!" Then he must dismount and stand. Should he have persisted in fleeing in spite of this admonition and succeeded in making his escape, he was thenceforth treated as a coward and outcast, regardless of his former reputation. The belt-wearer painted his body with mud and bunched up his hair in imitation of a bear's ears. This officer almost always lost his life in battle. When the society performed its dance, the belt-wearer remained seated, thus indicating that he would not run away in an engagement. As soon as his mate, the *akbĩretsirixĩe*, saw him seated, he rushed towards him and whipped him in order to make him rise. In battle, if the quirter saw his comrade defying the enemy, he would either quit him, thus absolving him from the duty of making such a stand, or he must himself stand beside him and aid him against the enemy. The *akdũ'cire* were expected to die, no matter what happened. To return alive was to become the laughing-stock of their fellow-tribesmen. Gray-bull recalled a number of *akdũ'cire* who had been killed in battle, but not a single one that had acted in a cowardly manner. Naturally enough, more of them were killed than of any other officers. Owing to their exposure to exceptional dangers, the *akdũ'cire* were privileged to eat before any of the other Big Dogs at meetings of the society. They might taste a little of each of the kinds of food provided for the occasion, and ate as much as they wished of the kind preferred. When they had eaten enough, they spread out their blankets on the ground and sat down. Only then were the remaining members permitted to distribute the provisions. The rear officers were expected to stay behind the other Crow when these were pursued by the enemy, and to keep back the pursuers.

Gray-bull stated that a boy could be taken into the Big Dog society as soon as one of his relatives who had been a member of the organization died or was killed. If the brother of the slain member was still an infant, the Big Dogs waited until he was old enough to understand what was

going on. The mode of filling vacancies was similar to that of the Night-hawks today. At the election of officers an old Big Dog lighted a pipe, pointed its mouthpiece at one of the young men and said, "Take a smoke! I wish you to become a leader." If the young man consented, he smoked from the pipe in silence. Often it was difficult to induce a man to accept. If a man declined office, he would say, "I am a coward, I am afraid to die." The members knew that if they put the pipe to their lips they were not expected to live until the next year. Sometimes the pipe-bearer went through the entire circle without finding a willing candidate. Then some of the young men would get excited and take the pipe.

One-horn said that the leaders were chosen for their "strong hearts," that is to say, they were expected to be cool in times of excitement. The sashes were of red flannel, but terminated in a white tip. Though the sash-wearers were expected to be brave they were permitted to move about, while the officers with bearskin belts must not move from their position in battle. The leaders wore no badge, only their personal medicine objects. The term of office for all officers lasted from early spring until the first snow-fall. Except in special cases of reelection, new men were selected for the following year. The society could hold meetings at any time, but did so more particularly when a Tobacco ceremony or Sun dance was performed in the tribe.

In 1907 I was informed that the Big Dogs at one time united with the Lumpwoods against the Foxes and Muddy Hands for the purpose of stealing their opponents' wives, but that the Big Dogs reconsidered the matter and thereafter never took any part in such proceedings. An Indian from Reno further told me that the ten officers of the Big Dogs were expected to strike the first blow in battle, so as to take precedence of the Foxes. As all my informants in 1910 limited the feeling of rivalry to the Fox and Lumpwood organizations (see p. 169), I should consider the information previously obtained as erroneous, were it not for the testimony of Beckwourth as to conditions in the twenties of the last century:

A feud now broke out, which had been long brewing, between two different parties in our village, one of which worshiped foxes, and the other worshiped dogs. The warriors of the latter party were called Dog Soldiers, of which I was the leader; the other party was led by Red Eyes. The quarrel originated about the prowess of the respective parties, and was fostered by Red Eyes, on the part of the rival company, and by Yellow Belly . . . , a man in my company.¹

According to several informants, a custom of the Lumpwood society known as *batbā'tue* was originally a peculiarity of the Big Dog organization (see p. 167).

¹ Bonner, 183.

Sometimes the Big Dogs would go up on a knoll to sing and dance there and would make their sweethearts fetch water for them. In the spring or summer, when many buffalo hides had been tanned, the young unmarried women would call the Big Dogs (or some other society) to some big tipi. There each man would have a woman partner to sing with. When all had sung, each couple by themselves, they distributed food and feasted. They sang Big Dog songs. If any couple wished to sleep in the lodge overnight they were permitted to do so.

MUDDY HANDS.

The Muddy Hands (*ictse cipī'ε*) did not dance very frequently, according to Gray-bull's recollection, as a rule only at the time of the Tobacco ceremonies. In this respect it differed notably from the Fox and Lumpwood societies. It resembled these, however, in assuming police functions from time to time; in fact owing to the fearlessness of His-horse-is-white, one of the members, they acted as police for several successive seasons. One-horn, Gray-bull, and Old-dog placed the number of sash-wearers at two; however, none of them had been a member. One-horn said that the sash-wearers wore each two sashes of red flannel, which were so long as to trail along the ground when their owners were afoot and to touch the ground when they were mounted. (Fig. 3b). During a dance, Old-dog said, the sash-wearers were led round by their trains.

The most valuable account of this society was derived from Bear-ghost, one of a very small number of one-time members I was able to find. He did not know any tradition concerning the origin of the organization. There were three age-classes within the Muddy Hand society: the *cī'paktsicè* (They-put-guts-round-their-heads-for-hats); the *ictse cipī'ε* proper; and the *ē'capī'ε*¹ (They-have-sacks-round-their-necks). These groups represented the boys, middle-aged men, and old men respectively. A man entering from another society joined the division corresponding to his age. The officers of the Muddy Hands were two leaders, four sash-wearers, two rear officers, and two *akdū'cire*. The leaders were expected to perform brave deeds at the commencement of an action while the rear officers were to be the last men to flee. The *akdū'cire* were supposed to be the bravest members and must not run away at all. If any Crow fell from his horse, they were expected to help him escape. On account of their obligations they were permitted to eat before all other members of the society. The

¹ From *e'ce*, sack; and *ā'pe*, neck.

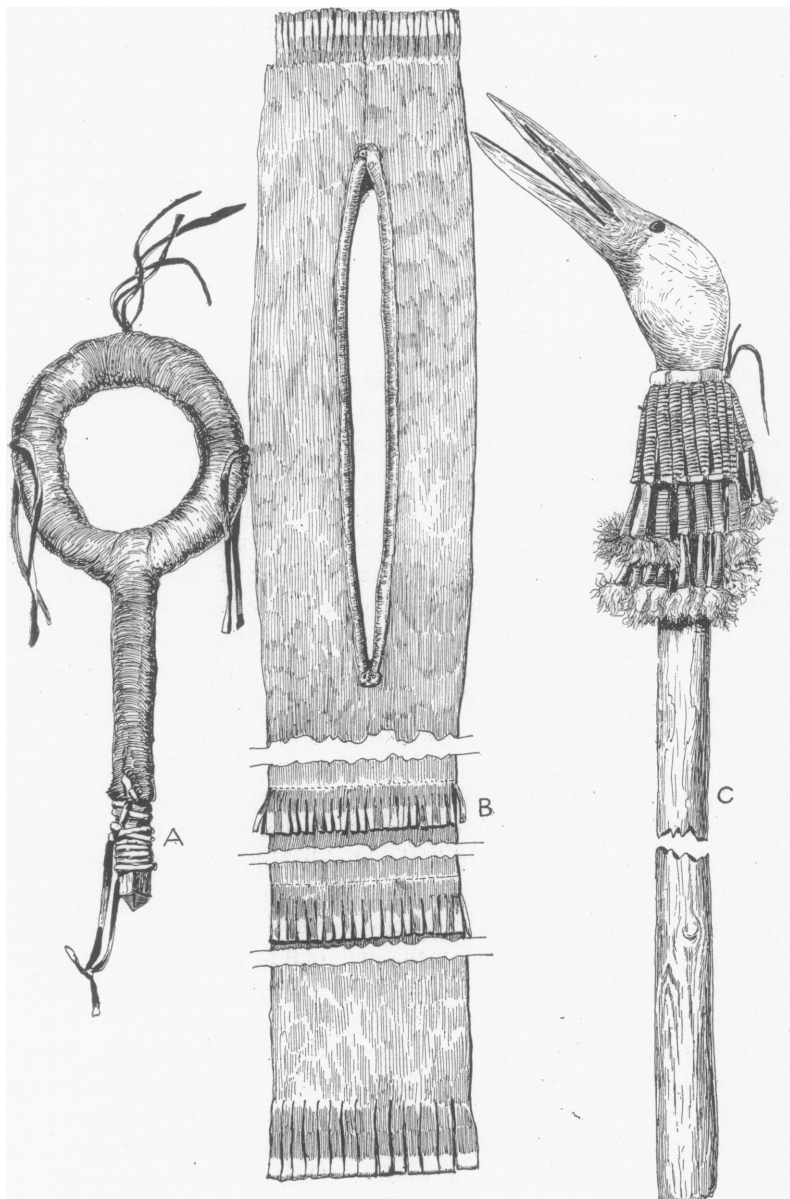


Fig. 3 *a* (50.1-3889), *b* (50.1-4019), *c* (50-6827). *a* Crazy Dog Rattle; *b* Muddy Hand Sash; *c* Hot Dance Stick. Length of *a*, 26 cm.; *b*, 3.78 m.; *c*, 61 cm.

sash-wearers were not limited to any particular form of bravery. In the spring all the members gathered in one lodge. Four old men stayed outdoors and decided upon whom the choice for officers should fall. On entering, they offered the pipe to the candidates selected in exactly the same fashion that was in vogue in the other military associations. Then some members went to the woods and brought back bark peeled from willow trees. By uniting several strips of bark it was possible to make a kind of bark sash with a loop and trailer. These bark sashes were passed over the heads of the sash-wearers-elect. Then the Muddy Hands went outdoors, singing and dancing through the camp, whereupon the society divided into four sections, each going with one of the sash-wearers. Within each new officer's lodge there was a big piece of cloth, the size of a blanket. A man who had distinguished himself as a sash-wearer rose and told of his deeds while an officer. Then he cut up the cloth into appropriate strips about 5 inches wide, and sewed them together to make the sash sufficiently long. Finally he made a slit and put the sash over its owner's head. Then all went out to dance outdoors for the purpose of showing the people the men who had been elected officers.

If an officer ran away instead of assisting his fellow-tribesmen, other people made fun of him and called him a coward; he could only redeem his honor by being brave in the next battle. On the other hand, an officer who fought bravely and got away in safety was held in esteem and was likely to become a chief if he kept up his good conduct in subsequent engagements. The sash-wearers had no sticks with which to fasten their emblems to the ground. The term of office was a single season, that is, from early spring till the first snowfall.

A curious custom was peculiar to the Muddy Hands. They never put out a fire, either on the prairie or in the camp, though others might do so for them. The fire symbolized the enemy. In exceptional cases a very brave man might dismount to extinguish a fire, but this signified a pledge of special bravery, namely, never to flee from an enemy in battle. The existence of this custom was also known to non-members, such as Sitting-elk and Sharp-horn.

At a time which Bear-ghost sets at about forty, Fire-weasel at about forty-five years ago (1910), the Foxes came to the Muddy Hands with a pipe, offered them smoke, and begged them to join their organization. The Muddy Hands consented, and thus terminated their existence as a distinct society. In consequence of the union Bear-ghost lost his wife as she was promptly stolen by a Lumpwood. Sharp-horn relates that the circumstances connected with the union of the two societies were the following. One season the Lumpwoods stole many more women from the Foxes

than the Foxes were able to capture from them. The Foxes accordingly called on the Muddy Hands with a pipe, asking them to join their organization and unite in a reprisal against the Lumpwoods.¹ The Muddy Hands consented, but even at that the re-enforced Foxes could not steal many Lumpwood women, for the Muddy Hand contingent failed to capture any women whatsoever. The Lumpwoods made up a song mocking their rivals:—

batsē'm ō'pi'kū'ec; bē'rerū'sak baré dusā'rawa!

To these men they gave smoke; they may eat (Lumpwood) dung, their mentulae eat!

Child-in-his-mouth confirmed most of Bear-ghost's statements. He added that the sash-wearers had caps made from dried bear guts painted red; the guts of bears were taken because these animals are so strong and fierce.

Charges-camp mentioned a detail not given by other informants. At Muddy Hand performances two men dressed up in their war suits, wearing their medicines on the head and carrying their weapons. A pole was stuck in the ground and a buffalo robe, hair side out, was tied to it. This pole represented the enemy. The two men rode up against the pole and struck it with their coup sticks, or enacted such other deeds as they had performed in war. The same informant said that the Muddy Hands were mostly old people and were all expected to be brave as old people cannot run fast.

HAMMER SOCIETY.

There can be no doubt that this boys' organization is identical with Maximilian's Stone Casse-Tête society. It derived its name *bū'ptsake*, "Hammer Owners," from a diamond-shaped or pointedly elliptical object called "*bū'ptsā*," which was perforated so that it could be stuck on a long staff. Several models which I had made were all of wood, and Gray-bull declared that the Crow never used any other material, but *bū'ptsā* also means "a stone hammer" and the model of an emblem of the corresponding Hidatsa society is of stone. On seeing the Crow models Mr. Harlan I. Smith was struck with the resemblance of the *bū'ptsā* to the problematical

¹ I find a note that, according to Fire-weasel's wife, the Lumpwoods stole some of the Muddy Hands' wives and that therefore the Muddy Hands, about fifty in number at the time joined the Foxes. However, the weight of authority is in favor of the statement in the text. Still another account by Black-bull has it that the Big Dogs were acting as police one season. The Muddy Hands wished to go in a certain direction, contrary to the Big Dogs' orders. The two societies fought each other with clubs. Then the Muddy Hands joined the Foxes, and were then strong enough to go where they pleased.

objects known to American archaeologists as bannerstones. The staff illustrated in Fig. 1a, is painted with white clay. Its *bū'ptsa* is decorated with yellow and red paint, the former being represented by diagonal, the latter by vertical shading. An unperforated *bū'ptsa* of ovoid shape is shown in two positions in Fig. 1, b and c; the diagonal lines again representing yellow, while blue is indicated in the upper view by vertical and in the lower by horizontal lines.

Pretty-enemy says that long ago the little boys, while playing, got some milkweed balls and pierced them with sticks. When they grew up, they founded a society and put bark, instead of the milkweed balls, on their sticks.

Charges-camp states that long ago a very old man, having lost his son, went out on the prairie to mourn. He had a vision of many boys, four of whom carried the wands emblematic of the society; there was one leader and one rear officer, both older than the rest, who corresponded to the leader and rear officer of the other military organizations. These boys were engaged in a sham battle. On the old man's return to camp, he organized the boys according to the vision received.

The following account deals with the annual meeting of the society.

In the spring the boys used to assemble and depart from the camp, each carrying with him a piece of dried meat. They built a fire and feasted by themselves, then they decided to meet on the morrow for the purpose of distributing the officers' staffs. The next morning they gathered in a certain lodge. Four willow poles were cut and laid outside against the tipi. The two oldest boys went outdoors to discuss the officers to be selected. They reëntered with a pipe, and chose successively the leaders, rear officers, four staff-bearers (*bū'ptsake* proper), and four *akdū'cire*. The manner of election was identical with that of the other societies. In leaving the lodge, each man was asked to which staff-bearer's home he wished to go. The society was thus subdivided into four groups, the members of which followed the *bū'ptsake* to their lodges. Here the sticks were finished and decorated, whereupon there was dancing, singing, and feasting. The four groups then re-united outdoors for a common dance, which continued until dark. Then the society went to the lodge of each of the four staff-bearers, formed a circle outside, and began to drum and sing. The father of the officer came out, and handed a pipe to the young braves, or invited them inside for a feast. The *akdū'cire* were expected not to be afraid of buffalo, wolves, mountain-lions, or any other kind of animal. They were to take their sticks and count coup on these animals as though they were enemies. The *bū'ptsake* were about sixteen or seventeen years old. It is clear that they sometimes took part in actual battle, in fact Gray-bull says they were more reckless than other warriors.

Fire-weasel said that practically all the young boys joined the *bū'ptsake*: two older boys were there to instruct the others and to make the four wands for the officers, who were supposed to be especially brave in the sham battles fought by the members. When the boys grew older, they entered one of the other societies. According to Gray-bull, the number carrying *bū'ptsake* was two, but from other statements this seems doubtful.

Child-in-the-mouth said that the paint used on the body was yellow, red, and blue, corresponding to the decoration of the *bū'ptsake*. There were seasons when the boys met real enemies and struck coups with their emblems. The following is a specimen song:—

batsē' tsirī'kā'tuēc, bā'wik.

The men are afraid of the enemy, I am going to meet [the enemy].

Older men also joined sometimes and went on war parties. Gray-bull remembers an occasion on which a *bū'ptsake* slain by the enemy was mourned by his fellow members. His body was laid on the ground, propped up against a buffalo skin backrest. His emblem was planted near the corpse. Picked members of the society gave vent to their lamentations, and sang songs. During this performance a young man named Rides-the-spotted-horse approached the scene merely as a spectator. He was always lucky in battle, though well-known for his dauntlessness. The slain man's father stopped Rides-the-spotted-horse's horse, put his hand on his head in token of pleading, and offered gifts to the rider. Then he thus addressed him: "You know how I have been treated by the Sioux, I depend on you to repay them." For a while the young man made no reply. At last he said, "You have appointed me to die. I will die just in order to revenge the death of your boy." Then they plucked out the dead officer's emblem, and gave it to Rides-the-spotted-horse. All those present cheered. The old man cried again. Then he picked out Gray-bull, pressed his head, gave him a shield, and prayed for vengeance. After some consideration, Gray-bull also expressed his willingness to jeopardize his life for the sake of retaliation. Though quite sincere in his determination to die, however, he came out alive and struck a coup. Rides-the-spotted-horse ran into the thickest part of the Sioux ranks, struck a coup, and got back in safety, though his horse was killed under him. One of the other *bū'ptsake* officers was killed. Apparently the mourning father wished Gray-bull to risk his life again, and offered him all kinds of property, but Gray-bull's brothers watched him closely and would not allow him to make another dash.

If some member did not attend a meeting, the *bū'ptsake* all went to his lodge and stood there until the delinquent's father pacified them with a gift of food and the offer of a pipe to smoke.

BULL SOCIETY.

The native name of this society was generally heard *tsi'rukapè*, not *tsi'rupakè* (from *tsi'rupe*, "bull," and *aké*, "owner"), as might be expected by analogy with *bū'ptsake* and *pē'ratsakè*, and as it was actually heard in several cases. Probably metathesis has taken place.

This society was, according to most informants, derived from the Hidatsa; only Gray-bull is of opinion that it originated with the Dakota. The bulk of the evidence supports the view that the members were elderly, or at least of mature years. Bell-rock sets their age at about 50, Gray-bull at 65. Nevertheless, the Bulls are said to have acted as police¹ (Gray-bull) and to have taken part in military activity. They always bore themselves well in battle until a certain engagement north of Pryor, when they were driven down a low cliff, whence they were called "Bulls-chased-over-the-cliff." The mockery thus incurred put a stop to the society. This seems to have taken place about forty years ago.

According to Gray-bull the mode of electing officers did not differ from that of the other societies. The members met in the spring, a pipe was pointed at different men, and these might either accept or decline the proffered honor. Those who kept quiet while others tried to put masks on their heads became the mask wearers (see below).

Varying opinions are expressed as to the number of officers. According to Child-in-the-mouth, there were two leaders and two rear officers as in other societies, and two men wearing buffalo heads as masks; the last-named impersonated blind bulls, which were supposed to be very fierce. Charges-camp sets the number of mask wearers at from one to four, Sharp-horn at four, while Gray-bull and Bull-chief say there were two. There is general agreement, however, that those wearing the masks were the fool-hardy members "made to die." Bull-chief's text (p. 214) seems to identify them with the leaders, but Gray-bull insists that the two leaders were distinct and had no special regalia. Lone-tree mentions but one leader and one rear officer. Sitting-elk alone speaks of two whippers wearing bear-skin belts. When the singing began at a performance of the society, all members were expected to rise and dance. If any one failed to do so, the belt wearers whipped him. When the musicians abruptly ceased to sing, the dancers were obliged to remain standing until the belt wearers touched them with their whips. Bear-gets-up recognizes two kinds of officers: two mask wearers and two officers who merely wore skin caps topped with horns.

¹ Bear-gets-up doubts this.

From some statements it would appear that all the rank and file wore such caps; according to others, they all wore red flannel aprons with little bells and had sleighbells on their belts or below the knee. Their bodies were blackened with charcoal.

The performance of the Bulls was very popular. The following account is based in the main on Gray-bull's narrative, which was supplemented by other informants.

About sunset the Bulls would have a herald proclaim that all members should gather in one lodge and paint up. A drum was beaten to make them hurry. They placed a large kettle with mud in the center of the lodge, and the Bulls painted their faces and bodies with it to represent the mud on buffalo in a wallow. They decorated their legs with anklets of buffalo skin with the hair, and put on other finery. The mask wearers plastered the hair and horns of their masks with white clay. When ready, the musicians beat their drums, and the Bulls began to parade, the leaders in front, followed by the rank and file, while about six (sometimes as many as ten) drummers brought up the rear. One man would carry water in a large vessel. Those who had dismounted in battle had the privilege of wearing buffalo tails, which were made to stand up erect. They snorted at the other dancers and made them retreat. The mask wearers imitated wild bulls, snorting and charging the crowd. The water-carrier held out his vessel for the performers. Some of these played shy, stuck out their tails, and ran away, snorting and prancing. Those who wished to die came up, looked at the water, bellowed like bulls, drank, lapping up the water, and shook it off like bulls. The women, some of whom helped in the singing, clacked their tongues in praise of these braves, who walked off pawing the ground. Pounded-meat once drank from the kettle and refused to go away. Others came to drink, but he kicked at them and beat them off, until one of the officers hooked him, whereupon at last he trotted off. After the dance he mounted his horse and said, "Whenever you are afraid of going against the enemy or vacillate, I will go straight toward them. If you retreat, I will dismount and fight afoot."

Sitting-elk said the water was carried by a virtuous woman selected for the purpose. Charges-camp also stated that it was a woman that brought the water. According to all informants, the act of drinking symbolized the drinker's pledge not to flee from the enemy.

During the dance the Bulls carried shields, guns, and lances. Some wore war-bonnets. Those members who had executed some notable deed recounted it and went through a mock performance of it. Thus, a man who struck a coup would count coup on one of the spectators. Those who had been wounded in battle approached the audience and went through the mo-

tion of being shot. Many of the dancers discharged their guns. Fire-weasel said that, although not a member, he once participated in a Bull dance to the extent of recounting some of his exploits. One-horn went so far as to state that any one was free to join the Bulls, even though he was already a member of the Fox or Lumpwood society. However, from the statements quoted above I conclude that this probably refers only to participation in the public performance of the Bulls and does not mean that the Bulls did not form a definite organization.

All the dancers pretended to be bulls. Some tried to frighten the women and children. Boys looking on would sharpen sticks and prod the Bulls with them, who would jump and snort like real bulls. Sometimes they would jump up with both feet, sometimes with each foot alternately.

CRAZY DOGS.

In order to distinguish this society from the Crazy-Dogs-Wishing-to-Die (p. 191), the members are sometimes called "Long Crazy Dogs," *mîc-g-é warā'axe hâtskite*. According to the almost unanimous testimony of my informants, the society was derived by the River Crow from the Hidatsa about thirty-five years ago. Bell-rock thought it was of Dakota origin, but Fire-weasel explained that while the Dakota had taught it to the Hidatsa, the latter were the ones to introduce it among the Crow. While several informants said that it was confined to the River Crow, it is clear that the Many Lodges adopted and re-modeled it (see p. 148), as shown in the following narrative by Gray-bull.

All the Many Lodge men who did not join the Hot dancers went to Plenty-coups' Lodge and formed the Crazy Dog society. I also joined. The custom of wife-stealing had been abandoned by the Foxes and Lumpwoods. We met in the spring and made a long sash with a slit for each of two officers. Punching a hole in baking-powder cans and putting beads inside, we made rattles of them. The dance was similar to the Hot dance. At the close of a song, all raised their rattles and shook them, the eagle feathers on them producing a fine effect. During the dance those wishing to give help in battle to the two officers "doomed to die," seized the trains of their sashes. After the dance we all assembled in the evening and circled round the camp, where we were sometimes invited to partake of a feast indoors.

One night we were parading in this way, and the Hot dancers were doing the same. The cry of challenge was sounded, "Hu, hu, hu!" The next day the wife-stealing was to begin. Plenty-coups said, "We'll strike the first blow, I'll capture some women directly." He talked the matter over, and we proceeded on horseback, riding double. Plenty-coups got off at Bear-claw's lodge, where he peeped in and saw Bear-claw's wife alone. He said, "Come on, I want to marry you." She took her blanket and went out. Plenty-coups had her ride behind his comrade.

The Crazy Dogs cheered: "Here is one coming already!" They began to sing and rejoice so much that the tipi began to shake. The captive was considered Plenty-coups' wife, and Plenty-coups' sisters brought an elk-tooth dress for her. The men said "It is all over, let us go out and dance." The woman's face was painted yellow, with red stripes across to represent Plenty-coups' coups. On account of my war record I was asked to ride on horseback, while the rest remained afoot. They told me to do as I pleased and take my partner behind me if I wished. I put on my ermine-skin shirt, had my partner sit behind me, and took the lead. Granulated-eyelids had once dismounted in a battle against the Sioux, and another man had taken him behind him. Now Granulated-eyelids was chosen to take the kidnapped woman on his horse.¹ He rode not in the line of march, but alongside in order to be conspicuous. I also had the privilege of riding about out of line, while the spectators gave vent to shouts of praise. One of the Crazy Dogs' wives was captured by the Hot dancers while looking on at the performance. The Crazy Dogs would not go home then, because they did not wish to have their wives stolen before their eyes. The Hot dancers could be heard rejoicing. The Crazy Dogs then appointed ten men, among them me and Strong-heart, to steal more women. I went to a lodge and ordered my friend to peep in. He saw a young woman sewing there. We both entered and sat down by the door. I called her, speaking for my partner, and said, "My partner wants you." She said, "He is my lover, but I will just shake hands with you without going." She begged not to be taken, but her lover insisted. Then she consented, put down her sewing, took her blanket, and said, "You are obstinate about it, let us go." One of our party of four then gave a signal to the other Crazy Dogs, also calling her husband and crying, "We have got her, she is going to marry us!" All the Crazy Dogs then beat drums and shook the lodge poles for joy. They made the woman sit in the rear of the lodge, and Strong-heart's sister gave her finery and an elk-tooth dress.

The Hot dancers were about to show off their captive. The Crazy Dogs said, "Let us look at it for a while, before dark we shall capture four or five of their women." The Hot dancers were dressed as they are nowadays; they had a big dance until dark. We forgot all about the many Hot dancers' wives we were going to capture. Only Strong-heart abducted one woman, but her mother came later and took her away again. That night one of our wives was stolen. We kidnapped three women altogether that season and paraded with two of them.

On another occasion I peeped into a lodge while a woman was cooking for her husband, who gave me a friendly greeting. She said to me and my companion, "You are ghosts,² I will not go with you." I got angry, walked in, and said, "Your husband is no person, come with me!" She ran behind her husband. I seized her, so did my companion, and we dragged her to the door. Her husband held on to her waist calling for aid, and was dragged along with his wife. I seized her husband and bade him desist. The woman's brother said to us, "You are ghosts, she wants her own husband." He seized a butchering-knife and said, "Some of you shall die for this." Then we let go and fled, but the woman's husband was considered weak-hearted.

¹ I suspect that this passage was slightly misinterpreted and that it was Granulated-eyelids who had saved another Crow from the enemy by taking him on his horse. See p. 172.

² This is a grave insult. See Lowie, (a), 245.

Gray-bull says that among the River Crow the Crazy Dogs never indulged in wife-stealing, and this is confirmed by Lone-tree, a member of that society and local division.

There is some difference of opinion as to the number of officers. This may be due to a difference between the local bands. Lone-tree said there were a single leader, a single rear officer, and about 25 ordinary members. The leader was expected to advance against the enemy and never to retreat, while the rear officer would dismount to make a stand if the enemy were pursuing the Crow. The leader wore a cap of buckskin with furbished deer horns, and trimmed with weasel skins in the back. The rear officer wore a sash of red flannel, decorated with beadwork. The election of these officers took place in the spring, and their term was a single season. They were chosen as in the other societies, some man filling a pipe and offering it in turn to various members until someone accepted.

Old-dog says there were sometimes two and sometimes four sash-wearers. Another informant speaks of two leaders, four sash-wearers, and two rear officers, to which Sitting-elk adds two men who whipped members into dancing and two *akdū'cīre*. Bear-gets-up says there were four sash-wearers and four men wearing the horned caps; in addition a leader was chosen to direct the dancing. All the members, according to him, had skin rattles of either the spherical or the ring-shaped type. (Fig. 3a.)

The Crazy Dogs frequently acted as police, and according to Old-dog were especially strict in that capacity. Prairie-Gros-Ventre said the members were all young. They used dark-red and light-red paint, as well as white clay. Those with war records wore weasel-skin shirts, otherwise all were dressed alike.

CRAZY-DOGS-WISHING-TO-DIE.

Ordinarily these Crazy Dogs are not distinguished in name from the Crazy Dog *society*; when the context alone would fail to prevent mistakes they are referred to as *micg-e warā'axe akcē'wī'uk* (Crazy Dogs who wish to die). As so many of the military societies, not only of the Crow but also of other Plains tribes, had one or more officers pledged to conduct themselves with special bravery, it might naturally be supposed that the Crazy Dogs now to be discussed were simply officers of the society treated above. However, practically all informants denied any connection between the death-seeking Crazy Dogs (who cannot be said to have formed any organization) and the Crazy Dog society, and this view is corroborated by the recent introduction of the Crazy Dog society (see p. 191) while the

custom of seeking death as a Crazy Dog individually seems to be relatively old. Nevertheless, the rattles and sashes employed seem to have been similar in both cases, and Child-in-the-mouth also considers the songs identical.

When a man for some reason became tired of life, he announced himself a Crazy Dog. This implied that he must thenceforth "talk crosswise" (*iri'wat bakarē'*), that is, express the opposite of his real intentions and do the opposite of what he was bidden. His most essential duty, however, was to rush into danger and deliberately seek death. This obligation, curiously enough, was limited to one season. If at the end of this period he had by chance escaped death, the Crazy Dog was absolved from his pledge, unless he voluntarily renewed it for another season. Thus, One-horn's father-in-law was dissatisfied with the way rations were issued by the Government and became a Crazy Dog; the first year he failed to get hurt, but he did not wish to live any longer, again assumed the insignia and manners of a Crazy Dog for the following season, and was killed. Naturally, while the number of Crazy Dogs varied from year to year, it was never very great. During some seasons there was no one that was especially eager to court death; on the other hand, One-horn remembers as many as five Crazy Dogs at one time. The usual number seems to have been two. Hunts-to-die, however, made the statement that long ago there were as many as ten Crazy Dogs who went to war; one of them was killed, accordingly the rest also succeeded in being slain.¹

The most renowned of all the Crazy Dogs was *Īsacpítākc* (Young-cottontail-rabbit), who was killed within the memory of men still living. His story is known throughout the tribe, and all the incidents in the following narrative² by *Itsū'ptete* were repeatedly confirmed by other old informants.

At the old Agency (on the Yellowstone) they were issuing goods. It was there that I first came to know a Crazy Dog. When the people were seated, before the distribution of goods, a youth came riding on horseback, holding his blanket by his stomach. He used his quirt for a rattle. He came into the circle and began to sing. "What is this?" "This is a youth who has been shot in the knee. His knee is sore. He would like to be like other young men and wishes to die, that is why he acts like this." Then for a long time we did not see him. One evening he came out, looking powerful. All of us were eager to see him. He made a rattle of baking-powder cans;³ inside he put beads. It rattled mightily. There was a fine chain on his horse's bridle. His horse could not be seen, he had so much to carry. The youth came, with his gun in his belt. He had a wrist-band of silver-fox skin.

¹ Compare the description in Curtis, iv, 13-14.

² Recorded in the original. See p. 215.

³ Other informants say that *Īsacpítākc* used a rawhide rattle.

He wore a switch and had little braids in front. He had a very fine necklace and shell earrings. His horse was a bald-faced bay that pawed the ground vigorously. We looked at him; the whole camp liked him. He went through the camp singing and swinging his rattle. We did not know he talked crosswise. One man said to him, "Don't dance!" He got off in front of a lodge. His drummer held a drum like this one, and began to sing. The Crazy Dog danced. "I will test myself, I wish to die; I wish to know whether it will be well." He shot down at his foot.¹ "Well, I think it will be so," he said. The women liked him very much. He danced every evening. When the Crow moved camp, he sang. When they camped again, he went through the camp singing. The old women cheered him lustily. He always sang at night. When they went on a hunt, the people regarded him as a dog. When they went to kill buffalo, the Crazy Dog went along hallooing. As these dogs act when they see a cow, so he acted in sight of the buffalo. They killed many buffalo and butchered them. The youth packed his horse. When the people camped, he went through the camp singing. On the next day they moved, and camped in a coulée. One of the young men was thrown off his horse, which ran away. He rode back to the old camp site to catch the runaway, and found a party of Sioux. There were a few young Crows with him. They drove the Sioux into the bed of a creek; there were breastworks there. The Crazy Dog got there; he wished to die. He went to the edge of the breastworks and shot down at the Sioux, then they killed him. It began to rain violently. The Crazy Dog was lying in the rain water until daylight. The next day we got there, and found him lying in the water. The people wrapped him up and set him on horseback. They conducted him to camp, crying all the way. All the camp mourned grievously. They erected a four-pole scaffold to lay him on, and they planted a lodge pole, to which they tied the Crazy Dog's sash. We moved without him. This is how he was killed. His drum, looking like this one, was hung on the scaffold.

Hunts-to-die knew of another Crazy Dog, who lived in his grandfather's time. He was the handsomest Indian ever seen, and was called Good-crazy-dog; his real name was He-strikes-the-enemy-with-his-brother. At one time the Sioux attacked a Crow band, killing all, including some of Good-crazy-dog's relatives. Good-crazy-dog said, "I am going to die, I will be a Crazy Dog." He bought red flannel for the sashes,² making one for each side. He made a rattle out of a buffalo paunch, and tied eagle feathers to one end of it; inside he put beads and little stones. He wore a fine war-bonnet on his head and tied skunkskin ornaments to his moccasins. His necklace was of *bapā'ce* shells, and his earrings of sea-shells. In the back he wore a switch and in front little braids of hair. He rode a fine spotted horse with docked tail; for its trappings he sewed together red and green flannel. When he rode through camp, he began to sing and the old women cheered him. He was killed in battle.

Spotted-rabbit told the following story about a namesake of his who had also been a Crazy Dog.

¹ Cf. Curtis, iv, 14.

² Sometimes one of the sashes was blue, and the other red.

When Spotted-fish died, he left fifty head of horses to be distributed among his clansmen and fifty to his stepson, Spotted-rabbit. This happened in the autumn. Spotted-rabbit told the people he would catch up with his father in a short while. Accordingly, early in the spring, he became a Crazy Dog. He wished to die before his fifty head of horses were gone, for no one tended them as his father had done. Both his father's and his own clansmen tried to dissuade him, but he paid no attention to them. He bartered several of his horses for red flannel and a war-bonnet, made himself a rattle, and went singing through the camp. People saw he was going to die and felt sorry for him. The Crow moved along the Missouri toward North Dakota. Some mornings they would find him lying with married women who came to sleep with him. One day, after going through the camp singing, he dismounted and sat down. His mother had some little rawhide bags filled with ripe plums. She handed them to him saying, "An old lady brought this for you. You had better eat and give some to your brother." He untied the bags, pulled out a few plums, looked at them, and said, "I began to be a Crazy Dog early in the spring and did not think I should live so long. Yet here I am today eating plums." He was eating some of the plums, and so was his brother, when the people said, "Some one is coming over there, they look like Dakota." Spotted-rabbit gave his brother a rope and bade him fetch his horse. His brother ran and got the bob-tail pinto always ridden by Spotted-rabbit. Their mother bade a girl get a horse for her, which she did. Spotted-rabbit mounted and rode through camp, singing, followed by his mother. The Crow went toward the hills where the Dakota were. They espied a humpbacked Dakota Crazy Dog and stopped, but Spotted-rabbit went straight on toward the Dakota, who was waiting for him. The Dakota shot Spotted-rabbit in the breast, and killed him. Then Double-face leaped on the Dakota and took away his gun, and another Crow killed him. Spotted-rabbit's mother was there. She had her son's body thrown on a horse and led him back. She told them that he had become a Crazy Dog on account of his father's death. She told them to prepare his body so it would not be spoiled and that she would bury him with his father near the site of Ft. Smith. So they prepared a travois, and all moved toward that direction. But they found plenty of buffalo and told the mother they needed the food and would hunt while there was a good chance and lay the corpse in a tree crotch until the next year. So they laid him on a big tree by the river. The next year they wished to bury his body, but they found that beavers had cut the tree and nothing could be found of Spotted-rabbit but a looking-glass deposited with his corpse.¹

HALF-SHAVED HEADS.

Pretty-enemy, a woman, said that long ago the Foxes would punish a woman who re-married after her husband's death by taking away all her property. On one occasion the second husband got angry, and organized an opposition party named the Half-Shaved Heads (*itsū'sa tsiricū'tse*). This name referred to the shaving of the head with the exception of a central

¹ When my informant had been a successful war leader, he was named for the Crazy Dog Spotted-rabbit.

ridge. The Half-Shaved Heads wished to stop the maltreatment of women by the Foxes. They made crooked willow sticks wrapped with willow bark, for they had no otterskin then. This took place before the acquisition of horses. A Half-Shaved Head stole the wife of one of the Foxes; thus there started a feeling of rivalry in the matter of wife-stealing, for the Half-Shaved Heads were the predecessors of the Lumpwoods, which name they afterwards assumed (see p. 164). In early times the stolen woman was made to straddle a stick instead of a horse, and a dance was performed by way of celebration. The two rival parties decided that thereafter they were not going to abuse women as the Foxes had done, but would steal each other's wives. Big-snake and Old-dog also identified the Half-Shaved Heads with the Lumpwoods. Another informant considered the Half-Shaved Heads as an originally quite distinct society; but in fighting against the enemy the Lumpwoods noticed their bravery and asked the Half-Shaved Heads to unite with them, which they did. Previous to this union the Half-Shaved Heads had carried coup sticks instead of the straight and hooked-staffs of the Lumpwoods.

Bull-chief said this society existed before he was born. The members did not really shave their hair. When dancing they would circle round in one direction, while their two leaders moved about inside the circle in opposite directions to show that they were not afraid of the enemy. They, or some other officers, carried hooked-staffs wrapped with otterskin.

MUDDY MOUTHS AND LITTLE DOGS.

Several informants, such as Lone-tree and Fire-weasel, simply identify the Muddy Mouths (í'í cipíε) with the Little Dogs (micg-íεte). Child-in-the-mouth said the Muddy Mouths were subdivided into three groups corresponding to formerly distinct societies: the Muddy Mouths proper; the Little Dogs; and the Crow Owners (see p. 199). Maximilian, it should be noted, mentions the Little Dogs, but not the Muddy Mouths, as a Crow society. This confirms the view advanced by Sitting-elk and others that the Little Dog society antedated the Muddy Mouths among the Crow, and that the Little Dogs of the River Crow band learned the Muddy Mouth dance of the Hidatsa, afterwards assuming that name. According to Old-dog, the Muddy Mouth dance was confined to the River Crow.

When Sitting-elk was old enough to ride on horseback, the River Crow band, to which he belonged, visited the Hidatsa. They camped in a circle, and towards sundown the Hidatsa chief notified his people that they were going to have a dance in the Crow camp. The Hidatsa came, singing and

beating drums. Some had painted their body black, others their arms, still others the face between nose and chin. They carried warclubs, guns and spears with them. They began to dance. Two men bore round rattles, similar to those employed in the Tobacco dance, with feathers attached to the top. Each of these officers occupied a position at one extremity of the line of dancers. When the singing had ceased, all stood still. The rattlers then began to shake their rattles and walked forward so as to cross each other's paths, singing at the same time. The singers then resumed their chant. When the rattlers wished to put an end to the performance, they simply stood still, without crossing paths. Thus the dance was closed, and the Hidatsa went home. That night the Crow discussed the dance they had witnessed and expressed their desire to own it. Before they departed from the Hidatsa, their hosts accordingly gave them the dance. There were no officers besides the rattlers, nor were any members pledged to special bravery. There were no young men in the society, most of the Muddy Mouths were chiefs or people of distinction. A Lumpwood could not at the same time be a Muddy Mouth. Sitting-elk did not know whether there was an adoption ceremony when a man entered.

Sharp-horn also denies that there were any officers expected to die in battle, saying the organization existed solely for dancing. On the other hand, Child-in-the-mouth says that all members were expected to be brave. Black-bull and Child-in-the-mouth agree that the Muddy Mouths were mostly middle-aged men. Black-Bull says that in dancing the society divided into two equal groups, the members of which stood abreast, facing each other. The two chiefs of the society stood between the two subdivisions with their rattles, and began to sing. Then they danced, passing each other. Just as they did so, every one shouted, and the members also began to dance. Black-bull thought this was an old Crow society; it passed out of existence before the Muddy Hands joined the Foxes,—a little over forty years ago, all the members having died or lost their lives in war.

Child-in-the-mouth saw but one performance of the Muddy Mouth dance, which, oddly enough, he says resembles the Hot dance (p. 200). There was one officer wearing a bearskin belt and carrying a quirt; when the dance was over the performers remained standing until touched with the quirt. There was no special costume for the members; they did not wear very good clothes,—generally donning nothing but red breechcloths. Some carried tomahawks as a token that they had used them to strike enemies, others had warclubs with skunkskin grips. The distinctive paint consisted either of mashed charcoal mixed with ashes or of black mud. It was either daubed over their mouths or put in streaks across the eyes. The Muddy Mouths, like other societies, sometimes acted as the tribal police.

Before one of their dances every tribesman tied up his dogs, for if any dogs pursued them while dancing the Muddy Mouths struck them down or shot them. The fact that the Muddy Mouths sometimes policed the camp was confirmed by another informant.

Nothing is said in the preceding notes relating to the Little Dog society before its adoption of the Muddy Mouth dance. Bear-gets-up, however, said that the Little Dogs had either two or four officers wearing long sashes of red flannel, and two others who carried a board of the length of a man's arm, notched on one side and trimmed with crow feathers. He did not know whether these officers were "doomed to die" and whether they were elected in spring meetings such as were characteristic of most other Crow societies.

The last stage in the history of the Little Dog-Muddy Mouth organization was referred to by Lone-tree. When the members had become few in number, they joined the Crazy Dogs. As the Crazy Dogs were primarily a River Crow society, this confirms the view that the Muddy Mouth dance was peculiar to the northern division of the tribe.

CROW OWNERS.

Sitting-elk said that all the members of this society had died off even before the Little Dogs. When a boy he witnessed one of the Crow Owners' (pē'ratsakè) dances. The performers had their bodies painted red and wore stuffed crows round the neck, the tails of the bird being spread out on the wearer's shoulder. The men were all elderly but not very old men.

Fire-weasel, though older than Sitting-elk, said that the Crow Owners had disappeared long before his time. His wife had heard from her grandmother that a Crow Owner carried a long pole with a single eagle feather on the top, while to the center there was fastened a string of crow feathers perforated for stringing at the butt-end and trimmed at the top. Some members had poles with feathers from top to bottom, others carried crow-feather fans decorated with quillwork. Whether any of these were officers, my informant was unable to tell.

Bull-all-the-time gave the following as a Crow Owner's song:

awáxbiwací'k-ata, diawáxbawìek, bō'wik.
Camp-mates, I want to marry you, I shall come.

The same informant said that the Crow Owners had a herald, officers "doomed to die" who wore sashes, and others who prepared food for the society.

Child-in-the-mouth stated that the Crow Owner society, like the Little Dog, Muddy Mouth, Bull, and Crazy Dog societies, as well as the Hot dance, was derived from the Hidatsa.

HOT DANCE.

It has already been stated that the Hot dance (bā'tawé disúé) was introduced by the Hidatsa about thirty-five years ago and is practised today by four clubs,—the Night Hot dancers, Big-Ear-Holes, Last dancers, and Sioux dancers. At first there was also a group of Day Hot dancers, but it was discontinued and later the two last-named clubs appeared. The dance does not correspond to the Hot dance of the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara described by Maximilian, but is identical with the Omaha or Grass dance of other tribes.¹ Dr. Wissler² has pointed out that the Oglala perform this

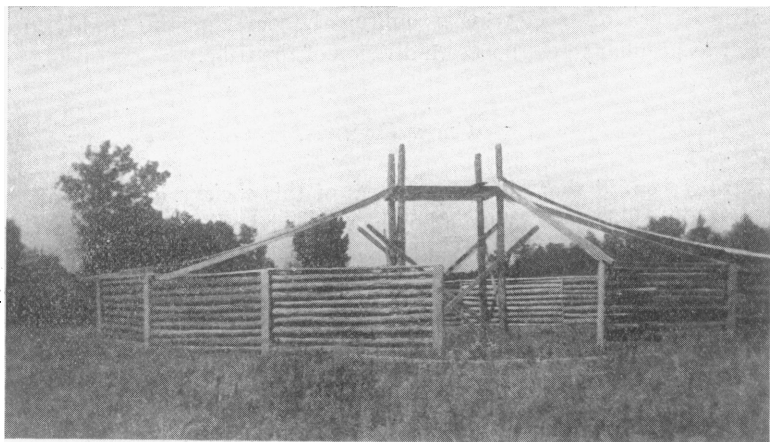


Fig. 4. Hot Dance House Frame.

dance in a log structure bearing some resemblance to an earth lodge. This type of dance lodge, with modern additions, also prevails among the Crow (Figs. 4 and 5), which confirms what we know of the history of the diffusion of this ceremony among the Plains tribes.

Old-coyote, a Crow from Pryor, gave some information as to the introduction of the Hot dance. When he was a young man, the Crow visited the Hidatsa. One Crow had learned the songs of the Hidatsa Hot dance and sang them. His tribesmen liked the songs very much, and during the

¹ It is, of course, possible that the *songs* were derived from the old Hot dance.

² Wissler, this volume, 51.

winter they performed the dance without having the appropriate paraphernalia, but following the instructions of the one Crow singer. In the spring they got together in a lodge one day and drew a picture of the "crows," drums, drumsticks, and of the chief and men dancing toward the kettle. This picture they sent to the Hidatsa in care of several men, bidding them visit the Crow. The messengers returned, saying that the Hidatsa would come in the fall with all the regalia. In the fall the Crow moved from Clark's Fork, and a Hidatsa came to herald the arrival of his tribe. The Crow rode to meet them between Clark's Fork and Pryor. The Hidatsa were camped near Red Lodge Creek. The next morning the Hidatsa agreed to give all the regalia to the Crow. The officers selected



Fig. 5. Hot Dance House at Lodge Grass.

the Crow Indians to whom they wished to give their paraphernalia. The Crow decided to give their visitors in return about 600 horses and some other property in addition.

A Reno informant derived the dance from the vision of a young man who was fasting for four days by a lake. At last a crane came toward him, made a crane-head stick and a belt of coyote skin, turned into a human being, danced, and instructed the visionary. The young man brought back the crane-head stick and it has since been used in the Hot dance. During the feast two young men dance up to the kettle containing dog meat (see p. 203) and dip in their crane-head sticks to symbolize eating. One of these sticks is illustrated in Fig. 3c. As the Hot dance is undoubtedly of Hidatsa

origin, the Reno informant must have meant either that his visionary was an Hidatsa or that he was a Crow who merely added some special features to the dance.

From Scolds-the-bear I obtained the following account of a Hot dance performance as practised at the period of its introduction.

When the members wished to have a Hot dance, one man beat a drum three or four times in succession, while the others merely sang. Then the first drummer would rise and say, "Let us have a dance tomorrow." The two dance chiefs, who always sat in the center of the rear, called for the crier and bade him select two men for the office of killing and cooking two dogs for the next day's dance. They also requested the crier to call ten officers to cook food for all the people. Ten others were named who were not regular officers. These were to form a ring of cloth goods and to lend what property they could for the festive occasion. The crier made this announcement: "I am going to announce the dance four times to-morrow. If any one enters after me, I shall make him prepare the dog the next time" (as a punishment).

The next morning the crier rose at daybreak and called for the ten officers to put up cloth and prepare the lodge. They did and planted a long lodge pole with a flag in the center. The second time the crier shouted: "Take a bath and comb your hair!" The third proclamation was: "Paint yourselves and put on your best clothes!" The fourth time the crier said: "Go to the ring where the dance is to take place." After the last announcement the crier waited outside for a fairly long time, then he entered the site. The drum used was held sacred and at first only two special officers were allowed to touch it. One of these held as an emblem a drumstick decorated with feathers and ribbons. The crier had the privilege of punishing the ordinary members, but not the two drum men. After the two drummers had hit the drum four times, the singers sat in a circle round the drum and were then permitted to hit it. The drum was made by the Indians; its head was of deer hide or horse hide. The dancers came in and suspended the dance regalia from the lodge poles: two whips, eight "crows", and two buffalo horn headdresses topped with eagle feathers and decorated in front with weasel skins.

The first song sung was a signal for the officers to take down the suspended regalia. They danced round the pole three times and then took down the regalia. After the dance they gave presents to any one they pleased. The second song was for the chiefs, who followed the example of the other officers. The third song was for the crier alone. The fourth song was for the drummer, the fifth for the drumstick-owner. Each of these got up and danced. Four women had been appointed to sit near the drum

and help in the singing. A song was sung for them, but the women merely gave away presents without dancing. The next song was for all the officers, who rose, danced, and gave away presents. The chiefs next bade the crier announce that the rank and file might dance. Two whippers now took positions at opposite ends of the dance ground and struck anyone with their whips that did not dance. If, however, they made anyone bleed, they gave him a horse.

The dog-killers put the kettle with the dog meat near the entrance. The crow-wearers sat down, one of them in front of the others. The first song was sung four times. During the singing of the first four songs the crow-wearers merely swayed their bodies. At the fourth song they rose, danced backwards, and finally approached their crows with out-stretched hands. When near them, they made an upward motion. They danced four times to the same song, and then girded on the crows. They danced to the side where the dog was lying. Three times they danced toward the dog, the fourth time they passed by it, the last man picking up the kettle, lifting it, and circling it round four times before laying it down. The man who sat in front of the crow-wearers held a plate. Another man, called the "dancer-toward-the-meat," danced and put the meat into the plate. The meat-dancer and the plate-holder took each one of the dog heads and put them in two different places. Each of these men was considered the head man of one of the two quartets of crow-wearers. These two selected four renowned warriors each. These warriors were not supposed to eat, but merely sat there. Then the food-distributors first served the selected men and officers, and then the other people. In distributing food they started from the drums. Everyone received his share, but no one ate. One officer, the "feeder," had a sharp-pointed stick trimmed with bead-work, from the end of the handle of which eagle tail-feathers were hanging down. The plate-holder, after completing his work, returned to his seat with the plate and was the first to eat. Then followed the "feeder," who swayed his body three times in accompaniment to his song, and rose to dance at the fourth intonation of it. Towards the end he suddenly ceased to dance with the cessation of the drumming and pointed his stick towards the north. As soon as the drumming was resumed he began to dance again as before. When the drumming ceased again, he pointed his stick westward. The third time he danced toward the north, and at the end he went toward the center and pointed the stick toward the east. Thus he moved round in a circle, covering one quadrant of it during each song. He came straight to the dog and made a motion over it with his stick. He broke off a morsel of the dog meat, impaled it on the stick, pointed it at the four quarters and gave it to the plate-holder to eat. Next he broke off another

morsel and gave it to another dancer. Then he took other morsels and gave them to the two chiefs. He served each of the officers in the same manner. If any of the men had had sexual intercourse the previous night, he would not take into his mouth the morsel offered. The feeder would take such a man into the middle of the ring, where the people clapped hands and jeered at him. Formerly, such men would not even wear the "crows," but merely carried them in their hands. The plate-holder rose and walked up to one of the eight selectmen. He said, "I have put these men here because they are renowned for doing such and such a deed. That is why I have given them dog food to eat. Now you may all eat." Then all the members began to eat.

After the feast the eight renowned men had the dogs' skull bones laid down and danced toward them, at the same time imitating exactly the part they played in battle. Then they all stood in a row, and each in turn recounted his deeds. When the chiefs wished to stop the dance, they expressed their thanks to the crowd, the people responded, and at this the dancing ceased. One of the crow-wearers had the prerogative of leading out of the dance ground. This man put a blanket near the door. Four times he danced toward it, the fourth time he passed out, picking up the blanket.

The chief dancers held their offices for about a year, though sometimes for a longer period. A meeting of all the officers would be called. Then someone would say, "Now we will give up our regalia, and do you others do likewise." The next time a dance was held the two crow-wearers were appointed to pick out new officers. The rank and file did not know anything about it beforehand. Then all the officers resigned their regalia and whatever else pertained to their offices.

Child-in-the-mouth gave a somewhat different list of officers from Scolds-the-bear's: two leaders; two men with big drums; four crane-stick bearers; eight crow-wearers; two criers; two pipe-fillers; one man for singing the last song; four women to help in the singing; two whippers; two men wearing war-bonnets; two men with long sticks trimmed with feathers from top to bottom; one man with a stick representing a fork wrapped with beads and with a scalp at one extremity; one flag man, whose flag is hoisted on a pole; and one man wearing a red-fox skin round the neck. The man with the forked stick dances first before the distribution of food and dips his stick into the bucket with dog meat, then the four brave men lick off his stick, whereupon he orders all the other members to eat. One of the eight crow-wearers who has been wounded in battle goes out ahead of the rest at the close of the dance. The crane-sticks were supposed to be carried in battle to strike enemies with.

Additional data were furnished by Gray-bull. Originally there were but four crow-wearers, but now there are eight (at least in Lodge Grass). The other officers were: two men wearing war-bonnets; one with a pointed ceremonial wand; one herald; one whipper; one pipe-bearer; one drummer; and one man with an American flag. The two head men (= bonnet-wearers?) decide when a dance is to be held and give away each a horse. When the society parade through camp anyone who feels inclined will give away the gelding he rides. Then they go into the dance lodge. It is compulsory for everyone to eat a little dog meat. After a certain time the door of the lodge is shut and no one may leave the dance ground except those who were at one time shot in battle. If these lead out, the rest may follow, otherwise a fine must be paid. In case of physical necessity the head men may give permission to a person to go out. Any officer may give away regalia at a dance, thus "adopting" the one to whom they are presented. The women singers may also "adopt" their successors by resigning in their favor. The one adopted pays gifts to the adopter, aggregating possibly \$100 in value.

I now add a few observations of my own. One late afternoon during Fourth of July week (1910) I saw a procession of men dressed up, who passed from lodge to lodge, planting a stick in front of each one. This was explained to be a requisition of food for the Hot dance feast. Gray-bull said the custom was called *tsi'rukape* (cf. p. 189) and was copied from the Sioux. It had nothing to do with the Bull society of the Crow. On another occasion all members of the four clubs were expected to participate in a Hot dance. After a summons four marshals were appointed, one representing each club, who were to punish the laggards. These were either obliged to pay a fine or were thrown into the creek. My own interpreter, who was working with me at the time, was among the guilty ones, but I pacified the officers by a small gift. One man, I heard afterwards, was actually thrown into the water. The most impressive thing in the Hot dance performance to an outsider is the extraordinary generosity with which property of all kinds is given away to the aged and poor of the tribe, as well as to visitors from other tribes. Women can be seen staggering away under loads of blankets presented to them and their husbands. Horses are ridden directly into the dance house and presented to old people. In 1910 I saw one man take off all his clothes but the gee-string and give them away in the presence of a large crowd. In former times this was also the occasion for "throwing away" wives.¹

As now performed, the Hot dance is sometimes made to alternate with

¹ See Lowie, (a), p. 223.

a squaw dance of quite recent introduction, the Owl dance (pō'pēte disúē). Gray-bull thinks it came from the Mandan and Arikara, but probably it was, as others assert, borrowed from the Cree. It is practically identical with the *kwā'pakín*, which the Lemhi Shoshone derived from the Cree about twelve years ago, except that partners do not pay each other for dancing. As seen in Sheridan, Wyoming, in 1907, the Owl dance was performed in the following way. At first the men and women sat on the ground. Several men in the center of the dance ground began to beat small hand-drums. Then a woman went about, whipping first the women and then the men by way of admonishing them to rise and dance. The women formed a circle and at first danced by themselves. Then some man would select one or two partners, placing his hand round her or their waists, while his partners clasped him in the same way. The general motion of the dancers was a clockwise glide, but a few dancers formed an arc of a smaller circle concentric with the larger one, and moved in a contra-clockwise direction, facing the dancers of the outer ring.

CLOWNS.

The clowns (*akbi'arusacarica*¹) are not permanently organized among the Crow and are not at all connected with the system of military societies. Nevertheless, I give the data obtained on the subject in this place in order to facilitate reference for comparative purposes.

The clowns' performance can nowadays be seen once a year, during the week of the Fourth of July celebrations; formerly it took place in the spring. While attending a Tobacco adoption ceremony at Lodge Grass on July 3rd, 1910, my attention was called to a disturbance outside. Two men were dashing through camp dressed as clowns and riding a horse appropriately caparisoned. They were followed by the younger men. I was told that the clowns did not go through the customary performance, because the spectators had identified them.

The man who takes the initiative in the arrangement of the performance bids his friends meet in the brush, bringing with them gunnysack, mud, and leaves. They make leggings of gunnysack and one-piece shirts with an opening for the head. Mud is used instead of body-paint. A mask is made out of cloth, slits being cut for the eyes and mouth, and is blackened with charcoal. There is only one face to this mask.² The nose is sometimes fashioned out of mud and stuck on, at other times it is simply marked with charcoal. When the clowns have disguised themselves so as to be quite irre recognizable they leave their hiding-place and approach the camp.

As soon as the people catch sight of them, they cry, "The *akbi'arusacarica* are coming!" The clowns walk as if they were lame and act as clumsily as possible, so that the spectators cannot refrain from laughing at them. The people crowd in on the performers to watch their antics. One of the clowns is dressed up as a woman, wearing a fine elk-tooth dress; he is obliged to walk, talk, and sit like a woman, and is stuffed so as to simulate pregnancy. Among the clowns there is a singer who has been provided with a torn drum, the worst that could be found. The songs may refer in jocular fashion to the rivalry of the Fox and Lumpwood societies, the following being a sample:

"Íexuxke itsí'ra xíce, itsí'ra xíce."

"Foxes' feet broken feet broken."³

¹ As nearly as I can analyze the word, it seems to mean "woman-impersonator."

² The Assiniboine clown masks are two-faced.

³ This is the translation given in my notes. Though the meaning is not quite clear to me, I should now suppose the translation to be "The Foxes' horses have swellings" (on their feet?).

The clowns attempt to make fun of any one they like, regardless of his distinction, because everyone is laughing at them. The spectators try to identify the actors and to inform one another who they are. Then the clowns act like monkeys. They talk to one another in whispers and bid one another dance so as to make the people laugh. In addressing the crowd they disguise their voices. As soon as they see the singer pick up his drum, they walk about, preparing to think up some antics. The singer takes up his drum as if to beat it, but merely rattles it, at the same time heaving a grunt. The impatient onlookers cry out, "Dance, we wish to see you dance!" The clowns have prepared willow bows and arrows, or worthless old firearms, with which to frighten the people while dancing. When starting out on their expedition, they have selected and abducted the ugliest horse, crooked-legged and swollen-kneed, that they could find. Ugly as it is, they have tried hard to enhance its unattractiveness by turning down its ears and tying them with willows, plastering its face with mud or masking it, and putting gunnysack leggings on its legs. Slits are made in the mask for the eyes. The owner of the horse does not know it has been stolen until he sees it in the public performance, where it appears ridden by the "woman," who sits behind another clown. This rider with his arrow or gun motions to the spectators, signaling to them not to press too close but to keep their distance. Usually the people heed these admonitions, which are seconded by the "woman." When the drum is finally beaten, the clowns scatter, each dancing as ludicrously as possible. After a while the drummer gets excited and throws his drum away on one side and his drumstick in the opposite direction. He then begins to dance all alone without any music. When his companions see him acting in this fashion they likewise recommence to dance without drum or chant. Finally all the performers stop except one clown who refuses to cease dancing and thus attracts the attention of the spectators, who cry out, "There's one dancing still!" The other clowns turn around. Then the horseman bids his companion dismount and dance, but "she" refuses and clings to her partner, who becomes enraged and pushes her head, whereupon she gets down and begins to dance. Her companion now makes preparations to dismount, but purposely falls off and pretends to be badly hurt. After a while he dances with his weapons, then he proceeds to get on horseback again, but intentionally overleaps so as to fall, and again acts as if seriously injured.

Some wags in the audience are in the habit of asking questions and making such remarks as, "These fellows must have come from a great distance." The clowns answer by means of signs that they have come from very far indeed and are tired out as a result of their journey; some-



Fig. 6. Clown in Full Costume.

times they say they have come from the sky. Then some one may ask, "How many nights did it take you to get here?" By way of reply the clown begins to count up to hundreds and hundreds, and would never stop were it not for the drummer, who seizes him by the back, saying, "You are mad, you do not know where we have slept." Then he throws him down. The clown pretends to fall headlong, but stops after a while, and begins to

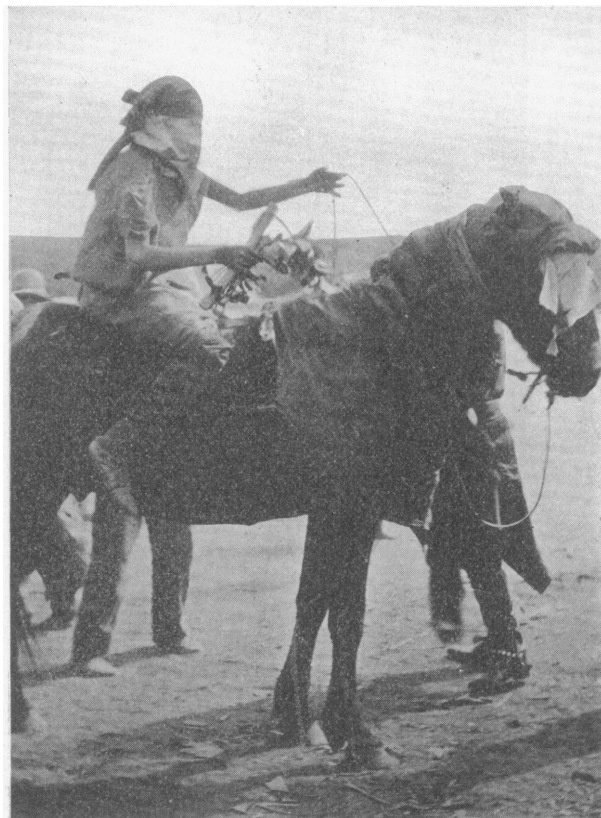


Fig. 7. Boy in Clown's Disguise.

laugh. In fact he pretends to die laughing and kicks his feet up in the air.

When all the clowns are tired, they decide to leave. The horseman then attempts to clear the way for them, but the spectators shout, "Dance some more!" At first he refuses, but they cry, "For the love of your wife behind you, dance!" Then he bids the drummer sing again, and the dance

recommences. After a while they make an effort to get away, the rider driving away the audience, but there is such a crowd that they can only go about 50 yards. Here they are obliged to halt and repeat the performance. About every 50 yards they are obliged to dance again. They go the full length of the camp until they reach their starting-place, but it takes them a long time. Little boys, as well as older ones, crowd about, trying to identify the performers and pelting them with dung. While the outsiders are being held off by the horseman, the clowns make a run for the thickest part of the brush in order to prevent recognition, doff their costumes, dress in their usual clothes, scatter in all directions, and at last slink back into camp.¹

For the account just quoted I am indebted to Prairie-Gros-Ventre, who takes a prominent part in these proceedings. He purposely omitted as tending to discredit his people a feature, which in the olden days figured very conspicuously. This deficiency was supplied by Crane-bear: *Equiti magnum ex salicis cortice et luto membrum virile effictum esse, illum cum "muliere" cum ex equo desilisset in terram prostrata apud vulgi risus coire simulasse; mentulae fictae longitudinem intervallum inter carpum et cubitum aequasse.*

Fig. 6 shows Prairie-Gros-Ventre posing in a clown's costume after painting his body with mud. He is wearing a canvas mask and is holding up a mock shield. In July 1911 a group of young boys dressed up as clowns one afternoon and rode to the dance house, where a performance of the Hot dance was going on. They dismounted, entered, and, to the amusement of the spectators, began to dance. In Fig. 7 one of these clowns is shown as he appeared just outside the dance house.

¹ I am not sure to what extent all the details of the performance described above are still observed.

TEXTS.

I.

kambíawukusā't miri'tsè ícirucdùt, maraxíce íexuxke acē' rū'pet
In the spring willows when they can peel, the Lumpwoods the Foxes tents two
frutsik·èk. àcg·ewúen maráxkiçruk. miri'tsèc cōpgā'cēt dāpáxek
they would fill. Inside the tent they would sing. These willows four they cut

arū'iruk. kōn dū'cirùek, dū'pet ū'pē' cik·úpìek, dū'pēt maratátse
and would bring. Then they peeled, two ends they would crook, two straight

díeruk. karakō'wí'ot isā'ke ícō'pum biríen awā'tek, í'ptse āwō'riek.
they would make. When they had done, old men four at the door sat, a pipe
they would fill.

isā'kce amae' tsirè'te tsitsi'riruk. ō'pec kararáxiōt, isā'kce ar'ítse
Young man foolhardy they would hunt. Tobacco when they lit, young man brave

ā'ri'ek. ō'pi'tse wí'ot, "sā'pe?" hēt. "basē' k·ō'k," hūt. "ē,"
they would take to. To make smoke when they wished, "What?" he said. "The leader
er this is," they said. "Yes,"

hak. ō'pec ícít, kurutē'k. ihē't a+i't. "ē," hak. ku' ícì'k.
he would say. The tobacco when he had smoked, they took it back. Another he
took it to. "Yes," he said. He would also smoke.

hēt kan nū'pta basé kō'+iruk. kan nū'pta dí'ut maratátšēc
Then two leaders they were. Two when they had made, straight sticks

ku'kán ā'ā'wíuruk. akbarakurē' cí'et akbāō'pi'tse ku cí'ek. isā'kce
then they would begin. The stick-bearer was separate, the one who made to smoke he
was separate. A young man

ō'pi'k·ūt díet, "cō'ke k·ō dē'ri?" hūt. "marack·úpe kō bakú,"
when they offered smoke and he did it, "Which will you have?" they said.
"Crooked stick that give me,"

hēk. hēt kū'ot, kurā'k-datsi'k. ihē't ō'pi'k·ut díet, "baré cō'ke
he said. Then when they had given, he hold it would. Another when they offered
and he did it, "Stick which

k·ō rē'ri?" hūt. dās batsā'tsit, maratátšēc k·ō karí'k. hēt
do you wish?" they said. His heart if it was strong, straight stick that
he asked for. Then

ku' kū'ot, ku' kurā'k-datsi'k. hēt hirén dū'pēc ku'kō'tsērúk. hēt
to him they gave it, he would hold it. Then these two the same way did. Then

hirén barēc' dúmatek kōwí'ot, bā'rū'sek. kō'wí'ot, asā'rek asā'+uc
these sticks they distributed when they had done, they ate. When they had done,
they went out, this lodge

biríekāte ō'kapí'iruōt batsā'tsik. marack·úperek maratátserék
right at the door circle they stood a large one. Crooked sticks and straight sticks

aké bats' áxpek ack· awatsū'duptekō irū'iruk. hēt icbirexbā'kue
owners with each other on each side of the circle they would stand. Then their
relatives

māpúxte icbarúe ápariē kōm tsitsi'rek íectsirek, ārū'ek. hirém
an otter their sticks wrapping that was they hunted for, they bought, they
brought it. These

barē'c kucdaxtsi'ruk. hēt i+acē'reta disē'k; acē'c arī'kecdū'
sticks to them they tied it. Then with them through the camp they danced; the
lodge from which they came out

kākari'ek. karakō' irúek. hir'en maré-i'ck·ue akā'k i'+araxtsi'-
they would go back. Then they stood. These (former) stick owners (?)¹ with
them honors

wice dútēk, hirén hirā'-akēc áxpek ā'sā'+u kucdā'k. bā'rusū'k
had take them, these who now had them with their lodges to they went.
They ate.

hin'é wapúxtem barē'kuc daxdúec, dúcipek batsúete daxkápiek.
This otter stick to they had tied, they untied, sweetgrass they smoked for incense.

hin'é wapúxtēc i'+ō'riuk. bítsim i'+atā'wíom ku 'kō'tū'k.
This otter they incensed. A knife with which they were going to trim they did
the same.

batecúe i'ítsik·ā'tbio ku'kō'tū'k. karakō'n i'k·uxatse' tsik·ā'tek,
Awl with which they were going to stitch they did the same. Then each sewed,

ak'atsíec kukū't, barē'c ápariēk. acg·ewúen maráxūm, ak'-i'+-
the trimmer him they gave back, the stick he wrapped it round. Inside the lodge
they sang the one who with it

araxtsi'wicēc kurā'k tátsk·at i'rise'k. kō'wíek, arī'araxtsi'wice
had honors holds it, alone with it he dances. He has done, the one who had honor
with it

i'+itsiwā'k. hin'é' hirā'kēc i'watsiwakā'kuek, i'sacaraxtsi'wice'
with it recites. This who now had it he prays for him, soon honors have to make (him)

tsēwí'ek. dā kōwí'ot i'k·uxatse asā'rek, akbaráxbasē kuc dúōk.
he wishes. Then when they have done, each one goes out, the first singer to him
they go to.

hēt ō'kapíek, maráxek, maráxek kōwí'ek acē'reta basā'+iruk.
Then they form a circle, they sing, Singing. when they had one, through the
camp they would run.

hiré basá'+upí'k·uec basá'+uk. dā karatsi' ō'kapíek disū't,
These first who were offered smoke lead. Then again they form a circle they dance,

mirexbā'ke ík·o watsā'tsik. hirén marack·úperek maratátserēk
people look a great many. These crooked sticks straight sticks

akē'c mitác disū't. bí'e ditúe watsā'tsik. kōtá rari'o acú'pe dī'ut,
owners in opposite directions they danced. Women cheered greatly. In the same
way they continued to do until they got to the end of the dance (?)

kō'wí'ek, ē'tcireruk.

They had done, they would scatter.

¹ Probably this should be taken with the following syllables, as below: ak'í' + araxtsi'-wicēc, "those who had honors with them."

II.

tsi'ruk'apè araxúa'tse kō iri'-awax bitsiwé'wik. ì'repasúe
Bull-owners' society that you with I shall talk about. First they (?)

araxúa'tse kan dī'o-wasè batsírekapū'k isā'kce amá+isā'terek ama'-
society when they made first they picked out young men the old ones the

íeterek ar'itse karakō' dī'uk. dā'acō'rindek hawō'tsiet dici-wi'ot,
young ones the best thus they did. Sometimes at night when dance they wished,

ō'otsiec dici'iruk. birē' isī'Ek kōn disū'k. mirexbā'ke ík·awì'o
that night they would dance. Fire large they made, there they danced. People
to see wished

matsā'tsik. tsi'ruk'apè disúe ítsik'ícik. disúe hawátatatsikā'atek.
very badly. Bull-owners' dance was funny. They danced not very often.

ìt dicirū'sue kuká hin'é birēc ka-mirexbā'ke matsā'tsik. biríe
Before they would dance already (?) this at fire people many. Entrance

sá'tseruk. hēt ka-maráxut bīk·ukū'iruk birē'xe ditúe xíesa-ratsi'k.
they would make. And when they sang we would hear drums sounding plainly very.

kuká'ken wirexbā'ke íwatsísaruk. hēt birē'xe ditúa dō'cxarawìt
Then people would be anxious. Then the drum sound as it came nearer and
nearer

kanwìwatsísaruk. birē' arasā'cie dī'ut awákuut. hin'é bā'a'kā'acēc
we would be anxious. Fire glare when they came within, we looked. This great
crowd

mā+irírettā'riEk kā'+iruk. dā hin'é birē' arasā'^aciEc dī'ot,
very silent would remain. ? this fire where the light was when they had come,

ō'wopi irū'ok. hēt icbasā'+u dū'pte karahē're isā'kce ama+é'-
a square (straight line) they stood. Then their leaders two among them young
men the

tsirētga'ace. karakō' rū'pēt icbasē'ruk. basē' irū'pte xaxúe
foolhardiest. Then these two were their leaders. Leaders two all over

ū'karitsi'ruk. icg·akéo kurē'eruk. bicē' ā'cū'e í'sarek dúxtūt,
were painted with white clay. Their lances they would hold. Buffalo heads and
faces they stuffed,

irū'pte tsici'ruk. hin'é áxiōc awā'tut, hirén icbasā'+uc dū'pte
both would wear them. These members when they were all seated, these their
leaders both

kuk awā'tsisā'ruk. bicē' tsi'se icísa kúen áxarì'ot tsi'sue tátakā'+-
would not sit down. Buffalo tall their rump in the middle they stuck it the tails
straight

iruk. hawē'se kuk bicē' ā'acū'o tsi'sū'k. ismína'tùe kurā'+ì'ruk,
they would be. The rest buffalo horns they wore. Their shields they
would hold,

is'ūwutbaràxa+u ā'apa. tsī ham ō'xkape kō tsisē'k. icg.akéo
their guns also. Sometimes some war-bonnets wore. Their lances

wíciruk. dā disū't cu'pā' irū'iruk. hin'é cu'pā' irū'oc, hère ham
they would have. When they danced, four times they stood up. This four times
while they stood, among them some

biré' kuc bā'+e'k-ukuts kī'iruk. ārá i'tsexō' biré' ā'xa kandi-
toward the fire would act war deeds. Until the fifth time the fire round they

cī'iruk, hēt kuk kan biré' ā'axe i'k-uxpa ā'kū'iruk. hēt táxekut-
would dance. And — fire round in a circle they kept going. And when they
shoot,

kan, kō'mNētī'iruk; bā'+ē'k-ukotskùerek, nū'pte kar'i'waxkōtùk.
it never ceased; they acted as if in war, both ways we did.

andisúe tsī'ruk'apè bā'+i'ire hē'ren akbā'ē'k-ukotskē'ec itsiwē'eruk.
Where they danced the Bull-owners at any time, among them those who acted their
deeds they would tell about them.

kar'i'waxkōtū'k andisúe.
Thus they did where they danced.

III.

íexuxpec kō marū'usā+u micg-é warā'axe kararē'wa'tse
At the Old Agency there they were distributing goods, Dog Crazy I knew

wasákōk. karawā'tue itbā'rumatsesā+u, isā'kce itsī'rakinē'k.,
first. They were seated before the distribution, a young man was riding a horse,

isā'ace ērē'tiek, isā'ckī'ritse isī'puxē'k. karakō'n birē'rem hirā'
his blanket he held by his stomach, his quirt he made his rattle. Then into the
circle he came, now

micg-é warā'axe awákak. karakō'm maráxim awúeta rēm. "Sapé?"
Dog Crazy I saw. Then he sang inside (the circle) he went. "Who is it?"

hūm. isā'kce icū'ce xícēc, ū'wōk, bā+ō'ritsik. cē'wíek, i'k-ōtsē'k.
they said. The youth's knee swollen, he had been shot, he was envious of others.¹
He wished to die, that is why he did it.

karakō'n awákurē'tk. dē'ra á'pam icbā' itsī'tsē'k. hū'm matsā'tsk.
Then for a while we did not see him. Then one evening his clothes he put on
He came powerful.

àk-ōtá wirexbā'ke awákawiawum matsā'tsk. karakō'n isī'ipùxe
The whole camp the people we wanted to see him very much. Then his rattle

hirén i'warapō'xiucè kō ríek, awúe marukā'te kō ríek. xawúEM
these baking-powder cans of those he made it. inside beads that he made it.
It rattled

¹ Because he could not go out afoot on war expeditions with other young men.

matsā'tsk. isā'cg-e íextsuwatè í'ta àratsirí'awicè, ítsi'g-ā'k isā'cg-e
very much. His horse's bridle ? fine chains had, he put it on. His horse

ba+ē'+i ì+acísak. ictáxiē ihē'rep pēri'ek hūk. is'í'puxe
what it has on on account of that, they cannot see it.¹ His gun in his belt ? he came.
His rattle

tsi'suxpe ctsirē'Exe í'tsi'tsè'k. ìwirexbā'ke icíē ríek, axíē nū'wire
end of the tail yellow (light) he put on (for a wrist band). He himself his wig made,
forehead little braids

ríek. iexbúete ríek. iexbúe bàre+axí're ítsi'g-ā'k. bapā'cem
he made. His earrings he made. His earrings shell he put on. Necklace

ā'ā'pìek ítsi watsā'tsk. isā'cg-e hícim í'sé tsíek, awé tsik-ē'
he put round his neck handsome very. His horse red (bay) bald-faced, the ground
it pawed

watsā'tsk. awákūm, àk-ōtá icítsium. dē'ra acē'reta rem, maráxek
mightily. We saw him, the whole camp liked him. Then through the camp he
went, singing

hū'm, is'í'puxe xatsíek hū'k. baré arā'xtek iri'wat bakarā'k.
he came, his rattle swinging he came. We did not know he talked crosswise.

hūk. batsém hirén, "dicísatā'rí" hēm. acím biríen í'k-uxpìk.
He came. Man this, "Do not dance!" he said. Lodge at the door he dismounted.

karakōn isā'kcem, ísakumém, karakō'n maráxik, bire'xe hiríate
Then the young man, his drummer, then sang, a drum, like this

kurā'k, maráxik. dicí'k. "bí'tsire ci'k-ā'tbik. bacbí'ewak,
he held, he sang. He danced. "I will test myself. I want to die,

kō'otdaxù cō'otdek ē'wa'tsè'wik." itsā'aken awásō'pìk. "ít'sí'c
right whether or not I will know." At his foot down he shot. "It is well

dā'tsik." hē'tseruk. bí'ē icítsium matsā'tsk. a'patatse dici'k.
I think," he said, it is said. The women liked him very much. Every evening
he danced.

Apsā'ruke rúatuk, maráxik. xaxúe karíciūt, acē'reta maráxek
The Crow moved, he sang. All camped, through camp, singing

dēk. kā'rik-ā'te ditúe watsā'tsk. ō'otsìet maráxtatsìk.
he went. The old women cheered him mightily. At night he always sang.

bā'akurē'wium, micg-éx kūm. íextùe ítsi'gāk, itsi'rakinē'k. batsé
When they wished to hunt, they regarded him as a dog. His sashes he put on, he
rode a horse Men

xaxúe batsē'rā'+uk, bicē' dapē'wì+uk. arū'ute kō ìwakurē'wiuk.
all to hunt went, buffalo they wished to kill. Arrows that they wished to hunt with.

micg-é warā'axec k-ō'tpāk, dēk. hirém micg-é bicē'tsirè ík-ak,
This Crazy Dog hallooed, he went. These dogs cattle when they see,

¹ His horse's trappings were so extensive as to cover it completely.

kuc basā'irùEC, k-òtsē'k. bicē' a'napi'uk, bā'hawáxuk. isā'ck·ue
toward them are went to run, thus did he. Buffalo many they killed. They butch-
ered. Their horses

átsipē+uk. acē' ici'um, maráxek acē'reta rēk. dē'ra tsirā'kcem
they packed. The people they pitched tents. Singing through camp he went. Then
next morning

dū'atūm, arasá'tem kō rīwacī'um. isā'kcem isā'cg-e xapi'ek.
they moved, a coulee there we camped. A young man's horse was lost.

ari'ectsici'k. anáce kuc dēk. anáce hē'rin acbā'+ihē' ík·ak.
He went back. The old campsite to it he went. Old campsite in enemy he saw.

karā'k. pacík. isā'cg-e karā'k. ā'ware'k acē' hik. "acbā'+ihē'
He ran away. He fell off. His horse ran off. Afoot camp he came to. "The enemy

anáce k-ōrū'k," hē'tseruk. karakō'n kus'ū'watum. Apsā'ruke
old campsite are there," he said, they say. Then they (the Crow) charged them. Crow

isā'kce kō'cdakā'tem batsi'+uk. batdapē'wī+uk. kurū'm
young men several fought, they wished to kill each other. They chased

ā^ack·ā'tem awúen minaxtū'k. micg-e' warā'axec karahi'k. cē'wī'EC.
them into a gully (?) inside fortifications. This Crazy Dog got there. He wished to
die.

minaxtsé ā^akakā'te hī'ek, awús'ōoxpim, karakō'n dapi'uk. kō'otā
Fortifications to the edge he got, he shot in there, then they killed him. Then

xarā'k í'k·ecik·ā'cik. micg-é warā'axe bimbúen mā^atsik. ō'otsiEC
it rained violently. The Crazy Dog in the water lay. In the night

k-ō' mātse ā^a ā'cik. tsirā'kce bū'rabī'um. bimbúen mā'tsik.
there he lay till daylight. Next morning we came there. In the water he was
lying.

ápariÈ rī'uk. itsi're arū'ōk. dútek itsi're, átsipèok. nakā'+uk.
Wrappings they made. A horse they brought. They took him, on the horse
they packed him. They led him.

í'wararī'uk. acē' ari'+uk. acē' xaxúe í'wum matsā'tsk. marē'
They cried all the way. To the camp they brought him Camp entire cried very
much. Sticks

pátuk, kōn dū'usā'+uk. hū'ru cō'pium í'rim pátek, í'extse
they planted, there they laid him. Legs four (a scaffold) a lodge-pole they
stuck in, his sash

kùcdaxdū'k. awíte burū'ētūk, bā'+uk. karakō'n napi'uk.
they tied to it. Without him we moved, we went. That is how they killed him.

icbire'xe hiri'ate kori'ici'uk andū'usā'+u. karakō'wik.
His drum like this they hung where they buried him. This is the end.

SOCIETIES OF THE HIDATSA AND MANDAN INDIANS.

BY ROBERT H. LOWIE.

INTRODUCTION.

The following paper is based on field notes secured during two trips to Ft. Berthold Reservation, North Dakota. The earlier visit (part of August and all of September, 1910) was very largely devoted to the age-societies of the Hidatsa and Mandan, while the second stay (August, 1911) gave an opportunity for checking the information previously obtained. My main object was to gather data that would throw light on the *basis* of the Hidatsa and Mandan systems of age-societies, and so far as essentials are concerned I believe the facts still obtainable are presented in the following description. The Hidatsa data are naturally more satisfactory than those from the Mandan because of the greater number of trustworthy informants. Indeed, though according to the native matrilineal mode of reckoning there are still living a fair number of "Mandan" among the Ft. Berthold Indians, very few indeed are of pure Mandan blood and the younger generations have been greatly influenced by the Hidatsa. Thus, I was unable to get any young person who did not speak Hidatsa better than Mandan, and the Mandan texts were taken down with the aid of my Hidatsa interpreter. More particularly, none of my male Mandan informants had himself advanced beyond the lower societies of the Mandan series, while among the Hidatsa I was still able to gather first-hand information from Poor-wolf on the Black Mouth and Dog organizations.

One difficulty, connected with the mode of presentation adopted in this volume, must be touched upon. The organizations described in this series of papers naturally form but part of a larger whole with which they are organically connected. Without a knowledge of that whole, or at least of related cultural phases, complete understanding of the military societies seems out of the question. This applies, of course, to the Oglala and Crow no less than to the Hidatsa and Mandan, but the general culture of both of the former tribes is better known and of lesser complexity than that of the Village tribes of the Missouri. From an account of the Hidatsa and Mandan age-societies exclusively it might appear that the ceremonial surrender of wives to sellers of membership is peculiar to these organizations, but here we are in a position to see that what we have is simply the special application of a tribal principle of action (see p. 228). Similarly, the great importance of the father's clansfolk in the purchase of membership

results from the special social relations obtaining between an individual and his father's clan, which appear with equal clearness in the strictly religious and esoteric rites not dealt with in this paper (see p. 226). In other cases, the problems are more obscure. What are the relations to one another of the several Buffalo dances and ceremonies? Is the Goose society primarily connected with a tribal corn ceremony? How shall we interpret the activities of the male singers in the women's societies? Have the Arikara exerted any influence on the development of the Mandan and Hidatsa societies? These are but some of the most obvious questions that arise, and to which at best only a partial answer is now possible. Fortunately considerable material on various phases of Mandan and Hidatsa culture has already been amassed by Rev. Wilson, the present writer, and others, and the prosecution of further researches in the field seems assured, so that many of the problems will doubtless be solved in the course of time.

It gives me pleasure to express my gratitude to Mr. C. A. Shultis and his family for their kind hospitality during both my visits. To Rev. Gilbert L. Wilson, my predecessor in this field by several years, I am indebted for permission to use his notes taken under the auspices of the Museum, as well as for many practical hints when we met on the Reservation. My principal interpreter was Edward Good-bird, a full-blood Hidatsa. He understands Mandan, though he does not speak it perfectly. He addressed the Mandan informants in his own tongue, and they answered in theirs. Poor-wolf's statements were interpreted by Joe Packineau.

ROBERT H. LOWIE.

April, 1913.

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HIDATSA MEN'S SOCIETIES.

THE HIDATSA SYSTEM.

Although the accounts of my Hidatsa informants differed on a number of points, I secured lists of societies agreeing fairly well with Maximilian's, as shown in the following comparative table. The identification of Maximilian's "Enemies" with the "Black Mouths" rests on the Prince's own identification of this Hidatsa society with the Mandan "Soldiers." So far as the discrepancies in my two series are concerned, it is necessary to note that Poor-wolf gave the societies in the order in which he had acquired membership,¹ while Butterfly enumerated them in what he considered theoretically the proper order.

Mr. Curtis gives a list of societies without regard to their relative rank. His series agrees with mine except that he mentions, in addition to the others, a *mida-itsi'kita*, "Wood-root," organization not referred to by any of my informants. The functions of this body are said to have resembled those of the Black Mouths inasmuch as both were police organizations.²

While the Hidatsa societies resembled the military organizations of the Crow in names, regalia, and certain distinctive activities, the Hidatsa system was radically different in that the societies, as indicated in the table, formed a graded series, membership (or rather ownership) of each society being secured through a simultaneous purchase by one group of age-mates from an older group.

The old men who had passed through all the societies and had no more dances to buy were called "Stinking Ears" (a'ku'xiri'tsi). Wolf-chief added the information that they were also called "Badger society" (awakā'-parū'wa+ī'ri), but on another occasion he declared that the Badger society was not an Hidatsa but a Mandan institution.

Buyers and sellers were regarded as standing to each other in the ceremonial relationship of "sons" and "fathers."³ The purchase was collective inasmuch as all members of the purchasing class contributed to the initial payment, and individual inasmuch as each purchaser, so far as

¹ The only society in his list of which he was not a member is the Kit-Fox organization.

² Curtis, iv, 182.

³ As the terms "father" and "son" recur again and again with this purely ceremonial meaning, they will hereafter be printed without quotation marks. When used for blood relationships, these terms will be accompanied by a qualifying adjective or phrase whenever misunderstandings might otherwise arise.

possible, selected one of the sellers — almost always a clan father¹ — for his ceremonial father, whom he was expected to present with special gifts and to entertain for a certain number of nights prior to the final acquisition of membership privileges.

The choice of a clan father in this connection is explained by the social importance of the relationship between an individual and his father's clansmen. In this respect the Hidatsa resembled the Crow.² Among the Hidatsa a clan father was always treated with reverence and frequently presented with gifts. Before a battle a man would ask his clan father to paint his face and put a medicine feather on his head. The clan father would give personal names to a clansman's son; more particularly would he bestow on a brave clan son the name of a distinguished warrior belonging to his (the father's) clan. Ceremonially, the father's clansfolk played an important part in the performances of the esoteric fraternities. An Hidatsa who wished to perform the Sun dance, or Wolf ceremony, required certain sacred articles, and these he would ask a clan father to provide. Before putting up a sweat lodge in the Woman-Above ceremony, Wolf-chief was asked to offer a pipe to a woman of his father's clan. Thus, the prominence of the father's clan relatives in the purchase of the age-societies is not surprising.

In Rev. Gilbert L. Wilson's notes there is a statement by Wolf-chief that:—

This chosen society relationship continued only for the ceremony of initiation while the son or daughter was taking the society-parent's place.

Thus, my father whom I chose in the Stone Hammers was Deer-head. He was a Midipadi, and one of my band³ fathers. I chose him for my father in the transfer of place and rights in the Stone Hammers, especially in the transferring to me of my new-made stone. But these relations ceased the next day after the final night of the ceremony because Deer-head had then ceased to be a Stone Hammer. I still called Deer-head my father, but by this I now meant only my band father.

This statement confirms my own impressions, but I believe a man frequently selected the same clan father for his ceremonial father at successive purchases of societies. There are certainly indications that such was the case among the Mandan (see p. 304).

The fact that an own father's brother or clan brother was addressed as father by the Hidatsa somewhat obscures the attitude of a son to his father after the initiation, but in the strictly parallel case of the women's societies

¹ Member of his own father's clan.

² Lowie, (a), 201.

³ Rev. Wilson's term "band" corresponds to my "clan."

HIDATSA AGE SOCIETIES.

Maximilian (II, 217-19)	Poor-wolf	Butterfly
	1. Notched Stick (miraraxu'xi)	
1. Stone (Wi'wa Ohpage)	2. Stone Hammer (mi'i me+ū'paki)	1. Ditto
	3. Crazy Dogs (macu'ka warā'axe)	7. do.
2. Big Sabres (Wi'rrechischi)		3. Lumpwood (miraxi'ci)
3. Ravens (Haidero'hka-Ächke) ¹		
4. Little Prairie Foxes (Ehchock-Kaichke)	4. Kit-Foxes (i'exoxka i'ke')	2. do.
5. Little Dogs (Wasku'kka-Karishta)		4. Little Dogs (macu'ka kari'eta)
6. Old Dogs (Waschu'kke-Achke)	7. Dogs (macu'ka i'ké)	9. do.
7. Bow Lances (So'hta-Girakscho'hge)	5. Half-Shaved Heads (tsütakirakcū'ki)	5. do.
8. Enemies (m'ah-Ih'ah-Ächke)	6. Black Mouths, or Soldiers (i'i cipī'e)	6. do.
9. Bulls (Kädap-Ächke)		10. Bulls (ki'rup i'ke')
10. Ravens (Pehriskäike)		8. Ravens (pēritska i'ke')

the matter is perfectly clear, an own father's sister or clan sister being normally called not "mother," but "aunt." Says Wolf-chief (again quoted from Rev. Wilson's field notes):

¹ Hairy-coat mentioned a *hē'rerō'ka* society; without determining its place in the series, he mentioned it after the Stone Hammer, Fox, Lumpwood, Little Dog, and Crazy Dog societies, and directly before the Half-Shaved Heads. The native name was translated "Imitators of Crow Indians."

My sister, when she entered the Skunk Women's society chose Crow-woman for her "mother." Crow-woman was a Midipadi, and was therefore my sister's band aunt. During the ceremony of initiating my sister, Crow-woman was my sister's "mother." Yet the next day after the transfer had been completed, if Buffalo-bird-woman met Crow-woman in the village, she would address her not as "mother," but as "aunt."

There were seven Hidatsa clans and they were grouped in two larger divisions or phratries,— the Four-clans and the Three-clans. This grouping, according to Hairy-coat, influenced the initial procedure in the purchase of a society inasmuch as the prospective buyers always offered seven pipes to the group of sellers, the pipes representing the clans. If the members of one of the seven clans represented in the sellers' group refused to sell, the society could not be bought.

One of the features of the purchase which Maximilian emphasizes in his description of the Mandan system, but obviously considers of equal importance among the Hidatsa, is the ceremonial surrender of the purchasers' wives to the sellers. This was carried so far that if a young man chanced to be single, he would make a long journey to some friend in another village in order to borrow his wife for the purpose. The friend would then take his wife with him, accompany the buyer, and make the surrender in his stead. Sometimes three or more wives were offered to the same father.¹ My best Hidatsa authority, Hairy-coat, confirms these statements for his own tribe. A single man, according to him, would borrow a fellow-clansman's wife, as it was customary for members of one clan to help one another in the purchase of an organization by gifts of horses and what not. Hairy-coat also said on another occasion that the Stone Hammers, not being as yet married, would borrow the wives of their older "friends" (see below), but this view remains unconfirmed. From various statements I get the impression that while the buyers of an age-society were expected to offer their wives to the sellers, the latter, for fear of bad luck, rarely exercised the privilege thus granted them. This is concretely illustrated by an incident in the course of a Mandan purchase (see p. 304). One Hidatsa informant, however, thought that fathers did in most cases avail themselves of the offer except when the wife was a relative of his, in which case he would refuse to go outside with her and would pray for both his son and his son's wife in the lodge.

This surrender of wives in the purchase of age-societies seems to be merely a special application of an established custom. Lewis and Clark, as well as Maximilian, refer to this surrender as a feature in a tribal buffalo

¹ Maximilian, II, 143.

ceremony. According to Maximilian, a woman covered only by her robe would approach one of the most eminent tribesmen, stroke his arms from the shoulder downward, and thus invite him to accompany her to a secluded spot. He might avoid intercourse by presenting her with a gift, which, however, was rarely done.¹ Elsewhere Maximilian says that on other occasions individual Indians eager to obtain the blessing of another man before some undertaking would offer their wives in essentially the same manner.² Hairy-coat said that sometimes clan fathers were invited to a feast by their clan sons apart from any purchase, and the latter would then offer their wives to them. Clan fathers who had no special powers to pray as a result of a vision would not go with the women. If a father refused four times, his son would say, "I'll consider you an old enemy," thus making it necessary for the father to yield.

A surrender of wives is also described by Say in the following passage:

We were informed that on some particular occasion, a large enclosure was constructed in the village of the Minnetarees, which was covered with jerked meat, instead of skins. The distinguished warriors who were concerned in the ceremony about to take place, deputed some of their party to summon a certain number of the handsomest young married squaws of the village, who immediately repaired to the meat-covered lodge, with the consent of their husbands. The squaws were then disrobed in the midst of a considerable number of the bravest of the Minnetaree warriors; and after the conclusion of some ceremonies a brave entered, leading by the halter a very fine horse. He selected a squaw, whose beauty struck his fancy; and advancing to her, he laid the cord of the halter in her hand. She accepted the present, and immediately admitted him to her favour. Other warriors appeared in succession, leading horses, all of which were very readily disposed of in the same manner. This ceremony occurred during the day, and in the presence of the whole assembly.³

It is not quite certain whether every purchaser surrendered his wife to a seller, as would appear from Maximilian's data and the statements of one of my Mandan informants (p. 304), or whether, as other native accounts seem to indicate, this offer took place only when some special demand was made of the father, for example, that he present his son with part of his individual medicines.

In addition to the, at least potential, relationship of fathers and sons that normally obtained between adjoining age-groups, there was a relationship between each group and the group directly above their fathers that was not unlike the relationship of our college freshmen and juniors as united against sophomores and seniors. The members of the two groups were

¹ Lewis and Clark, I, 245; Maximilian, II, 266.

² Maximilian, *ibid.*, 181.

³ James, II, 60.

maki'raku 𐤀, "friends." The fact that the fathers desired to exact as high a purchasing price as possible resulted in a certain opposition between the interests of adjacent groups. One of the chief functions of a "friendly" group was to aid the buyers in the accumulation of property sufficient to satisfy the sellers. This relationship was mutual, and accordingly obtained not so much between the societies as such as between certain groups of individuals. That is to say, if we denote the societies by letters, society *A*, in buying society *B*, was aided by society *C*. The aided group — then in possession of society *B* — was not *ipso facto* on terms of "friendship" with society *D*, but remained in that relationship with the group of individuals that had assisted them and returned the favor when that group purchased society *D*.

The "friendship" described was not restricted to two groups. None of my informants had reached the highest grades, and it was accordingly impossible to investigate the relationship of classes beyond the first four by an objective statement of each one's relationship of "friendliness" at each stage. However, the native theory on the subject became clear from Hairy-coat's account. Beginning with himself, this informant enumerated ten representatives of successively older groups, viz. (1) Hairy-coat; (2) Kidney; (3) Red-hip; (4) Poor-wolf; (5) Red-kettle; (6) Four-bears; (7) Long-hair-man; (8) Cherry-necklace; (9) Stirrup; (10) Prairie-dog. The groups of *all* those whose names correspond to odd numbers were "friends" of one another; the same applies to the representatives of all even-numbered groups. Hairy-coat further illustrated the matter by arranging a series of five vertical sticks in a row and placing in an upper row, but in the interspaces of the lower set, five other sticks. Regardless of rows, sticks to the right of others then represented relatively higher groups; any stick thus represented the fathers of the next stick to the left, while the sticks in each row together represented all the groups linked by the bond of "friendship."

The members of the women's societies were apparently similarly united in two moieties, which were on "friendly" terms with the two moieties of men's societies; but it proved impossible to determine precisely on what principle certain groups of women became affiliated with certain groups of men.

Buffalo-bird-woman said that as a member of the Enemy Women society she was a "friend" of the female Stinking Ears and the Skunks and would help the former buy the Old Women Society (*kā'ru parū'wa + ī'ri*).¹ Among the men's societies her "friends" were the Bulls, who in her

¹ According to others, this was a secret ceremonial organization not related to the age-societies at all.

day also owned the Half-Shaved society because they had never sold it; the Foxes, and the Black Mouths. On another occasion, however, she enumerated as her male "friends" the Foxes, Bulls, and Stinking Ears. Calf-woman said that the following women's and men's societies, respectively, were mated as "friends": Skunks and Stone Hammers; River Women and Lumpwoods; Buffalo Women and Black Mouths; Goose Women and Crazy Dogs; Cheyenne Women and Little Dogs; Enemy Women and Lumpwoods. Wolf-chief regarded the Stone Hammers, Lumpwoods, Crazy Dogs, Skunk Women and Goose Women as forming one moiety of "friends"; and the Foxes, Small Dogs, Black Mouths, Stinking Ears, and Enemy Women as forming the other. Contradictions in the lists of "friendly" societies are not surprising when we remember that the friendship was not between societies as such, but between certain groups, and that the relative positions of the societies doubtless differed somewhat at different periods (see p. 233). When Buffalo-bird-woman was a Skunk (was buying the Skunk membership?) she was helped by Son-of-star and his group, then Stone Hammers. Red-top at that time was a Lumpwood, and Small-ankle either a Dog or a Black Mouth, and these groups were also her "friends." Later, when Wolf-chief was old enough to buy a society, he and his group also became her "friends." It did not matter what society Small-ankle's, Red-top's, and Wolf-chief's groups bought respectively, Buffalo-bird-woman's group would always assist them.

When, at the sale of a society, one of the fathers received special gifts from his son, he might keep these presents, but it was considered proper to distribute part of them among his "friends." Societies were also wont to send delegations to their "friends'" feasts and dances. Thus, in Wolf-chief's day, the Enemy Women invited the Foxes to their feasts, and *vice versa*.

Sometimes a young man was invited to accompany his "friends" when they bought a higher organization. He would then have the right of participating in the purchase and accordingly in the rights of members of the purchased society. That is to say, he would then belong to a society much higher than that of his age-mates. This seems to have happened to Butterfly, though his statements on the subject are somewhat confused. If I understand him correctly, he was a Fox, but for some reason did not join his mates in the purchase of the Lumpwood society. At a later period he was asked by a "friend" to join in the purchase of the Black Mouth society, which, accordingly, he did. Thus, he bought the Black Mouth membership, selecting for his father a clan father, Plenty-antelope. Having never sold his Fox membership, he was thus at the same time a Fox and a Black Mouth. A perfectly clear statement of a corresponding case was made by Wolf-

chief. Wolf-chief was asked to join Yellow-coyote, a "friend," in the purchase of the Black Mouth membership. They selected Yellow-bear for their common father and feasted him for a number of nights. Finally, he called them, entertained them and presented them with clothes, two flat-boards and head-ornaments with eagle-feathers. Yellow-coyote said to Wolf-chief: "You are young, but I asked for your help. I wish you to keep all these things." Wolf-chief was very glad and paid Yellow-bear a two-year-old colt; to his "friend" he gave one of two lances he had received. Wolf-chief considers himself a full-fledged Black Mouth as a result of this purchase. He feels that he should have the privilege to make Black Mouth regalia and to receive pay like other Black Mouths if any other group should attempt to purchase this society.

If the practice just described, of allowing younger "friends" to participate in a purchase, had been at all common, it would of course have obliterated the age character of the societies. Such cases, however, were apparently individual exceptions. Another anomaly, not connected with the "friendly" relationship, occurred in the Bull society, into which it was customary to admit a single very young boy (see p. 291). Apart from these two types of exceptional instances, the feeling of affiliation with one's age-mates in the buying of membership was very strong. Even when, for some reason, a man had not joined in the purchase of a society, there seems to have been a feeling that he ought to belong to that body, though he might not regard himself as fully entitled to membership. Thus, though for some obscure reason Poor-wolf had not participated in the collective purchase of the Stone Hammer society by his age group, he was nevertheless permitted to join them later, make an emblem for himself, and sell it together with his coevals. However, the notion that membership was based on purchase was not absent even in this case, for Poor-wolf spoke with great reluctance about this society, because he felt that both his son-in-law and my interpreter, having acquired membership in the approved way, had a superior right to tell about the Stone Hammers.

The mode of collective purchase of membership by and from age-groups inevitably made the societies age classes. But this objective fact may be interpreted in two different ways. We may assume either that the Hidatsa subjectively conceived all the societies to correspond to definite ages; or that the age of members of a society at a particular period of Hidatsa history was immaterial provided only that they were all age-mates who had collectively acquired membership. If the given correlation between a definite society with a definite age expressed the subjective native point of view, that correlation should of course be permanent. In order that it should be permanent, both the order of entering the societies and the length

of membership in each society should be fixed. Under these conditions, the minimum age of members of the n th society would be determined by the formula $m + a_1 + a_2 \dots a_{n-1}$, where m is the initial age, and a_1, a_2 , etc. represent the length of membership. If the period of membership were constant, the formula would be $m + a (n-1)$. On the other hand, it would not follow from the permanence of the correlation that the societies were at bottom definite age classes; for the subjective attitude of the natives might still be that the association was an incidental one.

Slight derangements of the order are *à priori* highly probable. If a new society were adopted from another tribe, the tendency would be to incorporate it in the series. On the other hand, some societies may be supposed to have passed out of existence through the death of most of the members. Thus, the rank of the societies and the age of the members would tend to vary somewhat in the course of time. It is probable that in a tribe settled in several villages there would be a certain amount of local variation even at the same time. Nevertheless, all such minor alterations would not necessarily affect the age of members when gauged in the rough way customary among Indian tribes. There are, however, facts indicating that more far-reaching changes took place. Poor-wolf, for example, never belonged to the Lumpwood, Kit-Fox or Little Dog societies, yet he was able to enter the Black Mouth and Dog organizations, which are unanimously admitted to have been of high rank in the series. When Hairy-coat's group had sold the Stone Hammer society, they wished to buy the Kit-Fox society, but the members refused to sell. The Kit-Foxes of that period also owned the Crazy Dog society, and accordingly Hairy-coat's group tried to buy *that* society, but again the older group declined to sell, always demanding additional payments. When their offer had been spurned three times, the prospective buyers went to the next older group and bought the Little Dog society from them, thus omitting both the Kit-Fox and the Crazy Dog grades. Indeed, previous to this purchase the sole survivor of the Ravens — Maximilian's oldest society — had offered to sell his membership to Hairy-coat's group, though Hairy-coat was only about 17 at the time.

These instances, and especially the one last mentioned, already indicate the subjective native point of view. If to be a Raven is to be an old man, it is a contradiction in terms to conceive of young boys acquiring the Raven membership. On the other hand, if the sole condition of Raven membership is its collective purchase, then there is no reason why men of any age whatever should not acquire it. Consistently applied, the principle of purchase as the dominant principle would mean that any age-group might buy any society, and this would occasion an indefinite shifting of rank. Nevertheless, within the historical period the shifting was, after all, limited. The

offer to sell the Raven society to a group of young men was clearly abnormal. The Stone Hammers appear as the youngest or next to the youngest society both in my lists and in Maximilian's, and in general there is considerable agreement as to the ranking of societies. I believe there is no psychological difficulty in supposing that the mere fact of a certain grading having once been established would tend to preserve a definite order except for minor changes due to the causes mentioned. Moreover, it seems plausible that the objective association of a certain society with a certain age, if continued long enough, would retro-actively establish a subjective feeling that the men in some particular society ought to be young men, or men of some other fairly definite age. If the Stone Hammer society was by convention the first to be bought by a group of boys, then the Stone Hammer society would very likely come to be regarded as a boys' organization.

The native attitude towards these societies appears most clearly from an examination of the second condition for the essential correlation of ages and societies. No matter how crude or how refined an age-gradation may be, it is obvious that a man cannot belong to an age grade below the highest for an indefinite period, nor can he at the same time belong to two distinct grades. On the other hand, if membership means *ownership* through purchase, a man can hold membership simultaneously in an indefinite number of societies. Even if the order of entrance were fixed, he might then buy successively, but within a space of time the shortness of which would be determined only by practical considerations, each and every one of the societies and hold them all at the same time. Oddly enough, the breakdown of ancient customs that generally obscures our understanding of primitive life has in this instance helped to lay bare the psychological attitude of the natives. Owing to changed conditions it frequently happened during the nineteenth century that the groups which would normally have purchased certain societies never attempted to do so. The question arises, Did the members of these unbought societies lose their membership with the lapse of time, or did they retain it indefinitely? The evidence secured, which accumulated entirely without leading questions and greatly surprised me, seems convincing. Poor-wolf, at 90, still considered himself a member of the *miraraxu'xi*, which he had joined at 7; of the Crazy Dog society, which he had joined at 20; of the Half-Shaved Head society, which he had joined at 27; and of the Dog society, which he had joined at about 45. Wolf-chief and Butterfly still regard themselves as members of both the Fox and the Black Mouth societies. Hairy-coat still considers himself a Little Dog. Old men could not regard themselves today as members of societies they entered when boys or young men if the societies represented age grades; and this assumption becomes quite absurd when we find the

same individuals claiming simultaneous membership in several organizations. If, on the other hand, membership is simply a matter of purchase, then a man can *own* membership of every society he has ever purchased but which for some reason he has never sold. It is, indeed, the invariable explanation of the Hidatsa themselves that they belong to such and such organizations because they have never sold their membership rights. This point of view coincides absolutely with that expressed by members of the women's societies, and also by both men and women of the Mandan societies.

The view that purchase was at the basis of the Hidatsa-Mandan system explains certain peculiarities in Maximilian's Mandan data. His statement that all the higher classes might at the same time belong to the Soldiers' group¹ becomes at once intelligible. So does the fact that while the Mandan of his time were divided into six dancing societies graded by age, there were two supplementary dances — the Half-Shaved Head dance held by the Soldiers and sold to the Hähderucha-Ochatä before they were old enough to become Soldiers; and the Old Dog dance held by the Bulls and sold to the Dogs before these were permitted to become Bulls.² That the Half-Shaved Head dancers were regarded as forming a distinct society by Maximilian himself is clear from his identifying them with the Hidatsa Half-Shaved Head society.³ What happened in the case described by this author is evidently that a certain group had acquired the Half-Shaved Head membership and, before selling it, had purchased the Soldier membership, thus owning both at the same time. In accordance with the secondary psychological attitude produced by the fact that a certain order had been and was customarily followed (see p. 234), they naturally would sell to the next younger group not their most recently acquired membership but the one they themselves had purchased before obtaining the Soldier membership. The double membership of the Soldiers noted by Maximilian, though in perfect consonance with the system as here described, was accidental and temporary, for of course just as soon as the Soldiers had sold the Half-Shaved Head dance, they were Half-Shaved Head dancers no longer. It had simply happened in Maximilian's day that a particular group had bought the Soldier society before disposing of their Half-Shaved Head membership. A corresponding explanation suffices for Maximilian's Old Dog dance, which is said to have been bought by the Dogs from the Bulls before the former were permitted to become Bulls.⁴ It would have been equally consistent with the native system if each group of age-mates

¹ Maximilian, II, 141.

² Ibid., 144, 274.

³ Ibid., 218.

⁴ Ibid., 144.

had held but a single society, in other words, if there had been eight, instead of six, groups, as there happened to be at that particular period.

To sum up. The Mandan and Hidatsa men's societies were forms of property purchased in a preferential, though not obligatory, order by groups of age-mates, whose constitution remained practically the same at successive purchases. Through this mode of purchase the societies, viewed objectively, became age-grades, but from the native point of view within the period of which we have any knowledge they were primarily not age-grades but purchasable commodities. A question that remains unanswered is why there should have been any grading of the societies at all. As the data from other tribes shed some light on this problem, it will be taken up at the close of this volume.

The historical relations of the Hidatsa societies will also be more profitably discussed in a subsequent paper. At present suffice it to state that the relationship was more intimate with the Crow and Mandan organizations than with those of other tribes.

Certain aspects of the Hidatsa societies not connected with their age character remain to be briefly touched upon.

In the first place, the importance of the religious factor in the Hidatsa men's societies must not be overestimated. There can be no doubt that this factor is more prominent than in the corresponding organizations of the Crow. The Hidatsa origin traditions give much greater emphasis to supernatural revelations than do the purely fragmentary accounts of the Crow; certain of the regalia had a sacred character of their own; and there is in general greater complication of ceremonial observances. Nevertheless, there was probably nothing esoteric about these organizations. After having obtained data on the military societies, one is immediately struck by the change of attitude on the part of a non-Christian native when requested to discuss the medicine bundle performances. Ordinarily there will be an absolute refusal to divulge anything concerning these genuinely religious ceremonies, while even the most conservative Hidatsa speak with great freedom concerning the military societies.

On the other hand, the importance of the military and social factors will become apparent from the description of the several organizations. Police functions were not assumed alternately by the several Mandan and Hidatsa societies as among the Crow, but were restricted to the Black Mouths.¹

¹ According to Mr. Curtis, a Wood-root society of the Hidatsa also exercised police duties (see p. 225).

NOTCHED STICK SOCIETY.

When Poor-wolf was seven years old, he joined the Notched Stick society (*miraraxu'xi*). Together with other boys of about the same age, he bought the privileges of membership from the group of older boys then in possession of them. For twenty nights the buyers were obliged to entertain the sellers. On the twentieth night a ("friendly"?) woman was made to stand up by the sellers; she held in her hand a bundle of willow twigs, painted red at the top and enclosing a central stick of greater length, which was spotted in the middle. This woman danced, and the buyers were obliged to pile up property until the heap reached the woman's forehead. The sellers tried to press down the heap of goods, while the buyers attempted to swell it as high as possible. When the pile had reached the required height, the goods were removed, and the process recommenced until four piles had been accumulated and taken away. The buyers sometimes added a tent in order to increase the height of a pile. Poor-wolf's group was assisted in this purchase by members of some higher group, who considered themselves friends of the buyers. During the twenty nights preceding the consummation of the purchase, the sellers discussed matters with the buyers, and instructed them about warfare and other affairs. The final step was taken when each boy, on the last night, approached an individual of the upper grade, thus selecting him for his father, and presented him, according to his means, with a horse, a gun, or a bonnet. Each novice was free to select whomsoever he pleased for his special father, though the entire group stood in the relationship of sons to the entire group of sellers. The son approached his father and said, "My father, you must give me a feather to tie to my head." The father, if sufficiently distinguished, might fulfil the request himself, otherwise he would call upon a brother of his, who thus addressed the son: "After belonging to the Notched Stick society I did so-and-so." He then tied a feather to the novice's head, told him of a vision received by himself, gave him his own paint, and expressed the hope that the boy would grow up to be an old man and would be successful on the warpath.

At the time of the smallpox, most members of the Notched Stick society died, including Carries-arrows, in whose earth-lodge the meetings were held. Poor-wolf's group never sold the membership to a younger generation, hence Poor-wolf, aged 90, still considers himself a member of this society.

Poor-wolf states that there were two officers: one owning a "male," the other a "female" stick. In apparent contradiction to this, he also

says that both were purchased by Carries-arrows. The "female" stick (arumi'ga) was called *miraraxu'xi*, "notched stick," the musical instrument employed at dances, from which the organization derived its name. An ordinary stick was rubbed up and down the notches. The unnotched side of the *miraraxu'xi* seems to have been encased in rawhide. The "male" stick (arugi'rupi) was called *mira'rū'witsi*, "smooth-stick" (or "snapped-stick?"). At meetings it was smoked with incense of peppermint and pine-needles, and then made to rest on two forked sticks. The incense caused the weather to become foggy, no matter how fine it had been before. For singers, the boys selected three or four of the most competent men among

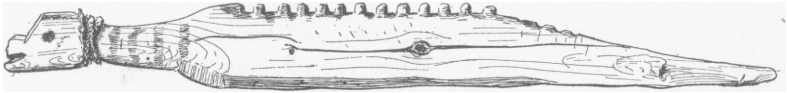


Fig. 1 (50.1-4356). Instrument of Notched Stick Society. Length, 127 cm.

their fathers. When the singing commenced, the boys clapped their hands to their mouths.

Wolf-chief never belonged to this organization, but his father, Small-ankle, was a member in his day, and had described the emblem of the society to his son as a stick about 3 feet long, notched in the upper section. Another stick of ash-wood was employed as a rasp, while a rawhide acted as resonator. The notches on the lower stick represented a snake's backbone. A model that may not be quite accurate, because not made by a member of the Notched Stick society, is shown in Fig. 1.

Buffalo-bird-woman told me that her own father, Small-ankle, as well as his older brother, had belonged to this society. Their sister, whose name was Red, was the singer. This organization was sacred. In buying the society, a great deal of property — robes, quillwork, and eagle feathers — was collected for the sellers, each of whom also had food presented to him on four successive nights. On each of these evenings four songs were sung then the meeting broke up. The fathers had their "friends" come in to share the food brought to them. During these meetings, a fire of dry willows was maintained by the buyers' female relatives. On the fourth night the sellers instructed their sons how to rub the notched stick, which was placed on a pile about 2 feet high so as to be seen by everyone present. It was shaped like a snake, with two horns in front; it also had two front legs and two hind legs. The fathers said to their sons: "This stick has two horns, you must give up two articles." Then two sons rose and laid two articles on the stick. The fathers continued: "It has four legs, give up four things."

Then four articles were added. In similar fashion, one object was added for the tail, and another for the head. During the four days' entertainment there was always a thick fog in the village. This fact is referred to in a song, which my informant remembered hearing her aunt sing:—

“awaci'a raharē'm; cēwā'+its.”

“The haze is continuing; I say so.”

After the period of feasting, the sons received their regalia from the fathers, to whom each purchaser paid a horse, a gun, an eagle feather, or the like. Only one man got the notched stick; he was also the one in whose lodge the members met. Buffalo-bird-woman says that this society originated in Awaxā'awi.¹ The notched stick was always rubbed downwards.

STONE HAMMERS.

Two stories were referred to by Poor-wolf as native accounts of the origin of this society. According to the one rejected by this authority, the society was organized by the mythical hero called Mō'tsawitsi'tsic (Coyote-chief), Ī'tsi'ka-mā'hīric (First-worker), or Itā'xga-dētac (Old-man-never-dies). The approved story refers the origin back to a young man's vision. The spirit appearing to this man gave him a convexly diamond-shaped object (mi'i me + ū'paki). One half was painted red, representing the Sun and his path; the other was painted black, representing the Moon and her trail. The reddened (?) section was further decorated with a half-moon figure, the other by a cross representing the morningstar. The spirit told the dreamer that if he should organize the society, his children should grow up and enjoy good luck.

Wolf-chief gives the following origin legend. One day a young man from the village at the mouth of the Knife River went up-stream to a high hill, which he ascended in order to get a vision there. People had tried to obtain a revelation there before, but the hill had always seemed to them to sink, and they had fled in terror. The young man had heard of the hill, and for that reason he went there. He began to cry, continued doing so, and looked about. The hill did not move at all. In the night he went to the woods to sleep. The next morning he again ascended the hill and acted as before, but the hill did not move. For the night he retired to the same place as before. The third day passed in the same way. On the fourth day, toward sunset, when he was still crying, he heard a loud noise inside the hill. The

¹ The village nearest the Missouri of the three villages on the Knife River described by Maximilian (II, 212).

young man said, "Many young men have come here to get a vision and have run away. I wish to stay in order to see whether I shall get killed

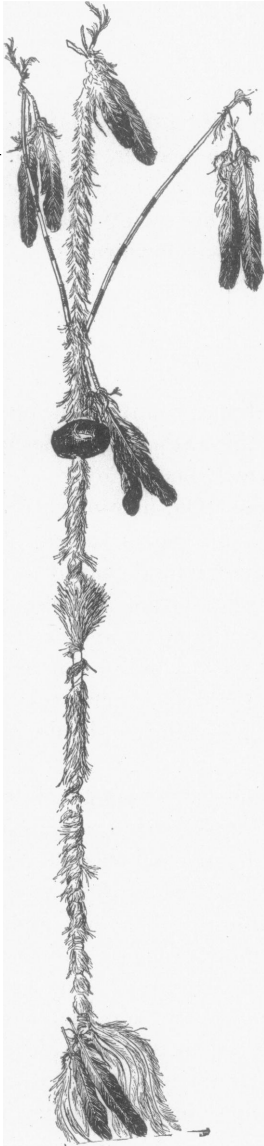


Fig. 2 (50.1-4342). Staff and Hammer of Stone Hammer Society. Length of staff, 164 cm.

or shall get a vision." The noise ceased, and the hill no longer moved. Then the man said, "There is not much danger, I just heard a noise. I think the others who ran away merely heard the same thing." He went homewards. As he passed along the wood he heard some one shouting. Listening and looking about, he caught sight of a *mi'ri atihe'* (a lodge covered with bark and earth) in the wood. He went thither, and saw a group of young men, who seemed to be laughing and amusing themselves. As he approached them, one of them cried out to him, "Come in and sit right down!" The visionary looked round, and saw that all the men present were young. He watched them closely, and noticed that each of the men was holding a stone hammer in his hands. Someone said, "Show the other side!" The visionary then noticed a star. As the young men turned their stones, the visionary observed that a line was cut on them, and he thought, "This is the path on which the Moon and the Star always travel." The same man as before then spoke. "Now, we will show you the stones we carry. These are for a society of young men able to fight the enemy and to conquer them. We know what you are seeking, this is what you have wished for." They sang. Each one shouted, rose to dance, and with one hand raised his stone in any direction. Suddenly the visionary fell asleep, and was as one dead. His eyes were moist; after a while he opened them again, and felt as well as ever. He saw about him a great many little birds. Then he fell asleep as before. When he awoke, he was alone in the woods. Neither lodge nor bird was to be seen. He went back. He had learned what was to be done, and thought he

had seen a great vision. "As soon as I return, I will start the society, so that young men may have the power of fighting against the enemy." He tried to organize the society, but at first he was unable to recall the songs. After a while, however, he had a dream during which he again saw the society and heard its music, and so he re-learned the songs. Then he got all the young men of the tribe together, and founded the organization. No name had been given to the stone in the founder's dream, but he himself thought that as it was of stone and had a handle it should be called "stone hammer." He got a soft stone, cut it into egg-shape, perforated it in the middle, and stuck a five-foot stick through it, so that about fourteen inches of the shaft projected beyond the stone at the top. In accordance with his vision, he left two or three branches on his stick (see Fig. ^t2):

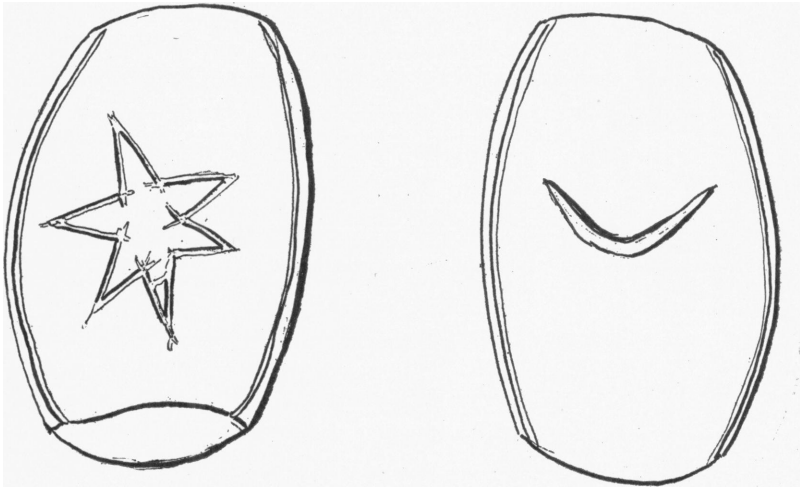


Fig. 3 (50.1-4342ab). Emblem of Stone Hammer Society. Length, 9 cm.



After giving the young men instructions, he said, "Young men, I do this because this stone has the power to make you good men. When you have completed the sticks, bring them back to my lodge. We shall keep them all there to sing and dance with." When they returned with their emblems, he tied young hawk feathers along the sticks. He also marked the stone with representations of the new-moon and the star, and with lines representing their paths (see Fig. 3). Then he wetted pulverized charcoal, and rubbed it all over the stone. He selected some older men for musicians, letting them practise the appropriate songs. At first they had no drum, but merely hit the ground with a stick; later they got a drum.

The visionary said, "I will sing two songs. At the third song, everyone shall get up and dance. Everyone of you sing, but do not dance. When I approach the end of my song, all of you shall shout, for thus I saw it in my vision." Accordingly, after his second song, everyone shouted. He continued as follows, "Now, at my next song, each of you shall get up and dance, raising your emblems in all directions. While you dance, think of being good men and of fighting against the enemy." He sang once more. All the members rose, danced, and raised their stones. After a while they stopped. The dance was performed many times, so that all the members learned to sing and dance properly. The people of the village watched them and thought, "That is a great man, he has seen a great vision." Whenever enemies came to the village, this society always went to the front and struck the enemy with their emblems. Some of the members became noted warriors by repeatedly striking coups in this way. The founder had been instructed never to get older men into the organization. When some of the members got to be about 30 years of age, they were considered too old, and a younger group bought the society from them. All this happened very long ago. Since that time the society was kept up until a few decades ago.

To this narrative, secured in 1910, Wolf-chief added a few supplementary statements when the story had been read to him a year later. He then said that the feathers used for the decoration of the sticks were those of a sharp-clawed species of hawk, that the star side of the stone hammer was painted red, which symbolized the sunrise, and that the moon side was black.

Still another origin legend was given by Wolf-chief's sister, Buffalo-bird-woman. A very long time ago a young man named Gā'riwapi'tec ("Grandson") traveled among the Indians and gave them instructions. Some of the people had small eyes and mouths, as well as webbed hands, all of which he transformed into their present shape. He destroyed man-eaters and other monsters. When he finally returned to the Five Villages, he found that his people had only one miserable society. They were able to sing nothing but the words, "House-hole, sunbeam." Grandson wished to found an organization. His father was the Moon, and he himself the Morningstar, accordingly he made a small egg-shaped stone object, and marked on it himself as a star, and his father as the new-moon. Then he called all the young men together, sang songs for them, and gave to each of them a stone.

A fourth tradition was related by Hairy-coat. When the Hidatsa had become people they did not at first have any dances or other forms of amusement. Some beings dwelling in the sky thought they would descend

and instruct the Hidatsa. There were three of them: the Sun, the Moon, and the Morningstar. They taught songs to the Hidatsa to make them strong, and admonished them not to permit the knowledge of the songs to die out. They had an egg-shaped stone object, perforated and set on a staff. The Sun incised two marks on the stone, filling them with red paint. On one side was a representation of the new-moon, and on the other that of the star; the moon side was painted black, the star side red. The stick was decorated with a collar of red and yellow quill work, with young eagle or young hawk tail-feathers, and with a fancy strip of buckskin, trimmed either with gulls' wings or colored wings. The three deities taught the Hidatsa to dance outdoors in the village, with the singers in the center. The dancers were told to move towards the left. At the third song, they were informed, the villagers would pelt them with stones, but this should serve to make them strong like stones. At the fourth song they were to keep their hands on their backs and then the people would again cast stones at them. On the other hand, the three gods gave the Stone Hammers the right to steal food. Before doing so they must go round the village with a drum and proclaim their intentions, crying, "Hide your food under your pillow and lie on it, for we'll take it." Then people would hide their food but the boys would steal it during the night.

When Wolf-chief was about fifteen, all his friends assembled to buy the Stone Hammer society from the older group then owning it. For four nights, the buyers entertained the sellers. Wolf-chief, for example selected from among the sellers one of his clan fathers, thus making him his individual father, and supplied him with food each night. On the morning following the fourth night, each son was invited by his father, made him an individual payment, and received from him a society emblem. Wolf-chief paid his father a blue blanket, a robe, a big kettle, beaded leggings, and a shotgun. Others made presents of horses. Wolf-chief's father, Deer-head, was very glad to receive the presents, narrated his own vision to his son, prayed in his behalf, and surrendered to him his own war medicine, which consisted of a plume. He said, "Do not fear the enemy, son, bullets shall never touch you. You may also have my own name, Deer-head; your society shall call you by this name."¹ This prophecy was fulfilled: Wolf-chief always tied the plume to his head in battle and was never hit by the enemy. In 1911 Wolf-chief added that only boys having clan fathers in the sellers' group were expected to provide food for an individual father, and that some who had clan fathers were too poor to feast them. In either

¹ Among the Hidatsa names were generally bestowed by clan fathers. When Wolf-chief returned from a successful war expedition, Butterfly, another clan father, dubbed him "Wolf-chief" after a famous warrior of an earlier generation.

case the purchaser did not receive the stone hammer emblem, but was obliged to go to the mountains, get a revelation about the enemy, and then manufacture an emblem for himself, patterning it after those of his more fortunate associates. However, I get the impression from other accounts that these conditions were very unusual. It seems rather improbable that a boy should be unable to find a single clan father in the sellers' company, and as both relatives and "friends" of each purchaser rendered assistance, the furnishing of food was not likely to present any difficulty. Nevertheless, in the account given to Rev. Wilson and quoted below, Wolf-chief states that of the forty purchasers of the Stone Hammer membership in his group only about eighteen selected individual fathers.

In 1911 Rev. Wilson secured an admirably full account of the purchase of the Stone Hammer society by Wolf-chief's group. The following summary of Rev. Wilson's notes may well find a place here.

The prospective buyers filled a pipe, and after choosing a spokesman proceeded to the Stone Hammer lodge, where they sat down between the door and the fireplace. The leader went to the rear and deposited the initial gifts, packed in four or five bundles, and a pipe. Facing the Stone Hammers who were seated in a semicircle in the rear, he said: "Fathers, we want to buy your songs! See all these goods. They are all that we have been able to get together. We ask you to take them, and to light this pipe. We want to have your songs. Light this pipe that we may know that you accept." Then he sat down with the rest of his group. A Stone Hammer replied that the goods were not sufficient to purchase his society. The would-be buyers then debated among themselves whether it was possible for them to get more property from relatives or friends. Several thought they could, left the lodge, and came back with additional gifts, which were laid down with the rest. The spokesman of the sellers said the presents were still hardly enough, but as the buyers had done the best they could he would consent to sell and asked his group whether they agreed with him. When they had expressed their consent, he lit the pipe, and carried it to the Stone Hammer on the right end of the semicircle, who smoked it and passed it to the left. When the pipe had been smoked dry, the Stone Hammer spokesman returned it to the buyers' spokesman, then went back to the rear, and thus addressed the younger group: "Our sons, tomorrow evening you must fetch a feast and they will make ready to give you your stone hammers and teach you the songs. Four nights they will teach you the songs and you shall bring a feast for them each night. By that time you will have learned all the songs and they will be yours." The boys then left and returned to the lodge they had started from. Those who had special gifts to give to individual fathers as payment for the stone hammers then decided whom they were going to choose for their father. About eighteen of the forty were able to do this. Then, in accordance with the sellers' instructions, the boys selected six officers to hold the four lances and the two rattles the society was to receive on the last night of the purchase.

The next day, before sunset, the novices assembled in the same lodge as before. The parents of some had already prepared food with which to feast the sellers, so the boys who were going to have fathers went home to get it, returning to the lodge with

their kettles. All went to the Stone Hammers, and the boys with food arose and offered it to their fathers, each saying, "Father, make me my stone!" The food was passed along the semicircle, all the Stone Hammers helping themselves. The buyers who had no individual fathers remained seated. Some women and children came in, and sat at the right of the door (for one entering), while the novices were at the left. Three of the older "friends" of the buyers sat with the sellers and shared the food. When the fathers had done eating, they called to their sons to take back their dishes. Wolf-chief's father thus addressed the people: "Listen, my friends, to what I have to say. To this my son I now give my name, hereafter he shall be called Deer-head." Then to Wolf-chief he added: "Son, I will make you your stone. I will begin tomorrow. You shall receive it when we get through the four nights' feasting." Those boys who had relatives among the women spectators then asked them to take their kettles home. After the feast, the sellers smoked from the one pipe owned by the society, but a few of the buyers had brought pipes with them and offered them to their fathers. Finally, one of the sellers rose and said: "Our sons, we are now going to sing. You who want to learn, listen to us. You must learn these songs. When we get through, we will go, expecting to gather here again tomorrow evening, and you must again fetch us a feast as you have tonight. So also for the third and fourth nights. When we are then all through, the following day, by daylight, we will take you out in the village to dance. You shall be the ones to dance that time. As I have said, we are going to sing. You may listen, or you may join in the singing if you wish. And now, friends, let us begin our singing." Two musicians with hand-drums and seven other singers sat in a circle in the rear of the lodge, between the semicircle and the two rear main-posts, and began to sing and drum. Some of the fathers rose and danced. Finally, the gathering broke up. The buyers went back to Wolf-chief's lodge, practised some of the songs heard, and at last went home.

On the second evening the boys assembled with their gifts of food as on the previous night, went to the Stone Hammers, and offered them the food as before. One of the buyers also offered them a pipe. The sellers told the buyers they might dance or sing when the music began, but the boys were too bashful to dance, though they sang a little. About four of the fathers danced. When the dancing and singing was over, the novices went away to practise the songs as before.

The following morning Wolf-chief's individual father called him to his lodge, showed him how far he had progressed with the manufacture of the stone hammer, and feasted him. In the evening the novices feasted their fathers as before. One of the latter rose and admonished his group to complete the emblems by the following evening. Then he asked the buyers to dance to the musicians' singing. Some of the fathers themselves danced, and the novices rose to take part until all of them were dancing. One of the Stone Hammers said, "Sons, I am glad to see you dance. You do very well! That is the way! Do not be afraid or ashamed, but dance!" Finally, one of the "friends" said: "You are about to have your stones. These Stone Hammers are young men who are always found where they may strike the enemy!" The novices went home, and practised the songs nearly all night.

On the fourth evening the fathers were entertained by their sons as on previous nights. The fathers' female relatives brought fuel, and the novices were asked to start a fire going. Upon request, the boys came forward, that is, behind the rear main-posts of the lodges, facing the musicians, who were now seated in the extreme rear in the same semicircle with the other sellers. The novices danced to six songs,

all of them at once joining a few fathers who rose to dance. After the dancing the owner of the lodge rose and delivered a speech. First he exhorted the sons who had individual fathers to pay for their emblems what property they could spare,— a horse if possible. Then he pointed out two especially brave Stone Hammers and urged the novices to emulate their example. Turning to his own group, he told them they were to give the stone emblems to their sons on the following day, and suggested that those who had had visions should tie an object seen in the vision to the stone and pray in behalf of their sons. Finally, he requested one of the "friends" to address the novices. The "friend" told the boys they were to receive the emblems on the next day, and urged them to be brave in war. He was followed by a Stone Hammer, who again reminded the buyers that tomorrow they would get the stones and own the society. He explained the origin of the organization and reminded the women present that the young men about to become Stone Hammers would protect them against the enemy. "Now, my friends, we will sing again and we will sing more than any other night. Thus our sons may learn all the songs thoroughly." Then the music and dancing began, the novices at once taking part. The fathers who danced recited the war deeds they had performed as Stone Hammers, the implication being that the new members were to do likewise. Many songs were sung, and after the meeting the boys disbanded without practising as they had done on previous nights.

The next morning Wolf-chief was called to his father's lodge, made to sit behind the fire, and feasted. Then the father showed his son the emblem he had made for him. He went to his medicine bundle, took out an eagle tail feather, and tied it to a string. He had had a vision of a man wearing such a feather tied to his scalplock in battle and escaping injury. This vision he recited to Wolf-chief, telling him that if he wore it and prayed in battle he would not get hurt. Then he tied the feather to Wolf-chief's scalplock. Wolf-chief went home to get special presents to pay for the stone emblem and returned with the gifts. The father accepted them, and told Wolf-chief to meet the sellers in the afternoon in a certain lodge, where all the buyers were to assemble, painted up and in full dress. Wolf-chief returned home, where his own father, Small-ankle, instructed him how to paint, though he thought his ceremonial father might have done that for him. The other novices all got together and were summoned to the sellers' lodge with their new emblems. These were all leaned against a rope stretched between the two rear main-posts. The fathers were now seated on the left of the door (for one entering) with ten of their older "friends." Women gathered on the right. The fathers and novices sang and danced. The fathers' "friends" reminded the boys that the Stone Hammers were expected to fight the enemy. Then one of the fathers told the novices to go outdoors to dance, and warned them that the villagers would pelt them with stones after the close of the performance. The novices proceeded in single file, followed by ten fathers in one row, the four fathers in the center holding drums. The fathers sang, and the whole village looked on. Some of the women wept, thinking that some of the boys would soon die in war. In front of one lodge the novices formed a circle, the fathers forming another within. The fathers sang and beat drums, and the boys danced. Many men urged the boys to be brave. After several songs the procession moved to another open space, where the dance was repeated. It was performed in two other places in the village, and before the end of the fourth dance, the people got ready to pelt the dancers. The fathers moved out of the circle and stepped aside, shouting to the novices to run away to their lodge. The novices broke their circle and dashed away as fast as possible, while everybody threw sticks and small stones at them. When

they reached the lodge, some were bleeding and weeping, though not seriously hurt. Most of the fathers entered the lodge, and one of them made a final speech, telling the boys that they now owned the society and in war should use the feathers tied to their stones. At night he instructed them to enter the lodges of the village and steal food. The new members then disbanded, agreeing to meet in Wolf-chief's lodge later on. The boys were too much afraid to steal anything that night and the next, but on the third night they stole a little sugar.

Water-chief, though a Mandan, nevertheless bought the Hidatsa Stone Hammer society with Wolf-chief's group, having been one day summoned to join his Hidatsa friends. They collected property in a heap, each one contributing his share, which consisted of shirts or blankets. This property was carried to the Stone Hammer lodge and deposited before the members. A pipe was also placed before them. Then, to quote Water-chief:

In token of their consenting to sell, the fathers took and smoked the pipe. Then they said to us, "We give you this society, we also give you the power to steal. We shall pick out whatever clothes of yours we want for ourselves." They stood up and came towards us. One of the fathers approached me and wished to take from me a pretty beaded necklace. Being still only a boy, I cried and did not wish to give it up. He caught me by the back of the head, made me bend down, and struck me, saying, "This is what ought to be done to you if you wish to keep your property." Then he pushed me away. "This you must remember when you steal. I am making you a good thief." After the surrender of our clothes we went home.

From Poor-wolf's and Joe Packineau's statements it appears that the buyers were at the sellers' mercy, for the latter might stipulate any length for the period of entertainment and always manifested the greatest reluctance about giving up their membership, protesting that they were very much attached to their songs and dances. In order to propitiate the sellers, desirable presents were offered, then one of the buyers would rise and say, "Fathers, we should like you to cut off so many nights." Then some father would get up and remit so many nights. The manner in which "friendly" groups might aid and abet the purchasing class is illustrated by the following story. When Packineau's group bought the Stone Hammer membership, one of the sticks with the stone emblem was set in the ground, and the buyers were obliged to heap up property four times to the height of the stone. In this transaction the buyers were assisted by the Lumpwoods, the lowest society ranking the sellers. When it seemed impossible to reach the mark indicated, the boys, at the suggestion of their Lumpwood "friends," threw a bonnet on the pile of goods, thus barely reaching the level of the hammer. The Lumpwoods then cried out to the sellers, "Your sons are clever!"

Hairy-coat's group numbered about forty when they bought this society. He was the youngest, being only about 14 years old, and the oldest was 17.

Each member contributed to the initial gift made to the sellers. Hairy-coat gave a robe made from the skin of a yearling buffalo calf, others contributed arrows and bows, quivers, and guns. My informant cannot recollect whether anyone paid a horse. His group amassed three piles of goods as a compensation for special privileges they desired to exercise in connection with the theft of food. In the first place, they wished to knock down the person robbed by them if he came to their lodge in anger. Secondly, a member thieving in an earth-lodge and finding a naked woman there should be permitted to possess her while asleep; if she awoke and held him, however, his associates should have to pay a ransom. Thirdly, members of the group were to have the right of stealing food not only in the dark, as was customary for Stone Hammers, but also in the daytime.

In practically all the societies the final consummation of the purchase was signalized by a parade through the village and a public performance of the dance, during which several of the fathers acted as musicians. When the Stone Hammers held their first outdoor dance, all the people came to see them. The boys formed a circle and began to move clockwise, holding their hammer wands in the left hand. Buffalo-bird-woman says that one older "friend," a member of the Crazy Dog society, joined in the dance. Hairy-coat remembers that as he was standing in the circle he noticed that the villagers were armed with stones and mud, and he heard someone say, "Those boys steal our meat, I want to hit them." He thought this was merely an attempt to scare the new members, but at a certain song the spectators began to pelt the dancers. These, however, did not run away, but continued to dance until the close of the song. While pelted, they held their emblems over their shoulders. They learned that the object of this custom was to make the dancers strong.

When the Stone Hammers prepared for a dance, Hairy-coat says, they painted their faces with white clay to represent the white stone used for their hammer. A few painted one side of the face red to symbolize the sun, others used yellow or black paint over the entire face. This looked very sacred.

Though mere boys, the Stone Hammers attempted to distinguish themselves in battle. The words of their war song were: "I am on the earth just for a little while," that is to say, "When there is a fight, I must die." They regarded themselves as of stone and accordingly did not dread the enemy. Some struck first coups in battle, and some even acted as war-captains. White-buffalo was the bravest Stone Hammer known to Wolf-chief. In one encounter he was wounded in the leg and had a horse killed under him, but he simply mounted another and rode so close to the enemy that this second horse was also killed. Once he led a war party, captured

a scalp and struck two coups, but was killed by the enemy. Wolf-chief himself took part in war expeditions while a member of this organization. The year after he had become a Stone Hammer, he joined in the pursuit of two enemies. The Stone Hammers got far ahead of the other Hidatsa. A comrade of my informant's shot one of the fugitives, but Wolf-chief himself dismounted and scalped him. When he returned, the people said that the young men had earned honor marks. In the second war after Wolf-chief's entrance into the society, the enemy, numbering about 100, attacked Ft. Berthold village, but were repelled. Wolf-chief went in pursuit of them caught up with one man and shot at him, but missed him. The enemy stopped, but Wolf-chief's horse ran on, and he got close to the fugitive lines. All of them fired their guns at him. The smoke resembled that from a prairie fire. My informant's horse was killed, but the bullets did not touch his body. Two years later he again fought some enemies in the Bad Lands, struck a coup, and scalped one man.

As repeatedly indicated above, the licensed theft of food was one of the distinctive activities of this organization. In accordance with their origin traditions, Wolf-chief and Hairy-coat ascribe the institution of the custom to supernatural birds and to the celestial visitors of the Hidatsa, respectively. Before the stealing could take place, it was necessary that public announcement be made, so that the villagers could hide their food. After the proclamation had been made, the young men ran to their lodge, pelted with earth by the people of the village. There were generally boys in each household who betrayed the secret of the hiding-place. Moreover, the Stone Hammers possessed the mysterious power of casting a deep sleep over the persons robbed, so that their presence generally remained undetected. In some cases, a spy might report that a woman had dug a pit in the ground for her food, covered it with a board, and lain down to sleep on it, so that it seemed impossible to steal the food. Then the boys would go to the lodge, lift the woman from the board, steal her provisions, and still escape unnoticed. Usually the people who were robbed did not discover the theft until the following morning, when they looked up at the smokehole or went outdoors and found hanging there a parfleche emptied of its contents, but often filled with moccasins or some other compensatory gift. It is necessary to note that only food was stolen; even the food receptacles, as just stated, were not taken away. When preparing for these expeditions, the thieves tied all their hair in front and painted their faces yellow or black. If a Stone Hammer anticipated difficulty in the undertaking he painted on his face the symbols of the star and new-moon marked on his society emblem, and duplicated the incised marks representing the sun by drawing lines obliquely from the forehead across his face.

In order to enter an earth-lodge, a Stone Hammer either removed a part of the porch, or was lowered in a basket through the smokehole. In the latter case, if the inmates of the lodge were found stirring, the thief merely jerked the rope and was immediately raised out of danger. By the same device the thief might have the stolen provisions raised in installments before finally making his exit in the same manner. If by some chance a thief was caught, a heavy ransom had to be paid for his release. On the other hand, if people detected their loss only the next day, they merely laughed and showed no resentment.

After executing thefts in various earth-lodges, the thieves met, cooked the purloined food, ate it, and returned to their homes before daybreak.

Sometimes a man would voluntarily bring meat to the Stone Hammers, saying, "You are brave young men; I am bringing you dried meat for your dinner."

Water-chief gave the following, rather realistic picture of a thieving expedition.

After the completion of the purchase we marched through the village, and made this announcement: "We are going to steal to-night. Hide your *parfleches*!" We went about, repeating the words of this song many times. Finally we returned to our lodge. One of the older members spoke to us as follows: "Go in pairs, all of you!" I selected Wounded-face for my partner. We went together to the village and saw light in one of the earth-lodges. As soon as we got to the door, we looked in and saw a woman making bread. We said, "We'll try to steal that, it has a pleasant-smell." We watched all night. When done, the woman put her bread into a dishpan, placed it inside a box, and hid it. We noted the place. "Friend," said I, "we shall surely get it." She covered the box with a dry skin and put some heavy object inside. We saw all her attempts at hiding the food. We ran off some little distance to watch the smoke-hole in order to see when the fire would be out. Then we returned. Wounded-face removed a log far enough for me to crawl in (for I was still small), then I entered. As soon as I was inside, he called me back, and whispered, "Unbar the door!" I did so. Wounded-face continued, "Be careful, go very slowly, or they will catch us." I went ahead; at every step I heard my arms and leg-joints creaking. I raised the bar with a noise. "Be careful, grasp it at the bottom, and lift," said my partner. I obeyed. Wounded-face entered, and both of us advanced towards the food. Our bones were creaking. We proceeded very quietly along the edge of the earth-lodge. Part of the way I took the lead, until we got to the biscuit box. We were in a hurry to get the food. I raised the hides, and reached down for the biscuits. The top one I gave to Wounded-face, who began eating it then and there. He found that it was as yet uncooked. The flour covered his mouth and breast with white. He said to me, "You run faster than I, take the pan, I'll lift the door and give you a sign when I am ready, then you must run out." So I got ready, raised the cover, and lifted the bread. When I had done that, I pushed the cover off, no longer caring what noise I made, and ran off. I ran towards the river. Wounded-face said, "Run hard! If they catch us, they will take away all our clothes." So we ran hard, and reached the river. We jumped from the

bank into the water and waded along the bank for a while, then we climbed up a hill and continued to run. We got back to the lodge of the society. Each pair of members had stolen something,—sugar, dried meat, or other provisions. After the feast, towards daylight, we went home.

The following morning the owner of the lodge I had stolen from summoned me to his home. Though I was afraid, I went. When I arrived, I looked around and saw Wounded-face already seated there. I sat down near him, expecting to be questioned regarding the meat. Our host gave us each a platter with food. When we had eaten, he filled a pipe for us. When we had smoked, he said nothing, and I thought that he was not going to reproach us for the theft. All three of us smoked, laughing and talking at the same time. I was glad at his not making mention of the last night's doings. But when we had done smoking, I knew he was going to ask us about the stolen food, and got frightened again. At last he said, "Last night someone stole all our baked biscuits. You are my friends, perhaps your society did this, and I wish you to tell me who were the thieves." I did not answer, but Wounded-face, pointing at our host, said, "You are not acting as you should. You ought to say to your wife, 'Give these boys some biscuits and coffee.' Yet you did not say so. I know you can afford to entertain us in this way: it would not kill you at all." "Very well," said our host, "I am very glad, my younger brothers, that you tell me what I ought to do. The matter is settled now. You must not have any bad feeling against me." Then we went from the lodge, and thereafter no longer were afraid of the man whose meat we had stolen.

In Wolf-chief's group White-buffalo was the best thief. He would enter any earth-lodge, and, guided by his sense of smell, could detect the hidden meat or other food. Wolf-chief was too nervous to make a good thief; his heart began to palpitate and the joints of his legs creaked when Drum tried to teach him to steal. Drum thought there was some good meat in Big-black's lodge. Accordingly they went thither and entered by removing a log behind the entrance passageway. Drum bade Wolf-chief walk on tiptoe around one side of the circle of posts, and himself walked round the other side. Touching the posts, my informant had gone about halfway when he came to a basket. Wishing to seize it, he upset a number of tin cups belonging to the Dog society, which came toppling down with a crash. All the inmates of the lodge woke up and said, "Oh, there are thieves in here!" Wolf-chief ran about in the dark, unable to find the exit and pursued by the people. Drum showed him where the door was and both succeeded in making their escape. Drum made fun of Wolf-chief for not knowing how to steal.

HOT DANCERS.

Maximilian identifies the Hot dancers (bā'tsawe') with the Stone Hammers. This view was not confirmed by my informants, who stated that the membership was bought as in the military societies, but did not assign to the organization a definite place in the Hidatsa series. According to the Prince, the ceremony resembled that of the Mandan (see p. 308) in that the performers danced barefoot on glowing embers and took out meat from a pot of boiling water. The hands, as well as a part of the forearms and the feet, were painted red.

Maximilian (II, 144) says that the Hidatsa obtained the dance by purchase from the Arikara — a statement corroborated by Hairy-coat but denied by others who regard the dance as indigenous. According to Wolf-chief, an Hidatsa going to receive a vision saw a raven singing and dancing. He noticed the feathers on the raven's back. He saw the raven go forward, put his bill into the vessel, and take it out again. On another night he saw many people dancing in a lodge. The dancers had a raven-skin tied to the back of their belts. A kettle of boiling water was to be seen over a fire. Each dancer, in turn, put his hand into the kettle, and, when he got back, a certain man seemed to rub something on his hands. This man knew what kind of a weed to grow for medicine that would prevent injury. He chewed some of the medicine, and spat it on the performers' arms. Flat sticks with honor marks were raised aloft in dancing.

Hairy-coat says that all the Hot dancers painted themselves with red, yellow or black colors. At the back of the head they wore an ornament composed of two eagle feathers and owl wing-feathers. The lower part of the face was painted black, while the upper part might be painted according to each dancer's wishes. One or two oblique bars across the face symbolized the striking of enemies. If the upper portion of the face had been decorated with yellow paint, these bars were in red, otherwise in black.

There were five officers. The two head men sat in the center; one of them was painted red, and the other yellow. The latter had a red lightning line on both legs, both arms, and across the chest. Both head men painted their bodies with a red sun in front and a red new-moon in the back. A third man, partly painted with black, acted as food-distributor. He had a red star on his breast and a green new-moon on his back, the rest of which was daubed yellow. Two other officers, also decorated with lightning lines and a moon design, bore pipes. When the members ate together, the officers were the first to be served. Buffalo-bird-woman says that two men wore raven-skins in the back.

When a dance was held, a big fire was built and slices of half-dried meat were boiled in a kettle suspended over it. A hide scraped clear of hair was stretched out flat behind the fire. The officer who was painted black came to the fireplace, chewed some medicine, and spat it first on his hands, and then into the kettle. Then he plunged his hand into the vessel, extracted a piece of meat, and threw it on the hide. The other members followed suit until all the meat had been taken out. No one ever burned his fingers. By way of joking a man sometimes put a piece of hot meat on a friend's back, for he knew the medicine would prevent scalding.

When they wished to smoke, one pipe-bearer went upon the roof and began to sing, facing south, while someone inside was beating a drum. At the close of his song, the pipe-bearer went towards the west, raised his pipe and again began to sing. He repeated the performance on the north, and finally on the east, side of the roof, then descended, and passed the pipe to the other pipe-carrier, whereupon he began to dance round the fireplace. One of the head men knocked off the charred part of a burned stick, chewed medicine, picked up the hot charcoal with his mouth and approached his friend, who lit the pipe with the charcoal. Then the head man replaced the charcoal near the fire. This performance was also undergone by the second pipe-bearer. Finally, smoke was given to the chiefs.¹

In dancing, members advanced the left foot and sometimes raised the right hand as if to strike the kettle.

For the words of one song Wolf-chief gives the following:

"bā`tsawe' ciwo' mi hī'ts."

"Hot [One] has come to me."

Wolf-chief thinks this dance may possibly be identical with the Grass dance, or that they are only different variations of the same performance; the raising of the sticks and the songs seem to him noteworthy similarities. According to the same informant, two causes operated to make the dance obsolete: the smallpox, which destroyed many of the members, and the fact that there were only two songs, so that the people soon tired of the dance.

KIT-FOX SOCIETY.

Maximilian merely informs us that the members of the Kit-Fox society (i'ēoxka) i'ke' when parading, wore otter and wolf skins. Hairy-coat — himself never a member — says that all the Kit-Foxes wore kilts similar

¹ It is not clear, which of the officers are referred to here.

to those of the Bull society, edged with eagle feathers and decorated with three kit-fox skins, one in the rear and one on either side. This kit-fox decoration he actually saw on but one member, but Bear-looks, who had initiated my informant's brother, said that all might use it. The body was painted yellow or pink. All members apparently wore a rawhide (or cloth) head band decorated with a number of kit-fox jaws sometimes painted yellow and green; jaws placed in juxtaposition faced each other. This head band does not seem to differ from that in use among the Mandan (Fig. 17). These head bands may have been considered sacred to some extent, for Wolf-chief says that smoke was offered to them. Hairy-coat mentions a necklace made of the whole skin of a raven, the bill and tail being tied together. At one time it seems that the Kit-Foxes shaved off their hair on the sides so as to leave a central roach and one lock in the front, but one informant limits this practice to but two members, while others speak of individual variations in the decoration of the hair. Thus, Hairy-coat's half-brother merely imitated the roach effect with a buffalo mane; those making this substitution combed their hair back stiff. When the hair was cut, the shaved portions of the head were daubed on one side with red paint and on the other with yellow paint, and in this case, according to Hairy-coat, the members wore ear ornaments of dragon-fly shape. Another informant states that the shaved parts were plastered with white clay and yellow paint. Small tufts of hair and the perforated spindle-shaped ornaments known as "hair-pipes" hung down over the fox-jaw head band. At the back of the head some members wore a bunch of feathers colored red.

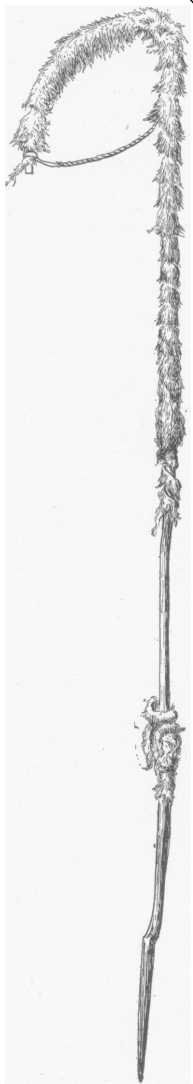


Fig. 4 (50.1-4319).
Stick of Fox Society.
Length, 184 cm.

According to Poor-wolf, there were two rattlers, two men with hooked spears wrapped with otterskin, and a single officer bearing a spear wrapped with wolfskin. Wolf-chief mentions but one hooked spear officer, but adds two officers with straight sticks. Hairy-coat is the only one to speak of two spear-bows similar to those of the Half-Shaved Heads; he had

never purchased the Kit-Fox society and is thus more liable to err than other informants on the subject of this organization. Fig. 4 shows a hooked stick wrapped with wolfskin, which is said to have belonged to Packs-wolf's brother. More recently it had been used by a woman in a dance, introduced among the Hidatsa by the Dakota.

In battle the hooked-stick men would sing a certain song as an indication of their next move, namely, the planting of their emblems into the ground. The rank and file then prepared to aid them, for regardless of danger these officers were not supposed to flee from the enemy unless their spears were plucked out by a fellow-tribesman.

The order in which these officers marched relatively to one another and the privates during a public procession was fairly definite, though it is given somewhat differently by the several informants.

According to Wolf-chief, the Kit-Foxes marched two abreast, with the exception of a trio in the rear and the officer bearing the hooked spear wrapped with otterskin, who walked in the center, by himself. At the head of the procession walked the officer carrying the hooked-stick wrapped with wolfskin, accompanied by one of the rattlers. At the end of the line were the two straight-staff bearers, and apparently beside them the second rattler. Poor-wolf put the wolf-stick bearer in the center, and the two rattlers behind and before the two otter-stick officers respectively. On the other hand, Hairy-coat confirms Wolf-chief's statement as to the leader, but speaks of a *hooked-stick* officer in the rear.

The rattles were originally made of rawhide, but in Wolf-chief's day they were made of tin cans, enclosing stones and decorated with horse-tails attached to the top of the handle, which projected above the can.

The bent staff (*miraracku'pe*) borne by Wolf-chief's leader was hooked at the top, wrapped with wolfskin, and decorated at four points with pairs of wolfskin strips,—one pair at the end of the hook and the others at points on the shaft. The upper half of the stick was painted red. The hooked otterskin-stick seems to have been quite similar save for the substitution of otterskin at corresponding points. The straight staffs are described as long, wrapped with black and red cloth, and decorated at the top with two erect eagle feathers. The otterskin on the staffs represented the otter's activity, and the wolfskin the strength of the wolf as an enemy, the red paint on the stick symbolizing the blood of his prey. Whoever owned this stick had good luck in counting coup on the enemy.

Like the head bands of the privates, the officers' regalia were in some measure regarded as sacred; at feasts the members, after offering food to the north, also made offerings to the hooked-sticks and other emblems (Hairy-coat).

Normally the Kit-Fox society was bought by a group of young men after the Stone Hammer society and before the Lumpwood membership. This, however, was not necessarily the case. Thus, Poor-wolf, for some reason never joined the Kit-Fox society, and mention has already been made of a case where the exorbitant demands of the selling group induced the prospective buyers to obtain the membership of an ordinarily higher organization (p. 233). After the smallpox, Hairy-coat states, there was but a single survivor belonging to the Kit-Fox society, named Bear-looks, and the organization would have fallen into desuetude had not the members of the informant's half-brother's group purchased the membership from Bear-looks. Here, then, the continuation of the society was hanging by a thread; and it may readily be imagined that previous to white influence warfare sometimes produced similar results and completely wiped out a society from its place in the series.

The fact that in the last-mentioned case there was but a single seller did not interfere with the essentials of the customary purchase proceedings. The purchasers piled up property for Bear-looks as an initial payment, and Bear-looks instructed them in the appropriate songs and dances. He was a good singer and was in the habit of beating not the drumhead but the drum hoop. He got the assistance of other people,—presumably for preparing the regalia for his sons. While putting the wolfskin on the leader's staff, he sang this song, which an officer was expected to sing in planting his emblem in the ground:—

"Iwara'kic maha''kūts. hi'ro' warē'tā`wits."
 "I shall stay here (live) but a little while. Right here I will stay."

Another song was sung in putting on the otterskin:—

"i'Exoxkaō', mī i'riwawā'hērek cē ici'Ets, hiro' warē'tats."
 "Foxes, myself if I want to save that is bad, hence I will not go."

In teaching the boys to dance, the old man sang as follows:—

"awa'haca waki' wawā'hēts."
 "Scattered I lie I wish," *i. e.* "I wish to lie with my bones
 scattered."

Another song was of the same type:—

"batsēte i'ruts barē'wits."
 "A man should die, I will go."

Still another song is of quite a different character:—

"na'kirāhe ici'Ekā`tits, barē'wits."
 "Your husband is very bad, I'll go (away with you)."

Poor-wolf gave a somewhat fuller account of the purchase transactions. While he and his comrades were Stone Hammers, their fathers acquired the Lumpwood membership. Accordingly, the Stone Hammers went to them, and asked for how much property they would sell the Kit-Fox society. They replied, "You boys must gather together property, and we shall then tell you whether you have heaped up enough for buying the Kit Fox society. The younger men went back, and collected plenty of calicoes, shirts and the like. One day, when a great amount had been amassed, they took it over to their lodge. Then one of the Foxes inspected the pile and said it was about large enough. Accordingly, the Foxes consented to sell. For four nights the sons feasted their fathers and learned their songs. On the fourth night the fathers decided which of the sons were to become officers, for they knew which were the bravest warriors and also the best singers. The officers-elect presented horses to their fathers. Sometimes an officer elected in this way was slain in battle. In this case the successor was appointed by the society, and he was not expected to pay for getting the position. On the final day of purchase, the Foxes paraded about the village, followed by the fathers who sang for them. The members marched at a very rapid pace. As Hairy-coat put it, "They trotted like kit-foxes." Whenever they desired to halt, the leaders turned to form a circle. The fathers went into the center of the circle with their hand-drums, and the Foxes danced to their songs. For this occasion the members were arrayed in their best clothes and wore switches. A few had fox-jaw head bands; some used red paint, others yellow paint. As they stood there, their relatives piled up presents for each one in recognition of their bravery in fighting the enemy. These gifts were turned over to the fathers in the center of the circle. At four of these halting-places the Foxes performed their dance, then they returned to their lodge. On their return the fathers gave them a drum, as well as further instruction in singing. They said, "We have done with this society, it is yours." There were about thirty young men who bought the society with Wolf-chief, who was then 26 years old. They continued performing the Fox dance until they became acquainted with the Grass dance; then they gave it up, because they preferred the new dance. However, Wolf-chief still considers himself a Kit-Fox, because the membership was never purchased of him.

An account given by the same informant a year later expands but also contradicts his previous utterances on some points. In the latter narrative he states that all the kettles of food provided by the purchasers in entertainment of the sellers were given collectively and distributed by the sellers among themselves. The regalia were not made by the fathers, but by the buyers themselves, and it was the latter that appointed officers according to

their bravery. If one of the men named declined the office, another was asked to take it. Those who accepted the position responded, suggesting, but without expressly stating, that they should have to be brave. Thus, Foolish-crow took one of the sticks, saying, "I think I must die some time." Wolf-chief, in taking one of the rattles, remarked, "Well, I like to sing anyway; I do not know whether I shall die in battle." Buffalo-paunch in taking the stick wrapped with otterskin, said, "I do not know whether I shall strike an enemy, but at all events I like to have the stick." Lame-bull took one of the straight sticks and said, "This feathered stick looks well, it will help me with the girls." The rattlers had four songs, the hooked-staff officers each had one, but the straight-staff bearers did not have a distinctive song.

As already stated, certain officers were under special obligations to act bravely in the face of the enemy, which duties are also indicated in the words of their songs (see p. 256). All the Kit-Foxes, however, strove to distinguish themselves and to rescue comrades exposed to danger. This feature is illustrated by the following statements.

A Fox bearing the otter-lance once charged against the Sioux, who were entrenched behind breastworks, and was killed after lancing one enemy. Another Fox rushed in, and saved the lance. When the Indians returned, they marveled at the slain man's bravery, and mourned his loss. His friends mourned, but after a while they prepared a great feast, and desired someone to take his place. Old men were summoned to a council. Half-fat was present. The dead warrior's lance was stuck in the ground. Before the assembly had had an opportunity to discuss the matter, Half-fat gave the war-whoop several times, and seized the spear. Half-fat joined the next war party. They located a large Sioux camp, and prepared to make a charge in the daytime. Half-fat was carrying the first spear, and took off its case (?). He had his hair shaved and dressed; feathers were tied to his hips, and the fox-jaw head band encircled his forehead. He rubbed wetted yellow paint over his hair, and daubed red paint in between. When he was ready, he sang his war song. All his comrades began to cry, as they expected to lose him. They charged at daybreak. Half-fat approached the enemy, planted his lance in the ground, and would not move. The Sioux whipped him till his face was bleeding. Then another Fox, named Fur-on-his-horns, made a dash against the Sioux, plucked out Half-fat's lance, and ran back to his own lines, followed by Half-fat. Later Half-fat charged against the Sioux breastworks, and again stuck his spear into the ground. The enemy shot him in the head; he was killed, and toppled down. Half-fat's war song was ever since kept by the society. In another fight, a Fox riding the same horse with his father-in-law noticed that some Hidatsa

warriors had been hurt by the Sioux, and immediately started back again to face the enemy.

In the winter the Foxes danced in their lodge, in the summer they went outdoors. On some evenings, when they had gathered in the lodge for a feast, they allowed old people to join in the repast. These guests were wont to call up members by name, and say, "You have a great many enemies. You will not live long, but try to be men."

LUMPWOODS.

This society is called by Maximilian "*die Bande der grossen Säbel, la bande des grands sabres*" and forms the second in his series of Hidatsa age-societies. In dancing they carried sabres in their hands, from which fact Maximilian argued that the organization was probably of recent origin.¹

The translation of the native name of this society, *miraxi'ci* was for a time involved in considerable doubt. My interpreters at first translated it "baskets," which would coincide with that of the third society in one of Clark's two lists of Arikara organizations.² I, however, felt confident from the similarity with the Crow *maraxi'ce* that the meaning was "Lumpwood," which is also that obtained by Curtis.³ Further questioning seemed to me to establish the correctness of this rendering beyond doubt. Wolf-chief remarked that this society was in existence before the separation of the Crow and Hidatsa, and his sister said it had been introduced by the Crow. It must not be assumed, however, that the Lumpwood organizations of the two tribes bear a very close resemblance to each other. In particular, one trait highly characteristic of the Crow society is lacking in its Hidatsa counterpart. Poor-wolf, as well as other Hidatsa, knew of the Crow *maraxi'ce* custom of stealing wives (see p. 169), but said that it was never practised by the Hidatsa. It was at one time suggested to introduce the custom, but the old men vetoed the proposal.

Hairy-coat says that one day long ago the people in a village were hungry. Two young men went out to get a vision. The *miraxi'ci* society was revealed to them by buffaloes in human shape, bearing the emblems described below. The buffaloes instructed the young men how to dance and sing, and bade them unite all the boys of their age in order to instruct them in

¹ Maximilian, II, 217.

² Clark, 355. The Hidatsa word for "basket" is however differently accented: *mira-xi'ce*.

³ Curtis, IV, 182.

turn. On such occasions, they prophesied, it would always rain for a short time, and as a matter of fact Hairy-coat declares that in his day it always began to rain a little whenever the Lumpwoods beat their drum. The visionaries were informed that the flat-board was to be used in striking enemies. In addition to the buffaloes the young men also saw birds in a tree and their nest; the latter is represented by the drum of the organization, and many *miraxi'ci* songs belong to the birds. When the animals that appeared to the visionaries had done instructing them, some rose into the air as birds, others turned into buffaloes, bears, or snakes.

The close association with the buffalo indicated in this origin tradition persisted in later times. Poor-wolf says that the Lumpwoods were wont to pray to the buffalo for good luck and constructed pens into which they would drive the buffalo. Wolf-chief and his sister mention one of their ancestors, Yellow-horse, who went out on the prairie to fast. His knobbed ("lumpy") *miraxi'ci* stick, which Lumpwoods took with them in their quests for supernatural power, revealed four songs to him, by means of which he was able to lure buffalo into a pen. These songs were inherited in the maternal line. Wolf-chief himself used some of them in the chase. In organizing a buffalo hunt, Yellow-horse had the young men pile up stones, and then bade them chase the game toward a steep bluff, while he himself sang his mystery songs to entice the buffalo where he wanted them. The buffalo were chased down the cliff. When the people got there, Yellow-horse said to them, "Do not go near, I want my wife to come here." When his wife arrived he bade her jump on top of the buffalo and then come back. She said she thought it was too dangerous, but when he insisted she obeyed. Some of the buffalo were still alive, one of them being an albino. Nevertheless, she came back safe. The people thought Yellow-horse had great power. They had killed a great number of buffalo. They piled up meat, and built a lodge there. Hence the name "Horse-pound Point" was given to a spot near Ft. Berthold.

The rank and file carried as emblems of the society unknobbed sticks (*mir'E'itawatu'*) with representations of animal faces. These common sticks did not necessarily represent buffalo. The last of the men carrying a stick of this sort had on it a representation of a bear, and he was supposed to be slow in his movements. However, if the Hidatsa had surrounded an enemy and were afraid to approach him as he stood at bay, this officer was expected to advance against him. At the end of each stick there was a tail, above which the Lumpwoods tied some medicine "belonging to the buffalo," called *a'tū'rēehē* which was used for incense and from the description may have been identical with the *īsē'* root of the Crow. One of the sticks, borne by an officer marching in the center of the field during a parade,

had a protuberance at one end, from which the society probably derived its name and which represented a buffalo head (Fig. 5).

At the back of the head each member wore an ornament made of weasel-skin strips, called *i'taward'xawi*, which was decorated with beads or horn-shells. All Lumpwoods also wore crowns of bear-gut; at the tying place, on the right side, two hawk feathers were attached.

Certain individual variations in costume were due to the members' visions. Thus Hairy-coat, having had a revelation from a buffalo, painted a large horn on the back of his robe, the point being directed towards the right. For similar reasons some used wooden whistles, though according

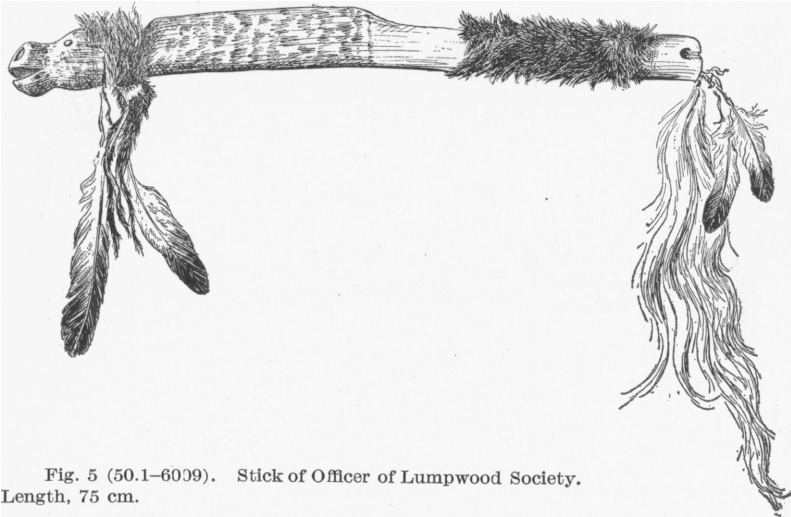


Fig. 5 (50.1-6009). Stick of Officer of Lumpwood Society.
Length, 75 cm.

to another statement all such whistles were obtained from a single Lumpwood who had received a vision from an elk. Slight changes were also prompted without special reason. For example, at the time of Hairy-coat's purchase white eagle feathers were tied to the wooden emblems for embellishment. Probably the decoration of switches with the entire skins of small hawks and other birds (Hairy-coat) is likewise in no way essentially connected with the Lumpwood society.

There were two officers carrying flat-boards (*mirixā'pi*), one leading the procession, the other in the rear. A model of a flat-board, made by Butterfly and approved by Hairy-coat is shown in Fig. 6. Hairy-coat says that the projecting corner of the flat-board represents a buffalo hooking with one horn, and the entire board a buffalo. One side of the board was painted

red, the other yellow. On the red side four pairs of slanting black lines represented honor marks, and the other side was similarly decorated; according to Butterfly, the X-shaped figure in the model, as well as the oblique lines, denote the striking of an enemy, while the angular horsetrack represents a stolen horse. The grip of these boards is said to have been wrapped with buckskin, to which a dry buffalo tail was attached. Little clusters of beaver claws and hoofs of young buffalo were secured to the board, which was also perforated at intervals for the attachment of buckskin strips decorated with eagle feathers. The leader wore moccasins, the heel

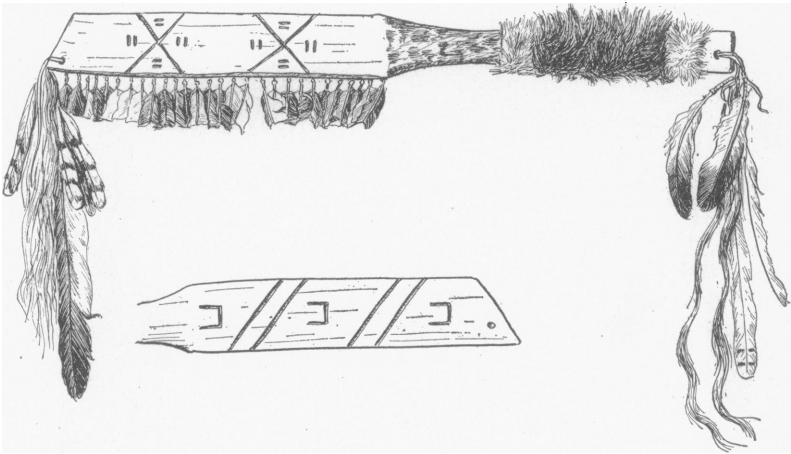


Fig. 6 (50.1-6008). Flat-board of Hidatsa Lumpwood Society. Length, 78 cm.

and the outside of which, on the inner side of the foot, were painted red to symbolize the enemy's blood. Near the ankle a wolf-tail was tied to the moccasin; at the near end this tail was wrapped with red cloth and buckskin, while at the other end shortened raven wing-feathers were attached. As the raven wings represented a scalp, only men who had scalped an enemy were privileged to use them for decoration; a man who had caught an enemy with his hands might both use the raven feathers and redden his moccasins. The leggings¹ were of tanned antelope skin dressed without the hair. Both sides were fringed and decorated with gull-wing quill work in blue or yellow patterns. A band of rawhide about two fingers in breadth, similarly decorated, was tied round the knee. A breechclout was worn, and to the left side of the belt there was attached a bunch of bison tails cut short at the bottom and hanging down to the muscle of the lower leg.

¹ It is not clear whether the following statements of the paragraph were meant to refer only to the two officers or to the members generally.

Four officers carried bow-spears, the heads of which represented a buffalo's sharp horns. One of the bow-spears was double-headed and represented a young bull moving quickly in a fight; it was borne by the drum-carrier. In marching the officers always bore their bow-spears in the left hand, so that the spear point slanted toward the right. The bow was about 6 feet in length, painted a light pink, bent in the center and at the top, and supported a slanting spear head of sheet iron. The square bottom of the head was fixed in the split end of the bow by means of buckskin string and was cut into four times on each side, an additional oblique cut being made on each side. The incisions thus produced were intended to lacerate an enemy. Both sides of the spear head were partly filed and then subjected to fire, which turned the filed sections blue, then the remaining portions were painted pink or light blue. Hairy-coat painted the four inches at the tip of his spear head red in order to show that he had struck an enemy. His bow was decorated on both sides with an incised, uncolored lightning line. The bow had glued to it several fleshed birds and parts of birds—bluebirds, red woodpeckers, ducks, etc.—and was decorated with bunches of feathers. The bowstring was of the kind of thread used for snares and supported a number of fine eagle plumes disposed at intervals along its length. A model of the type of bow used by this society is shown in Fig. 7.

Six officers not referred to by any other informants are mentioned by Butterfly. Two of them bore hooked staffs, and two of them straight-staffs. The hooked-staffs are described as wrapped with otter-skin and decorated with feathers and strips of skin like those of the Fox organization. The straight-staffs were wrapped with wolfskin, and had eagle feathers at the top; the upper half was painted red. Two whippers (*i'ki akuée*) had quirts, occasionally wrapped with foxskin; when young men, instead of dancing, remained together near the center of the lodge, these officers whipped them into taking part in the dance.



Fig. 7 (50.1-4353).
Bow-spear of Lumpwood
Society. Length, 157 cm.

Probably officers became such automatically at the time of purchase, that is, through the fact that their individual fathers had owned the appropriate regalia. Thus, Hairy-coat received a bow-spear from the clan father he had selected for his special father. If a vacancy occurred through death, someone said, "Our friend has died, I wish one of you to take his bow-spear" (or other emblem). Then the emblem was passed from member to member until some one man offered to keep it.

Hairy-coat was about 23 or 24 years old when his group bought the *miraxi'ci* membership. This agrees fairly well with the statements of other informants with the exception of Poor-wolf, who said that the buyers were middle-aged men. Poor-wolf, however, never belonged to the society, and his remark is refuted even for the period of his youth by Maximilian's statement that the Lumpwoods were boys of fourteen or fifteen.

Moreover, Poor-wolf undoubtedly errs in denying that the Lumpwoods bought the organization from a group of fathers. Thus, Hairy-coat says that while some of his associates contributed horses to the initial payment, he himself gave a horse only to his individual father; that the fathers were feasted in the usual way; that the buyers offered them their wives; and that the sellers provided their sons and their sons' wives with clothing. During a public performance there were four halts in the village, and while the members stood up, the fathers sat down within the circle, facing southwest.

Butterfly's account is more specific. According to this informant, the prospective buyers brought property to the sellers, and filled a pipe for them. Two leaders, who, however, were not regarded as officers, decided whether the membership should be sold. Then the fathers also determined the number of nights on which they should be entertained. Usually about ten nights were fixed upon, on each of which the buyers all supplied their fathers with kettlefuls of cooked food. A few of the sons moreover offered their wives to their fathers. On the last morning a buyer went to his father, bringing him a horse, and saying, "Father, I wish to take your place now." Then the father replied, "Very well, bring your wife here." When the wife had arrived, the father prayed in behalf of both husband and wife. Then he opened up his medicine bundle, took out some object seen in a vision by himself, and burnt incense. He raised the image over the smoke, and sometimes he sang. Addressing the sacred object, he requested it to preserve his son from danger. Besides, he furnished both his son and his son's wife with complete suits of clothing. In the afternoon of the same day the new members paraded around the village. The order in which the Lumpwoods marched on this occasion was as follows (Hairy-coat). The leader carried a flat-board and was followed by the first bow-spear officer; next there were a number of privates bearing their sticks; behind whom marched the second bow-spear bearer; after some more of the rank and file,

in the middle of the procession, came the owner of the knobbed stick, followed by ordinary members; then there came the third bow-spear officer, with a number of ordinary Lumpwoods, followed by the member with the bear-face emblem; the drum carrier with the double-headed spear; and finally the second flat-board officer brought up the rear. The Lumpwoods marched in single file and were supposed thus to represent a procession of the buffalo. As Butterfly adds several officers to the list given by other informants, he also makes some additional remarks on their position in the line. He places his first hooked-staff bearer directly behind the leader; the straight-staff bearers and the second hooked-staff officer might occupy any position they pleased.

The new members were followed by some of the fathers, who were to act as singers on this occasion and formed a single file of their own. As soon as the leader of the Lumpwood line turned to form a circle, the singers took their places inside with their hand-drums. In recent times white people residing near the Agency then brought gifts of paint, kerchiefs, and looking-glasses. The relatives of the dancers also brought property, which was turned over to the fathers. After returning to their lodge, the members danced there.

With the other organizations the Lumpwoods shared the military and the courting features, both of which found expression in their songs. The following song was sung during nightly serenades, on which occasions women joined the members:—

“mī'ekuā'kapē tā'ruca barē'wits.”

“My sweetheart he is not, still I will go.

Buffalo-bird-woman remembers the following words, sung on similar occasions: “She may be sleeping, but still she is laughing.” Another song, somewhat obscurely worded, represents a woman speaking to the husband she is deserting in favor of her lover:—

“dī wa'tawapiwā + i'c, kowī'hirets bare'wits.”

“You are my day, it will be no more, I will go.”

The following song is connected with the vision of a member whose suit had been spurned by a young woman:—

“marō'ka kū'opikā'ca i'tōpa, waci'eraha'c 'tate',

“Elk young buck with four (teeth), thus he said, 'Father,

biri'kiku'ore, tate'!”

you hear me, Father.”

As a dance song Hairy-coat recited the following:—

“mī'reca wawaki'E māmā'hak, ma'ro ohā'wikā'tits.”

“Myself I fight I want, I am very tired.”

Dances were frequently held in Hairy-coat's lodge. There the wooden emblems were hung up in a bunch. Once, while the Hidatsa were away, the enemy came, burned the village, and stole the emblems. Hairy-coat found ten of them on the enemy's trail.

Packs-wolf says that, while dancing, members put their arms behind them, letting their hands rest on the rump. According to Hairy-coat, there was a preliminary dance within the lodge before the Lumpwoods marched out into the village. At first only the members participated. At the end of each song the members raised aloft whatever insignia they were holding in their hands.

The following social feature was mentioned by Hairy-coat in connection with his account of the Lumpwoods, but was at the same time said to be shared by other organizations. On some nights all the members sent for their wives. Then water was poured on the fire, and in the darkness each man seized and hugged someone else's wife.

HE'RERŌ KA I'KE'.

Maximilian speaks of the *Haidero'hka-Ächke*, and translates "die Raben-Bande, la bande des corbeaux." This is somewhat strange, as the (quite different) name of the highest of his societies is translated in exactly the same way. According to my interpreter, the meaning of *hē'rerō ka i'ke'* is "Crow Indian Imitators," and as the Crow were known as *Gens des Corbeaux* it seems probable that Maximilian confounded the meanings through this circumstance.

What may have been the place of the organization in the series at the time of my informants was not ascertained. Maximilian describes the members as youths of seventeen or eighteen. The following meager data were supplied by Hairy-coat.

The organization originated with the Crow, among whom it was also called "Black Eyes." It was sold by Bear-looking to Kidney's group. Hairy-coat says the members resembled the Small Dogs and the Dogs in wearing a bunch of owl feathers together with two eagle feathers in the back of the head. The real object of the buyers was to purchase the Kit-Fox membership. Bear-looking was the only Kit-Fox surviving the smallpox, accordingly he appropriated the entire heap of goods. However, he received but little food from the purchasers, and wives were not surrendered to him. After the goods for the Kit-Fox society had been offered, Bear-looking suggested that the purchasers should also buy the *hē'rerō ka*, which was done forthwith.

Hairy-coat does not recollect any lance emblems. He remembers that his father's mother's brother wore a sash and thinks that there were four insignia of this type. There may have been a whipper. The musical instruments consisted of rattles. The dancing resembled that of the Crazy Dogs.

LITTLE DOGS.

From his ignorance of an origin myth Wolf-chief infers that the Little Dog society (*Macu'ka kari'cta*) was of alien, possibly of Arikara, origin, but this is contrary to his elder sister's opinion, which is shared by Hairy-coat. The last-mentioned authority states that the dogs originated the society. They approached an Hidatsa village, howling like wolves but at the same time simulating sounds of the human voice. The villagers went out to see them and found them transformed into human shape and wearing the regalia of Little Dog officers. The dogs said, "This will help you to live with greater ease and to enjoy yourselves." The same dogs also gave the society to the Mandan and Arikara, but these tribes had in addition to the other insignia two feathered lances not shared by the Hidatsa.

Poor-wolf did not regard this society as part of the graded series, but this is contrary to the statements of all other informants and of Maximilian. Poor-wolf had never belonged to this organization.

Maximilian says that the Little Dogs wore sashes of blue or red cloth. Buffalo-bird-woman also regards the sash (*maa'piruti*) as an emblem common to all members, while others say their use was restricted to four officers. The sashes are described by Wolf-chief as made of either red cloth or a long strip of skin dressed without the hair. They were slipped over the head by means of a slit, crossed the breast, and trailed down to the ground; in the center of the back they were decorated with bunches of owl feathers. A sash was obviously regarded as a sacred object; Hairy-coat still preserves his Little Dog sash together with his medicine bundles. This informant received his sash when the former owner had died. Apparently the privilege of wearing such an emblem was associated with the duty of special bravery, for when the sash was offered him Hairy-coat at first refused to take it, but finally accepted it, saying, "I want to die, I will keep it." Hairy-coat took this sash with him, went away from the village, and abstained from food and drink for seven days. The next year he again fasted for seven nights and also cut one of his fingers in two places. During his first quest for power the sash gave him a song. It hung in the air unsupported, and fastened to it was a man's hair,—the symbol of a chief's honor-marks. In the second quest Hairy-coat saw a bull coming out of the ground to

embrace him and give him a victory song. In commemoration of the vision my informant made a backrest cover of buffalo skin with the horns. The next fall he again fasted seven days and cut off two finger joints. He saw the Moon and the Stars. About sunrise, as he was crying, he heard a voice call out, but looking across the ground he could not see any one. Looking higher, he saw the sash in the clouds. When it hallooed for the third time he saw it floating unsupported in the air, covered with the hair indicative of honor marks. It sang these words:

“di’wa i’waha’kuts.”

“You stay, I too stay.” *I. e.*, “I subsist on you.”

In battle, this song gave courage to Hairy-coat. He would first raise his sash, slip it on, and then spur his horse straight into the enemy’s lines.¹ Whenever my informant donned his sash, he thought of an enemy cocking his gun or preparing to let fly an arrow at him, but this did not daunt him.

One officer mentioned by Hairy-coat bore an elkhorn whip. This man was expected to be the last man to flee. If the Hidatsa were pursued by an enemy, it was the whipper’s duty to dismount and give aid to those wounded or in danger. If he was killed, another man took his place.

Besides the sashes, Maximilian mentions feather-ornaments worn on the head. Poor-wolf describes this ornament as a circlet of raven feathers, with an eagle feather in the center, worn in the back of the head, while Wolf-chief says the feathers were those of an owl. Hairy-coat gives additional data as to hair-dressing, but it is not certain that they are distinctive of the Little Dogs. The members wore switches, brushed their hair pompadour-fashion in the center, and cut it short at the sides. Horn-shells — or, if such were lacking, hair-pipes — were tied to the braids, seven wire-wrapped horn-shells above, eight below, and a small strap was hanging down beneath.

Each member wore, suspended round his neck by a buckskin string, a whistle made from the wing-bone of a young “white-head” eagle and wrapped with colored bird-quillwork. Several buckskin strips terminating in quillworked loops hung down from the whistle, and gum was put into the upper part of the instrument.

Wolf-chief says that some of the Little Dogs wore no shirts and used red body paint. The blankets were red in Hairy-coat’s time, and decorated with bands of beadwork; some wore buffalo robes with a two-foot fringe at the bottom. Buffalo-bird-woman says that one member painted the center of his robe with a yellow circle surrounded by dog tracks.

¹ At this point of his narrative, Hairy-coat paused to give smoke to his medicines, because he had been telling of his visions.

At the time of Hairy-coat's initiation, the buyers were told to make rattles for themselves, as the sellers said they had not had the time to make them. They were instructed to use one of two shapes, either the globular or the loop-shaped type. The latter was edged with red cloth and shortened raven wing-feathers. The handle was wrapped with red cloth. In shaking rattles, the Little Dogs always moved them from right to left.

Hairy-coat's group of Stone Hammers had vainly attempted to buy the Kit-Fox and Crazy Dog societies (cf. p. 233). Then the Stone Hammers found that the still higher Little Dogs were willing to sell their membership and indirectly informed them that they were desirous of buying it. The Little Dogs gathered together and dispatched three ambassadors to request the younger men to come over and buy their society. Accordingly, the members of the Three-Clans in the Stone Hammer society filled three pipes, and the members of the Four-Clans filled four pipes. The Stone Hammers then proceeded towards the Little Dog lodge, one representative of each phratry carrying the three and the four pipes respectively. In the lodge the Little Dogs were ranged in a curve on the left side. The pipes were deposited in the place of honor. Then the group of younger men piled up the robes constituting the initial payment and were requested to take seats on the opposite side to that of the Little Dogs. Bear-nose, one of the officers, rose first, lit the set of three pipes and passed them to the Three-Clans, while Wolf-eye did the same with the set of four pipes and passed them to the Four-clans. At the same time these men said to the Stone Hammers, "These songs we agree to sell to you." And to their fellow-members, they said, "Sing for them."

Compared with the accounts of purchases of other organizations, Hairy-coat's narrative shows some gaps at this point. However, this may be due to certain anomalous conditions, the smallpox having greatly reduced the number of fathers. My informant explicitly stated that wives were not surrendered on this occasion. He jumps from the above quoted statements to the account of the first public parade.

The Little Dogs were seated in the lodge, with their wives behind them. All the women were dressed up, wearing sheepskin dresses and painted robes; their hair and face was painted, and they wore bracelets of beads and rings of yellow wire. During the dances the men ogled the wives of other members. The fathers sang for the new members. At the beginning of a song, when the drum was beaten in a preliminary way, all the members clapped their mouths. At the close of each song the drums were raised and shaken so as to produce a rattling noise. Then the people yelled, and after the shouting blew their whistles. Before the beginning of the next song, the whistles were blown again. Four songs were sung indoors, then the Little

Dogs marched out. One of the sash-wearers led the procession, another was in the rear, but in front of the whipper, who came last of all, while the two remaining sash-wearers were placed at equal distances from the leader and rear man respectively. The members whistled as they went along.

The Little Dogs marched to the first halting-place, and a few of the fathers who were acting as singers and had distinguished themselves by their honor marks went into the center and recounted their deeds. First they began to sing, while the new members clapped their mouths, whistled and shouted. These were the words of the song:—

“mā + ihā’ waki’rits.”
 “Enemies I hunt.”

Two of the fathers began to dance. Then one of them, Bear-nose, said, “Stop and listen. I want to tell you something you should try to do yourselves.” Then one father told how he had struck an enemy and taken his lance, closing the narrative with the words, “That is an easy thing to do. Sons, you will do likewise. My friends, the singers, all saw me do it.” Wolf-eye next recited how he had scalped an enemy and taken his gun, and what deeds he had performed on several war expeditions.

The Little Dogs marched on to a second halting-place. One of the fathers, Blue-stone, danced within the circle, while the Little Dogs again merely whistled and rattled. Blue-stone recounted how he had taken an enemy’s gun, ending with the words, “It was easy, and you will do the same.” Then he told of a scalp he had taken. Next Prairie-chicken-bear told how he had given aid to a fellow-tribesman in danger. “I did not strike a coup, but I did what was right, so I tell you, and you will do the same” During all the public performances the people of the village were watching from the tops of the earth-lodges.

At the third stopping place Tearless-eyes danced and told of his deeds. This time the Little Dogs also danced, and then marched so as to approach their lodge. Another halt was made on the way. There the singers again sang, “I am hunting enemies.” Raises-hearts told his coups, then the Little Dogs re-entered their lodge and walked round the inside, marching towards the left, while the fathers remained standing near the fireplace. No one sat down. The whipper, Bull-hoop, got inside the circle and began to whip the members, saying, “Now, friends, I do not wish to whip you always, but I shall die soon, and then someone else will keep this whip.”

Before the return of the Little Dogs, food had been prepared in their lodge. A rawhide rope was stretched across the lodge and the officers’ regalia and members’ head-ornaments were tied to it. A father offered food to these emblems, then Bear-nose said, “Whoever gets a sash shall be

privileged to select for himself whatever piece he wishes from the meat offerings of the Goose Women society. He may also pick out meat when any man comes home from a hunting trip or when people are gathered for his feast, and his attendants will carry it off for him. Whenever you wish to sell the society to younger men, you may do so." Then there was a feast.

Thereafter, the Little Dogs went out to have a public parade whenever they felt inclined, but then they might spend a whole afternoon standing in one open place in the village before they returned to their lodge. For their lodge they used that of any member which was of convenient size.

Hairy-coat still considers himself a Little Dog.

Whenever the Little Dogs gathered together they were joined by four of the best single women of the tribe, selected by the members themselves. The Little Dogs never married these girls, and always addressed them as "marakū'ec," a term otherwise applied only to male friends. The four young women occupied the place of honor during meetings of the organization. Whenever the Little Dogs had an abundance of food, they invited their women comrades to join them in their feasting and singing. If the women's relatives had food, they in turn were wont to invite the society. If the Little Dogs won any women's belongings while playing the moccasin game, they turned them over not to their wives but to their female comrades. In general, they treated them with great kindness. If such a woman married, she might still attend meetings provided her husband did not object.

The Little Dogs were as active as other societies in courting young women, and this is reflected in several of their songs, though obviously there was no essential relation between this phase of the members' lives and their belonging to this particular organization. Among these songs are the following:—

"mā'rūwatsé, mari'kiku'e, baki'rits."

"Sweetheart, you hear, I hunt."

"mara'ta'cēre, diawa'kawahà'kuts, iwa'reohā'wits."

"My sweetheart, I look at you always, I am tired out."

"hirā'ka'cēre, barē'wits."

"At last I consent, I'll go."

The last of these songs was sung by the members in the daytime, the words being directed to their sweethearts. While singing it, the Little Dogs stood in a circle on the roof of their lodge, and at the end they yelled. Before singing again, they blew their whistles. The words are supposed to be spoken by a woman.

Once Hairy-coat and the other Little Dogs, while far from the village

on a buffalo hunt, got on Thunder's Nest Hill, put on coats of red cloth with wire trimmings on the breast and sleeves, and prepared to sing. They tied together sticks to form a small tipi and borrowed the rattles of the Crazy Dogs, then they sang the last of the preceding songs.

Once the Little Dogs went round at night singing in front of various lodges. Hairy-coat had not joined them, so they came to his house and cried, "Send out your wife." So Hairy-coat sent her out, bidding her join in the singing and submit to whatever treatment the members wished to give her. Not all men were equally brave in such an affair; some would go out together with their wives and join the society. Under such circumstances the following song was sung:—

"mara'tacē¹ re, ita'¹ marē'ts."

"My sweetheart, I am going."

Another song sung outside of lodges is given as follows:—

"ita' hi're mira'wahēruk, marē'wits."

"Well! if you want me, sweetheart, I'll go."

HALF-SHAVED HEADS.

The Half-Shaved Head society (tsū'ta kirakū'ki) according to Poorwolf, originated with the Crow, a view in which Buffalo-bird-woman coincides. The Crow visionary received the ceremonies from a procession of birds, whose songs and dances he learned. Hairy-coat said that the name of the society originated in a member's vision. This man saw a buffalo bull, which had its hair shaved off. Accordingly, the visionary shaved half his head, and as he was very brave the rest of the members, without imitating him with regard to shaving, adopted the name by which they afterwards became known. The visionary had a war club with a solid yellow stone and a buffalo tail attached to the end of the handle. Half of the stone was painted red, and the remainder with white clay. He painted his face red all over, and on the left side a tail of spotted old eagle feathers was made to stand up erect. The hairs of a buffalo mane were strung together for a necklace, which was painted half red and half white.

Maximilian, who expressly identifies his Hidatsa Bow Lance society with the Mandan Half-Shaved Heads, merely says that the members wore feathers on the head, and carried bow-spears in the hand. According to Hairy-coat, members marching outdoors carried guns, which they fired during their procession. All walked two abreast,² men in similar costumes

¹ Woman's expression of surprise.

² This rule was not absolute, as is shown by other statements.

beside each other. Thus, if two members both had coats of red cloth with gold braiding, or if both wore war-bonnets, they would march together. These bonnets were the usual caps with horns, weasel-skin strips, and streamers. One man rode horseback, dressed as though for war and with hair tied in front; the horse frequently shied on account of the shooting (Hairy-coat). The same informant later spoke of several horsemen, all warriors of distinction, who wore sacred feathers and honor marks on their heads. The horse's tail was turned up and shortened by tying. According to Buffalo-bird-woman's recollection, the members wore the hair loose on one side and tried to tie it so as to give an appearance of no hair on the other. The shooting of the guns was part of the impersonation of enemies by the society.

The leader bore a hooked stick called *mi'ra atake'*, "white stick," but painted red; it was wrapped with wolfskin, and pairs of wolfskin strips, about a foot long, hung down from three points on the shaft. The last man in line carried a similar lance wrapped with otterskin. Sometimes Poor-wolf, as leader, and the rear officer with the otter-wrapped spear took the lead, walking abreast.

Two other officers had bow-spears resembling those of the Lumpwoods except that red cloth took the place of bear-gut (Hairy-coat). A more detailed account of these emblems (*miru'xi i'ti'a* "big-toothed bow," or *miru'xi ha'tski*, "long bow") is given by Poor-wolf. A weasel skin with the head was wrapped round the grip of the bow, so that the head was above the holder's fingers. Above the weasel a mallard skin was glued to the bow, then there followed the skin from the neck of a woodpecker the skin of a yellow bird, a white bird, and another mallard. A symmetrical arrangement of skins was made below the weasel skin. To four points on the bow eagle tail-feathers were attached, while the sides of the bow, throughout its length, were decorated with magpie feathers. These bow-spears were buried with their owners. The officers carrying them generally walked in the middle of a society procession, though not, as a rule, next to each other. However, Poor-wolf recollects one occasion when they walked abreast in lead of the other members, who followed in single file.

Butterfly sets the number of hooked-stick carriers at four and speaks of two additional officers with flat-boards not mentioned by other informants.

The only musical instruments used were hand-drums.

Poor-wolf bought the society at the age of 27. He remained in it for nine years, but one year after his entrance his group bought the Black Mouth society so that during eight years the same body of men held both memberships. (Compare page 235.)

Though no detailed account of the mode of purchase was secured, it

did not, in all probability, differ from that obtaining for the other men's organizations. Thus, there are statements that the fathers gave their sons some medicine in the form of a head ornament, or sacred paint for a war charm, and that the fathers sang for the buyers at the first public parade.

Before going outdoors for a dance, the members planted the hooked-sticks on the roof of their lodge as a sign for the people of the village.

The society frequently met for the discussion of martial affairs, but dances were not held very often. When someone made a suggestion to that effect, the members prepared their regalia and held a dance. It was only for their public performance, however, that they used all their insignia. On such occasions they marched outdoors, proceeded through the camp, formed a circle at each halting place, and performed a dance there, finally returning to the lodge. The simple indoor performance might take place during any season of the year, while the public dance might be held only in the summer.

On a certain occasion the lances emblematic of the society were stuck into the ground, and one of the Fathers offered a piece of the best meat to them, at the same time addressing each lance in succession as follows:—

"mi'ritiruté	tsé'ca	di'xuwets,	hawa'te	cigā'go	maki'Eruk,
Lance	wolf	you,	my young	man	fight

i'rikit'a	mawā'hets.	tsagi'ha	ma'riamamā'hāts	a'riwaki'a,	mā'-
we do not	them touched.	Best	we wish to get along	in the fight,	we wish to
	want				

aruwa'ca	a'kiraruk	marī'atsats	tsagi'ha,	ma'ta	cigā'ga	i'rikitā'
have luck	good luck	we want it	good,	all our young men.		we don't
	easily,					

mā'mahā'ts.
wish to be touched.

This prayer was followed by a feast. No special payment was made to the man reciting it.

BLACK MOUTHS OR SOLDIERS.

Wolf-chief and Hairy-coat think that the Black Mouth (i'i cipī'e) society originated not with the Hidatsa, but with the Mandan. The former's sister and Packs-wolf are of the same opinion. Maximilian does not state the age of the Hidatsa Soldiers but as they form his eighth division, they must have been middle-aged or elderly men. Hairy-coat, however, bought his membership at about thirty, and so did Poor-wolf, who remained a Soldier for fourteen years.

Two officers carried emblems known as raven-lances (*pē'ritska mī'ratiruté*) (Fig. 8). Each lance was blackened, and the spear head was ordinarily carried pointing upward. Below the spear head there was a bunch of owl wing-feathers, to which strips of otterskin were attached, and fastened to these were some raven wing-feathers. This decorative arrangement appeared at three points on the lance. A strip of otterskin was wrapped spirally round the shaft, which remained partly exposed. At the bottom of the lance there was a raven head with bill pointing downwards. The tail of a raven was fastened to the head. The lancers were not elected. If a man's father happened to have a raven-lance, the buyer automatically became an officer through purchasing an officer's membership (Poor-wolf).

In battle, if the enemy pursued the Hidatsa, a raven-lance officer was expected to sing his song, invert his emblem, and plant it in the ground. Then he might not retreat until one of the rattlers or some other fellow-tribesman plucked out the lance for him. If, however, the officer's rescuer was not a member of the society, he removed all the decoration of the emblem and returned merely the bare shaft with the spear head. The officer was then obliged to go to the father from whom he had purchased the lance and have him decorate it once more. If the father had died, some member of his group was approached for the same purpose.

Each of two other officers carried a flat-stemmed pipe, red on one side and black on the other, decorated with quill work and a dyed horsetail. These men were expected to adjust quarrels and preserve peace in the tribe. According to Poor-wolf, the black and red colors represented night and day, bad will and good will, respectively. All the spirits were represented by the pipe. The members prayed to the pipe that their children should grow up, and asked it for plenty of buffalo. Invariably the following prayer was addressed to it: "When I fight, I wish to defeat the enemy easily."

While Poor-wolf was a Soldier, one of the pipe-bearers was killed, and Poor-wolf was chosen in his

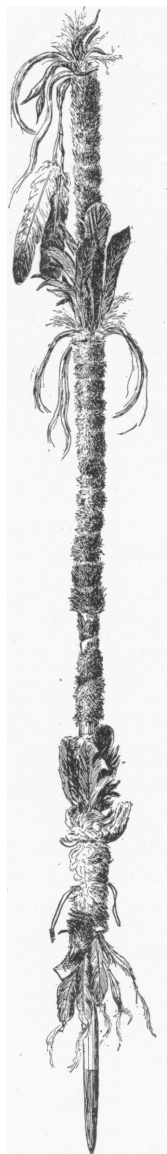


Fig. 8 (50.1-4354). Stick of Black Mouth Society. Length, 190 cm.

place.¹ The other pipe-bearer was Enemy's-dog. As the latter was the older of the two, he generally filled the pipe and recited the appropriate prayers. Poor-wolf took the unfilled pipe before a dance, burned sweetgrass for incense, and held the pipe over it. Then he filled his pipe, lit it, burned sweetgrass once more, relit the pipe, and offered it in succession to God (?), the West Wind, North, East, and South Winds, the Earth and all the spirits, invoking a blessing on the society of Soldiers.

There were two rattlers. Originally their emblems were of rawhide, but at a later period baking-powder cans were substituted. The rattles were shaken not from right to left, but forwards.

Poor-wolf, alone of my informants, mentions a couple of "death-men" (dē'rupā'ka), wearing, one a red, and the other a white, bonnet. During a fight they separated, each leading one half of the Soldiers, who in turn were followed by the Fox society. The "death-men" must never retreat so long as they were wounded only in the arms and legs; they were allowed to turn back only when injured in the breast or back.

The rank and file carried a sort of tomahawk (mi're i'boptsā' — sharp-pointed wood) consisting of a knife-blade set in a wooden stick near the turn of its tapering bent end.²

Packs-wolf said that the Black Mouths painted the lower part of the face black, and drew a slanting line from the forehead across the face.

Hairy-coat says that a public parade was led by one of the raven-lance officers, the other bringing up the rear. In front of the second lancer and directly behind the first marched the two rattlers respectively. The pipe-bearers occupied the center of the line, separated or immediately followed by the herald of the organization. According to Poor-wolf, however, these officers led in marching out of the lodge.

When Poor-wolf's group wished to buy this society, the Soldiers protested, saying, "You are going too fast, you have only recently acquired the Half-Shaved Head society." It took the Half-Shaved Heads nearly a year before the Soldiers would listen to their proposal. As there were seven clans in the Black Mouth organization, the buyers were obliged to make a preliminary offer of seven pipes, and of as many horses. Later, the fathers were entertained for more than twenty nights. The two "raven-lances" were planted in the ground, and the buyers were ordered to pile up property to the height of these sticks. Further, the fathers placed two calumet pipes (i'ikipi i'cuwatū) in the rear of the lodge. On the last night one of the Soldiers rose, and addressed the purchasers as follows: "My

¹ This happened three years after Poor-wolf's purchase of the society.

² Hairy-coat said that the Assiniboine had two blades in a corresponding emblem.

sons, today the whole village — men, women, and children — belongs to you. These pipes do not wish for anything wrong, they are bearers of good will, they want nothing but what is good, they are peace-makers. If anything goes wrong, these pipes will settle matters. Those two raven-lances, on the other hand, are soldiers, they want to die." On the last day, each buyer took a gun or a horse to his father. After a little while, in the course of the same day, the father called his son and his son's wife to his lodge, conversed with them, gave them food to eat, and presented them with new clothes.

It seems that one of the fathers of the members might act as drummer for the Black Mouths even after the first public procession. Before going into the village to dance, there was a performance indoors. The father's first song was "Pipe-bearer, get up!" When he sang his second song, the pipe-bearers rose and danced very slowly. Next the lancers seated nearest the door rose and danced. The father sang: "Ravens, you are scared to death. You will not die. I am the one that wishes to die." Finally, the old man sang: "All, get up! Ravens wish to be soldiers!" Then all rose, and danced in their places. All bore the weapons they would carry on the warpath. The following song sung by a father on such an occasion was recited by Poor-wolf; Wolf-chief, who corrected it, said it belonged to the raven-lance officers.

"hīrā'tsa o'hē'wa tīrī'a, waru'xtaru, cē wā'+ its."
 "Hidatsa these when they run, they are crazy, thus say I."

Poor-wolf says that the rattlers began to sing, the fathers acting as drummers took up the chant, and the rattlers then advanced so as to cross each other's path. According to Hairy-coat, the rattlers merely advanced the left foot and vigorously shook their instruments at the end and before the beginning of a song and it was the lancers that advanced, crossed each other's path, turned round and crossed again. The pipe-bearers and other members did not change their position while dancing. The following song was given by the same informant:—

"tā'wi tē'hiru tē'iruts."
 "No matter how many will die, let them die."

The Black Mouths acted as a police force. Whenever some difficulty arose in the tribe or between friendly tribes, this society tried to effect a reconciliation. At certain times they forbade people to go on the warpath. On a buffalo hunt they punished those who transgressed the rules of the chase. If, however, the punishment was taken in good part, the Soldiers made a compensatory payment to the offender. The following accounts may serve as concrete illustrations of their activity.

Once the Arikara and the Assiniboine were at loggerheads; an Assiniboine had been killed by an Arikara man, and an Arikara woman had been killed by an Assiniboine. Poor-wolf summoned the Assiniboine and Arikara chiefs, took his pipe and two war-bonnets, met the chiefs, and said, "This is the Soldiers' pipe. If you do not listen to me, I shall call the Soldiers." He put one bonnet on the head of each of the chiefs, and continued as follows: "Now my friends, I am an Hidatsa and can call on the Crow for assistance. But I belong to this River, where I raise corn. My friends, the Arikara, also raise corn, and so do the Mandan." Then, looking at the Assiniboine, he said, "You also belong in part to the River, and I want you to be friends and smoke the pipe." They agreed to smoke, and thus peace was established.

During the same winter, five Mandan arrived with as many sticks representing horses. They brought the message that the Yanktonai desired to make friends with the Hidatsa. Poor-wolf knew that several Hidatsa had been killed by the Sioux, and said that he did not know about the matter. He went to the relatives of the slain person, and gave them horses. The Soldiers had a meeting. Poor-wolf said, "We are not afraid of the Sioux, but if you consent we will let them make peace." At last they consented, and the peace offerings were accepted. A year later, the Sioux fought the Crow and made one Crow a prisoner. Upon Poor-wolf's interference, the Crow was allowed to return to his people.

When people tried to go cherrying while enemies were near, the Black Mouths prevented them from going. Similarly, they sometimes stopped war parties. They would issue an order, "People, stay in the village, don't go away too far." Then, if anyone disobeyed them, leaving at night to hunt or go on the warpath, the Soldiers burned down his house, or punished him in some other way. Thus, a man named Snake-coat went on the warpath against the orders of the Black Mouths. They assembled, went out, and killed many of his horses. Then they returned to the village and began to shoot into the air. The people all fled into their lodges. The Soldiers said: "We wish to know if there is anyone that wants to help the man whose horses we have killed. If so, let him come out and fight. We stop you from going away for your own good; if you do not obey, we shall punish you." They then sang their Black Mouth songs. When the war party came back, the culprit said, "I knew they had killed my horses." Then the Soldiers gathered together and gave him as many horses as they had killed.

If anyone startled the game prematurely during a buffalo hunt, Poor-wolf thus addressed his Soldiers: "Do not break his guns and do not hit him, but take his blankets, cut them up, and scatter the strips. If you

break his weapons, you take away his means of fighting the enemy. Don't give your bows and guns to another tribe." However, it is clear from the accounts of others that there were chiefs of the Soldier society who did not scruple to deprive an offender of his weapons. When Wolf-chief was only fourteen, he disobeyed the orders of the Soldiers and went rabbit-hunting. He shot at a scabby bull that happened to come his way, but was overtaken by two policemen, who cut up his robe and confiscated his flintlock. In this instance the gun was returned to Wolf-chief's father, who had previously told his son, however, that the police had acted within their rights. When a Mandan named Bear-on-the-water went hunting contrary to the decree of the Hidatsa police, they seized his bow and broke it, and also took away his arrows. However, as he did not get angry, they gave him another bow and a set of arrows.

Once one of Buffalo-bird-woman's brothers went out on a bluff and shot one of the buffalo in a herd when he should not have done so. The Black Mouths hooted, " Ū',ū'+ i!" Straightway they assembled, whipped the offender, and broke his gun. On another occasion, on a cold day, the father-in-law of Hides-and-eats' blind daughter went out hunting with his son and killed two buffalo. The Black Mouths began to shout, and people knew they were going to punish someone. They began to cut up the hunter's meat, and to throw it away, but the young man pleaded with them, saying, "Fathers, my children are hungry, that is why I went out hunting. Please cease, and I will give you a horse." He also filled a pipe, and placed it before them. Then they permitted him to take his meat home. Another man who had hunted alone had his tent cut into pieces; he ran away.

Sometimes individual Black Mouths seem to have acted in a rather arbitrary manner. Once, when a fort was to be built, the women were ordered by the Black Mouths to construct the fortifications. Buffalo-bird-woman was working with her mother, when a Black Mouth came along and shot at her in order to frighten her. He did this merely because he was a joking-relative. My informant decided to get even with him by making a quill work suit for him, which would oblige him to give her a horse in return. On another occasion, the Mandan and Hidatsa Black Mouths again ordered the women to work on the fortifications, and pointed out some weak spot to them. Buffalo-bird-woman and four of her comrades were frightened and ran away, but the police told her she need not be afraid, but should merely finish her work. After a while, however, an Arikara Black Mouth came there and bade Buffalo-bird-woman go away. She pushed him back, and he stumbled and fell. He rose full of wrath, but some Hidatsa policemen seized his gun and explained the affair to him. My informant then completed her share of the work. When her father and

brother heard of the incident, they were going to kill the Arikara, but the Black Mouths told them that he had not had a chance to injure her, so the matter was dropped. On another occasion a Black Mouth named Ree ordered a woman to go for poles, but she refused. Then he shot her in the back so that she was burned by the powder. Her relatives became angry, but were stopped by the pipe-bearers.

Boller relates that Poor-wolf, as head of the "soldier band," going his rounds to see that his orders were obeyed, knocked down with his tomahawk several women who did not seem disposed to heed them.¹

CRAZY² DOGS.

The Crazy Dog (macu'ka warā'axi) society, Poor-wolf states, was derived from the Northern Cheyenne. A Cheyenne named Lean-elk dreamt it, and gave it to the Hidatsa before Poor-wolf's time. This informant identifies the organization with the Assiniboine No-flight society, but in all probability the resemblance is of the vaguest character.

Buffalo-bird-woman thinks this was considered a chiefs' society, but as her brother estimates the members' age at twenty and as Poor-wolf himself bought membership at that age this seems highly improbable.

Poor-wolf in 1910 still considered himself a member because he had never sold his membership.

Some or all of the members had loop-shaped rawhide rattles, to which honor marks were attached. Thus, a horsetail dyed yellow symbolized the theft of a horse, while an eagle feather referred to the striking of a coup. Wolf-chief, who thinks that every member wore a sash, says that corresponding honor marks were fastened to this emblem as well as to the rattle. During a dance the performers wore eagle wing-bone whistles round the neck and might carry what weapons they chose (Poor-wolf). Some members, Buffalo-bird-woman remembers, had spears, which were sometimes obtained from the fathers, but not necessarily so. The spears were decorated with short raven wings. Very few of the Crazy Dogs wore shirts. The body was painted white or red.

Two officers in the society wore caps with sections of mountain-sheep or buffalo horns, and trimmed with weasel skins. When two villages came together, there were naturally four of these officers. Hairy-coat is inclined to think that there were four of these men in every Crazy Dog organization.

¹ Boller, 303.

² Good-bird regards the term *warā'axi* as a Crow word, which means "foolhardy, reckless."

The horns were painted white and the tips were wrapped with quill work and decorated with strips of weasel skin. Owl wing-feathers were attached below the horns. The cap was tied by neck-strings of otterskin. If I understand Hairy-coat's statements correctly, a band of red cloth, about 4 inches in width, was attached across the cap. It was decorated with white beadwork, and three rows of raven wing feathers nearly covering the cloth. In the back an eagle wing-feather was fastened to a strip of red cloth so as to hang between the shoulders. Buffalo-bird-woman says that raven feathers were tied between the horns of the headdress.

Two other officers wore a pair of sashes of red cloth, crossing in front and trailing on the ground behind. When one of these sash-wearers died, the society met to appoint the bravest among them as his successor. The man selected usually declined the honor for a long time, but it was finally forced upon him. When the others fled, the officers were expected to make a stand. Their song was, "This is the way I sing when I want to die." Butterfly says that the sash-wearers attached their individual war charms to their sashes.

Hairy-coat and Buffalo-bird-woman mention another officer bearing a whip, while Butterfly says there were two men with whips. The quirt had a wrist-loop of foxskin and a handle of elkhorn.

The officers¹ of the Crazy Dogs and Dogs shared the right to approach the scene of a feast, point at what food they wished with their lances and knives respectively, and carry it off to their society. In later times, Poor-wolf declares, each society had two officers empowered to exercise this privilege, but originally this was a prerogative of the two societies mentioned. "When the Goose Women society had hung up dried meat, two of us went over there and touched the food. Then the waiters of our society, following behind, took the food that had been touched to our society's lodge."

It was not possible to secure a good account of the method of purchase. Poor-wolf contributed to the initial pile of property paid by his group to the selling Crazy Dogs, but did not have an individual father. Joe Packineau explains that this sometimes occurred when a man endeavoring to get officer's regalia from one of the fathers was somehow prevented from receiving them. More probably, Poor-wolf had no clan father in the sellers' group (see p. 244).

Butterfly says that the Crazy Dogs befriended the young boys who had not yet acquired membership in any society and would invite them to their feasts.

¹ All of them?

Wolf-chief's brother-in-law kept the lodge of the organization, and so my informant, then about 12 or 13 years old, saw the dances. All the members were Hidatsa. On the morning preceding a dance, the Crazy Dogs went to hunt buffalo. They brought all the ribs to the society lodge; the rest of the meat was taken home. An entire rib-piece had a sharpened stick run through it, and was then suspended over a fire for roasting. Three ribs were prepared in this way, and altogether there were thirty-six pieces of meat. While dancing, the members stooped; they did not remain in one place, but walked about. Towards the end of a song, the musicians beat their drums faster, then all straightened up and yelled. While dancing, the Crazy Dogs sounded their whistles and rattles, making a great noise. Women were invited to join in the singing.

Hairy-coat says that the members tried to act like dogs.

For an officer's war song, Hairy-coat sang the following words:—

"Mi watséwa, ma+īwiti'arēcats."

"I am a man, I do not desire help."

The two following songs are obscurely worded, but have reference to women's utterances, the first being the speech of a girl who had intended to marry her sweetheart but was sold to another man:—

"mī wakuwaca'waciru'wa."

"I did so (?)."

"īwa'ra+ohā'wits, hi're, marē'wits."

"I am tired out, say, I'll go."

RAVENS.

The Raven society (pē'ritska i'ké) is the highest of Maximilian's societies. It passed out of existence so many years ago that even Poor-wolf had never witnessed a public performance of the Ravens, though he had seen some dances held indoors. At one time there were many members, but Hairy-coat, Buffalo-bird-woman and Wolf-chief recollect having seen but a single survivor of the organization in their youth. His name was He-has-ears. He always wore a necklace made of the whole of a raven-skin, with the head on the left and the tail on the right side; a piece of red cloth was held in the raven's mouth, and a small piece of rawhide hung down the shoulder. While Buffalo-bird-woman thinks that all Ravens had such necklaces, Wolf-chief is of opinion that the number of members wearing them was limited and that the general emblem of the society was a raven-skin head band; no shirts were worn and the body was painted black.

Maximilian says that every Raven bore a long lance wrapped with red cloth and trimmed with hanging raven feathers. In the same passage he further remarks that the members wore beautifully decorated garments, feather-decorations, and war-bonnets, but there was nothing distinctive about these methods of adornment, and such costumes might even be borrowed from other organizations.

Poor-wolf and Hairy-coat limit the number of spears to two. The emblem was described by Hairy-coat as follows. The shaft was of blackened ashwood, about $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, with a spearhead 1 foot in length, which had at one time been fashioned out of flint, but was in later times of tin or steel. To the shaft there was attached a flap of black cloth, four inches wide and running along the entire length of the stick; the strip of cloth was perforated at intervals, so that it could be secured to the shaft by means of buckskin strings. Sleighbells were fastened to the cloth in a vertical line, and on the outer side the cloth was again perforated for the attachment of a great number of raven tail feathers,¹ through all of which there ran a string of the sort used for snares. The spear was called *pē'ritska i'ta mi're pará'pa*, "Ravens' wood with flying thing" (= "like a flag").

When Hairy-coat was about 17 and a member of the Stone Hammer organization, He-has-ears offered to sell his Raven membership to the Stone Hammers. He bade the young men bring him a drum and sleighbells and had them sit down in a curve. He told them that he had been one of the spear officers, while his friend Road-maker had been the other. In battle the enemy always endeavored to capture these emblems. He-has-ears struck two enemies with his spear, but was outdone in bravery by Road-maker. He told Hairy-coat that if he was touched and ever saw blood from a wound he should immediately fall dead. If an officer happened to be away in time of war, some other Raven took his emblem and tried to conduct himself as be seemed his office. Though his voice was cracked as might be expected of an old man, He-has-ears began to sing for the young men and asked them to dance in accompaniment: "When I sing, dance like the Kit-Foxes, throw out your chests, bend your backs, hold your arms slightly flexed,² and dance either with both feet or advance one before the other. All of you, yell like ravens." His song was the following:—

"*pē'ritska mī, mī i'ka, hūts.*

"Raven am I, me look at (as) he (the enemy) comes."³

When the Little Dogs discovered that the old man had offered to sell his Raven membership they decided that *they* might as well get the property

¹ Poor-wolf said that white and black feathers alternated.

² Not quite as though held akimbo.

³ A closely similar song was: "The Raven comes to see me."

that would have to be paid in the event of the purchase, and offered the Little Dog society to the Stone Hammers. The Stone Hammers agreed to buy it and accordingly became Little Dogs instead of Ravens (see p. 269).

If anyone during a battle began to sing, "If anyone makes a stand, I, too, will not flee," all the Ravens stopped and made a stand (Buffalo-bird-woman).

Poor-wolf thought the Raven society was in some way connected with driving buffalo into a corral.

Dogs.

Three or four years after becoming a Soldier, Poor-wolf, at the age of about 45, became a Dog (macu'ka i'ké).¹ In being adopted into this organization, candidates paid heavily, and Poor-wolf more so than the majority because he became an officer. Accordingly, he gave his father two horses. In 1910 Poor-wolf, then about 90 years old, declared he was still a Dog, having never sold his membership. He also said that he was the only surviving member.

The following account was secured from Hairy-coat.² A man once saw a vision and painted his robe accordingly, daubing it yellow and cutting a fringe of seven strips. He saw two dogs standing in the clouds at daybreak, and a yellow dog on the ground was looking up at the sky and hallooming at them. The celestial Dogs came down to visit the Yellow Dog, and asked him, "Why are you hallooming at us?" The Yellow Dog was very glad to meet his visitors, and replied, "Well, you were looking at us, so I began to halloo and the other dogs followed suit, for both you and we are dogs." Then the Yellow Dog said, "Do you first instruct the people, then I will instruct them next. Let us come to an agreement first." One of the Celestial Dogs said, "I thought of this first, so I wish to be the leader." "Yes," said the Yellow Dog, "but if there is anything you cannot do, I will do it." The Celestial Dog said, "On the robe I wear I will cut two long strips and make them hang down, and I will tie a small owlskin to the top of the strips. I will paint my body a light red; on the front of both arms and legs, I will put red paint terminating in three forks. A whole foxskin shall be tied to each ankle; the head and tail shall be joined, with the tail dragging along the ground. On the left side I will wear a sash of red cloth, two hands in width, and on the right side a similar sash of black cloth."

¹ The translation given by my interpreter is "dog-imitators."

² The description of regalia in Hairy-coat's narrative is given in the appropriate paragraph below.

He continued to enumerate the other portions of his costume, and he and the other Celestial Dog, who acted as his attendant, proceeded to prepare their regalia. The sash in some way represented a travois, and as a dog cannot put a travois on himself, the Celestial Dog was supposed to have an attendant who slipped the sashes over his head.

The Yellow Dog asked whether the Celestial Dog and his attendant were ready. The attendant said, "You hallooted at us, and we know that you belonged up there as well as on the earth. I will belong to the earth, because I put the travois on the Real Dog. I will join you, for I represent the Indian." They instituted the custom of "backward speech," which the Attendant practised in talking to his master. The Yellow Dog said he should dress himself and should not regard anything as sacred. If meat was being dried, he would take some down, and the birds in the air, as well as the dogs on the earth, should enjoy it. They then instructed the Hidatsa how to dress and dance. The Attendant said the Indians might have five sashes as a dog had five claws, but if they preferred they might use but four. The Real Dog told the people that during a performance of the Dog dance the members might lock the door of their lodge and freely indulge their passions in the dark, irrespective of ties of relationship, as dogs also disregarded such considerations. This license was to be granted in view of the dangers incurred by the Dogs in battle.

Wolf-chief, like Hairy-coat, regards this as an Hidatsa society. An Indian, born of a woman, but knowing that he was descended from wolves, started the Dog organization. He composed the songs. He said, "We will call just one man 'Real Dog.'" He made four caps for the members; eagle wing-feathers (afterwards superseded by those of the magpie) were fastened to the caps, and in the center a tail-feather was made to stand up erect. "This," said he, "shall be the sacred headgear." The dancers wore no shirts, and painted their bodies with red paint. Before the wet paint had dried, they scratched it with their fingers. The face was likewise painted red, and near the mouth canine teeth were indicated by paint. Some members tied a bunch of split owl feathers to the back of the head, so that they stood up erect. All of them wore sashes and carried the rattles already described. The founder of the society said, "My name is Yellow Dog. When you fight enemies, and the Real Dog goes forward, you must say, 'Go ahead, and jump at the enemies.' Then he shall turn back. But if you say, 'Come back, don't go near the enemies,' then he must go right into their midst. You must teach future generations, you must not let the organization die out; always keep one Real Dog."

Wolf-chief's version terminates in a somewhat obscure account of four bad dogs living in the Hidatsa village at the time the Dog society was intro-

duced. One would jump up high to get meat down from a rack, another, which had a big swelling on the forehead, went into lodges to steal meat, a third dug holes in earth-lodges, which was a sign that someone would die. People wished to kill these dogs, but they turned out to be very strong. Though wounded, they did not die. When the Yellow Dog was asked, why such bad dogs grew up in the village he replied, "You must not kill them. They are dogs, but their power is greater than that of other animals." He called their names. "So-and-so, and so-and-so, and so-and-so, shall go to heaven when they die. I shall go there also. After I shall have gone, the dogs in the village will cry and look up to the sky. They will do so early in the morning, at noon, and in the evening; they cry to me." According to Wolf-chief, the dogs of the village were actually wont to howl as the Yellow Dog had predicted. At daybreak one dog would howl, and the other dogs joined in, all looking up at the sky. At noon they did likewise, and a second repetition took place after dark.

Each member wore a whistle suspended from his neck by means of a buckskin string decorated with quill work; the whistle was from the wing-bone of an eagle (Poor-wolf) or of a swallow (Hairy-coat). The rank and file had headdresses of owl feathers with one or two eagle feathers in the middle. All members carried a *ma-ti-xaxō'ri* rattle, which consisted of a stick about 14 or 16 inches long, covered with buckskin with a fringe of deer (Hairy-coat) or buffalo calf (Maximilian) dewclaws. In Fig. 9 there is a picture of a Dog dancer, reproduced from Maximilian's Atlas.

Hairy-coat speaks of but one Real Dog (*macu'ka kā'ti*), wearing two sashes, and of three other officers wearing one sash a piece. The skins of a species of owl (*hi'te*) were tied to the sashes. One of the sash-wearers represented the mythical Yellow Dog. These four men were further distinguished from the rank and file by their headdress (*maxi'te*) which consisted of a buckskin cap completely covered with magpie feathers. From the center of this headdress there extended two very long magpie tails. Other magpie feathers were strung together and sewed to the edge of the cap, and then in corresponding concentric rings up to the crown. In the front an eagle feather had tied to it an eagle plume, while down the back there extended a whole eagle tail of twelve feathers. Little strips of weasel skin were glued to the magpie tails.

Poor-wolf and Buffalo-bird-woman speak of two Real Dogs, and to them alone the latter informant ascribed the use of the magpie headdresses. Poor-wolf says that the owl feather headdresses were worn by all members when dancing indoors, but were exchanged for the caps with magpie feathers when the Dogs prepared for a public performance.

Poor-wolf mentioned, in addition to the two Real Dogs, one Lone Dog



Fig. 9. Hidatsa Dog Dancer. (Maximilian's Atlas.)

(macu'ka i'tsegic). Wolf-chief thinks the Lone Dog belonged to the Crazy Dog organization and was a man who wished to die. All three of Wolf-chief's officers had knives, of which the handle was supposed to be a bear's jaw. Whenever one of the other societies, notably the Goose Women's society, had a feast, these three officers had the privilege of going thither, touching with their knives some of the meat prepared for the occasion, and having this food carried away for their own use by their attendants.¹

According to Hairy-coat, the Real Dog was the only member to wear a foxskin round each ankle, and he always had a knife hanging by his wrist, which represented a dog's tooth. The attendant referred to in the origin myth did not wear a sash, but was expected to dress the Real Dog (see p. 285). In case of danger the attendant was supposed to pull back the Real Dog. At a sale of the Dog membership referred to by Hairy-coat, the Real Dog who had just disposed of his office stood up by the door and thus addressed the purchasers: "I'll tell you something. Select a man to take care of the Real Dog, for all dogs have a person to keep them and take care of them. Whoever takes care of this one must be brave and prepared to rescue him from danger." Volunteers were called for, and finally Almost-a-wolf sat down beside the new Real Dog.

The Real Dogs acted by contraries. One Real Dog, named Bloody-mouth, according to Buffalo-bird-woman, would put red paint on his body and feet in the winter time, and walk about naked, save for a breechclout and his cap, and with nothing but a whistle and a flint knife. He went through the village to the woods, and back again, to show that he was a Real Dog. Some power he possessed prevented his feet from freezing. Wolf-chief remembers his father telling of a similar power, peculiar to the Real Dogs, to take out boiling meat from a kettle without injury to the arms and hands. This feature was certainly characteristic of the Hot dance (page 253).

It was necessary for Real Dogs to express the contrary of their meaning in speaking to others, and a like rule was obligatory on others addressing them. If a Real Dog met his girl in the wood and she addressed him with the words, "Come, Real Dog," he turned about and went away. But if she forbade him to approach, he ran up to catch her. At a feast of their society the Real Dogs were beaten with sticks to make them come into the lodge.

In battle the attendant was to hold back the Real Dog, but when there was great danger, he would say, "Go now!" Then the Real Dog might

¹ In describing the Mandan and Hidatsa corn ceremony, Maximilian writes: "Öfters kommen auch während dieser Ceremonie ein Paar Männer von der Bande der Hunde, zerren ohne Umstände ein grosses Stück Fleisch von den Gerüsten herab und nehmen es mit. Da sie Hunde und angesehene Männer sind, so kann man ihnen dieses nicht wehren" (II, 183).

flee. If, on the contrary, the enemy seemed cowardly, the attendant would say, "Well, there is great danger. Then the Real Dog went forward. When Hairy-coat's father had bought the office, the former incumbent thus prayed to the Celestial Dogs: "I hope that my son will die immediately. I do not wish him to live long. If he wishes for anything, I hope he will not get it, or only after a long time."

Wolf-chief narrated the following tale illustrating the "backward speech" feature of the Real Dog office.

Once the Cheyenne had come towards an Hidatsa village and killed a party of hunters. The Hidatsa were only a few in number, and sent for aid to the Assiniboine, then camped on the Yellowstone. The Assiniboine came, and the Hidatsa asked one of their shamans to pray. The shaman had a rawhide rope stretched, and ordered all the guns to be leaned against it. Then he put down the barrel of one gun, and blood dropped from it. "This is a good sign." He sang a song, and repeated the procedure with every other gun. He issued the rule that none should walk in front of the guns, but one man, a Real Dog, paid no attention to this prohibition, picked up some cooked food from there, and said, "Tomorrow is the day for me to die, I do not care whose food this is. If I want it, I'll have it." He wished to disobey orders. People said, "He will surely be killed." The Real Dog said, "Why, you sent me there, you should have told me the opposite of what you meant." Afterwards an Hidatsa shaman prayed. He picked up some sage leaves, rubbed them with his hands to form a ball, sang, raised his hands to his head, then lowered them again, and showed the inside of his hands, which were all black with the exception of the finger points, which were all white. "This color shows that I shall lose ten men, but I shall yet be able to arrange it differently. Get me ten eagle feathers." They could find only nine feathers. He said, "It is not so bad after all." Again he sang, rubbed sage leaves, and showed his hands: nine of his fingers were black, and one white. "Well, because you brought me nine feathers, only one Hidatsa man will be killed tomorrow. But I have some captives from other tribes, and I shall have one of them slain instead of an Hidatsa." The allies went close to the Cheyenne camp, and at day-break they attacked them. The Real Dog went into the enemy's camp, they heard him and awoke. The allies killed all the Cheyenne. The Hidatsa lost only one captive and the Real Dog, whose body was found cut to pieces, while the Assiniboine lost thirty men. Since that time people knew that when they wished to call back a Real Dog, they must bid him go forward.

Before a dance, the Real Dog would carry meat on his knife, walk towards the four quarters, then return and put the meat down on the ground in the center of the village. Tearless-eyes, Hairy-coat's father, obtained

the meat from one of his clan fathers. The Yellow Dogs, and later the other Dogs, of the village would come and devour the meat. One statement by Hairy-coat seems to indicate that the Yellow Dog officer might come from his own house and eat of the food, as he did not respect sacred things (see p. 285). He wore a sash on this occasion, and his body was painted red all over.

Before beginning to sing, the Dogs howled like dogs. The first member to enter the lodge was the Real Dog, who was followed by the Yellow Dog. There was a single double-headed drum hollowed out of a log. At first the members only blew their whistles. Wives were seated behind their husbands. Then the attendant holding the Real Dog's sash whipped him as he would a dog, then the Real Dog rose and began to dance, still held by his keeper, who whipped him a little at the close of the song, whereupon both sat down. The other Dogs shook their rattles during the dance, in which they also took part after the Real Dog had begun. At the close of the song all the Dogs stood blowing their whistles, then they returned to their places and sat down. The other members admonished the attendant not to forget to save the Real Dog whenever he was in danger. The dancers carried bows of elk and mountain-goat horn.

The dance continued until nightfall, when the doors were locked. Then, in the dark, while the fathers¹ of the members were continuing to sing, the Real Dog seized any of the women present and embraced her. The other Dogs followed suit. Degrees of relationship were disregarded, and no woman might refuse to yield. Tearless-eyes once caught hold of one of his mothers-in-law, who cried out, but was quieted by other people, who told her not to cry as she was merely submitting to the rule. Another man caught a young woman, who afterwards turned out to be his sister. When the Dogs had done, the doors were opened, and the women ran off.

In a public parade the members marched in single file, except for the Real Dogs, who walked abreast. Sometimes the Real Dogs took the lead, at other times their place was farther back. The Dogs would say, "Whoever kills a Sioux or strikes the first coup, shall be feasted by us." Once Enemy's-dog struck the first coup, and was accordingly entertained by the society.

The following are Dog songs:—

"awa'he maxū'ats; awa'he maxū'ats cewā'+its."

"This earth is my body; this earth is my body.² I said so."

"hiricé makī'ric. mī ri'tēts."

"This is what I look for. So I begin to get frightened."

¹ This clause would seem to indicate that the custom here described was practised at the time of the purchase of the organization.

² That is, "When I die, my body will be dust."

BUFFALO BULLS.

The Bulls (ki'rup i'ke') formed one of the highest age-grades, nevertheless Hairy-coat estimates the age of members in his day at but little over thirty. It was customary to have one junior member, and Hairy-coat himself was chosen at the age of eight years, "because they knew my father loved me and would feast them." Apparently he was admitted free. He did not state whether he was the first junior member ever taken into the organization; at all events, when the society was sold two years and a half later, the junior membership was sold like any other. For some years after the sale Hairy-coat continued to associate with the group he had belonged to when they were still Bulls. Whenever his father returned from the chase, he had rib meat cooked and bade his son invite these older men. On such an occasion the boy would get an old man to herald that the former Bulls were invited to Hairy-coat's father's lodge. In return the older men also invited Hairy-coat to their feasts. This association was not dissolved until the time when Hairy-coat's proper age-group purchased a society.¹

Poor-wolf said that some Bulls were old, while others were young. In 1910 Wolf-chief explained that the Bulls were "friends" of the Lumpwoods and that thus old and young people might sometimes dance together. A year later the same informant thought that the Hidatsa Bulls were "friends" of the Kit-Foxes, while the Bull society of the Mandan stood in the same relationship to the Crazy Dogs of that tribe.

The Bulls had several women comrades who helped them in singing and occasionally prepared a feast for them. Wolf-chief remembers three women who acted in this capacity. They called themselves Buffalo Bull women.

No complete origin tradition could be secured. Hairy-coat says that the society was given to the Hidatsa by the buffalo bulls themselves and that it was shared by the Sioux and Assiniboiné. Poor-wolf derives the use of the Blind Bulls' masks from a personal vision.

The mode of purchase was the one customary in all the age-societies. Seven pipes were offered by the prospective buyers,—four for the Four-clans and three for the Three-clans in the sellers' group. The Four-clans discussed among themselves how much property was to be demanded and how many nights they should be feasted, and the Three-clans conducted a corresponding discussion.² If the members of one phratry could not

¹ This seems to have been the Stone Hammer society.

² This mode of deliberation by phratries was also customary in matters of tribal importance according to Hairy-coat. It was followed, for example, in the construction of a winter village.

agree, they might decide to leave the decision with the other phratry. The office of a Blind Bull was acquired in the usual automatic fashion noted with regard to the offices of other organizations (see p. 264, 275, 301).

Hairy-coat for some reason did not have to buy his junior membership, but some years later he sold it at the same time as the older Bulls disposed of their membership. In spite of his youth a pipe was offered to him, and he was requested to give his consent to the sale. Then a boy belonging normally to the age-group just above his own was assigned to Hairy-coat for his son.

All the members, with the exception of a horseman and two officers, wore the same headdress, consisting of a cap made from the skin of a buffalo's head above the eyes. In the back this cap extended a trifle below the neck, and in front it was tied with chin-straps. From the cap there rose two buffalo horns, cut short at the bottom, with their tips approaching each other; they were perforated so that they could be fastened to the skin with buckskin strings.

Two officers, known as Blind Bulls (ki'rup ictarë'ci'kè), wore a mask consisting of the skin of a whole buffalo head with the mane and horns. Blue glass was put in place of the buffalo's eyes, and below them were the eyeslits for the wearer. The nose — or, according to Buffalo-bird-woman, the entire lower half of the mask, from the nose downwards — was painted blue. The Blind Bulls carried spears decorated with long feathers tied at the top, as well as with horsetails dyed yellow. Pieces of weasel skin were tied to the shaft, all of which was painted black. The spear head was over a foot in length and was held pointing downwards. These spears were called mā`+ita' i'cu i'ti'e, "arrow-feather-large."

A few members tied a dried buffalo tail to the back of their belts so that it stood up erect. These, after dancing forward, would run back again, hold their right horns with their hands, and act as if they were going to hook some of the people. In war these men were obliged to make a stand against pursuing enemies (Wolf-chief). Accordingly, they would address the people as follows: "You see my tail in the air because I am brave. Once the enemy were pursuing us. I got so angry that my tail rose erect, and I turned about to chase the enemy." A statement by Hairy-coat seems to imply that all Bulls wore tails.

During a parade one member wearing no headdress proceeded on horseback. In this case, however, the horse had sections of horns with a piece of buffalo skin fastened to its head, and a piece of rawhide painted yellow was attached to its face. The rider carried a shield and wore a skirt.

Members wore a skirt or kilt of red cloth extending just below the knees; at the bottom it was edged with tin cones, and directly above the cones

small bells were fastened to the cloth. Shirts were not worn, and the body and arms were painted with blue clay. All carried guns and wore what honor marks they possessed. Thus a man who had killed an enemy tied a scalp to his gun and painted a line with white clay for each man slain. If a Bull had been wounded, he would whittle the center of a stick so that the shavings were still attached at one end, and tie the stick to the hair on his cap. If wounded in the chest, he would put red paint from lip to chin. Finger-prints on both sides of the breast indicated that an enemy had been seized by the person thus decorated.

Anyone that had ever driven the Sioux from their breastworks, or had entered a Sioux tipi, was permitted to enter the dance lodge before the other members. In dancing, the Bulls stamped their feet. When performing outdoors, they acted fiercely. If anyone of them had slain an enemy, he might run up towards the spectators and discharge his gun. Anyone wounded in battle had the privilege of kicking his neighbor in the dance. The Blind Bull — Wolf-chief speaks of but one officer of this type — did not seem to hear the drumming and singing, but merely walked and jumped around. When the Bulls danced, a vessel with water was put in the center of the village, and some food was placed beside it. After the Bulls had ceased to dance, someone said, "Whoever has helped to take a wounded man out of the fray, may come forward and drink water." Then those who had done so got up and drank of the water; generally there were very few of them. In later times whiskey was put into the vessel. Wolf-chief's father once went to the vessel, and said, "Over there, in the west, the enemy were pursuing us. One woman was lagging behind. I turned back and saved her life." Then he drank of the liquor. After drinking, he said, "At the Knife River confluence the enemy were pursuing us. I halted, I did not run. The enemy stopped. The bravest of them approached. I shot and killed him." Then the speaker took another drink. After this public performance the Bulls returned to their lodge.

MANDAN MEN'S SOCIETIES.

THE MANDAN SYSTEM.

Both from Maximilian's account and the statements of my own informants it appears that the Mandan system of men's societies closely resembled that of the Hidatsa. In both cases there was a series of graded organizations, the membership, or rather ownership, of each of which was acquired by collective purchase. The method of buying membership was practically identical, and among the Mandan as well as among the Hidatsa the surrender of the purchasers' wives to the sellers formed a conspicuous feature. Owing to the collective manner of obtaining membership, practically all tribesmen belonged to some one of the societies. If a boy of a certain age did not yet belong to any organization, he was, according to Water-chief, derided as a "Finger-in-his-eye (*istá wátke*). After selling their last society the retired members, as among the Hidatsa, were known as "Stinking-ears" (*nakóxe xuⁿpé*).

According to Black-chest and Wounded-face, the institution of "friendly" organizations described for the Hidatsa (p. 229) also occurs among the Mandan, but this is denied by Painted-up for both men's and women's organizations. Unfortunately this important point must remain undecided.

There can be no doubt that within the period known to my informants membership in a society was primarily, on the Hidatsa plan, a matter of purchase, not of age. Because, for example, the group that normally would have purchased the Kit-Fox and Little Dog societies failed to buy either from his own class, Black-chest at 62 considers himself a member of these organizations, which he joined at 20 and 25 respectively.

Owing to the very small number of Mandan who survived the epidemic of 1837 and the intimate relations of the survivors with the Hidatsa, the accounts of my Mandan informants may be largely colored by Hidatsa influences, so that Maximilian's data are all the more valuable and will be summarized in the following sections. Of the societies enumerated by my Mandan informants but not given by Maximilian, the Kit-Fox and the Little Dog organizations may be assumed to have been adopted from the Hidatsa in recent times, for both occur in Maximilian's Hidatsa list. In preparing the following comparative table I assume, for reasons already set forth (p. 235), that in Maximilian's day there were distinct Dog and Half-

Shaved Head societies. Black-chest's enumeration differs from that by Wounded face merely in the omission of the Old Dog, Coarse Hair, and Black Tail Deer societies and in the reversal of the relative positions of the Buffalo Bull and Dog societies.

MANDAN SOCIETIES.

Maximilian (II, 139-144).	Wounded-face.
	1. Cheyenne Society (cō'ta ð'xat'e)
	2. Kit-Fox Society (ð'xox'atoc)
	3. Little Dog Society (mini'sinik ð'xat'e)
1. Foolish Dogs (Meni'ss O'chka O'chatä)	4. Crazy Dog Society (mini's'ð'xka ð'xat'e)
2. Crows, or Ravens (Hähderucha O'chatä)	
3. Half-shaved Heads (I'schohä Kako-schochatä)	
4. Soldiers (Chara'k O'chatä, or Kau'a Karakáchka)	5. Black Mouth Society. (i'he psi'here ð'xate, or numä'k xaräk ð'xat'e)
5. Dogs (Meni'ss O'chatä)	7. Dog Society (mini's ð'xatoc)
6. Old Dogs (Meni'ss-Chäh-Ochatä)	8. Old Dog Society (mini's xixe' ð'xat'e)
7. Buffalo Bulls (Bero'ck-O'chatä)	6. Buffalo Bull Society (mëro'k ð'xat'e)
8. Black-Tail Deers (Schu'mpsi O'chatä)	10. Black-Tail Deer Society (cu'psi ð'xat'e)
	9. Coarse Hair Society (bacä'ca ð'xat'e)

CHEYENNE SOCIETY.

Wounded-face's group bought the Cheyenne society (cō'ta ð'xat'e), at the request of the men owning it, when my informant was about 10 or 12 years old. Calicoes and tanned goods were gathered, and with them a pipe was taken to the sellers. One of these smoked the pipe to show that they were willing to dispose of their membership.

Every member had a head ornament consisting of a round piece of raw-hide with a bone feather holder. Two officers wore moderately wide aprons of red cloth edged with eagle feathers hanging down. Each of two other officers had a sacred bow with two arrows, one painted red and the other black. Two officers bore a spiked club (*ō'o kahiri' 'ka*), the spike being of horn. The sacred bows and arrows were for use against the enemy; they never missed their aim. For some reason no paraphernalia were supplied to Wounded-face's group, and they did not exercise their membership privileges because older men who should have taught them the appropriate songs died. All the members of this society were Mandan, but the organization originated with the Dakota or Cheyenne. Black-chest independently made the statement that the society was not really of Mandan origin. The *cō'ta ō'xat'e* regarded the Foxes as their fathers, and the Little Dogs as their "friends."

Water-chief said that members wore two eagle feathers rising from the back of the head. Before his group bought the society, five older Mandan called them together, and said, "We wish to give you a society." Then property was collected and brought to them. The same night they sang songs, to which the young boys danced. After the dance, the sellers addressed their sons, saying, "You are growing up now. You must go against the enemy. Try to be brave and conquer the enemy."

KIT-FOX SOCIETY.

The following account of this society (*ō'xox'atoc*) was given by Black-chest.

When we bought this society, all of us were unmarried. We wished to buy this society. Our fathers said, "These foxes have ten claws on their front legs, so we wish you to give us a ten days' feast." I selected Good-bear, one of my clan fathers, for my individual father. The members of the River Women society were our "friends"; one of these, Black-head, was my individual "friend."

When the River Women had gathered together, we went to them and thus addressed them: "We wish to make friends with you. We desire to buy a society and wish you to help us and give us some blankets. We wish to know whether you are willing to do so." The women debated the request, and each one declared that she would contribute her blanket. Then we said, "Well, now each of you shall say which one of us you are willing to help." Then Black-head designated me. She was no clan aunt of mine.

We borrowed Broken-horn's earth-lodge for our meeting and brought kettles of food there. Black-head also brought a kettle of food there. We boys came in on the left side and sat down in an ellipse. We could hear our fathers singing as they approached our lodge. They entered it on the right side and sat down. Their wives, who were to assist in the singing during the ten nights' entertainment, were grouped behind their husbands.

When our fathers had sat down, one of our number, Wounded-face, rose and said, "Well, comrades and women friends, listen. We have brought our food here, and we wish to select our fathers tonight. Do each of you rise and set your food before your father." Then each of us rose, picked up his kettle, and walked past the door-side of the fireplace to his father. I picked out one of my clan fathers and gave him my kettle; then I returned to my place. Black-head, who had watched my movements, then came forward and brought her kettle to the man indicated as my father. Those purchasers who had no clan fathers among the sellers selected anyone they pleased for their individual father. The fathers ate of the food, leaving some for their wives, who emptied the kettles and returned them to their husbands. Then Good-bear called me by name and said, "Come, son, and get your kettle." I went towards him and stood before him. Then Good-bear prayed to the supernatural powers: "I have gone through the Oki'pæ ceremony myself and have undergone great hardships for your sake. In other ceremonies I have also undergone suffering. Before I underwent this suffering, I thought you would help me whenever I could not do something by my own power. I have no power to give honor marks, therefore I ask you to help me by securing honor marks for my son." Then I took both kettles and went back to my place, where I returned to Black-head her own kettle. Each of the boys acted in a similar way.

After all of us had sat down, our fathers began to sing. They beat drums, but did not dance. They sang these words: —

"ma'kitā'ni máhuna."
 "You, wake up and come."

[These words are supposed to be addressed to one's sweetheart.]

Four times they sang such songs. Then came a second set of songs, during which the fathers danced in their places. When they had done dancing, they addressed us in obsolete Mandan, saying, "Si! i'karē'xoc!" ("Clan son, daylight is here!") Shot-foot, one of the fathers, rose to address us. He said, "Si, we wish you to give us a ten nights' feast. This will give us time to prepare clothes for you."

This meeting took place in the evening, each of our female "friends" brought in a bundle of willows carried by means of a tump line and a second line passing around the breast. The bundles were piled up on the left side of the door (for one entering), and from time to time one of the boys would rise to keep up the fire. This purchase took place in midsummer. I was about 20 years old at the time.

On each of the ten nights the fathers came in in the same way as the first time, and the mode of procedure was the same. On the tenth night, the fathers said, "Sons, we have done; tomorrow we shall give you your things." On the following morning we came back to the same lodge and took our seats, but without any kettles. Our women "friends" also came in and sat down. This time, however, we were not ranged in an ellipse as before, but sat in the arc of a circle, with our "friends" in a similar arc from 4½ to 5 feet behind us. Until this day White-bear's house had served as the place of assembly for the fathers prior to their approach to our own meeting-place, but this morning each came from his own lodge, their wives carrying the clothes to be presented to the purchasers of the society. The fathers sat down in a curved line opposite to ours, and their wives took seats behind them. There were about thirty fathers; sometimes two boys had the same father. They planted two sticks into the ground in the rear (mana'ktata) of the lodge. One of the sticks was hooked, and its shaft was wrapped with otterskin; three eagle feathers hung down from the end of the hook. The second stick was straight and also wrapped with otterskin;

to the top of the shaft there was fastened a single eagle feather. The bottom of both staffs was blunt, but in order to secure them in their places a sharp-pointed stick had been previously driven into the ground there. The fathers had two hand-drums. The father nearest the door took the hooked stick (*ma'nanū'skup*) which had been set at the left side of the straight stick (*ma'nacū'cuk*) for one facing the door, and held it in his hand, while the last father in line took the straight stick. The two fathers standing nearest the staff-holders bore rattles. The drums were beaten, but before the rest of the fathers rose Shot-foot addressed us, saying, "Sons, you will keep our society, you will dance today." Then the fathers all rose, and the singing began. The staff-bearers advanced towards the boys, shouting, while the rest danced in their places. When the staff-bearers had got to the fireplace, the singing ceased. Each of the two officers then went to his son and led him to a spot between the two main posts on the right side of the lodge (for one facing the entrance), and gave his stick to his son. On this occasion Water-chief received the straight stick, and White-eye the bent stick. Next Shot-fox rose with his rattle and — this time without any singing or dancing — walked straight towards his son, Long-tail, whom he led to the place between the two posts used by the staff-bearers and presented with his rattle. The second rattler went through a corresponding procedure. Then the wives of the four officers who had just disposed of their emblems came forward to give the newly prepared clothes to their sons. The spectators, during all this performance, were restricted to the space between the door and the two front posts. From among these outsiders there now advanced the relatives of the new officers in order to pile up property before them or to present small sticks representing the promise to donate a horse.

The fathers said, "Now, sons, all of you stand up!" All the fathers then walked towards us, followed by their wives, who carried the clothing and laid it down before the sons. All of us put on the new clothes on the spot. The fathers who had surrendered their rattles stood next to their sons, whom they wished to assist in singing. The fathers who had owned the two officers' staffs said to the new incumbents: "There is an abundance of enemies; try to be brave!" The fathers who had carried rattles said the same to *their* sons, adding: "You will sing for your society, and I must teach you now. When you sing outdoors, you shall circle round to the right, and all will follow you." The first rattler accordingly led the procession in a circle until he had got near the second rattler, where he stopped and began to sing. The second rattler then also sang a song, shaking a tin-can rattle. In the procession outdoors the marchers walked at a very rapid pace.

Four female associates followed the men. These were called "Fox women" and had been appointed by their own families to assist the Foxes at their feasts and in the singing. They stood outside the circle formed by the society when dancing outdoors, but also took part in the dance. These women were unmarried, but later two of them, Pumpkin-blossom and Otter, married members of the society.

After we had marched out of our lodge, we went to an open space east of the Round Corral.¹ Four of our fathers stepped inside the circle we formed there, and sang for us, beating their drums. We danced and then went home. This first public dance was the only occasion on which our fathers sang for us.

After a few days we came together and danced in Water-chief's lodge. During indoor performances we sat in an arc round the lodge and did not make use of our

¹ This is the structure described by Catlin and Maximilian as the "ark."

regalia. After a few days spent in hunting we again gathered in our meeting-house and had an abundance of food prepared. Some time in the spring we went outside in our regalia and danced publicly, whereupon we would return to the lodge, dance again, and then have a feast. This happened about three or four times a year. Frequently members of the society went out at night in their ordinary costume and walked from house to house, singing in front of every lodge. This was done to please the young women of the village. The four Fox women did not take part in these nocturnal processions, but other girls accompanied the men and sang with them.

In addition to the rattlers and the staff-bearers, there were two men distinguished by their regalia from the rank and file. One of these wore a cap (*mapa'caci wa'ah-ku'pe*) of kit-fox skin, with the ears sticking up.¹ This officer acted as a sort of

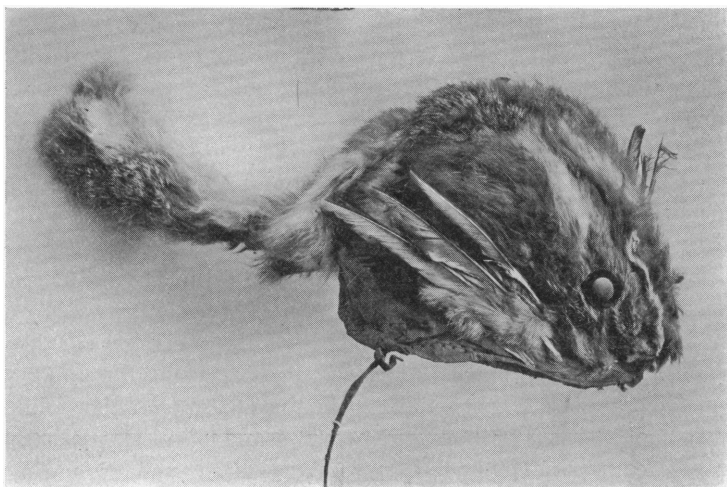


Fig. 10. (50.1-4332). Cap of Mandan Kit-Fox Society. Length, 127 cm.

spokesman for the society, but was not regarded as the chief of the organization. The other officer wore a head band decorated with kit-fox jaws (Fig. 17).

The Black Mouth society was regarded as friendly to our Kit-Fox group. They sat with us when we purchased the society and contributed to the food given to our fathers, though not to the property paid to them. When a new rattler did not at once learn his song and was accordingly afraid to try it, the Black Mouth officer bearing a "dance flag" took his place for a while. After the purchase the Black Mouths participated in our feasts. Sometimes we got together in the house of Two-chiefs, a Black Mouth; if any Black Mouth so desired he might then join us in the dancing.

Sometimes we gathered instead in the house of Foolish-soldier, a Stinking-Ear (see p. 294). Foolish-soldier acted as our herald. He would get up on the roof of a lodge and announce our meeting.

Bear's-ghost, Crow's-heart, Black-eagle, Sitting-crow, White-owl, and their associates should have bought the Kit-Fox society from us. As they did not do so, we still own it."

¹ Wounded-face's cap is shown in Fig. 10.

Some additional information on this society was furnished by Wounded-face, Water-chief, and Little-crow. Of these, Wounded-face and Water-chief belonged to the same group as Black-chest, while Little-crow was a member of the group from which the other three informants purchased their membership. Black-chest sets his present age at 62, while Little-crow is supposed to be 74. At the time they purchased their membership, the age of Little-crow, Wounded-face and Water-chief was about 14, 20, and 16 respectively.

Wounded-face regards Good-fur-robe, a mythical hero, as the founder of the society. Good-fur-robe pulled out two sunflower stalks from the ground and presented them to two young men. He instructed them to plant these stalks in the ground during an encounter with the enemy and not to retreat from the spot. The sunflower and the corn, this informant added, were essentially one. A similar account was furnished by Packs-wolf, who further stated that at a later time lances were substituted for the stalks. Though Maximilian does not mention a Mandan Kit-Fox society, the following tradition recorded by him as to the origin of the other Mandan organizations is very suggestive in view of the statements obtained from my own informants. The chief who first ascended to the earth from the subterranean regions formerly inhabited by the Mandan was named Village-smoke, but assumed the name of Good-fur-robe ("die Robe oder das Fell mit schönem Haare, la robe à beau poil") after reaching the upper world. He founded the societies, beginning with the Dogs. For the Soldiers he made two hooked-sticks wrapped with otterskin and two other sticks trimmed with raven feathers. The hooked sticks represented sunflowers; the other sticks, the corn plant. These emblems were to be planted into the ground in fighting an enemy and were never to be abandoned.¹

Water-chief mentions the interesting point that his group bought the Kit-Fox organization at the suggestion of the owners. These came to the younger men and said, "We wish to give you this Fox society and make you our sons." It is quite clear from the other accounts that this fact did not affect the initial mode of procedure. A pipe was put before the fathers and had to be accepted and smoked by one of their number in the same way as when Little-crow's group decided to buy the membership on their own initiative. In both cases the fathers seem to have been able to dictate the terms of purchase: at the time when Black-chest and Water-chief became Kit-Foxes, a ten nights' entertainment was demanded, while in Little-crow's day the feasting of the sellers lasted twelve nights.

Like Black-chest, Wounded-face selected a clan father, Two-crows, for

¹ Maximilian, II, 162.

his individual father. Wounded-face did not know that Two-crows owned two kinds of emblems,— the foxskin cap to be used in dancing and in war, and the head band decorated with the lower kit-fox jaws which was to be worn when courting young women.¹ On the morning of the final transference of membership rights, Two-crows gave Wounded-face the cap and the head band, as well as a shirt, armlets and fringed buckskin leggings. In return, Wounded-face paid his father a fast black horse suited for use in the buffalo chase and some property contributed by his relatives. I get the impression that the transfer of special regalia was automatic; that is to say, if the father happened to own certain specific emblems the son buying his membership bought *ipso facto* the regalia owned by the seller.

Little-crow states that at the public performance the relatives of the new members brought presents, which were turned over to the fathers, either individually or collectively. In the latter case the fathers proceeded to distribute the gifts among themselves.

In marching outdoors, the first rattler took the lead and was immediately followed by the first hooked-staff officer; Wounded-face — presumably as the owner of the cap — occupied a central position in the line; the second rattler came last, being directly behind the second hooked-staff officer. The first rattler selected a site for the dance and turned in order to begin the formation of a circle there, at the same time raising his rattle and singing very loudly. There was always a special song to be sung prior to the drummers' entrance into the circle. This song was taken up by the second rattler. While the circle was forming, the singers went within the circumference and began to beat their drums. These singers were always the members' fathers, if I understood Wounded-face correctly, but it is probable that this applies only to the first public performance by a new group of members. The songs referred to warlike deeds, and the words were, according to this informant, invariably in the Dakota language.

Little-crow, as already stated, considers the head band decorated with kit-fox jaws as a badge common to all members; he further states that each Kit-Fox had a hair-pipe attached to the left side of the head and that six men had their hair roached. The hair-cutting was done by the men's fathers. Other informants agree that there were two rattlers and two officers with hooked-staffs, wrapped with otterskin and decorated at four points with feathers. Wounded-face says that sometimes the second staff-bearer carried a *straight* stick, in which case an erect eagle feather was secured to the top of the shaft. Little-crow states that rattles were used

¹ This seems to conflict with Black-chest's account, which assigns these emblems to distinct officers, but Little-crow regards the kit-fox head band as a badge common to all members.

outdoors, and drums within the lodge, but this contradicts the accounts of others. The rattles were originally made of gourds, but in Wounded-face's time baking-powder cans had been substituted.

The Fox women, according to Wounded-face, were selected by the fathers' wives. Their robes were decorated with honor marks earned by their male associates. Little-crow mentioned only two Fox women, selected by the members themselves, and placed in the middle of the line of march.

The military element was obviously prominent in the society. Water-chief relates that on the first public appearance of the new members, each one was called by name by the older men and women of the village and addressed as follows: "We have numerous enemies, you are the one that must fight and try to be a man. You must not forget this when you are in a fight." Later in the season, when Water-chief had struck a coup and received a wound, his people rejoiced, telling him, "That is what you desired to do, you are a brave man." Little-crow declared that the Kit-Foxes did not dance very frequently,—in fact only when the approach of an enemy was reported. Wounded-face, while stating that dances were occasionally performed solely for the sake of amusement and in order to attract the attention of young women, also said that the Foxes danced very often in times of war, beginning as soon as a scout had brought the news of an enemy's approach. The Foxes tried to be brave in battle. Wounded-face recalls an occasion when a very brave enemy, surrounded by the Mandan, was holding his foemen at bay; finally, a Kit-Fox advanced towards him, struck him, and was killed. On another occasion a Kit-Fox together with four companions, set out on a war party. All five were killed by the enemy. This event was commemorated in song: "Once two enemies went into the bush. We surrounded them. One Kit-Fox went forward, and they killed him there."

The purely social features of the organization were also conspicuous. Public appearances were followed by feasts after the members had returned to their lodge. There were occasional horse parades by the Kit-Foxes, and the nocturnal processions referred to by Black-chest were of frequent occurrence.

LITTLE DOG SOCIETY.

While Black-chest's and Wounded-face's group owned the Fox society, their fathers were Little Dogs (mini'sinik ō'xat'e)¹; that is to say, after

¹ The present meaning of the native term seems to be "colt society," but the older informants consider the above rendering correct in the context given and consider the society related to the Hidatsa Little Dog organization. Maximilian also translates *meniss* "dog." A corresponding confusion was encountered in the case of the other Mandan societies named for the dog.

surrendering their ownership of the Fox organization, they had acquired possession of the Little Dog society. On one occasion, after the lapse of about five or six years, the Kit-Foxes were meeting at Woman-ghost's house, when someone asked whether they might not buy the Little Dog society then. Each one expressed his willingness to purchase it. Then they gathered together property for an initial gift, and one man carried a pipe to the Little Dogs' lodge. One of the Little Dogs said, "Well, we will meet and debate the matter." The messenger returned. As it was late, the Kit-Foxes waited for the next day to make their first offerings of goods, and merely went about the village, singing at several earth-lodges. On the next day they gathered and notified their friends, the River Women, who collected some property for them. This was piled up together with some guns contributed by the purchasers themselves, and was then divided among them. They waited until nightfall, then they went outside, crying, and marched towards the Little Dogs' lodge. A leader carried the pipe, and, on entering, laid it down before the fireplace. All the property was deposited near the pipe, then the Kit-Foxes took seats near the door, in the space allotted to outsiders. The Little Dogs were seated in the rear and on the sides of the lodge. Iron-eyes, one of the sellers' company, took the pipe towards the fire, lit it, and began to smoke. All the Kit-Foxes then cried, "Hahō'! We are going to have some songs." According to Wounded-face, the prospective buyers said to their fathers: "We have bought the Kit-Fox society of you, but we still have the Dog society to buy from you." Thereupon the fathers took the property and bade their sons prepare a lodge for the next evening. Then the Kit-Foxes went back to their lodge.

The next evening the Kit-Foxes gathered in Two-chiefs' house. They had married since their former purchase, and each one had his wife prepare food and bring it to the meeting place. The Little Dogs approached the lodge, singing on the way. The door of the lodge faced north. The buyers had ranged themselves on the right side (for one entering), with their wives behind them. The sellers sat down on the opposite side, with their wives behind them, and began to sing, using sticks with sleighbells for rattles. "We liked their song better than ours." (Black-chest). Big-thief rose, held up a dried dogskin, laid it toward the fire, faced the fire himself, sat down behind the skin, and thus addressed the group of buyers: "Well, sons, this dog has five claws on each of its front legs, that makes ten. Its hind legs also have ten claws, that makes twenty in all. So we wish you to feast us for twenty nights, then we will let you have our songs."¹

¹ Wounded-face says that the entertainment lasted only fifteen nights, while Water-chief spoke of a ten nights' feasting of the fathers. When Little-crow, of the group immediately higher than that of the three informants quoted here and in the text, bought the same society, the entertainment lasted eight nights.

After this speech, Big-thief returned to his place. Then all the Kit-Foxes rose and brought presents of food to their fathers. Black-chest again selected Good-bear for his individual Father, but explains that this was not obligatory. Wounded-face was obliged to select a new father, for the one chosen by him in purchasing the Kit-Fox organization had been killed in battle; otherwise, he says he should have kept the same individual for his father in buying all the higher societies. On this occasion his choice fell on Little-crow, to whom he presented a kettleful of food as a token of his selection. Black-chest states that five of the fathers had been killed since the purchase of the Kit-Fox society.

Black-chest says that on this occasion the River Women did not aid the purchasers, as both they and the latter had married. This obviously refers to the period of the fathers' entertainment, as the same informant mentions a contribution by this women's organization to the initial payment (see p. 303). On the other hand, the Black Mouths attended the performance and brought food for the sellers.

At a height of about seven feet from the ground the fathers stretched a rawhide rope between the two rear main posts. To each end of the rope they attached a whip, and near its center they folded over it two red cloth sashes. These sashes were considered sacred. The wife of one of the buyers then rose, stripped naked and covering her genitalia with her hands, approached the rear of the fireplace. Rising on tiptoes, she seized one of the sashes, covered her nakedness again, pressed the sash to her breast and hung it up as before. Each one of the buyers' wives went through the same ceremony. During this performance the fathers were all singing. The women returned to their seats and put on their blankets. Each husband then said to his wife: "I will give you to my father, for I want his song. Perhaps he will pray for us, and it will be well for both of us."

Then the father and the woman offered to him went out together. Menstruating women were absolved from this performance, for they were not supposed to come to the lodge at all on such occasions. As a matter of fact, Black-chest says that only very few fathers availed themselves of the right surrendered to them, being generally afraid of ill luck if they did. The form, however, was gone through by each wife on each of the twenty nights. Black-chest's wife told her husband that Good-bear merely took her outside, faced west with her and said, "Daughter-in-law, stop and stand there." Then he prayed as follows: "My gods, my son has given me his wife. I wish that my daughter-in-law may always enjoy a long and happy life, and I ask you in behalf of my son that he may conquer his enemies." After this prayer he bade the woman go back, and both returned to the lodge.

On the twentieth night Big-thief again took a seat by the dogskin. He thus addressed the buyers: "Now, sons, tomorrow this dance will be yours, so I wish to ask you for some more pay. Put down one gun to represent the killing of anything." Then one of the Kit-Foxes put down a gun. Big-thief continued: "This dog has a hide, give us a robe." Then one of the Kit-Foxes laid down his robe. "Give us a knife for butchering." Two men then rose and put down two butchering knives. "For this head put down one yellow cooking-kettle." The buyers sent round for such a kettle and finally secured one, which they brought to the fathers. "Put down one thing for the head." Then someone laid down a stick trimmed with tail-feathers. "Put down one thing for the tail." Then, Black-chest thinks, another robe was laid down. "The dog has four legs, put down four articles." The Kit-Foxes again did as bidden.

On the next day there followed the final surrender of membership prerogatives. This time the buyers sat in an arc, without their wives, who remained in the spectators' place (see p. 303). The fathers sat on the opposite side, singing a bravery song, and the two sash-wearing officers danced. The words of the song were in Hidatsa: —

"Māha'hkureci`ruts. tō'cē`ruca, marē'wits."

"No one lives forever. Whatever may happen, I shall go."

At the close of this song the whippers and sash-wearers, as well as all the other fathers, surrendered their regalia to their respective sons. As Little-crow, Wounded-face's father, owned a lance decorated with a string of feathers, Wounded-face assumed the same office (not mentioned by Black-chest), of which there was one other incumbent. In addition to the lance, Wounded-face received a shirt, a new pair of leggings, a switch and pendants for the decoration of both sides of the head; his hair was cut short in front by Little-crow. Wounded-face's relatives piled up presents in front of him, which he turned over to his father, adding a good horse of his own. The other purchasers made corresponding presents to their fathers. While Wounded-face speaks of four sash-wearers, Black-chest limits the number to two, and Water-chief sets it at five. Water-chief, like Wounded-face, received one of the sashes from his father; there was tied to it a small package of root medicine to avert danger. This package has never been opened by Water-chief. The whippers, according to this last authority, lashed members who did not rise to dance at the proper time. Each member of the rank and file received a whistle of owl bone about four inches long, and a bunch of split owl feathers, with an eagle feather in the center, to be hung from the back of the head. These feathers were painted yellow.

After the transfer of regalia, the fathers went out, with the exception of

three men, who remained to instruct the new members in singing. These three fathers stood between the door and the fireplace, but nearer to the latter, while the new group of Little Dogs ranged themselves in a three-quarter circle in the rear of the lodge. While the fathers sang, the members danced, moving both feet at the same time and also raising and lowering their arms. Then the Little Dogs proceeded in single file to an open place, the singers following in the rear. Wounded-face says that as first lancer he took the lead, while his associate brought up the rear, and that the sash-wearers had no special place in the line. All the new members blew their whistles while coming out and formed a circle in the open place. The three fathers stepped inside the circle. At this first public parade, the old people called out the members' names and admonished them to try to die soon. Water-chief actually went on a war party soon after the parade, and put on his sash, thinking, "If I get killed, my old people will call out my name; if I live, I shall strike an enemy." As a matter of fact, he struck two women near the enemy's camp, and his people rejoiced.

After several songs and dances the Little Dogs stopped and went back to their lodge, where they sat about and danced. The fathers sent messengers to summon their sons. Each son then went to his father's house, sometimes accompanied by his wife. The father gave his son a present of food, which the wife took home; if the son came alone, he took the food back to the society's lodge.

Like other societies, the Little Dogs occasionally went through the camp at night singing and waking up the villagers.

CRAZY DOG SOCIETY.

In Maximilian's account the Crazy Dog (*mini's'ōxka ō'xat'e*)¹ society figures as that of the youngest age group, embracing boys of from 10 to 15 years of age. In the list of my informants it ranks as the fourth society to be purchased by young men. It was obviously constituted in their day by married men; for they had all married before the purchase of the next lower society (see p. 304). Maximilian was told that in former days old men had also belonged to the organization, but on the understanding that they were never to retreat from the enemy.

¹ The native name is nowadays at first blush interpreted as "Broncho Society." Maximilian, however, renders it "die thörichten Hunde, oder die Hunde deren Namen man nicht kennt, (les chiens fols, ou les chiens dont on ne connaît pas le nom)," and this translation is confirmed on further inquiry. Cf. footnote, p. 302. Yellow-hair explicitly identified the Mandan *mini's'ō'xka ō'xate* with the Hidatsa *macu'ka wará'āze* (see p. 280).

The mode of purchase, as described by Maximilian, closely resembles that followed in buying membership in the other organizations. The boys desiring to become members approached the owners, addressed them as "fathers," and secured in exchange for blankets, cloths, horses and powder, the dances, songs, and regalia characteristic of the society. In this connection the Prince does not mention the feasting of the fathers, but the custom is referred to by my informants: Little-crow's group entertained the sellers for thirty, and that of Yellow-hair's husband for twenty nights.

One noteworthy addition to the purchase ceremony had become possible in later times through the change in the age of the members. As the Crazy Dogs were no longer boys as in Maximilian's day, but married men, the surrender of wives as a partial payment was no longer out of the question. As a matter of fact, I have no direct statement to the effect that wives were surrendered in this instance, but Yellow-hair's account strongly suggests that such was the case. According to this authority, all the women attended the purchase of the Crazy Dog membership. A rope was stretched between two poles and from it were suspended three headdresses and three sashes. On each of the twenty nights of entertainment six women removed their insignia, took them outside, pressed them to their breasts, and finally brought them back and hung them up again. Then six other women went through the same performance, and so on.

In view of Black-chest's statements as to the purchase of the Little Dog society (p. 304), I am inclined to believe that Yellow-hair's account is incomplete and that the women who took down the regalia and passed outdoors were offered as a part payment for the benefits to be derived from the fathers. This interpretation is confirmed by Maximilian's repeated reference to the wife-offering as a feature common to all the higher societies of the Mandan and Hidatsa.

The badge of all members, according to the Prince, was a whistle made from the wing-bone of a wild goose. Yellow-hair says that this whistle was suspended from the neck by means of a quill-wrapped string. Everyone carried a rattle of globular or ring shape. The rattles were trimmed with raven wing-feathers. To the back of the head members attached an ornament of split raven wing-feathers. Some of the Crazy Dogs wore neither shirt nor leggings, but daubed their bodies with yellow paint. While dancing, members were permitted to bear lances.

From the rank and file there were distinguished, in Maximilian's day, three officers wearing a long, broad strip of red cloth extending down the back, from neck to foot. Yellow-hair also speaks of three sash-wearers; the red cloth was edged with white, and a slit made it possible to slip the sash over the head. At the shoulder, near the white edging, there was attached

the war-medicine given by the father to the son at the time of the membership sale. Wounded-face says that there were four sash-wearers.

Besides the sash-wearers, there were three (Wounded-face again speaks of four) officers wearing headdresses of buffalo-skin, decorated with sections of horns and strips of weasel skins. The headgears were secured by means of neckstrings, which also served to fasten them to the stretched rope at the time of the purchase (see p. 307). To the back of the headdresses there were attached strips of rawhide, about $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet in length and decorated with quillwork. Horsetails, dyed yellow, were fastened to the tops of the horns, and occasionally hawk-wings were used for decorating the headdresses.

Wounded-face is alone in speaking of two additional officers bearing lances, that were decorated at the top and center with a bunch of short raven wing-feathers. The use of a feathered string with these lances was optional.

Yellow-hair mentions four drummers, each of whom gave his drum to his son at the time of the membership sale.

When the purchase had been consummated after the twenty nights' entertainment, the fathers, according to Yellow-hair, passed out of the lodge, lamenting the loss of their songs,—some of them even pretending to cry. On the other hand, the purchasers began to sing and rejoice. They went outdoors, formed a circle, and sang there. After a while they returned to their lodge, followed by their wives. Supper had been prepared. The new Crazy Dogs and their wives feasted, and then went home. On the next day the fathers invited the purchasers and their wives, gave them breakfast, and presented the men with clothes and regalia and the women with dresses. In return, the sons gave horses to their fathers. After this exchange of gifts, the members frequently assembled to practise the newly acquired dance. The women never danced, but might take part in the singing. In dancing the Crazy Dogs jumped up with both feet and shook their rattles as an accompaniment to the drums. In a parade, the headdress-wearers took the lead, one marching behind the other; the sash-wearers had no fixed place.

Among the Mandan of Ruhptare Maximilian found that the Crazy ¹ Dogs performed the Hot dance. After a large fire had been built, a number of glowing embers were scattered about, and then the boys, stripped of all clothing, danced on them with their bare feet. The hands, forearms, and feet of the performers were colored red. Sliced meat was boiling in a kettle over the fire. When the meat had been well done, the dancers put their

¹ Maximilian writes: "Die kleinen Hunde, deren Namen man nicht kennt, führen ihn auf." The modifying clause makes it clear that he is referring to the first society of his series.

hands into the boiling water, took out some of the meat, and ate it at the risk of scalding themselves. Those coming last to the kettle had the worst of it, for they were obliged to dig down deeper into the water than their predecessors. During the dance the performers carried weapons and rattles in their hands.

I did not obtain any Mandan description of the Hot dance. My Hidatsa information is given on p. 253.

CROW SOCIETY.

Maximilian translates the name of the society Hä'derucha-O'chatä as "Crow, or Raven, band."¹ Its members were from 20 to 25 years old. Sometimes the younger men had not owned a society for half a year or longer. Then one of them went to a Hä'derucha and said to him, "Father, I am poor, but I wish to buy of you." If the father consented, the young men then received the raven feathers worn on the head by the members of the society, a double whistle formed of two goose wing bones fastened together, a drum, rattle, song, and dance. In this case, as in other societies, a head man decided whether the privileges sought by the younger men should be sold and he it was that the prospective buyers approached. Then a feast was prepared in the medicine lodge for forty nights, and the fathers were entertained at their sons' expense. Moreover, the purchasers surrendered their wives to the sellers every evening until the fathers were satisfied and abdicated their membership.

HALF-SHAVED HEADS.

My Mandan informants did not refer to this society (Ischohä-Kako-scho'chatä), though it was described by my Hidatsa friends (p. 272). According to Maximilian, the Hä'deruch-O'chatä bought the Half-Shaved Head dance from the Soldiers before they were old enough to become Soldiers. It is worth while to summarize Maximilian's detailed account of the purchase.

The buyers were to entertain the sellers for forty nights. On the first night the drum was beaten to call the negotiating parties to the medicine lodge. A fire was burning in the center, the women sat along the walls, while the white visitors and several noted Soldiers sat in front of the draught-

¹ Compare what is said above about the Hidatsa *hē'rerō'ka* society (p. 266).

screen. Along the wall to the left sat the remaining Soldiers, about twenty-five in number; while some were clad in fine garments, the majority dressed in ordinary clothes. Some exposed the upper part of the body. In the center three drummers seated themselves. The purchasers stood on the right side of the fire. They were expected to give valuable presents to the Soldiers, to feast them and furnish them with tobacco for forty nights, and every evening they were to offer them their wives. The sellers approached the lodge amidst singing and drumming, and entered with their regalia. These consisted of four lances, from 7 to 8 feet long, with an iron head pointing downwards. The shaft was wrapped with broad bands of otterskin, while pairs of otterskin strips were tied to the head and several other points on the lance. Two of the lances were hooked, the two others were straight. A fifth emblem consisted of a war club with iron point, which was colored red and was decorated with several feathers in the back. Further there were three lances, decorated alternately with black and white feathers, and a beautifully ornamented bow and quiver. At first, the Soldiers remained concealed behind the screen, and were merely holding these insignia so that they projected into the main space of the lodge. After standing in this position, singing and drumming violently, for a while, they entered, placed the lances against the wall, and stuck the war club into the ground, near one of the main pillars. Then they all took seats along the wall. While the singing and drumming was alternately renewed, the purchasers prepared their pipes, and handed them to each of the guests in turn, for which act they stooped, holding the mouthpiece towards the smokers. When the guests had taken a few puffs, the purchasers did likewise, and then carried the pipe in regular order, from right to left, to each of the sellers. This smoking consumed considerable time; each guest, during this part of the performance, was also presented with a little cake of sweet-corn. After about half an hour, two of the Soldiers rose and danced towards each other. One of them seized the war club, and held it stiffly in his left hand, while the right hung straight down. Bending the upper part of his body forward, he jumped stiffly into the air with both feet; keeping time with the music. The other dancer had fine decorations on his head and legs, and the upper part of his body was likewise exposed. He seized one of the otterskin lances, which he held, sloping, between his two hands, and both men then danced or hopped towards each other. After several minutes the second performer put the lance away, and took a seat, while all the other members gave the war whoop and gave vent to exclamations of joy, amidst vigorous beating of the drum. Then there was silence. The man with the war club addressed the buyers, calling them his "sons," and recounted several of his martial exploits, whereupon he handed them the war club. One of the

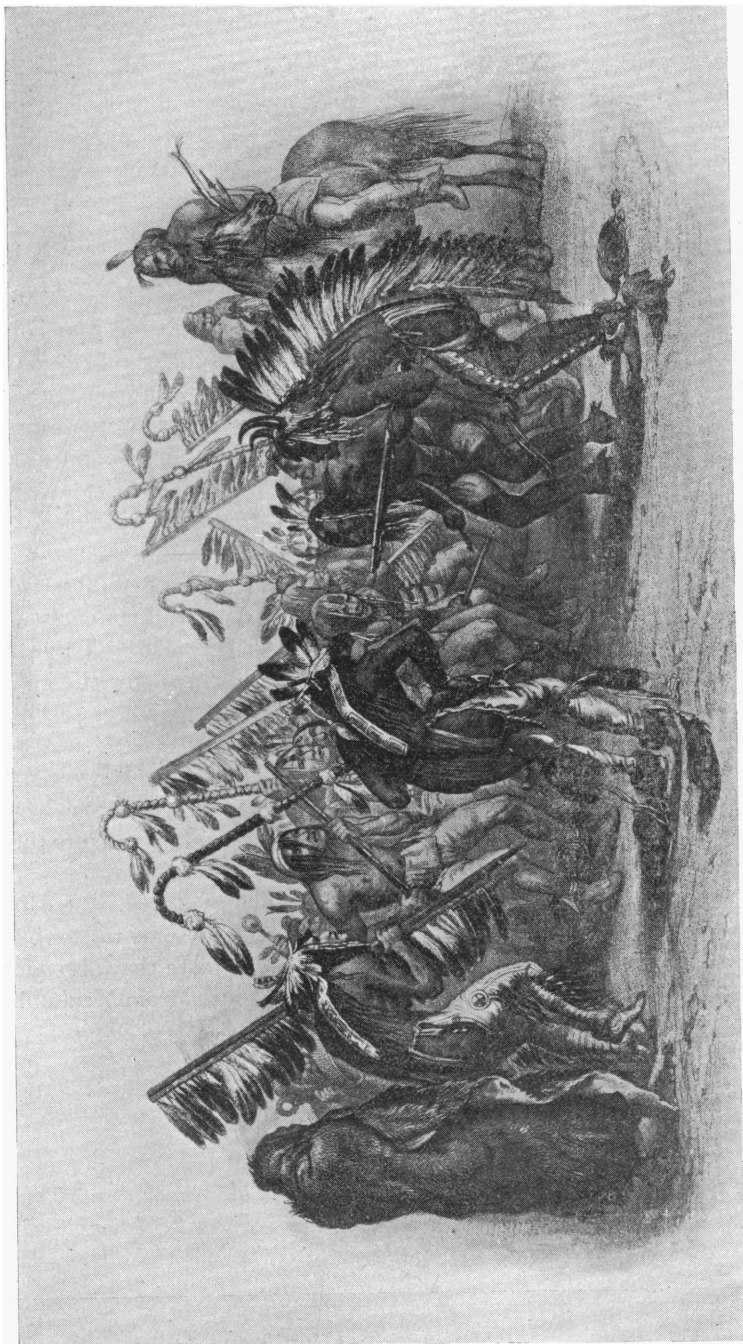


Fig. 11. Mandan Half-Shaved Head Dance. (Maximilian's Atlas.)

purchasers then called him his "father," stroked his arm downwards with his hand, took the weapon out of his hand, and again put it in its place. The other dancer followed, recounted some of his deeds, and offered the lance to one of the buyers, who received it in the same manner as his predecessor, and then put it in its place. The periods of intermission were filled with smoking, singing and drumming, but no rattles were used. Two other Soldiers also rose, told of how they had stolen horses, medicine bundles, or other possessions, from the enemy, and gave two more insignia to the purchasers. After this had been done four or five times, the wives of the buyers rose. Four of them divested themselves of their robes, quickly seized the lances, and carried them, one after another, outside the lodge. After a while they brought them in again. This ceremony was repeated twice, the disrobed women stroked the arms of the strangers and fathers, put on their robes, and passed outside. The persons stroked were expected to follow them into the woods. This procedure resembled that of the Hidatsa in their medicine festival.¹

Some time after the purchase Maximilian had occasion to observe the dance of the new Half-Shaved Heads. About twenty of them entered the Fort, threw off their robes so as to expose their gaily colored bodies, and formed a circle. They were elaborately decorated and carried the insignia of the dance, such as the otter-wrapped sticks. One man wore a bonnet with horns and ermine strips; another, mounted on horseback, was decorated with paint symbolizing the blood from wounds. Three Soldiers (= Black Mouths) served as musicians. As soon as the drum was beaten, the dancers protruded the upper part of their bodies, and leaped into the air with both feet, at the same time holding their guns ready for firing. Thus they danced in the circle for about a minute, then hallooed, rested for a while, and resumed their performance. After receiving some tobacco, they dispersed, put on their robes, and went to Ruptare, where they also danced among the Hidatsa.² A picture of the dance, reproduced from Maximilian's Atlas is shown in Fig. 11.

BLACK MOUTHS.

The native name of this society is *i'he psi'here o'xat'e*, or *numā'k xarā'k o'xat'e*. Maximilian calls the members of this society "Soldiers." They form the third society in his list, but he states that all the higher classes

¹ Maximilian, II, 274-277.

² Maximilian II, 286-287.

might belong to the Soldiers' class, as the police functions devolved on this society. However, it was necessary that all members should agree to sell; a single negative voice put a stop to the negotiations. Some individuals did not immediately consent to sell when requested in order to exact a greater amount of property from the buyers. The Prince enumerates the undertakings in which the Soldiers took an important part: changes of village sites, buffalo hunts, and other communal movements. More particularly, they took care lest anyone should prematurely startle buffalo herds. Anyone shooting a wolf or other animal at such a time was maltreated, even if he happened to be a chief, and deprived of his gun. In the 'thirties even white people living in the vicinity were subjected to the same rules. The Soldiers frequently forbade the cutting of trees near the Fort, and took away the woodcutters' axes.

Maximilian says that the Soldiers painted the upper part of the face red, and the lower black. Their whistle was made of a crane wing bone. Two pipes, to be smoked on special occasions, remained in the custody of as many pipe-bearers. A rattle was made from a little tin kettle — apparently the baking-powder cans referred to by my own informants — provided with a handle. Among the insignia there were two long, straight poles wrapped with otterskin and decorated with dependent owl feathers. In war these poles were planted in the ground, and must not be abandoned by their bearers. A corresponding regulation applied to one other pole decorated with raven feathers in the manner described and illustrated by Maximilian in connection with a Blackfoot society.¹

The following origin tradition was given by Wounded-face.² Long ago Good-fur-robe assembled the middle-aged men. To the leader he gave one cornstalk, and to the rear man another. "When the enemy chase you," he instructed them, "plant these in the ground and do not run away." Sometimes a cornstalk has five branches at the top. Later, a stick with a spear head was made to represent the cornstalks; owl wing-feathers were tied to its side, as well as crow or raven wing feathers and a raven head. It was wrapped with otterskin, and strips of skin were made to hang down from several points of the staff to represent leaves of the corn. There were two pipe-bearers and two rattlers, the latter taking places next to the spear-carriers, while the pipe men marched in the center. While dancing, the Black Mouths left their circle open at one side. The order in which they marched was: one spear officer, one rattler, the rank and file, the pipe-bearers, the rank and file, the second rattler, the second spear officer. The Black

¹ Maximilian, I, 578.

² Cf. Maximilian's version, referred to on p. 300.

Mouths were also called "Brave Men's society." They painted their faces black. The Goose women used the same paint, because their society was founded by the same man. When the time came for singing, the first rattler walked ahead and began to sing. Then the drummers took up the song. The next time the second rattler acted in the same manner. The raven-lance bearers had a special song and dance, during which they crossed each other's path.

One summer, when the society wished to give a performance because some Sioux were coming to fight, they stuck two tipi poles into the ground, and tied raven-lances to the top. One of the Soldiers cried, "Kā! Kā! Kā!" This was in imitation of crows. Then some other member went outside the lodge to see which one had cried. Returning, he said, "It is not a living raven, but the raven head on Skunk's lance." Skunk was a very brave man. The people said, "We will find out what this means." Then someone took the lances down, and returned them to their owners. Skunk said, "Hold on, my fellow-members, I wish to know the reason why my lance is singing." He got his associate to accompany him, and both lance officers then went through the village, singing this song:—

"kē'ka, nasarā'rōoca. mī' ō'watē'roc.

"Raven, you sing. I want to die.

"kika're e'henik, ō'ota."

"If you are afraid, go away."

The people hearing Skunk thought him braver than ever. They said to him, "This is your day, do what you wish best." The people encouraged Skunk. When the society started outdoors for a dance, Skunk took the lead, and again sang. A circle was formed. All the people came to watch the performance. Skunk once more sang his song. He danced alone, in a slanting line. These were the words of his song:—

"mīnukarité, nū'tamina'tare hū'miikāc. i'miinahēc."

"My friends, our enemies are numerous. I am used to it" [that is, to fight].

When the time came to fight, Skunk struck many coups. This is what the singing of the raven had indicated.

In addition to the police functions described by Maximilian, Wounded-face mentions a special duty devolving on the two pipe-bearers. When some villager wished to kill a fellow-tribesman, these officers filled up a pipe, and gave him presents in order to make him desist. Acceptance signified acquiescence in their wishes.

Water-chief became a Black Mouth, together with about twenty of his comrades, at thirty; generally, however, the members were older. They

feasted their fathers for twelve nights. My informant received a tin rattle, as his father had been one of the singers, but, having a bad voice, he gave it to another man who was a better singer. When the new members paraded about, the villagers called them by name, and said, "You Black Mouths, die soon, for you are the bravest of the societies." The members put black paint on the lower part of the face, and black stripes on the body. If a dog came near them during a parade, a Black Mouth who had shot an enemy was permitted symbolically to refer to his deed by shooting the dog.

BULL SOCIETY.

During their dance the members of the Bull organization (mēro'k ɕ'xat'e) wore, according to Maximilian, the upper part of the skin of a buffalo head with the horns and the long hairs of the neck. Two men, the bravest of all and pledged never to retreat from an enemy, wore together with the horns a complete representation of a buffalo head; this mask was provided with artificial eyeslits, surrounded by iron or tin rings. One woman attendant walked about during the dance, offering to the two mask-wearers water from a bowl. This woman was clad in a fine new suit of bighorn skin, and her face was painted with vermillion. The Bulls were the only society to use wooden whistles. They had a piece of red cloth fastened to the back, as well as the representation of a buffalo tail, and carried weapons in their hands. The two mask-wearers kept on the outside of the other dancers, and imitated the voice and actions of bulls, their shy wheeling over towards one side, their manner of looking about in all directions, etc. During the performance of the Bull dance witnessed by the Prince, there were nine dancers, who discharged their guns immediately on entering the Fort. Only one of them wore the complete buffalo head, the rest wore pieces of the skin of the forehead, a pair of cloth sashes, and an appendix decorated with feathers, which represented the tail; they carried shields decorated with red cloth, and long, beautifully ornamented lances.¹ A reproduction of Bodmer's drawing of the Bull dance in Maximilian's Atlas is presented in Fig. 12.

Wounded-face had heard that long ago a Mandan, who had a buffalo front leg in place of one arm, founded the Bull society. My informant said that only a few wore the piece of buffalo head skin with horns, some others merely dressed their hair in bunches in front. Still others covered their face with a mask, formed by fastening a tanned skin painted yellow over the

¹ Maximilian, II, 315.

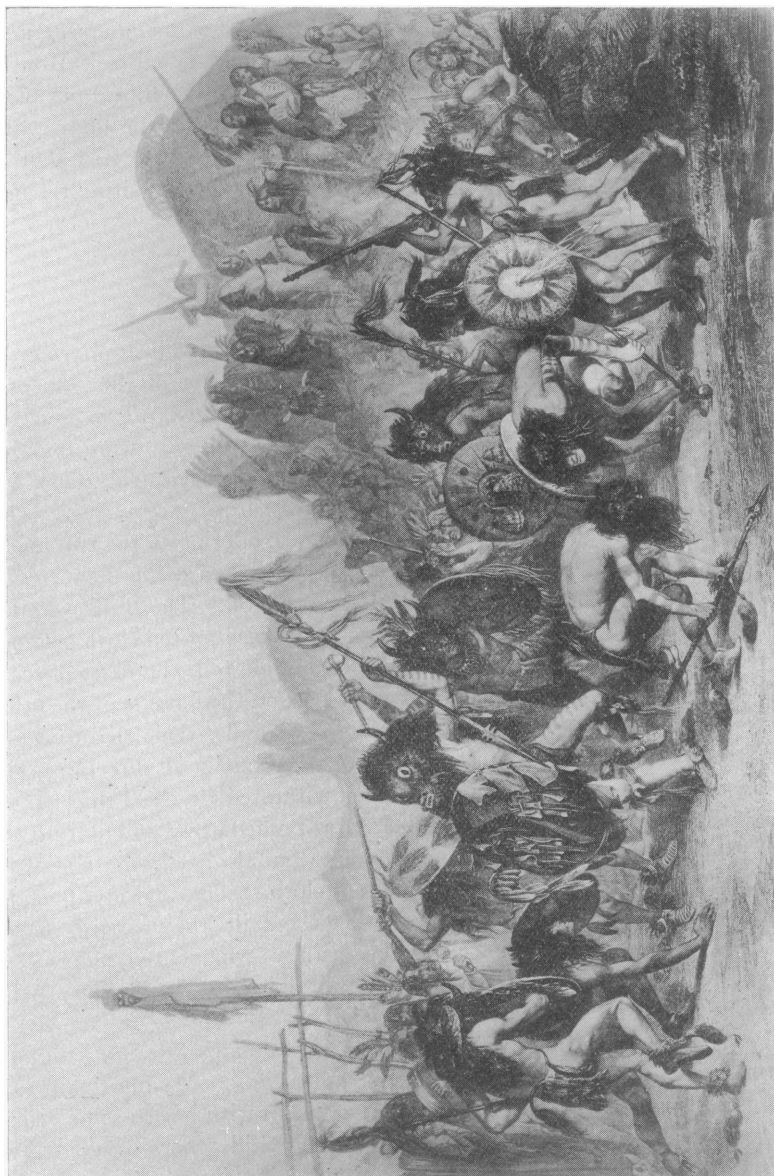


Fig. 12. Mandan Bull Dance. (Maximilian's Atlas.)

buffalo skin, the hair of which, however, was exposed from the wearer's forehead down to his chin. The spears carried were not very long, and the head pointed downwards. Shields rested on the left arm. Members who had struck enemies, carried guns; if they had used arrows to kill a foe, they carried arrows. Wounds received in battle were symbolized by red body paint. While dancing in the village, the Bulls jumped around. They pointed spears and guns at anyone approaching them, and thereby frightened young people. Those who had slain enemies enacted their martial deeds. For music they used a *large* drum.

Calf-woman remembered seeing six women known as "Bull women" at a Bull performance; they sat behind the men singers. A woman brought in water, but only such members as had saved a woman's life were permitted to drink of it. This informant also remembers one of the mask-wearers pretending to spear people, and frightening the children, jumping up with both legs, and stamping one foot at a time.

The Bull dance described by Boller was not connected with the Bull society, but formed part of the Okipe as is obvious from comparison with Maximilian's and Catlin's accounts of this ceremony.¹

DOG¹ SOCIETY.

Maximilian describes the emblem of the society as a stick a foot or a foot and a half in length, which was ornamented with blue and white beads, and to which a large number of animal hoofs were attached. To the front of the stick there was tied an eagle feather, to the lower extremity a piece of beaded leather. The members wore a large cap of colored cloth, to which were attached a great number of raven, magpie, and owl feathers, and which was further decorated with colored horsehair and weasel skins. Their whistle was large, and made from the wing bone of a swan. Three of them wore in the back sashes of red cloth similar to those of the Crazy Dog society. A bunch of owl, raven, or magpie feathers — and frequently a combination of all three — was attached to the head so as to hang down in the back. The three officers referred to were regarded as Real Dogs. People would throw a piece of meat into the ashes of a fire, or on the ground, and say, "You Dog, eat!" Then they were obliged to fall foul of it and to devour it like dogs or beasts of prey.

¹ Boller, 102-105; Maximilian, II, 174, 178; Catlin, I, 164 f.

² The native name is *mini's ȕ'xatoc*. What was said above (p. 306) as to the translation of the word *mini's* applies in this case also. The equivalence of the Hidatsa Dog society cannot be doubted, and Maximilian's rendering of the Mandan name supports this view.

A dance of the "Dog society" of Ruptare village that was witnessed by Bodmer is described by Maximilian. After a performance in their lodge, the members, twenty-seven or twenty-eight in number, advanced towards the Fort. Some were clad in beautiful robes or bighorn-skin shirts, others in red cloth shirts, or blue and red uniforms. Some exposed the upper part of their body, on which coups were indicated in reddish-brown paint. In this connection the Prince speaks of *four* Real Dogs, all wearing huge bonnets of raven or magpie feathers, tipped with small white plumes, while in the center there was a fan of the tail feathers of a wild turkey or eagle. Round the neck each of these officers wore a long strip of red cloth, which extended down the back as far as the calves and was knotted in the middle of the back. Two additional officers wore similarly colossal bonnets of yellowish owl feathers, with dark oblique stripes, and one had a large, horned war-bonnet with a feathered streamer hanging down in the back. All others were ornamented with a bunch of thickly-set raven, magpie, or owl feathers, which was considered emblematic of the society. All members wore long whistles, and carried in their left arm some weapon, while the hoof rattle was held in the right hand. A circle was formed. In the center there was a large drum, which was beaten by five poorly clad musicians; in addition to these men, who were seated, two drummers stood on the side, beating hand-drums. After whistling in their places in accompaniment to the rapid and violent beats of the drum, the Dogs suddenly began to dance, dropping their robes to the ground. Several of them danced in the middle of the circle, leaning their bodies forward, jumping up some distance with both feet and coming down firmly on the ground. The other Indians danced without any attention to orderly arrangement, crowding one another, turning their faces towards the circle, and occasionally joining in lowering the head and upper part of the body.¹

Wounded-face says that the rattle (wī'o oxerō're) consisted of a stick covered with buckskin, to which the hoofs of young buffalo were attached. There were two men with sashes, which were half green and half yellow, and which were decorated with feathers. The skin cap had magpie feathers tied to it in a large bunch, and a white plume was fastened to every feather. Two eagle feathers, together with owl feathers, were also used for a head ornament. A large whistle was suspended from a wide strip of skin decorated with quillwork. The body was painted red. All the members carried the hoof-rattles, and sometimes they beat a drum or a log with them. All the Dogs were portly old men, slow in their dancing. Wounded-face thinks the society originated with the Hidatsa.

¹ Maximilian, II, 309-311.

OLD DOG SOCIETY.¹

Maximilian, while not including this society in his list of age-classes, states that the Old Dog dance was one which the Dogs might buy of the Bulls before they were permitted to become Bulls. The Old Dog dancers painted their bodies white, and their hands red and black. They wore a grizzly skin round the body, and on the head feathers which hung down in the back.

Wounded-face knew nothing of the organization save the name. He had heard that they dressed similarly to the Dogs.

COARSE HAIR SOCIETY.

Wounded-face had only heard of this society (*bacā'ca ō'xat'e*) from his grandfather. There was something sacred about it. A young man going on the warpath promised the members to give them a dance provided he performed some brave deed in battle. When dancing, the members dressed up. On the head they placed a piece of scalp from a buffalo head of the size of a human scalp. Hair was attached to the scalp so as to hang over the members' faces. They put honor marks on their clothes. The left leggings were painted red up to the knee, and black marks were put round the lower legs as a sign that the wearer had struck many enemies. Leaders in war who had killed enemies tied human hair to the leggings. For each enemy struck in war, a member put one feather on his head. If he had been wounded by an arrow, the split feather from an arrow, dyed red, was worn on the head. A gun wound was indicated by a stick about 9 inches in length, and whittled at the lower end so that the shavings remained on the stick. The young warrior providing for the entertainment of the performers filled a pipe for them, and, if possible, presented them with horses or eagle feather bonnets. He asked them to pray for him. All the older men rejoiced in such a feast.

It is possible, but by no means certain, that this society corresponds to Maximilian's *As-Cho'h-O'chatä* (*Ascho'-O'chatä*). On the 23rd of December, 1833, a large number of Indians visited the Fort, led by fourteen members of this society from the village of Ruptare. The entire head was covered with a wig of long, flat braids of hair, which fell over the face, completely hiding it. Feathers of the owl, raven, and of birds of prey,

¹ *minis' xixō' ō'xat'e.*

each tipped with a thick white plume, adorned the head. One member carried a beautiful fan of white feathers, and wore on the head a complete swan's tail, each feather of which was decorated with dyed horsehair. The members wrapped themselves completely in their robes, and carried bow-lances trimmed with feathers, colored cloth, glass beads, and the like; most of them had fox skins attached to their heels. Several men beat a drum, while the rest formed a circle and imitated the sound of buffalo bulls. After they had danced for a while, the spectators threw a quantity of tobacco down for them, whereupon they departed for the village in the woods, taking off their wigs on the way. In another place, the Prince mentions rattles as well as drums, and states that the bow-lances were also decorated with bear guts.¹

BLACK-TAIL DEER SOCIETY.

All the old men above fifty were, according to Maximilian, members of the Black-Tail Deer organization (cu'psi õ'xat'e). Two female attendants cooked and served fresh water during a dance. All of the men wore a wreath of grizzly claws round the head, and displayed their honor marks in the form of feather head ornaments, braids of hair on arms and legs, scalps, painting, etc.

Wounded-face says that the organization originated on the Bad Creek, near the Heart River. One day two young men with arrows stayed on a high wooded hill by the Creek. They dug a deep pit, put sticks across, and covered them with grass. They wanted to snare some animals. One morning one of the men went towards the trap. As he drew close, he heard signs of a trapped animal. He was glad, looked inside, and saw that he had caught a large and very fat black-tail deer. He fitted an arrow to his bow, but the deer said, "Don't shoot me." "Why not?" "You are my son, you must not shoot me. Make a path for me to get out." The young man obeyed, and the buck got out. Then he said, "You are a young man, and I know what you desire: honor marks. I have the power to give them to you, but you have many other fathers, who will instruct you later." He stretched his legs, jumped away, and went some distance. Then he stretched his legs again, and sang a song. When his song was ended, he went towards a wooded hill. The young man knew there was a house there. It belonged to the Deer, and the door closed with a thud. The house was the Black-Tail lodge.

¹ Maximilian, II, 145f., 281f.

The young man returned to the village and told the people that he had caught and liberated a deer, but he did not tell them anything else. He waited for the good wishes of the Deer to come true. His father, whom he told about it, bade him fast. Accordingly, he went into the Deer's wood, fasting and crying for two nights. A boy came to him and said, "They are calling you." This boy led him into an earth-lodge, where the young man beheld many men sitting around. In the center were two girls, each carrying a pipe pointed towards the door. The Deer sat by the door of his lodge, and tobacco was heaped up before him. The stranger was asked to sit near his host, who thus addressed him: "Now, my son, I told you that you had a great many fathers. They wish to talk to you now." Then each old man said in turn, "My son, look at me, and see what honor marks I have on my clothes. These marks are yours." When he at last came to the Deer himself, he was addressed thus: "You see what honors we have given you. I will add one thing more. If you get wounded, no matter where, you shall not die from your wounds. You will get all the honors given by your fathers." Then the Deer asked the others, how long their son was to live. They allowed the girls to decide. The girls discussed the matter, and one of them said, "We want him to be very old and to die from old age in his sleep." All the men assented. The host then said, "My son, you see this society, but you must not found it immediately, wait until you are very old." The girls wore eagle plumes above the ears. All the men began to sing, and the young man learned every one of their songs. Finally, the Deer said, "When you wish to fight, paint your body yellow, put black on both arms as far as the elbow and also from the knees to the feet. Here [giving him his own black-tail necklace] is your necklace. If enemies get close, they will miss you, for your fathers were never wounded by arrows."

The young man returned to the village, and became a great warrior. When very old, he sent for men distinguished for martial deeds. They came, and he explained his vision to them. He told them he wished to found the society; all were willing to join, and learned the songs. Then he said, "We will get two girls loved by their fathers." They selected two such girls, and let them sit in the center, carrying pipes and wearing plumes on their heads.

When very young, Wounded-face saw a very old woman who had been one of the Black-Tail Deer girls.

BADGER SOCIETY.

This society was not mentioned by any of my Mandan friends, but was described by Wolf-chief as a Mandan (not an Hidatsa) institution. The members were old and but few in number. They did not dance, but assembled to go into a sweat lodge together, on which occasion they tried to fight like badgers and otherwise imitate these animals. In leaving the sweat lodge they always proceeded backwards. The sweat bath could never get too hot for them. Only those who had sold all other societies took part in these proceedings. Like other groups, however, the Badgers attempted to sell their membership. Some years ago a single Badger remained, and offered to sell his membership rights to my informant, who, however, refused to purchase them.

MANDAN AND HIDATSA WOMEN'S SOCIETIES.

According to Maximilian, the Mandan women were grouped in four age-societies, and the Hidatsa women in three. Beginning with the youngest, the Mandan had a Gun society (Eru'hpa-Mih-Ochatä), a River (Passan-Mih-Ochatä), Hay women (Chan-Mih-Ochatä), and White Buffalo (Ptihn-Tack-Ochatä) society. His Hidatsa societies, listed in the reverse order, are the Wild Goose (Bi'hda-Ächke), Enemy (Ma'h-Iha'h-Ächke), and Skunk (Cho'chkäiwi) societies.¹ Of these, the Hay society was not mentioned by any of my informants.² On the other hand, a Cheyenne Women society was said to have been introduced among the Mandan in recent times. The River and the Buffalo organizations are generally admitted to be Mandan societies of old standing, while the Enemy society is unanimously considered of Hidatsa origin. In recent times the tribal lines were not strictly drawn, so that Mandan women belonged to the Hidatsa Enemy society, and Hidatsa women bought the Mandan Buffalo membership.³ The case of the Skunk, Goose, and River societies is rather different, as there is evidence that each of these organizations existed independently in both tribes, though the Skunk society is said to be of Hidatsa, and the River society of Mandan origin, both by Maximilian and by native informants now living. As to the Goose society there is conflict of opinion. Maximilian lists it only among the Hidatsa organizations, while all of my informants are of opinion that it developed among the Mandan and was borrowed by the Hidatsa. Hides-and-eats specified that it originated in the Eastern Mandan village (Maximilian's Mih-Tutta-Hangkusch). Either alternative has interesting implications. If the Goose society originally belonged to the Mandan, then all the women's organizations of a sacred character are distinctive of that tribe. If, on the other hand the Goose women originally formed the highest of the Hidatsa organizations, it is worth noting that they were in later times subordinated to the Mandan White Buffalo women, there being general agreement as to the relative rank of the two organizations.

Matthews⁴ speaks of an Hidatsa Fox Women society of which I did

¹ Maximilian, II, 145, 219.

² Maximilian tells us only that they wore their best clothes when they danced and sang scalp songs.

³ This has also been noted by Matthews, 47.

⁴ Matthews, 155.

not even obtain the name. As his spelling of the words for "fox" and "skunk" is almost identical, I am sure that this similarity in sound misled him. His statement that members were from fifteen to twenty years old fits the facts of the Skunk society fairly well.

The mode of entrance into at least the majority of the organizations was evidently similar to that in the men's organizations, but though purchase of membership was collective, there are indications that sometimes age-mates of the buyers did not participate in the purchase. The Skunk and Gun societies are said by Hides-and-eats to have had no formal adoption whatsoever.

The ceremonial relationship between buyers and sellers has already been explained (see p. 226). Clan aunts became the buyers' mothers. If an Hidatsa buyer could not find a clan aunt in the sellers' group, the latter would appoint some member of another clan to act as aunt and mother for the occasion of the purchase (Buffalo-bird-woman, Hidatsa). When buying the Goose society, Buffalo-bird-woman had an aunt among the sellers, but as she was the sister of my informant's husband and lived in the same lodge, it did not seem proper to buy the membership from her. Sometimes several girls took food to the same clan aunt, who would thus become the mother of several buyers.

That membership meant primarily ownership through purchase seems clear from several statements. Thus, Young-beaver still regards herself both a Cheyenne and a Goose woman, and Hides-and-eats holds both the Goose and the White Buffalo membership, because these informants never sold their membership.

Three of the women's organizations — the River, Goose, and White Buffalo societies — are rather sharply separated from the others by their clearly sacred character and the cleansing ceremony that concludes their performances. The Goose and White Buffalo societies are associated with securing food through magico-religious means. It should be noted, however that in both cases the women acted under the direction of a male singer. Thus, Calf-woman declared that it was the privilege of the Goose women's singers, Wounded-face and Poor-wolf, to tell the tale of the society's origin. The Skunk, Gun, and Enemy Women societies were obviously associated with war. To what extent any of the women's organizations had developed the social factor, is not clear. Rev. Wilson learned that the Skunks occasionally prepared feasts for themselves and their "friends." If members of the other Hidatsa societies were sick and unable to do their own planting they would prepare a feast for their fellow-members, who would come and plant all the sick woman's garden for her.

SKUNK WOMEN SOCIETY.

According to Hides-and-eats, this society (Hidatsa: *xu'xke mī'ē i'ké*) differs from several of the others in not requiring an adoption for entrance. When the Mandan had killed an enemy in war and rejoiced over it, the young girls' parents painted them and bade them dance. The face was painted black with charcoal except for a triangular area tapering from the center of the forehead towards the nose, which was daubed with white clay. An eagle plume was stuck upright in the back of the head. There was a single male singer with a drum. A song referring to the enemy was worded as follows: "The man formed like a wolf that came must get back home. He must be sorry for it. He himself sits bent down."

Calf-woman, a younger but equally trustworthy source of information, confirmed Hides-and-eats' statements regarding the painting of the face, which was meant to suggest the appearance of skunks, and also with regard to the occasion for the public dance. On the other hand, she contradicted her as to the absence of adoption proceedings. According to Calf-woman, the privilege of membership in the Skunk society was acquired in the same way as in other women's organizations. For thirty days, or rather nights, the prospective Skunks, while learning the appropriate songs and dances, entertained those who sold their membership to them,—their "mothers." At the close of the thirty nights' feasts, the young girls piled up property as a payment for the acquisition of the society. In this they were assisted by the correlated Stone Hammer organization of the young men. In addition to this collective payment, each novice, on receiving the plume ornament, gave her "mother" a dress or robe, sometimes receiving in return an entire suit of clothes. Further, any one who could afford it presented her mother with horses. After this final gift, the newly adopted Skunks performed a four nights' dance, at the close of which their mothers addressed them as "daughters" and provided them with a good supper. In this society there was a leader and a rear officer; the former was always the oldest woman in the village. The Skunks requited the favor done by the Stone Hammers by helping the young men buy the next higher men's society. The Skunks were in the habit of going to a famous warrior and singing his praise outside the lodge in expectation of some gift from the man thus honored. In this way they would proceed from lodge to lodge. The other societies — with the exception of the Geese — *might* do the same, but with none of them was it an established practice as among the Skunks.

Buffalo-bird-woman, an Hidatsa informant, also stated that the Skunk society was bought like those of higher rank. The women of whom her

own group bought the organization are the group now holding the Goose membership. Her "mother" was Crow-woman, whom, previous to her adoption, she had addressed as *baca'wi*, "my aunt," a term of relationship applied to a father's sister or a father's sister's daughter. From the same woman my informant purchased, in later years, the privileges of the Grass Crown (= River Women) society and the Enemy Women society. Had her "mother" died before Buffalo-bird-woman's purchasing of membership in these organizations, she would have selected for her mother some woman in the sellers' group who happened to have no ceremonial daughter. According to Buffalo-bird-woman, the mothers were entertained for only ten nights and the "friends" of the Skunks participated in the feast. On the tenth night individual presents were given to the mothers. In return Buffalo-bird-woman received an eagle plume tied so as to hang down the back of the head. The mothers also presented their daughters with good clothes. For the fun of the thing two members of the Old Women society, which had aided in the purchase of the organization, joined the newly adopted Skunks in their four nights' dance. This informant limits the use of distinctive paint to the very small girls in the society. These painted their faces black, save for a white streak extending across the nose and the forehead, and occasionally prolonged as a band up the head and down the back of the head. The older girls painted as they pleased, but when an enemy had been killed all the members used black paint. There were one or two male singers, who used drums.

The difference of opinion between Hides-and-eats and other informants, as to whether the Skunk society was purchased or not, is perhaps explained by statements made by Buffalo-bird-woman to Rev. Wilson. According to her, many girls would not care to join in the purchase of the Skunk membership, but as there was nothing sacred about the society any of them might come and join later without pay if they so chose. She was then regarded as a full-fledged member and was entitled to part of the price paid by the next lower group when the society was sold to them. Even if a girl had not joined in this way, she was not barred from purchasing the next higher society.

ENEMY WOMEN SOCIETY.

In order to join this society (Hidatsa: *mā' ihā' mī'e i'ke'*) Hides-and-eats paid one blanket and two or three buckets of food. The performance of the organization was in commemoration of the warriors who had fallen in a recent engagement, and all the songs, chanted by four singers, were

victory songs. The dresses worn by members were furnished by their relatives. The hair was worn streaming loose down the back. A crier called all the women together. The members marched two abreast. Two long hooked poles were stuck into the ground by a man, and two such sticks were afterwards carried by the two leaders, and a similar pair by the two women in the rear of the procession. The poles were wrapped with otter-skin and decorated with eagle feathers. All the women wore a head band decorated with crossing eagle feathers and a bunch of feathers dyed red.

Hides-and-eats said that this society ought to be entered before the White Buffalo organization, but she joined after being a member of the latter.

Calf-woman joined this society at the age of 23. She described the dance as a victory dance. The performers went to the house of different warriors of distinction, danced there, and received presents (see p. 325). According to this informant, there were only two hooked sticks, one borne by the leader, and the other by the rear officer. Two little girls who stood in the middle had no badge of office. The members wore ordinary cloth head bands, with eagle feathers stuck in horizontally on the left side, just as in the head band of the River Women's society. The hair was parted in front and dressed like men's, being decorated with hair-pipes, with horn shells above, and still higher with a feather on either side. The dance was performed in four successive nights. Two of the eagle feathers on the pole depended from the end of the hooked section, and a pair of feathers was also attached at each of two points on the shaft. These poles exactly resembled those of the men's Fox society.

Buffalo-bird-woman says that all the members except two were married women, the two being small girls who were always supposed to be in the society. My informant herself was one of these, so that she was an Enemy even before entering the Skunk organization. When the Enemy Women society was sold by her associates, Buffalo-bird-woman was of the proper age to enter the Skunk society, which she did, being adopted by her aunt Red.¹ The Enemy Women society was a very old Hidatsa institution, but was not considered sacred. The dance took place originally as a jubilee over a slain enemy; in later times it was performed whenever some member, or outsider, provided a feast for the society. In dancing the performers approached the fireplace and then moved back again. There was no uniform step; some danced faster, others more slowly. A performance lasted four nights. Two leaders carried hooked sticks, the other members wore head bands. Sometimes the members marched out of their lodge, two

¹ Contradictory statements were made by the same informant in describing the Skunk society. See p. 326.

abreast, and walked through the village, halting at different places. They received gifts at each of the stopping-places. If they so desired, they might enter a men's society lodge and dance there. Five musicians were selected from among the best singers in "friendly" men's societies.

Before buying the society, Buffalo-bird-woman's group came in to watch their prospective mothers perform a dance. Thus, the two groups met, collectively, for the first time. The buyers accumulated property, which was piled up in a heap. Their male "friends" brought a pipe and placed it before the mothers, whose male "friends" smoked the pipe. On the next evening each daughter brought some food for her mother. This offering of food was repeated every evening until the fourth. Then the sellers dressed up a male "friend," who wore one of the head bands emblematic of the society and held the two hooked sticks in his hands. As the singers intoned a song, this man danced without moving from his place. Blankets, and other property, were then piled up by the buyers. The heap was supposed to equal the man's height. Accordingly, the sellers' "friends" repeatedly jumped on the pile to make it as low as possible and cause the surrender of additional property by the purchasers. The man with the hooked sticks continued dancing. When his body and head were no longer visible, the buyers departed and the mothers distributed the property. On the fifth night two little girls, about eight years old, were taken into the lodge, and dressed up in fine leggings and moccasins, skin dresses, and buffalo robes. They also received several belts, beaded necklaces, finger-rings and bracelets. Each of these girls was requested to remain in the center of the rear and told not to run away. Then they were divested of all their new clothes, finger-rings, leggings, other garments and ornaments, to the very skin. The girls were greatly embarrassed and sought to cover their nakedness, to run away and hide themselves, much to the amusement of the older women. On the tenth and last night, each buyer filled a pipe and carried some present to her mother's lodge. The mother had prepared a feast for her daughter, and also gave her fine clothes for a present. It happened at times that a woman had two or three daughters, each of whom had to be provided with a new suit. In such a case a woman called on one of her male "friends" to provide sufficient clothing, and this man was then entitled to a portion of the property given by the buyers to the sellers. On the same occasion each novice received her head band (*itawarū'wixē*). Rich "mothers" furnished elaborately decorated head bands. An eagle feather was placed on the left side of this crown, and below it five wing feathers of the *kawī'ka* bird¹ supported on a stretching-stick. The right

¹ The quills of the feathers were used to make quillwork.

side of the head band was decorated with plumes. The ordinary form of crown was of grass, more rarely of black cloth; two strings of horn shells and bead pendants were attached for decoration. A woman owning a white buffalo skin might wear a crown of this material.

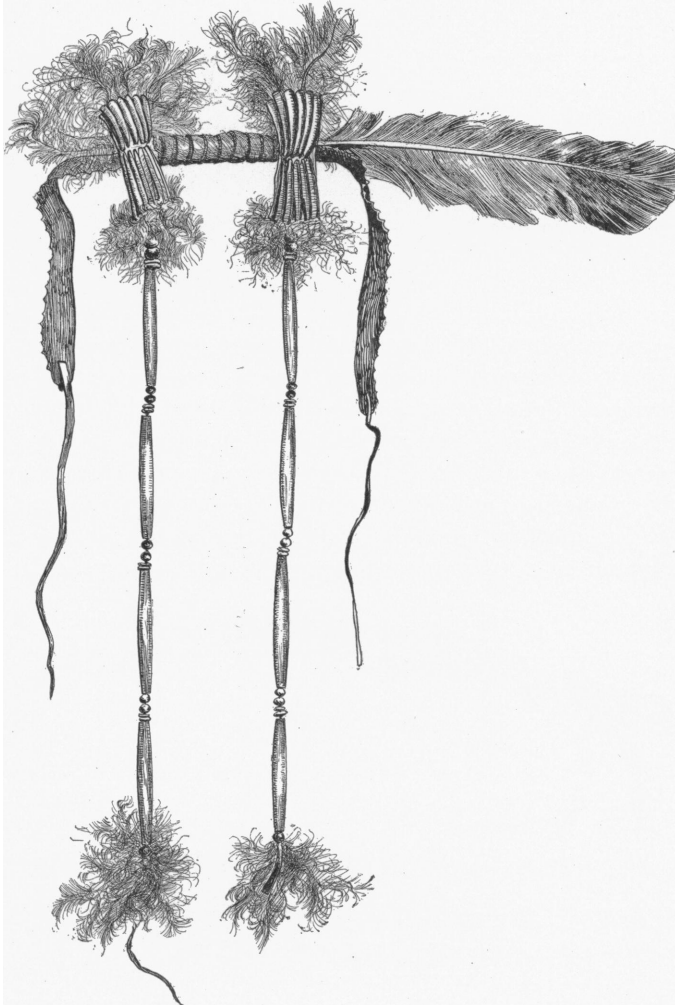


Fig. 13 (50.1-4330). Head Ornament of Enemy Women Society. Length, 57 cm.

[[Maximilian describes the headdress as consisting of pendent shells and glass beads secured to the forehead, with a feather extending crosswise. A model made by Calf-woman is shown in Fig. 13.

Hairy-coat said that the Enemy Women society was originated among the Hidatsa by Itsi'kawā'hiric, the mythical hero. This informant also sang the two following songs as belonging to the society:—

(a)

mī'racē'ruc	batsē'	wakī'rits,	hi'ro	hūts.
I myself	a man	I look for,	here	he comes.

(b)

Màkooxpā',	na'kirac	i'ru	mi	i'katā'ruc,	hiri'ts.
Woman friend,	your husband	fixedly (?)	me	he looks at,	he did it.

na'cirihitō'k?
Will you throw him away?

GOOSE SOCIETY.

Hides-and-eats joined the Goose society (mi'ra i'ke') when she was about 30 years of age. Calf-woman gives the same for the members' average age, though she herself joined at 13, there being two young girls in the organization. Hides-and-eats said there was always *one* young member; in her day it was Calf-woman. The Goose women would cast about for a girl well beloved by her parents, and when they found one tried to make the parents consent to her adoption into the society; thus Calf-woman was adopted, and her parents paid a large amount of property for the privilege. Calf-

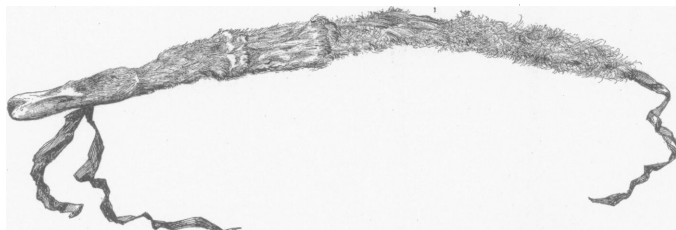


Fig. 14 (50.1-4360). Duckskin Head Band of Goose Society. Length, 54 cm.

woman herself said that she had been selected by Bells-look-round, one of the male singers, who also served as musician for the White Buffalo Women society. Calf-woman's father paid a great deal of calico and other property to the society. As a badge Calf-woman, as well as the other young member, received a head band of a duck skin with the bill (see Fig. 14), while the older members all wore narrow head bands of goose skin. The normal method of entering the society was for the entire River Women society to buy in a body the regalia and other appurtenances of the Goose society.

A mother who had thus surrendered her regalia no longer belonged to the society, her place being taken by her daughter. Hides-and-eats' group was the last to buy the Goose society, for the next lower group never applied for the purchase of the organization, so that Hides-and-eats still retains her headband. Accordingly, she still considers herself a member of the Goose society; she does not consider herself a member of any of the lower societies because she surrendered the privileges of membership to her adoptive children when these acquired membership in the usual way, by purchase.

Before the great ceremony of the society could be performed it was necessary that someone should have had a dream to that effect. Then the members prepared dried meat. Calf-woman says that in the winter some woman would always get up, saying, "In the spring, when the snow is off the ground, we are going to have a ceremony, we shall have to hang up offerings on posts." Then the necessary preparations were made. When the geese made their first appearance in the spring, meat was suspended from a tripod meat-rack set up on the borders of the village. When everything had been prepared, the members paraded through the village, halting four times on the way to the meat-rack. Each woman carried on her left arm an armful of sage enclosing an ear of corn. Calf-woman used to carry a pipe, as well as some dried meat and fat impaled on a cottontree branch. This pipe and the stick she afterwards placed before one of the singers, who lit the pipe, seized the dried meat, and returned it to Calf-woman. This was done four times. When the procession had arrived at the place of the meat-racks, the members performed one dance. Then there came from the village two representatives from each of the men's societies in their full regalia. These men were the bravest of their organization; they approached the meat, afoot or mounted (according to the nature of their martial exploits) and appropriated the dried meat, in place of which each warrior left one of his best blankets or a horse for the Goose woman who had prepared the food, i. e., the woman who took the initiative in getting up the ceremony. After the performance of the first dance, this woman distributed a great deal of meat to the spectators, who must remain on the west side of the lodge. After each of four dances this distribution took place. After the last dance those who had been newly adopted gave presents to their mothers. Then each new member took up her sage and corn, and raced at a dead run as fast as possible and back again. The woman who got back first would be instructed by the spirits as to the right way of living. The singer to whom Calf-woman offered the pipe and meat then turned his robe so that the hairy side faced outside, tied a red-fox skin round his head, took the pipe to the east, and touched with it whatever dried meat still remained.

Then this dried meat was appropriated by the mothers. When the runners had come back, they cleansed themselves by brushing themselves with sage. Then all returned to the village. There a sweat lodge was made. After all the women had entered the sweat house, the chief singer also went in, chanted, dipped some sagebrush into water, and sprinkled all the women with it. Next the mothers prepared food, and gave it to their daughters, whereupon a general feast followed.

While the two middle officers wore the duck-bill head bands, the leader and rear officer wore no distinctive badge. The members on the left side of the lodge painted their faces black between the mouth and chin, while those on the right side used blue paint. The musicians had drums, but no rattles.

The object of the ceremony was to make the corn grow. The geese and the corn were supposed to be one and the same thing.

Owl-woman's social career is well-nigh unique in that she never joined any organization until she was of mature age, when she entered the Goose society. She knew of only one other Mandan woman who had not joined other societies. When the River women collectively bought the Goose society, Owl-woman went along and purchased the membership with them. A candidate had to prepare a large quantity of dried beef for her mother, and also presented her with a horse. When receiving the bundle of sage with the corn, the novice paid her adopter another horse. According to Owl-woman, anyone, man, woman, or child, might volunteer to make an offering to the geese, and would then have to prepare the requisite food for the ceremony. The society marched out in regular order towards this person's lodge, the singers going ahead of the rest. The middle officer nearer to the Leader had her face painted blue from the mouth downwards, while her mate used black paint. The members halted and danced four times on the way. In entering, the rear officer went in first. One of the musicians smoked sage for incense near the central fireplace, and all members approached in order to scent their blankets. When all had taken their places, the person who had pledged the ceremony brought in the calico, or other property, to be presented as an offering, and also paid the incense-burner and his fellow-musicians. Then the singers began to sing for the dance. They sang four sets of four songs each, with an intermission between each set. After the dance, one of the singers took a stick, impaled some of the food on it, and offered it to the four quarters, finally throwing it into the fireplace. Before the commencement of the feast, the pledger went to the singers and induced them to utter a prayer in his behalf, asking for prosperity, victory in war, and the other good things of life. He also went about to the several members, and anyone owning personal medicines gave them to

the pledger. Then the pledger's property and food were distributed among the members, and a general feast followed in conclusion of the ceremony.

Young Beaver said that when she and her comrades bought the Goose society they assembled outside the village and erected a long meat-rack. Along this each member had a place allotted to her, where she could hang up the dried meat and fat prepared by her. Then they called their mothers, and presented them with the food suspended from the rack. In addition, those who could afford it gave their mothers a horse apiece, while the poorer ones made gifts of calico cloth. On receiving these presents each mother put some "black medicine" (a root) into her daughter's mouth. In the fall the members put up a similar rack. One man, the corn-singer had the power—acquired by purchase—of passing along the rack from end to end, touching each portion of meat and singing mystery songs. In the spring or autumn any man or woman might give a feast to the society and otherwise pay them to perform for the benefit of his or her cornfields. On such occasions the host rose and passed from one member to another, and any one that owned some medicine put a little into his mouth, at the same time praying to the Corn in his behalf:—

"tawīⁿ/hakehak', tē'ha hā'keharā makū'nista. nimā'mihe
 "This is my grandson, long life for me give him. Your blankets
 ī'wakise ki'ritkāksō'ore."¹
 I made for you.

The last part of this prayer refers to the custom of piling up all the corn in one place and covering it with calico as an offering to the Corn. Then some boy would run up, strike the calico as though it were an enemy, and snatch it away.

The two or three hand-drums employed by the society were, according to the same informant, painted with representations of goose tracks.

Yellow-hair said that the women who initiated her and her associates into the Goose society were the comrades of the surviving White Buffalo women of today. At the transfer of the membership privileges, which took place, as stated by other informants, close to the meat-rack previously set up, the mothers sang four times. During the intermission between the songs, the food was given to the sellers. The horses to be paid were tied in a near-by coulée. After the fourth time, all the novices rose, and approached their aunts, who were holding sagebrush in their arms. The buyers took the sage and paid calico for it. Then they also received their Goose society head bands. When this performance had been completed, the women went back to the village. On the following day the novices danced from morning

¹ This prayer is in Mandan.

till evening. The mothers came to the dance ground, and each one called her daughter to her lodge, feasted her, and presented her with a fine tanned robe and a sheepskin dress. Four days were spent in this way, then the new members stopped dancing. According to Yellow-hair, the Goose women were divided into two divisions, the members being distinguished by the use of white and dark head bands respectively, and having seats on opposite sides of the dance lodge. Each of the two young middle officers belonged to one of these divisions. Those wearing white head bands occupied the right-hand side for one entering the lodge, while the women with dark head bands sat on the left. One special officer, Calf-woman, served food to the Corn at every feast. She took a piece of meat and offered it to the Corn, saying, "You, Corn, eat this. I pray to you in order that the members of my society may live long."

In the winter preceding the attempt to purchase the Goose society made by Buffalo-bird-woman's group, Yellow-woman — possibly on account of a vision — desired to prepare a feast for the members of the Goose society. All the other members of her group assisted her by preparing some meat and fat. In the spring, when the geese came back from the east, the women set up a meat-rack. Then the woman whose prospective mother was leader of the Goose women hung up her meat, followed by the other women about to buy the society. Anyone that desired to give her mother a horse pledged herself to do so by fastening a stick to the meat. When the food had all been suspended, the men's societies were heard approaching. The Dogs came, blowing their whistles, and the Foolhardy Dogs, Foxes, and other organizations likewise appeared. The women cheered them in the manner termed *ī'rara'xke*, that is, by repeatedly pronouncing the syllable "la, la, la, la" with a rapid movement of the tongue. Each society appropriated one portion of side-ribs, leaving a blanket in its place. The buyers took pains to hide the best pieces of meat until after the men's societies had departed, in order to reserve them for their mothers. In the meantime the Goose women drummed and danced inside their lodge. The starter of the feast took a pipe and a piece of fat on a cottonwood stick, and ran all alone to the Goose society lodge. Each of the Goose women was holding in her left arm sagebrush about 5 feet long and wrapped round a long stick on which was impaled an ear of corn. The representative of the buyers placed the pipe before the singers. The pipe was smoked and returned, whereupon the delegate returned to the meat-rack. This procedure was repeated several times. All that day the buyers refrained from eating and drinking. The Goose women approached the meat-rack, halting several times and dancing each time. When they arrived at the place where the meat was suspended, they sat down in a circle and placed their sagebrush on the

ground. The buyers then presented them with portions of cooked meat. Each mother thereupon opened a little bag, took from it one seed of corn or squash, and gave it to her daughter. To distribute these seeds was a privilege of the Goose women. Buffalo-bird-woman and her comrades continued to distribute all the cooked food. In the meantime all the people had come to look at what was going on, but they were obliged to watch from the south and west side, the north and east side of the circle being considered sacred. The spectators also received a seed each. The mothers rose to dance. Only one man in the village, the Corn-singer (*kō'xati akupā'+i*), was permitted to sing. He wore a foxskin crown, and carried a pipe and a cottonwood stick with fat and leaves on it. He walked off towards the east. Then all the buyers went to their mothers, took the sagebrush out of their hands, and ran, as fast as possible, towards the Corn-singer, went past him, and returned to the Goose women who were performing their dance. This was done four times. The runners kept the sagebrush; for this they made a payment of horses, receiving as a return gift a new suit of clothes. Only Buffalo-bird-woman received a calf robe, with the hair outside, to be worn during the performance and returned after its close. According to my informant, the Hidatsa Goose society, though derived from the Mandan, differed from its prototype in that the members did not wear duck or gooseskin head bands, but merely carried sagebrush in their arms.¹ Towards the close of the ceremony the Corn-singer approached the rack, took off two of the best pieces, ceremonially brushed off all of the portions, and threw down whatever pieces he liked for his female relatives to pick up for him. When he had selected what he wished, the mothers came, appropriated the rest of the meat, and took it home. These proceedings were gone through for three seasons, and the fourth year the Goose society would have been definitely acquired by the buyers under normal conditions, but that year the Government put a stop to all the old dances.

An account of a Goose ceremony by one of the earlier travelers in the West may be appropriately reproduced here, since it is not generally accessible and confirms the statements of my own informants:

After the corn had all been gathered in, the Mandan and Minnetaree squaws made their Goose Medicine on the level prairie behind the village. This dance is to remind the wild geese, now beginning their southward flight, that they have had plenty of good food all summer, and to entreat their return in the spring, when the rains come and the green grass begins to grow.

¹ Maximilian, who lists the Goose society only as an Hidatsa organization, does not mention birdskin head bands, but merely states that the members wore a feather transversely across the forehead (II, 219).

The charms of most of the squaws in this "Goose Band" appeared to have faded long ago: they were evidently past the bloom of youth, and their voices and tempers had not improved in consequence. However, on this occasion they endeavored to look their best with the aid of paint and finery, in which respect they are not far behind their white sisters of more civilized climes. A row of poles resting upon forked sticks is put up, over which are hung in profusion pieces of fine, fat, dry meat, which have been carefully saved for this occasion. A band of four or five drummers take their seats close to one end, and a double row of squaws next to them facing each other. Each woman carried a bunch of long seedgrass, the favorite food of the wild goose, and at intervals all get up and dance in a circle with a peculiar shuffling step, singing and keeping time to the taps of the drum.

The spectators keep at a respectful distance and enjoy the fun, which consists in the attempts of some of the young men to steal the meat from the poles, in which however they are often thwarted by the vigilance of a few wise old "geese" who are constantly on the alert to prevent theft. If successful, the meat is carried off in great glee to some lodge, where they cook and eat it at their leisure. These exquisites are elaborately gotten up with bunches of raven plumes fluttering from their scalp-locks, and stripes of white and yellow clay upon their bodies, comprise their only covering.

Finally, one of the old men (who have been thumping assiduously on the drums all the while) takes his place a few hundred yards off on the prairie, and a grand race by the whole goose band follows. All form in line together, and run around the old gander before returning to the starting point.

The race over, the scaffolds are taken down, a feast prepared, and the meat remaining on hand cooked and eaten. For the rest of the day the band danced around among the different lodges, and of course paid a visit to the fort before concluding. On these occasions a few yards of calico or some trifling gifts are always expected to be thrown to the "Medicine" by the traders.¹

It is probable that the Hidatsa and Mandan had several corn ceremonies distinct from one another and from the performances of the Goose society. Catlin describes a green-corn ceremony involving a dance of four men with corn stalks round a kettle with boiling green corn, followed by the ceremonial friction of new fire, but his account has been discredited by Matthews.² An Hidatsa ceremony performed in honor of the mythical Old-woman-who-never-dies, for the purpose of securing abundant corn crops is described by Mr. Curtis.³ The corn singer figures prominently in this account but nothing is said of a women's society. However, we are told that those were invited to participate whose medicines consisted of various birds supposed to be children of Old-woman-who-never-dies and therefore peculiarly appropriate to the occasion.⁴ Say describes a corn dance in which women play an important part, but does not identify them with any particular society:

¹ Boller, 147-149.

² Catlin, I, 188-190; Matthews, 47.

³ Curtis, IV, 148-152.

⁴ Ibid, 150.

Amongst the Minnetarees, is a ceremony called the corn dance; which, however, has but little claim to the title of a dance. Notice being given of this ceremony, by the village criers, the squaws repair to the medicine lodge, in which the magi are seated, performing their incantations, carrying with them a portion of each kind of seed which they respectively intend to plant the ensuing season; as an ear of maize, some pumpkin, water-melon, or tobacco-seed. These are attached to the end of small sticks, which are stuck in the ground, so as to form a right line in front of the magi. The squaws then strip themselves entirely of their garments, and take their seats before the spectators. The magi then throw themselves into a violent agitation, singing, leaping about, pointing to the sky, the earth, the sun, and the north star, successively. After these paroxysms have subsided, the squaws arise; and each one taking her respective sticks, holds them up with extended arms.

One of the magi being provided with a large bunch of a species of bitter herb, dips it in a vessel of water, and sprinkles copiously the seeds and persons of the squaws, with much grotesque gesticulation. This concludes the ceremony; when the seeds are supposed to be fertilized, and to be capable of communicating their fertility to any quantity of their kind.

The women then assume their clothing, and return home, being careful to deposit the fertilized seed with their stock; after which they may proceed to planting as soon as they please.¹

Finally, Maximilian has described a corn dance common to both Mandan and Hidatsa. Though he mentions the Hidatsa Goose society, he does not connect it with the corn ceremony, which is described in an entirely different connection as one of the principal tribal ceremonies, after the Okipe and the buffalo-calling ceremony. Maximilian distinguishes a spring and an autumn ceremony. The spring festival was a consecration of the plants to be sown, which were symbolized by certain birds sent by Old-woman-who-never-dies, the wild goose representing the corn; the swan, squashes; and the duck, beans. A great deal of dried meat had been prepared and was suspended from racks in from two to four rows as an offering to Old-Woman-who-never-dies. The elderly women of the tribe, as representatives of this deity, assembled near these racks on a specified date all of them carrying a stick on which a corn cob was impaled. They sat down in a circle, planted the sticks into the ground, danced round the racks, and again took up the sticks, while some old men were beating drums and shaking their rattles. Contrary to Say's statement, Maximilian holds that the corn was not sprinkled or moistened, for this was regarded as producing a harmful effect on it. While the older women were busy with their performance, the younger ones approached them and put into their mouths some dried and pulverized meat, each receiving in return a seed of the consecrated corn. In addition three or four seeds were placed into each younger woman's bowl, and afterwards these were carefully mixed with the corn

¹ James, II, 58-60.

sown in order to enhance its fertility. The food on the rack fell to the old women's share because they represented Old-woman-who-never-dies, but frequently some members of the Dog society appeared and appropriated large portions of the meat (see p. 288).

The autumn ceremony was celebrated in order to attract the buffalo herds. Then the women performers did not carry corncobs on sticks, but entire corn plants. Both the corn and the birds symbolizing the plants were called by the name of the female deity, and addressed in prayer as the women's mother. They were requested to pity the suppliants, to postpone a severe cold, and prevent the game from moving away lest the people should be in want of food. When the birds in question began their migration southward, or, as the Indians believed, returned to Old-woman-who-never-dies, they were supposed to take with them gifts suspended for that deity outside the village, — more particularly the dried meat, which Old-woman was believed to eat herself. Some poor women unable to make other offerings would wrap up and suspend the foot of a buffalo, but these gifts were even more acceptable to the deity than any of the others.¹

While it is impossible to speak with assurance on this point, we can readily understand how the Goose society might have become secondarily associated with a corn ceremony when we recollect the identification of the wild geese with corn and Old-woman-who-never-dies.

It is evident that the Goose society is of a distinctly more religious character than either the Skunk or the Enemy society. According to Buffalo-bird-woman, the Goose ceremony shared a feature with the ceremonies of two other sacred women's societies of the Mandan, viz. a final brushing-off of the performers to divest them of their sacred character (see pp. 343, 344). My informant added that there are worms in the corn and that these might have got into the performers' bodies unless they had been brushed off.

OLD WOMEN SOCIETY.

The Old Women society (kā'ru parū'wa+î'ri) is said to have been an Hidatsa institution, and Buffalo-bird-woman was the only informant that described it in this connection. Though she mentioned it in the same breath with the other women's societies and explained how it helped "friendly" groups, it was clearly one of the totally different unions of people performing sacred bundle ceremonies. It seems that membership was

¹ Maximilian, II, 182-184.

secured by Buffalo-bird-woman's father, and that she herself and her brothers bought it of their father, whence she derives the right to tell about the society.

There were about twenty women in the organization. All of them painted a red oval on both cheeks, sometimes adding a red oval on the forehead; they also put red paint on the shoulders of their dresses. Each carried in her right arm a stick of ashwood, about $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet in length, to the top of which had been fastened a small bunch of sagebrush. The stick was painted red. The women carried their robes rolled up under the left arm. When dancing, they rested the sticks on the ground, and worked their right arms back and forth. A male singer had braided sweetgrass¹ hanging down from his shoulder; his robe, which he used as a drum, he carried like the women. His drumstick was painted red. When enemies had been killed, the society proceeded to the house of a man who had struck an enemy. The singer called out the hero's name and the nature of his exploit. Then all the women danced. In this way they proceeded from lodge to lodge, receiving valuable presents from the persons eulogized. This dance was only performed when an enemy had been killed. The society also met when Small-ankle, the informant's father, performed a sacred ceremony. In this case the ground was cleansed and consecrated. The women leaned on their sticks, panting, pretending great fatigue, and uttering such sentences as, "I have come from the mountains," or "I come from the north." Buffalo-bird-woman, when small, believed that these women were spirits. They danced in the lodge. Small-ankle gave each performer a tanned robe and some other present, such as a gun. Then they danced back towards the door, and rushed out. One of them, a berdache (mfa'ti) jumped up and tore down some meat suspended in the lodge before dashing outside. As soon as the members were outdoors, they acted as though demented, dropping their blankets and straying off in all directions. After a while they regained possession of their senses, and picked up the discarded garments. Once one of the women did not return before the next morning, but wandered off into the mountains, led by a sacred spirit-woman (mā'xupa mī'ε).²

¹ This, my informant had heard, once turned into a bull-snake.

² A more complete account of the society was secured from Wolf-chief and shows clearly that it must not be classed with the other women's societies. Buffalo-bird-woman's brief statement is presented here simply because of her insistence that the Old Women aided their "friends" among the other societies and in that sense belonged with them.

GUN SOCIETY.

Hides-and-eats says that in the Gun society (Mandan: *ī'rupe ō'xat'e*) there was no adoption. Three men who had guns for their personal medicine went round the village, selecting young girls for the dance. The girls combed their hair loose, stuck feathers in the back like the Skunks,¹ put on their beaded belts and mountain-sheep dresses, and entered an earth-lodge, where they ranged themselves in the arc of a circle. The three men were seated between the fire and the screen between the two main poles facing the door; they were the singers and drummers. The girls danced up and down in their places, seating themselves when a song ended and rising to dance when a new one was intoned. At the close of each song one of the three men expressed the following prayer: "My sacred gun, I pray to you, I wish to conquer my enemies." One of the men rose, impaled food on a stick, and cast it into the fire as an offering to the guns. After a prayer, food that had been previously prepared was distributed among the members. This food must all be eaten on the spot; it was not permissible to take any of it away. At the close of the performance sweetgrass was placed on a potsherd with some charcoal and burnt for incense. One of the men went round with the sherd, beginning at the right side of the door, and smoked each member in turn.

Sometimes the dance was performed, not in an earth-lodge, but outdoors in the village. The Gun women danced only during one month in the summertime. The next year the three men selected other young girls or young married women for the performance.² The object of the ceremony was to prevent the recurrence of losses from the enemy.

From the statements quoted it appears doubtful whether the Gun "society" was really a society, though the same term *ō'xat'e* is applied to it as to the other organizations.

RIVER WOMEN SOCIETY.

The River Women society (*pasa'mī'he ō'xat'e*) is called "Grass Crown society" (*mikā'kikii*) by the Hidatsa.

The following origin legend had been heard by Hides-and-eats:

¹ Maximilian says they wore eagle plumes.

² Big-cloud, Bull-horn, and White-young-bear are said to have reorganized this society before the time of the smallpox.

Once the Mandan lived underground. A small mouse went about and discovered a little hole in the ground, through which he crawled up and thus came to see the surface of the earth. He liked the light and the grass. He returned, and told his people about it. They said to Fox, "You are small enough to get up through the hole." So Fox went up. He got to the ground, looked about, and found everything good there. He liked it, and told the three chiefs¹ and their sister. The hole was still too small, so the Elk was called. "You have wide horns, make a little passage for us to get through." The Elk did as he was bidden, got above ground, and enjoyed the sight. He returned, and told them how good the country above was. Then the youngest of the three brothers went up through the opening, and found plenty of buffalo and elk. He hunted them, killed a buffalo and took the sinew and paunch, which he gave to his brothers on his return. They were very glad to get sinew, for underground they had been obliged to use sunflower threads for cordage. All the people wished to go above ground. They went to the hole, and found a vine passing from their country to the earth. The chiefs climbed up first on the vine. They found an abundance of game, and camped near the hole. The people went up, one after another, until a pregnant woman tried to climb up and broke the vine. It was impossible to readjust the vine, so those behind the woman were obliged to remain below. The chiefs' sister had forgotten to take along her elk robe, and called down for it to her mother, who was still underground at the time when the vine broke. But the woman answered, "You cannot get it now; however, you will find one just like it above. When you die, you will come back, and then you will be able to get your elk robe again." The girl, accordingly, got a new elk robe above ground just like the one left behind. It was tanned soft, without the hair on, and painted black on one side; fleshed bluebirds were attached to it. This robe was passed from heir to heir until the time of the Ft. Berthold settlement, where Moves-slowly, a Corn-singer, kept it by his shrine.

The Mandan ascended the River and built their villages. They came to a big clay hill named Bare-Hill, where no grass grew. Near this hill they built one village. A young man went up the hill in order to get a vision. On a high hill, on the opposite bank of the Missouri, he saw many women dancing. Every time he went up the hill he saw the same vision, but each time the women got closer. The fourth time they came closer still, they came across the Missouri. When they approached the man, he saw how they were dressed. They were all mysterious beings. At the same time, some women just like them rose from the Bare-Hill itself, and began to dance. They wore crowns of live snakes,² whose necks were striped with different colors. Their heads were on the left side of the dancers, the tails on the right. The visionary was also able to hear the mysterious women's songs. In accordance with this vision he started the River Women society. In the place of the snake crowns, he took blue-grass about three feet long and from a triple braid of this material he made the head band emblematic of the organization (Fig. 15). Into the left side of the head band he stuck in obliquely the tail feather of an eagle. The ends of the crown were tied in the middle of the forehead. Kínumakci came to the visionary, and was

¹ The skulls of these three chiefs, according to Hides-and-eats, were still kept by Poor-wolf at the time of my visit. Cf. Maximilian (II, 161): "Noch gegenwärtig heben die Mandans in ihrer Medicine-Tasche oder Beutel 3 heilige Schädel auf, von welchen der eine der des genannten Chefs und die anderen die dessen Bruders und Schwester seyn sollen."

² Garter-snakes, according to one informant; according to another, brown snakes about 3 feet long, which the Indians call "grass-eaters."

delighted. He said, "I like this society. I wish to add something to your feather." Then he broke off some (unidentified) grass, and tied it to the feather. In the dance these feathers were meant to shake. K'numakci said, "I will give you one of my songs." And he gave the man a song quite different from other songs. When K'numakci had done singing, the visionary told the women whom he had organized



Fig. 15 (50.1-4329). River Society Head Ornament. Length, 61 cm.

to take their head bands, untie them, smooth them out, and put them down on the ground. The women obeyed, and the head bands turned into snakes and crawled away. From that time on the society was kept up.

Two-chiefs adds to the account as just given that several other beings made contributions to the dance regalia. The eagle feathers were distributed among the original dancers by the Eagle. The Bear gave them his claws to be strung for a necklace. The Mink allowed them to use his skin and claws: the two leaders and the two rear officers were to wear mink-claw necklaces, while the four middle officers were to wear a minkskin necklace, to which were attached bluish shells.¹ The organizer of the society selected four male singers and picked out for membership a number of women ranging in age from twenty to thirty. Calf-woman substitutes the mythical character I'tsi'kawa'herec² for Ki'numakci, and the Otter for the Mink.

One day Hides-and-eats was called by her friends to attend a meeting. This was shortly after the time of the smallpox. Very few of the River women had survived the epidemic; all of them had been very old women, about Hides-and-eats' present age. The young women called the survivors, heaped up property before them, and expressed their desire to purchase the society. The older group consented to sell. In this instance the sellers for some obscure reason were not considered the purchasers' mothers. Hides-and-eats and her comrades remained in this society for ten years. Then

¹ Two-chiefs gives twice the number of officers fixed by Hides-and-eats.

² This is probably the Hidatsa equivalent for Ki'numakci.

younger women called them and offered them property. "Then we adopted them and called them our daughters." Sometimes it happened that a single individual wished to join. In such a case she might buy a head band from a father's sister and become an additional member without replacing anyone. This, however, was not the regular way of entering the society.

In Hides-and-eats' time, there were two male head-singers, who called in five young men and taught them to sing, for which they received a compensation and were called "fathers" by the young men. From another statement by the same authority it would appear that the five men bought the right of singing and drumming from their predecessors in very much the same way as the young women bought the right to membership.

The officers of the society included a leader wearing a necklace of bear claws attached to otterskin; a rear officer with the same badge; and two middle officers with a loose-fitting white-shell necklace hanging down a few inches below the neck in front. There was one special member who surrendered to the society her earth-lodge to dance in; in Hides-and-eats' time this member's name was One-corn-seed. Calf-woman, who was one of the officers wearing a shell necklace, kept the dance-lodge, because her parents loved her dearly and never refused her anything. The ceremonial dance lasted four nights, the actual dancing beginning before sunset. The members were expected to remain in the earth-lodge during these four nights.¹ Some women, however, would clandestinely absent themselves and go home. As soon as the other members discovered their absence, they went to the woman's house, and sang outside, "Our friend, get up and come out here again." The drummers beat their drums, and the members, if necessary, seized the truant and brought her back to the dance lodge by force. The close of the performance was marked by a cleansing ceremony. The musicians tied together peppermint (?) stalks, and with these they brushed the members' bodies, from the shoulders down. The object of this was to remove the mysterious (xo'pinic) properties with which the members were endowed while dancing. In Calf-woman's time only one man, Bad-shirt performed this ceremony; he was paid with calico goods and food. Painted-up said the brusher was the singer of the Bird ceremony. The ceremonial cleansing took place only after the performances of the three *sacred* women's societies, that is, the River women, Goose women and White Buffalo women organizations.

Two-chiefs said that during the four nights' performance the head bands were suspended from a rawhide rope passing round the earth-lodge, and

¹ That is to say, they were not to sleep with their husbands. But if any member had a little child at home, she might go there to attend to its wants. In this case she was brought back to the lodge before daybreak.

members were expected to sleep below these headdresses. During part of the dance the women wearing bearclaw necklaces, (that is, the leaders and rear officers) performed alone, and were then supposed to present gifts to their own aunts or uncles. The middle officers also performed when a special song was sung, and they were expected to make a similar distribution of gifts. At the conclusion of the whole ceremony, the members sat down in a circle and placed their crowns in front of them. A man whose personal medicine was the Eagle or the Thunder was summoned to purge first the headdresses, and then the women themselves. Then, after the removal of the eagle feathers, which were saved for another occasion, the head bands were taken to the outskirts of the village, and abandoned there.

Buffalo-bird-woman gave the following account of the purchase of the River Women, or, as she called it, Grass Crown, society. Her statements, she said, also applied to the Skunk society. A male "friend" led the procession of purchasers, carrying a pipe¹ to the lodge of the sellers. The girls or women pretended to weep in feigned expectation of the possibility that their offer to buy the society might be declined by their mothers. On the first evening they merely stated their request, saying "Mothers, we desire to get this society, we do not know how to get it." As soon as the mothers had consented to give up their society, they pretended to cry, saying, "We have lost our songs." Then there followed ten nights during which the "mothers" were entertained by the purchasers. On the first of these nights the aunts² danced four times, whereupon each buyer brought a kettleful of food to her aunt. This was repeated every following night. On the tenth night, each daughter gave a special present to her mother and put a pipe before her, which was smoked, as before, by a male friend, and then returned. On the next evening each mother called her daughter to her own lodge and gave her a new suit of clothes, including head band, dress, and robe. It is not clear whether it was on this or another occasion that the mothers served food for their daughters, the statement being that this took place after the first dance by the new Grass Crown women. If two or three candidates had the same woman for their mother, the latter was not a real aunt of all of them. If the mother, in such a case was an officer, only one of her daughters received the office. When Buffalo-bird-woman bought the society, there were four women having a joint mother, who had considerable difficulty in getting together the requisite amount of clothing for the four novices. The officers were not selected. It depended merely on the novice's mother whether a novice became an officer. If the mother

¹ This pipe was smoked by a male "friend" of the sellers.

² See p. 227.

happened to be an officer, her badge and office were simply transferred to the purchaser.

The Hidatsa derived this society from the Mandan, but did not consider it so sacred as the Mandan did. Thus, as stated above, the Mandan rule was that women must not sleep with their husbands but must remain in the dance lodge during the four nights of the dance. Among the Hidatsa only the unmarried members regularly stayed in the dance lodge overnight. The married women went home, unless their husbands consented to let them follow the Mandan regulation.

Although Buffalo-bird-woman denied that the dance was regarded as sacred by her people, two features seem to have a religious character. In the first place, the annual performance took place after someone having had a dream to that effect had given a feast to the organization. Secondly, the performance closed with the ceremonial sweating and cleansing. The women took off their grass head bands, removed the feathers from them, piled up the crowns on the top of the sweat lodge, and went in to sweat, a few at a time. Then a man approached, holding in his hand some sage-brush with which he brushed off the sweat lodge, singing a song. All the women rose and faced him, and he brushed off the women, one by one, singing a song for each member. This power, my informant imagined, had been acquired by purchase.

CHEYENNE¹ WOMEN SOCIETY.

Young-beaver who had entered the River Women society when not quite 20, bought the Cheyenne Women membership, with some thirty of her comrades, at the age of a little over 30. She still considers herself a member of the Cheyenne Women society.

The name of this organization (cō'ota mī ō'xat'e) indicates the source from which it is said to have been derived by the Mandan. Buffalo-bird-woman said that she first heard of the society about 56 years ago (1911), and that she joined as the only Hidatsa woman, her father having been asked for his consent. Any member who chose might assume men's garb. Some dressed like the Dakota, tying their front braids with otterskin, while others affected the long switches of the Crow. From two to four male singers were also chosen. At a dance of the organization a man carrying an eagle feather fan acted as leader, followed by the women in single file. At the intonation of a certain song, the leader held his fan close to his face,

¹ One interpreter translated the native word "Sioux."

and turned about. The women also faced about. Then all advanced with a kind of shuffling movement the right and the left foot alternately, without moving from their places. The musicians, who carried drums, remained in the rear. All the women painted their faces and wore feathers in the back of the head in imitation of men. They formed a circle, and danced forward. A few women cut out strips of rawhide, decorated them with beads, and placed them on their heads as though they were horns. This is said to have been in imitation of the Cheyenne women. Some young men used to watch from the roofs of their lodges. Each member selected one of these men to dance with her. After a while his relatives brought calico and other goods for his partner in order to ransom him and absolve him from the necessity of continuing to dance with her.

In purchasing the society, the aunts or mothers presented dresses to their nieces or daughters while they received horses in return.

WHITE BUFFALO COW SOCIETY.

The White Buffalo Cow society (pti'take ō'xat'e) was the highest of the women's societies known to the Mandan and Hidatsa, the Old Women's organization (p. 338) really belonging to another category.

Maximilian says that the members painted one eye any color they pleased (most generally azure) and had black tattoo marks between lips and chin. Their headdress consisted of a broad strip of white buffalo cowhide worn in hussar-cap fashion and topped with a bunch of feathers.¹ In Maximilian's day each Mandan village had its own White Buffalo organization, and he had occasion to observe the performances of both. In the performance of the Mih-Tutta-Hangkusch society, seventeen, for the most part elderly, women and two men with rattles and drums took part; one of the men was holding a gun in his hand. The leader was an elderly woman wrapped in the skin of a white buffalo cow. In her right arm she carried cornucopia-fashion a bundle of twigs, tipped with plumes, with an eagle wing and a tin drinking vessel secured to the grip. Another woman also carried a bundle of this type. The men wore no headdresses. Of the women, two had skunk-skin head bands, the rest wore headdresses of white buffalo skin decorated in front with owl or raven feathers, which were partly dyed red. All women had the same face paint,—vermilion on the left cheek and eye, with two blue spots on the opposite temple, close to the right eye. The leader was wrapped in the skin of a white buffalo cow. All the others except two, who

¹ Maximilian, II, 145-146.

wore robes with the hairy side out, wore painted women's robes. They formed a circle, the men began to sing, and the women danced, taking up the tune at the same time. They waddled like ducks from side to side, raising each foot alternately higher than the other, but not moving from their position. After a while there was an intermission, which was again followed by a dance. Only the older members had the tattoo marks between mouth and chin that were distinctive of the society. When Maximilian saw the society from Ruptare perform, there were three male musicians, who also wore white buffalo skin headdresses, and none of the women carried bundles of twigs. Otherwise the equipment was the same as in the other dance.¹

An illustration of the dance of this society, reproduced from Maximilian's Atlas, is shown in Fig. 16.

Boller's account, which is of considerably later date, contributes the important fact that in case of a famine the White Buffalo Cow women were expected to make buffalo herds come nearer to the village. A similar function is attributed by Catlin to *male* Buffalo dancers wearing masks of a type described in this paper in connection with the Bull society (p. 315). Catlin, however, does not connect his Buffalo dance with any organization, for though only about ten or fifteen men are said to have joined in the dance at one time, he states that every Mandan was obliged to keep a buffalo mask for possible use in the buffalo-calling ceremony on the request of the chiefs.² Oddly enough, both Catlin and Boller say that their respective Buffalo dancers never failed to bring in the herds for the reason that they continued their performance for weeks if necessary, until buffalo were actually sighted. The dance of the society is thus described by Boller:

The different members of the White-Cow band began to assemble, and soon the regular taps of the drum notified the camp that the great and important ceremony was in full progress. At one end of the lodge sat the musicians or drummers, three in number, who were untiring in their efforts, and aided their instrumentation by singing in a monotonous chanting strain. The women, comprising some forty or fifty matrons of the village, most of whose charms had unmistakably faded, were all attired in their quaintly garnished deer-skin dresses. Each had a spot of vermillion on either cheek, and their long black hair, which was carefully combed out and dressed with marrow grease, fell full and flowing over their shoulders, confined around the forehead with a fillet of white buffalo cow-skin. One of them had a white robe (which is very scarce, and held in the highest esteem) wrapped around her. This white robe was the common property of the band, and in its great power as a "medicine" were centred their hopes of bringing in the buffalo.³

¹ Ibid., 283-284, 297.

² Catlin, I, 127-128.

³ Boller, 218-219.



Fig. 16. White Buffalo Cow Women. (Maximilian's Atlas.)

I will now present my own field notes concerning this society.

Calf-woman joined the White Buffalo women when she was only two years old. Two years later she began to take part in the performances. Some old women went round the village looking for a female child whose parents loved her dearly and had given away a great deal of property in her honor. They came to Calf-woman's parents, and these consented to have their daughter adopted. Calf-woman's mother gave Brave-woman one pony and several blankets on this occasion. Whenever there was a dance of the society, a member named Berry carried the newly adopted infant on her back. There were about fifty women members, and five men acted as singers. The most important dance, or ceremony, of the society took place once a year, in the winter, on four successive nights. Sometimes the dance was kept up every other night for a month.

In preparation for the great ceremony the Indians of the village gathered an abundance of food and property for the society. Each member had a red line painted on the right side of her face, from temple to eyebrow, and a corresponding line in blue on the opposite side. All wore the buffalo skin caps emblematic of the organization and put on only on this special occasion, and moreover each member wore a buckskin dress and a robe. Three officers were distinguished by wearing their robes hair side out. The leader of this trio had a *white* buffalo skin robe; Calf-woman, who walked in the center, wore the best *calf* skin robe obtainable; and the third officer donned a *coarse-haired* robe. In approaching the earth-lodge where the ceremony was to be performed, the members halted four times on the way. At each stopping-place they formed a circle and danced in the same way as they were going to do in the lodge. The leader entered the lodge and made a circuit walking to the right (for one entering). A buffalo cow skull had been placed at the foot of the northwestern main pole in the center of the lodge, and *âtûre* was burnt for incense in front of it. A special incense-burner conducted the leader to the skull, letting her stand there so that she might be smoked, and then led her back again to her place. The two other officers mentioned above were similarly treated. North of the door, in a line in front of that joining the two southern center poles, sat the five men singers. As soon as these musicians began to sing, the leader, the middle officer, and the rear officer danced forward to the fireplace, where they met, and then danced in position, facing the fire. After they had returned to their original places, a special song was chanted. This was a signal for the incense-burner to go dancing from member to member and remove their robes. Then the dancing began. Every song and dance was repeated four times. Towards the close of the first night's performance a particular song was intoned, indicating that the paint was to be rubbed off

the members' faces. Each performer carried a bunch of peppermint (ca'xkuxke); at the sound of the special song a motion was made with this peppermint as though to remove the paint. Then the paint was actually rubbed off with the end of the robe. When the dance was all over, the women lay down to sleep in the lodge. Some members fasted all night. Before dawn one of the musicians took a long cottonwood pole and attached all the headdresses and the middle officer's robe to it. The staff was then fixed above the doorway. This was a sign for a big wind and snow to drive the buffalo close to the village. At the foot of the pole a buffalo skull was deposited. A branch of a tree was painted red, and numerous offerings were tied to it and laid on the skull. Thereupon all the members rose, went out of the lodge, and passed through the village. They approached the lodge in exactly the same way as on the previous day, making four stops and dancing at each before reëntering the dance-lodge. During the day one of the officers prepared all the food required. In the evening the performance was repeated, the three officers dancing up to the buffalo skull, whereupon the entire society followed suit. In front of the skull they placed a ball of mashed corn and a pipe. The leader took the pipe and the corn-ball. First she offered the pipe to the musicians, who lit and smoked it. Then she distributed the corn among the members, beginning with the one nearest to herself and appropriating what remained in the end. Next, the rear officer distributed corn twice, and finally the middle officer made two distributions. The entire society represented a buffalo herd; the middle officer represented the best buffalo and was supposed to get all that remained of the corn. The second, third, and fourth nights were all similar so far as the feature just described was concerned. Throughout the performance there were numerous spectators.

For the last night each member had to prepare a basketful of mashed corn; sometimes this was attended to by the members' mothers. Additional food was also brought together. This night was distinguished by the use of gourd rattles. All the baskets of corn, as well as the robes and headdresses were placed round the skull. Next a song was sung four times, and incense was burned to smoke the robes. Then mashed corn was given to the spectators until the supply was exhausted. Some peppermint was tied to a short pole. The incense-burner dipped it into a dish of water, and sprinkled all the members beginning with the leader and stopping with the rear officer. The buffalo skull and the musicians were also sprinkled. A little of the food was attached to the end of a short stick and placed in the nasal cavities of the skull, then pointed to the four quarters, and finally set down on the fireplace. A feast terminated the performance. On this last night newly adopted members made valuable presents to their adoptive mothers.

Throughout the ceremony two women whose normal position in the circle was on the right side of the rear officer preserved order in the lodge; the distinctive badge of their office consisted of a skunkskin head band (Fig. 17).

The object of the ceremony was to lure the buffalo near the fireplace. Once, when the performance took place in a clearing in the woods, one buffalo came directly to the doorway, and was killed on the spot. During the same season a great abundance of buffalo were found in the timber. Apparently, anyone who was desirous of making the buffalo come could take the initiative and ask the society to undertake the performance.

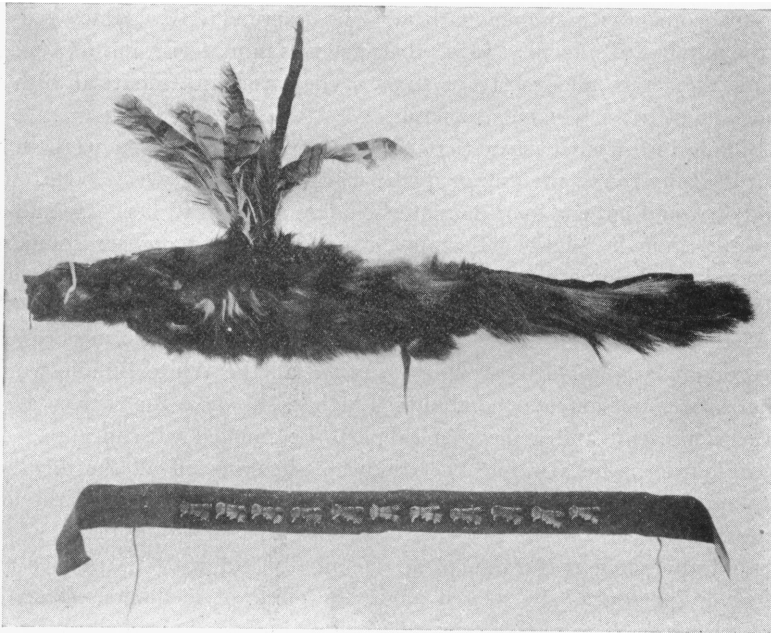


Fig. 17 (50.1-4815, 50.1-4331). Skunkskin Head Band of White Buffalo Cow Society and Head Band of Kit-Fox Society. Lengths, 79 cm. and 85 cm.

Any old member could adopt as many new ones as she wished, and was obliged to provide each tyro with a headdress. Calf-woman obtained one of these headdresses at the time of her adoption, though she was only two years of age. She became the middle officer because her adoptive mother gave her the appropriate calfskin robe. The musicians adopted new musicians who were obliged to pay heavily for the songs. Four of them had drums for instruments, while the remaining one used a rattle of buffalo skin.

In Calf-woman's day¹ the number of Mandan and of Hidatsa women in the society was about equal. The performances ceased, under Government pressure, when she was about fourteen years of age.

Hides-and-eats, who had served as rear officer, added a number of details. It was necessary to join in the wintertime because that was the season of the dance. The person who called for the performance of the great ceremony must have dreamt to that effect and was expected to prepare a great deal of food for the society. If, during the dance, a member went outside from necessity and a young man pulled her blanket, she was obliged to say, "A wolf has bitten me." If she failed to say this, she was in danger of actually being bitten by a wolf. The members were middle-aged, while the two women with skunkskin head bands were elderly. Hides-and-eats set the number of singers at four; their age was immaterial, but as a matter of fact they were about fifty or sixty. They were not identical with the musicians of other women's societies.

Buffalo-bird-woman says that the White Buffalo women were in the habit of going round the village in the morning, passing every lodge. One member would enter a clan daughter's lodge, and say to her, "So-and-so's daughter, give me light" (that is, fire). The clan daughter sometimes answered, and sometimes remained silent. Once the informant's aunt addressed her as stated above, and she replied, "Yes, I will do so." This signified her willingness to provide a feast. The next day, accordingly, she brought large quantities of food, invited all the White Buffalo women to her lodge, and entertained them. Further, she gave the society a new gun as a present, and a piece of calico to be smoked with incense. The incense-burner, who also had the privilege of taking off all the members' robes and hanging them up, took charcoal, made incense, seized the head of the rear officer's robe, shook it, proceeded to the middle officer's,² and repeated the same performance, as she finally did with the leader also. She made incense as she passed along the circle of members. Then the dance began. All wore their crowns of white buffalo skin on this occasion. When the singers commenced to sing, the leader and the rear officer rose and danced forward, crossing each other's path. They returned to their places, and repeated the performance at the next two songs. At the fourth song, the middle officer also rose, and all three danced, facing alternately the fireplace and the door, and finally returning to their places. At the following song everyone rose and danced. After the dance was over, the little girl approached the rear officer with a corn-ball, and put a little of the corn

¹ This informant is about 56 years old (1910).

² This informant, like Hides-and-eats, speaks of but one little girl in the society.

on the nose of the rear officer's skin robe. She did the same with the leader's robe, then she walked back to her place and went through the same performance with her own robe. This procedure which was regarded as an offering to the robes was called *ō'xkipati*. It was repeated three times. At the last song the incense-burner went to the rear officer, and untied her

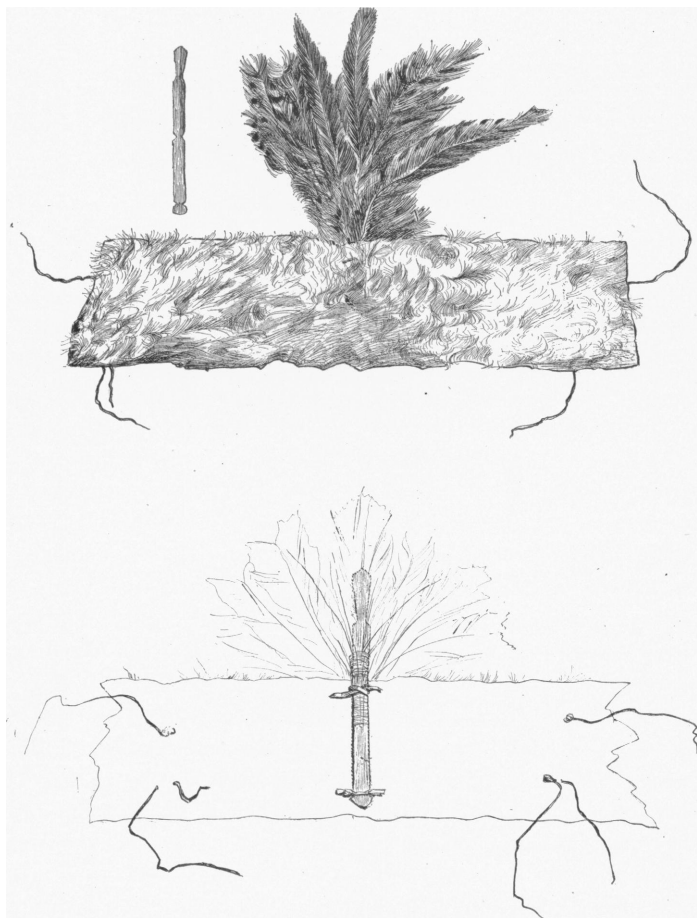


Fig. 18. (50.1-6020, 50.1-4350). Head Band of White Buffalo Cow Society, front and back view. Length, 62 cm.

robe, causing it to drop to the ground. She proceeded to the middle officer, and thence to the leader, untying all the robes. This dropping of the robes symbolized the shedding of the buffaloes' hair.

Apparently anyone interested in the success of the buffalo chase might

give a feast to the society and make offerings. Buffalo-bird-woman remembered one instance when a white man made offerings to the buffalo spirits before a hunt. He gave the society a butcher knife and other property and thus addressed them: "You, Buffalo women, I give offerings to you. I will give you a butcher knife when you cross in the dance. I wish to save all these men from getting injured and I desire to get all the meat."

The Museum owns several White Buffalo headdresses actually used by members and collected by Rev. Wilson and the present writer. One of these is represented in Fig. 18, together with the small notched wooden feather-straightener. In the skunkskin head band (Fig. 17) the feathers are attached in similar fashion.

MANDAN TEXTS.

I.

mī'sipàsa ō'wakarax mī'hō'xat mārū'cec. ō'warucèkī, icákhiⁿ
 Yellowstone River mouth Goose society I bought. We got it, then

nū'waxkùpini mī'haⁿ ō'cahe énuka àxkupíni, numā'napekàc. méreX
 our crowns goose cut strips that we put on, we danced. Kettle

oki'herani marátek ísexki mā'skuhinì, mō'+ipke, éokarèc. í'wa-
 cooked feast making sugar (coffee or tea) dried meat, these (they made). I

kapèkac hiⁿ mā'+íxte nōwā'teki "néwak káana." í'wakapèkac,
 distributed and calico if there is any "This keep it." I distributed,

gawí'wakapèkac.

I was the distributor.

II.

mī'xgereki u'uⁿ mā'akcī hēra mahí'migak ō'ohèrani sùxgarikā'-
 Woman some and pointed hill clay-hill they came

séeroc. mī'isi u'uⁿ mā'kiruxka ā'xkupkerek, hiⁿ ō'oherenì taka-
 out from there. Woman snakes crown put on, and then

wáxgarākc máxana núpxe í'na^akā'aruc. inúp mána meréx ká'kerek.
 singer one skin rattle had. Two drum they had.

nū'maaké hera mā'mini hí'rixirì. herō'makōc. hiⁿ ō'oherenì nū'ma^a-
 A man water not drank. He saw it. And then people

kā'kisen nā'akuⁿ ō'xat ísexkèrec. hiaⁿ'ska hū'na nūcā'ni érexxkòroni.
 afterwards society made. And that way coming they wanted to get it.

mā'oka kicō'kéregèc. kō ō'xatkarès utkū'karec. hiⁿ ō'oherenì ā'we
 Property they gathered. This society to they give it. And then all

kohū'ne tū'tuhoc nā'askahàna. hiⁿ ō'xat keresō'onik mā'a' sī'na
 mothers they got that way. And society when they were(?) Eagle

híromakōc. "ō'minatatinistore," éheni. káni í'pe okirúskani, ā'^awe
 came. "I want to join," he said. Then tail feathers he pulled out, all

máxahanā' kehē'reromakōc. Kínumakci hí'romakō'c. káni ícak
 one by one he gave to them. Kinumakci came. Then he himself

mō'okíre kahé'reromakōc. xa'tā'arak éotahíⁿ mā'^asi inús éota ō'ki
 head ornament he gave to them. Grass with them Eagle that with them head
 ornament

kéromakōc. mā'kiruxkas u'uⁿ ā'xkupini mō'oki'keres o'ota néhe-
he put on. Snakes crown put on feathers with them all

rekère nō'makoc. hí matō'na híremakōc. hi uⁿkáahe kínućāni,
together he did. And Bear came. And claws he took off,

kahére nomakō'c, mīⁿ'keresē'ra nāpini íkererowakō'c. hiⁿ péxtakē'na
he gave to them he did. Those women necklaces ?. And Otter

híromakōc. péxtakēnus uⁿ'ut matō'+uks nēherekerēc. hinā^askahere
came to them. That Otter on bear's claws they put on. That way then

kihiⁿ óxat nucékihi mató uⁿkáas. nupápirek ta+istúhe ā^atāroc
they did (?), society they got when bear claws. Twenty nights that is all

ō'xatat hi uⁿ'a marátek nī'síxxac, hiā'teròhereni numā'akupenas
that society that number feast we made. And then our crowns

éheni matō'uⁿks éheni nukíxxukerēc, minís nukáherek. hi o'ohereni
bear claws they gave to us, horse we gave. And then

istúhare niǵgā'rek nukí'inā'pec, nukíxasúxgerekat matí'ixta dikū^u'cta.
in the evening about this time we danced, in a circle we go out outside inside (?)

karúpxari érexkiniki inúnūp né'xkerèki matō'+uk napinís inúp
When they wish to go in two by two as they follow bear claws necklace two of them

kiuⁿ'tōc ná'ska kikō'kikahaⁿ karúpxekiríkāc, dikū'usta
leaders ? two go in, inside

kínaapékerikac. matō'+uk nāpini nené itō'opuc mā'ata inák
they dance there. Bear claw necklace those four of them shell

kánapini tō'opuc. hiyō'háreni matō'uk napinís itō'pca tawáhe
necklace four. And then bear claw necklace four (each) songs

túkerec. hiⁿ ganā'ktikihi itō'ps nā'ape kiríkac. mū'u'perí'kerekac,
they had. And when singing four danced. They give presents,

mī'iharacirì, ínuperecirì, mā'+íxterecirì uⁿperé'xkerekàc, mā'takara-
blankets, guns, calicoes they give away, shell

pinikas tā'wahe tū'kerec. icakí'raapékikerekàc. hiⁿ nā'apee kixē'k-
necklace some they had. They made them dance. And dance when

teki, hí'inak mū'upèrekerekàc. hiⁿ kixē'ktiki, mā'axkupkères mō'oca
they stop, they give away presents. And they cease, their crowns rope tied

nutíte hèreni mā'a'kups í'kaskikerec kakini'na. mā'peha ā'we
string they did (?) crowns they tied one after another. Under the crowns all

mī'íxxères hā'nakèrekac. kawáxkanā'kes o'hanakìrekac. itō'pana
women sleep. Singers slept. On the fourth night

ō'maxa hánakìrec, o'kape o'tita keré'xkerekàc. kacékarè'xteki o'keres
together they slept, some of the rest home they went. Near daybreak those that
went home

āⁿwe óti eeká nupkā'ata, nurééxkac. ō'tii nurō'p'xektíki, numā'x-
all their homes we woke them up, we go along (to the next house). Her house we enter,
we

kanā'kac. "ímupā, kitā'ni, mahū'na!" kawáxkanā'kes nō'ota,
sing. "Comrade, wake up, come!" Singers we are with,

hiⁿ ā'we kíxkèrekac tíoo'hìta mā'axkup ónūnisūt. hiⁿ tō'pana
and all come back to the lodge crowns where they keep. And four nights

nū'mak nō'hū'ta mā'rahirexkèrekac. tō'panā'ne ecó kixē'kerec.
man near they do not go to. On that fourth night that they stop.

kixē'kehi kamā'napikes ā'we marátEk íseéxkèrec. oóhereni mā'axkupe
When they stop those dancers all feast they make. And then crowns

ā'we kawákirihe'rec. mā'akta mā'axkups náciha nū'niéxkèrikac.
all they string up. On the ground crowns behind they stay.

hiⁿ ō'ohereni nū'maake máxana mā'niksùks kataníckerekà énehi
And then man one (with) bird medicine that one

kamí'nepekàs, ā'we íkaraxukōc ō'ohaktō'hereni. kixē'ktihi, mā'axkups
dancers, all he rubs off to the last one. When they cease, crowns

í'wapsituxs kirúcani, íxahanàs ā'we kirúcanāni, kieú'cukàrani. kāhósta
their feathers he takes out, those grasses all he unloosens, he straightens out.

On the prairie

ā'nahinik, patíkc. ā'atāroc.

he takes them out, he throws them away. This is all.

III.

cáhakèro nuⁿtēk, minísinik óxat'e nurū'cec. hiā'atere òoháreni
Across the river we were staying, Colt society we bought. And then

núⁿkikìruhèreec. ā'we híkerec. ā'taxka' "mā'karuske hárenista!"
we invited friends. All got there. Already "Things collect!"

nuⁿtamáhe túktōc. híre íctuxki manác nā're'toc. nápte hérekerekì,
Our song we ought to have. Now tonight tobacco we take over. They will light
the pipe (?)

aⁿ'taxkac mā'+usta híre íctúxki nū'tíktōc. "ā'we marácisèke
then already that night we shall all be there. "All mixed-tobacco

huⁿ'huⁿ hárenista! maráteke ā'we óna atínitooc kūⁿ'nista" hiⁿhā'-
plenty have! Feast all your father give ye." Now,

askat íctúhe tétuki maráteke nūkū'una nū'wiic. nā'aka íctúxki
that way nights eight feast we gave right along. Next night

nūkirúcéxtō'c hináasekehì kō'ots úⁿuta hiⁿáthiⁿ híkereèc hiⁿ kō'otsūt
we shall get it. That way fathers to them they have come. And to his father

híkihi. "Ptamá'-ipàxtuke makí'kùuta. ptámanisè no ā'watì'c."
 he came. "My clothes give me mine. My horse here I have out here."

hiⁿ kō'otsē'na "néwa^ak márahè'rèc" éheni. maráteke kū'urōc.
 And to (?) his father, "This is your food," he said. Feast he gave them..

"néhak nihū'poō'c, néhak nihúⁿcic, íniwacutō'oc, manā'nihoc marára-
 "This is your moccasin, this your leggings, your shirt, your blanket, your

pìninuc, mō'orakeskèc, mō'onakiruc ní'itak ō'racipoc."
 necklace your earring, your head ornament, your face-pendants."