THE CHEYENNE

HISTORICAL SKETCH

THE earliest reference to the Cheyenne yet found is contained in a letter of La Salle, written in 1680, in which it is related that a party of Chaa (the Frenchman's spelling of the name *Shahíyela,* by which the Sioux designate the Cheyenne) had come down from their home on the headwaters of the Mississippi to his fort on the Illinois, with the request that traders be sent into their country to exchange guns and traps for furs. The instance finds a curious parallel in an event of a century and a quarter later, when in 1806 a portion of the tribe journeyed from their new home in the Black Hills, five hundred miles distant from their old habitat, to the Missouri river, and there met the American explorers, Lewis and Clark, and urged them, as their forefathers had urged the French-men, to send traders to them, for "their country was full of beaver," and "if the white people would come amongst them they would become acquainted" and the white people "would learn them how to take the beaver."[1]

The intervening years had been burdened with vicissitudes for the Cheyenne. Beset by a powerful enemy, they had wandered far over a devious route, and in the course of their journey they had established other homes, only to be driven onward by the oppressor. They were reduced to a remnant of their ancient strength, but here they were to enjoy a tranquillity that would enable them in a measure to recuperate before beginning another period of wandering that was to split the tribe into two divisions and eventually lead both wellnigh a thousand miles from their former territory on the upper Mississippi: a period, too, of wars that would deprive them of their freedom to rove at will, and leave them broken in power, if not altogether in spirit.

The early movements of the Cheyenne can be traced with more certainty than those of many western tribes. Tradition relates that in the earliest times they had been driven out of the north by a powerful enemy, and after crossing a wide body, of water (which we may conjecture to have been either the Mississippi or a narrow

[1] *Original Journals of Lewis and Clark*, Thwaites ed., V, 357

portion of the Great Lakes, as at the lower end of Superior), they had found a region in which it was safe to settle. This, they say, was the country of the upper Mississippi, in southeastern Minnesota. They were an agricultural people, raising corn, beans, and squashes. How long before 1680 they reached this region there is no way of knowing; but they abandoned it before the close of the century.[2] The cause of this continuation of their westward march may have been, as their traditions say, the abundance of food promised by the countless buffalo of the prairies; or it may have been the hostility of a tribe more powerful than they. Probably there was a combination of both factors, such as is seen at a later date in the case of the Teton Sioux, who, when the pressure of the Ojibwa began to be felt, left the eastern Minnesota country, and, long after the necessity for moving had ceased to exist, continued westward until they reached and crossed the Missouri. Certainly the ferment caused by the acquisition of guns was at work among the tribes east and north of the Cheyenne, and the effect must have been felt. The Sioux, or at least the Siouan tribes, who followed them in the occupancy of the country, were probably the medium through which the pressure exerted by the Cree and the Assiniboin, newly armed with English guns, was transmitted to the Cheyenne. Even without the advantage of firearms,[3] the Sioux were no doubt too powerful for the Cheyenne. The latter retreated beyond the Red River of the North and established themselves on its western fork, which the Sioux therefore named, and still call, *Shahíyela-wózhupi, "*(Where) Cheyenne Plant," and which we know as Sheyenne river. To confirm the evidence offered by this place-name, we have the statement of Lewis and Clark that "they formerly lived in a Village and Cultivated Corn on the Cheyene River a fork of the red river of Lake Winipique, the Souis drove them from that quater across the Missourie, on the S.W. bank of which they made a Stand (a fort) a little above the

[2] In October of 1700 Le Sueur established Fort L'Huillier at the junction of the Minnesota and Blue Earth rivers, in the heart of what had been Cheyenne territory, but which was then occupied by Siouan tribes.

[3] The Dakota had few if any guns in 1680 when they captured Hennepin, for they wished to keep the priests prisoners and through them obtain French arms. A considerable part of the Dakota first saw guns in 1708. Volume III, pages 170, 162.

ricares a fiew years, and was compelled to rove."[4] The new village was established, according to a report of the explorers transmitted by the President in 1806 in a special message to Congress, "about 15 miles below the mouth of Warricunne creek."[5] Warricunne creek is Beaver creek, which joins the Missouri at Emmonsburg, North Dakota, and the site of the village was therefore not far north of Fort Yates. The remains of the fortifications were noted in 1804 by Lewis and Clark, who, on October sixteenth of that year, wrote: "passed a circular work, where the *Shar há* or Chien, or Dog Indians formerly lived."[6] Only "a fiew years" they were permitted to rest, and "being pursued by their ancient enemies the Sioux, they fled to the Black hills, about the head of the Cheyenne river, where they wander in quest of buffaloes having no fixed residence. They do not cultivate."[7] The metamorphosis of the Cheyenne from agriculturists among the woods and lakes of Minnesota to roving hunters on the great plains was accomplished.

With their neighbors, excepting their kindred and allies, the Sotaia and the Arapaho, the Cheyenne were by turns at peace and at war. The general condition, however, seems to have been one of peace with all excepting the Sioux and the Assiniboin, and even with the Sioux there were intervals of amity. One of their principal diversions, and a fruitful source of gain, was to raid the Spanish settlements in the Southwest and bring away horses and mules. They traded constantly with the Arikara, who at that period (early in the nineteenth century) lived at the mouth of Grand river in North Dakota, and occasionally with the Mandan and Hidatsa. It was in 1840, according to a Sioux calendar, that permanent peace with the Cheyenne was established, and thereafter the two tribes appeared as allies in so many encounters with native enemies as well as later with troops, that "Sioux and Cheyenne" became a set phrase. But before this alliance came into being, the Teton Sioux had spread over the prairies of western South Dakota to the Black Hills, forcing out the Cheyenne, who moved first

[4] Op. cit., VI, 100.

[5] Ibid

[6] Op. cit., I, 195.

[7] Op. cit., VI, 100.

westward and northward to the head-waters of Powder river and the foothills of the Bighorn mountains, where they conflicted with the Apsaroke, and later southward to the heads of the North Platte, where the previous occupants were the Kiowa.

In 1833, at the solicitation of Colonel William Bent, with whom they had already had trade relations, a large part of the Cheyenne took up their residence on the Arkansas in southeastern Colorado, in the region surrounding the newly established Bent's Fort. The others remained in the Wyoming country. The separation was not yet a permanent one, for the two bands frequently met, camped in a single circle, hunted and made war together, and in fact regarded themselves as a unit. A clearly defined division begins to be evident in 1851, when at Fort Laramie, Wyoming, treaties were concluded with the Sioux, Cheyenne, Arapaho, Apsaroke, Assiniboin, Hidatsa, Mandan, and Arikara. The Southern Cheyenne and the Arapaho were treated with jointly.

The earliest estimate of the population of the Cheyenne is that of Lewis and Clark, who give it variously as 110**,** 130 to 150, and 300 lodges, with about three warriors or eleven persons in each lodge. These figures represent, therefore, a minimum of three hundred warriors or twelve hundred souls, and a maximum of nine hundred and thirty-three hundred, respectively. Following their lowest estimate they continue to say that "they are the remnant of a nation once respectable in point of number."[8] General Henry Atkinson, who made a treaty of friendship with the Cheyenne in 1825, credited them with a population of three thousand. In both cases the figures appear too conservative, for in 1875, after having suffered heavily from an epidemic of cholera in 1849 and in numerous disastrous engagements with troops, they were reported by an official census as numbering 3,782. In 1910 there were 1,854 in the Southern and 1,401 in the Northern band.

The Fort Laramie treaty of September 17, 1851, which gave to the Cheyenne and Arapaho a reservation covering about half of Colorado, the southeastern corner of Wyoming, the southwestern corner of Nebraska, and a large area in western Kansas, was made necessary by the great tide of western emigration which commenced about 1846 and reached its height in the California gold rush of 1849.

[8] Op. cit., VI, 100

This enormous influx, with characteristic disregard of the rights of the Indians, caused them constant irritation, as well as a fear that their country was to be absorbed by the aggressive newcomers. It was hoped that this treaty would adjust the situation and safeguard the pioneers, but it was scarcely made before a flood of emigrants began to sweep the territory that had been reserved. A further cause of discontent was the Senate's amendment to the treaty. The document which the Indians signed assured to them, in addition to the reserve, an annuity of fifty thousand dollars for fifty years. The Senate, without consulting the Indians, curtailed the period to ten years, the President being given the power to extend it to fifteen years, if, in his judgment, it should be necessary. Further dissatisfaction was caused by the Government's disregard of the third article of the compact, which bound the nation to protect its wards in the possession of the territory reserved[9] The fact that the reservation was literally being possessed by settlers, and substantial cities established, shows how well the Government fulfilled its obligations. The friction continued to increase, until in 1857 it appeared necessary to send troops into the field to control the Cheyenne, and then began the era which shows that, excepting the Sioux, no tribe has made a more stubborn resistance against their foredoomed extinction as a primitive people.

The Cheyenne character instinctively resents imposition. Even today the poor fragment of a tribe existing on the Northern Cheyenne reservation in Montana displays individuality and courage worthy of consideration. The majority of Indian tribes, realizing the utter hopelessness of resistance against the wrong done them by individuals and by the Government, accepted such imposition sullenly, perhaps,

[9] "Some years after this gold and silver were discovered in the mountains of Colorado, and thousands of fortune-seekers, who possessed nothing more than the right of transit over these lands, took possession of them for the purpose of mining, and, against the protests of the Indians, founded cities, established farms, and opened roads. Before 1861 the Cheyennes and Arapahoes had been driven from the mountain regions down upon the waters of the Arkansas, and were becoming sullen and discontented because of this violation of their rights. The third article of the treaty of 1851 contained the following language: 'The United States bind themselves to protect the aforesaid Indian nations against the commission of all depredations by the people of the United States after the ratification of this treaty.' The Indians, however ignorant, did not believe that the obligations of this treaty had been complied with." — *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,* 1868.

but without conflict. Not so with the Cheyenne, who ever retaliated even when he must have known his cause to be hopeless.

The first important event toward their punishment was in July of 1857, when Colonel E.V. Sumner had a serious conflict with them, killing a number of their principal men and destroying nearly two hundred lodges. Minor troubles continued through the three succeeding years, until the Government realized that measures must be taken toward an adjustment of the differences with the Cheyenne and Arapaho. With this in view a treaty council was held at Fort Wise, Colorado, in February, 1861. The council was poorly attended by the Cheyenne, only six of them signing a treaty by which the tribe relinquished the vast area reserved to them by the negotiations of 1851 and accepted a comparatively insignificant tract in Colorado alone.[10] Although this reservation was unsatisfactory to the Indians and trivial in area, it had scarcely been granted them before the envious settlers began to clamor for it and for the removal of the Indians to some other locality.

In April, 1864, there occurred a fight between the Cheyenne and troops — the first active demonstration against the army since 1857. During the following summer the Cheyenne committed many depredations and had several slight brushes with small bodies of soldiers. On November 29, 1864, occurred the Chivington affair in Colorado. Many of the conflicts with our Indian tribes make dark pages in the shameful record of a civilized and superior people's subjection of a weaker race, but this butchery of the Cheyenne at Sand creek will always stand without a parallel. Perhaps the only slaughter of Indians that can be compared with it is that occurring at Camp Grant, Arizona, in April, 1871, when a band of Arivaipa Apache, under Government protection, were set upon by a horde of Americans, Mexicans, and Papago, and murdered, neither women nor children being spared. This

[10] "Beginning at the mouth of the Sandy Fork of the Arkansas river and extending westwardly along the said river to the mouth of Purgatory river; thence along up the west bank of the Purgatory river to the northern boundary of the Territory of New Mexico; thence west along said boundary to a point where a line drawn due south from a point on the Arkansas river, five miles east of the mouth of the Huerfano river, would intersect said northern boundary of New Mexico; thence due north from that point on said boundary of the Sandy Fork to the place of beginning."
— *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties,* Kappler ed., II, 807.

disgraceful massacre was the work of a mob, while that at Sand creek was committed by troops under the command of officers. A calm, dispassionate view of the affair — if one can dispassionately consider it — shows conclusively that the five hundred Cheyenne at the Sand Creek camp were there at the solicitation of the Government, and under its protection; and that while these people were encamped at a place designated by the Government, Colorado troops to the number of about a thousand, under the command of Colonel J.M. Chivington, attacked them at daylight, while there floated over Chief Black Kettle's lodge a United States flag and a white one on the same pole.[11] It is certain that Chivington knew of the status of this band, that he had been begged by men in his own command not to attack friendly Indians, and that previous to the attack, and while presumably free from excitement, he ordered his men to kill large and small, men and women, particularly insisting that no prisoners were wanted; and there can be no question that he and the officers under him had full knowledge of the barbarities of the massacre. It is no less certain that the majority of the Indians in the camp were women and children, and that only about one-third of those killed were mature men, or warriors. The evidence is likewise conclusive that practically all of those killed were scalped; that women as well as men were so mutilated as to render description unprintable; that in at least one instance a woman was ripped open and her unborn child thrown by her side; that defenceless women, exposing their breasts to show their sex, and begging for mercy, were shot down with revolvers placed practically against the flesh; that hours after the attack, when there was not a militant Indian within miles of the camp, children were used as targets. Unparalleled as were the atrocities of the first day, the participants in them had at least the excuse of excitement, but there is not even that apology for the events of the second day, when soldiers turned ghouls and prowled about the devastated camp ground, searching out bodies to scalp and mutilate. From some hiding-place a toddling, naked infant appeared on this second day's scene of death, and soldiers vied with one another in shooting at it. Not satisfied with the savagery of the battle-field, the returned troops had their own form of scalp-dance by attending *en masse* a theatrical performance in an opera house at

[11] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,* 1867.

Denver, and there brandishing some fifty of the freshly taken scalps. It is doubtful if a like reversion to barbarism can be found in the history of the last few centuries.

The defence of those responsible for this atrocity was that the Indians in the Sand Creek camp were not prisoners, that many of them were hostile and had committed depredations within the previous few months, and that regardless of the status of this encampment, the slaughter with all its brutalities was justified as an "object lesson" to the tribes which could not be reached. That a considerable portion of the Cheyenne were then committing depredations against whites cannot be questioned, nor that many of the men in the Sand Creek camp had previously been hostile; but granting every charge made against them, and assuming that the camp was a hostile one, the affair loses none of its inhuman aspect, nor lessens the conviction that had these Cheyenne been under the protection of a Government powerful enough to retaliate effectively, those participating in the affair would not have lost their reason and committed such an outrage against civilization.[12] The Sand Creek affair, as an object lesson, probably did strike terror into the hearts of the Cheyenne, both friendly and hostile; but rather than deterring them from further hostility, it naturally whetted their desire for revenge, and for a few months the white population of the region paid dearly for this inhumanity.[13]

[12] For the official investigation of the Chivington massacre and the testimony bearing on the affair, see *Condition of the Indian Tribes. Report of the Joint Special Committee, Appointed under Joint Resolution of March* 3, 1865, *with an Appendix.* Washington, 1867. An officer of the company of volunteers to which is attributed much of the savagery displayed during the massacre has recently been honored by the state of Idaho, by the erection of a statue in the United States Capitol at Washington.

[13] "No one will be astonished that a war ensued which cost the Government $30,000000, and carried conflagration and death to the border settlements. During the spring and summer of 1865 no less than 8,000 troops were withdrawn from the effective force engaged in suppressing the rebellion to meet this Indian war. The result of the year's campaign satisfied all reasonable men that war with Indians was useless and expensive. Fifteen or twenty Indians had been killed, at an expense of more than a million dollars apiece, while hundreds of our soldiers had lost their lives, many of our border settlements bad been butchered, and much property destroyed. To those who reflected on the subject, knowing the facts, the war was something more than useless and expensive; it was dishonorable to the nation, and disgraceful to those who had originated it." — *Report of the Commissioner of Indian .Affairs,* 1868.

Within six weeks, on January 7, 1865, a successful attack was made by the Cheyenne on the military stage at Fort Sedgwick, Colorado, and some time later the town itself was burned. One of the most brutal of their acts of retaliation was the attack on the garrison at the old Platte crossing, where about forty soldiers were killed in the fight, and fifteen prisoners were tortured to death in sight of their comrades. Then, for a few months, there was a lull in hostilities, during which time, through the splendid efforts of Jesse H. Leavenworth, a large number of the Cheyenne were induced to attend the treaty council of October 14, 1865, on the Little Arkansas. By this treaty they received a small reservation, partly in Kansas and partly in Oklahoma, "commencing at the mouth of Red creek, or Red fork, of the Arkansas river, thence up said creek or fork to its source, thence westerly to a point on Cimerone [Cimarron] river, opposite the mouth of Buffalo creek, thence due north to the Arkansas river, thence down the same to the beginning." When this treaty came before the Senate for ratification it was amended in such a way that the clause granting the Indians a reservation was practically abrogated, and became a request to the President later to select a reservation for them; but it was so worded that he could not define the territory granted by the document which the Indians had signed.[14] By this treaty the tribe relinquished all territory previously claimed by or granted to them, particularly the enormous area reserved by the treaty of 1851, thus confirming the action of the six chiefs who had signed the Fort Wise agreement ten years later. Here then is the answer to the question why strife with them had been encouraged. Their lands had been taken by the whites, and by their resentment of this imposition they from time to time had furnished a plausible

[14] "'Upon the ratification of this treaty all former treaties are hereby abrogated,' and added further a proviso, that 'no part of the reservation shall be within the State of Kansas,' or upon 'any reserve belonging to any other Indian tribe or tribes, without their consent.' The largest and best part of the reservation was 'within the limits of Kansas,' and the remainder within the reserve long before granted, and 'belonging to' the Cherokees. Thus, by the process of two treaties, between the civilized and the savage, the strong and the weak, the Arapahoes and Cheyennes were stripped of their magnificent possessions, larger than the States of Pennsylvania, New York, and New Jersey, and left without a foot of land which they could call their home. They had still left to them the hunting and 'roaming' privilege, between the Arkansas and the Platte rivers. The sequel shows that even that was considered too much for them." — *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,* 1869.

excuse for their spoliation.

The sixth paragraph of the treaty of 1865 is a delightful bit of satire.[15] Appreciating the great wrong done you at Sand creek, we will allow you to select, within limits prescribed by us, homesteads unlienable and untransferable for fifty years. What magnanimous reparation for a great wrong! There was not an adult male citizen of the United States then out of jail who had not the privilege of taking a like homestead, with all the privileges of sale and transfer, and by the very treaty of which this sixth paragraph is a part, we had taken from the Cheyenne a territory greater than the six New England states.

This treaty did not bring about an entirely settled condition, and the hostile element of the tribe, assisted by Sioux and Arapaho, committed many depredations and continued to show resentment against encroaching settlements. However, the officials of the Indian Bureau felt they were getting the situation well in hand when General Hancock, accepting gossip for fact, marched toward a large friendly camp, under Roman Nose, on Pawnee fork. He sent word to them that he was coming prepared for war or peace, as they preferred. The chiefs, led by Roman Nose, met him some distance from the village and expressed a desire to have a council, stating that the women, remembering Sand Creek, would in fear desert the camp if the soldiers approached. The request being disregarded, Roman Nose and the other chiefs again, when within ten miles of the camp, begged Hancock to stop and hold the council. He informed them that he would stop when he was within a mile of the camp. As anticipated by the chiefs, the women, on seeing the approaching soldiers, fled to the hills, only the men remaining. An effort was made to induce the women to return, but the recollection of Sand Creek was too vivid. After dark, orders were given to surround the village and capture those remaining, but it was quickly learned that the men also had fled. The fact that orders had been issued for their capture proved the wisdom of their flight.

[15] "The United States being desirous to express its condemnation of, and, as far as may be, repudiate the gross and wanton outrages perpetrated against certain bands of Cheyenne and Arapahoe Indians, on the twenty-ninth day of November, A.D. 1864, at Sand creek, in Colorado Territory, while the said Indians were at peace with the United States, and under its flag, whose protection they had by lawful authority been promised and induced to seek," etc.
— *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties,* Kappler ed., II, 889.

The camp was burned, and a detachment under Custer was sent after the fleeing Cheyenne, but several days' pursuit proved unavailing, and once more every Cheyenne was aroused to the bitterest hostility, which continued throughout the year.[16]

Owing to the seemingly interminable troubles with the Cheyenne and other tribes, and in the hope of finding some solution to an Indian problem that was costing such great loss of life and many millions of dollars, a Peace Commission was appointed to make a special study of the subject. Through its efforts the Medicine Lodge treaty of 1867 was negotiated, and once more the Cheyenne received a reservation, but with materially reduced annuities. In the following, year they became greatly dissatisfied owing to the Government's failure to issue the annuity goods and guns as agreed. After considerable delay the goods were issued to the greater part of the tribe, and immediately afterward the majority started out on hunting expeditions to secure their annual supply of meat. A party of about two hundred young men, mostly Cheyenne, took the trail ostensibly to wage war on the Pawnee, but on August tenth they began depredations against settlers on Saline river in Kansas. The first outrage was committed by Ohehemohe, whose brother White Antelope had been killed at Sand creek. It is claimed by some that this war-party started out subsequently to the issuing of arms, and were hostile through the failure to receive what they considered their just due. Colonel Wynkoop, their agent, insisted that he could suppress the outbreak in its beginning and punish the leading offenders, but before there was time for his friendly Indians to act, they were beset in all directions by troops. The following year's warfare was continual, and the most disastrous to both whites and Indians that had yet been waged. Colonel Forsythe, with a company of volunteer scouts, who were out hunting Indians for the sport of it, found them on the Arickaree. This party was under Roman Nose, chief of the camp burned by Hancock, and to him it was the first favorable

[16] "On the 19th of April, 1867, a military command burned the peaceful village of the Cheyennes on Pawnee Fork, western Kansas, who had been at peace with us since the treaty of 1865, on the Arkansas, and were then on lands assigned them by that treaty. The Cheyennes flew to arms, and the war of 1867 followed, in which we lost over 300 soldiers and citizens, several millions of dollars in expenses, and an immense amount of public and private property, and killed, it is believed, six Indians, and no more." — *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1867.*

opportunity for revenge. He made the most of it, though at the cost of his life. Forsythe's little band made one of the gamest fights against overwhelming odds ever recorded in the annals of Indian warfare.

On November twenty-seventh General Custer dealt a crushing blow at the battle of the Washita. This was the conflict which gave Custer his great reputation as an Indian fighter, and the ease with which he won it probably caused him to under-estimate the fighting ability of the Sioux when he met them on the Little Bighorn in 1876. General E.A. Carr had several active and successful conflicts with the Cheyenne, the last one of importance being at Summit Springs, Colorado, July 12, 1868, when he surprised their camp and killed sixty-eight.

The beginning of 1874 found the Cheyenne seriously discontented owing to a general encroachment on their rights and the larger fact that professional hunters were slaughtering hundreds of thousands of buffalo on their lands.[17] This smouldering discontent broke into general hostility when a party of young Cheyenne tried to recover a band of horses stolen from Little Robe and offered for sale in a near-by town, while the owner was in Washington receiving the President's assurance that the Cheyenne would be fully protected from horse-thieves and buffalo hunters. The Indians, finding the Government's promises of protection but empty words, took the matter into their own hands, with the usual result of an Indian war, a war in which they, as customary, killed young and old, friend or foe.

Under General Miles was instituted a vigorous and effective campaign, which brought the uprising practically to a close within twelve months. An important conflict of the year was the Indian attack on the buffalo hunters at Adobe Walls, Texas, in June, which was inspired by a medicine-man claiming a recent revelation that promised his people protection from the white men's bullets, and assuring victory for them in any conflict. The buffalo hunters, possessing a field-gun, and naturally being good marksmen, soon convinced the Indians that the medicine-man's promise of invulnerability was a false revelation. The Indians were defeated, with small loss to the hunters, who later abandoned the camp. In this affair we have another illustration of reversion to barbarism, in that the buffalo hunters chopped the heads

[17] "During the three years, 1872-73-74, at least five millions of buffalo were slaughtered for their hides." — Dodge, *Our Wild Indians,* Hartford, 1882, page 295. See also Homaday, *The Extermination of the American Bison,* Washington, 1889.

from the slain Indians and used them to decorate the posts of their stockade.[18]

On July 3, 1874, occurred the attack on Hennessey's wagon train, and his brutal torture. On August thirtieth Miles had a skirmish with the Cheyenne on Red river. On September twenty-sixth Major R.S. Mackenzie met them at Cañon Blanca and in a two days' fight won a sweeping victory. On October twenty-fourth Major G.W. Schofield with slight loss to either side captured a large camp consisting principally of Comanche. On November eighth, on the north branch of McClellan creek, in the Texas Panhandle, Lieutenant F.D. Baldwin defeated the Cheyenne. On December twenty-eighth Captain A.S.B. Keyes captured a band of Cheyenne on the Canadian. Finally, on March 6, 1875, a large party came into the agency at Darlington, in the present Oklahoma, and surrendered, but, ever suspicious of the white man, they injected an unmentioned proviso into the terms of the surrender by concealing all their best arms on a near-by hill. It is stated that the people who surrendered were in the most pitiable condition, half starved and destitute of clothing.

The leaders in the past hostilities were to be punished by imprisonment at Fort Marion, Florida, and of those considered guilty thirty-three were of the Cheyenne at Darlington agency. On the day set apart for their selection less than half the number had been determined upon by night-time, and those in charge, apparently desiring to do a full day's work, cut from the right of the line eighteen men "without identification as to name, rank, or previous reputation."[19] It is said that they planned to continue the selection and release those of the ones so cut off "who were innocent," but a few days later and without further investigation the thirty-three were turned over to the blacksmiths to have their irons welded on. During the process the taunts of a woman are said to have aroused the pent-up resentment of a man whose shackles were being adjusted, and in fury he kicked over the blacksmith and ran, only to be instantly shot down by the guards. All was confusion, and as the troops came to the assistance of the guards, the Indians fled to the hill where they had concealed their arms and ammunition. There they quickly burrowed into the sand, and held the

[18] Miles, *Personal Recollections,* pages 145, 158.

[19] *Report* of *the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,* 1875.

troops at a distance until night, when they made good their escape. The hopelessness of the situation was, however, apparent to them, and within a few weeks they were all back at the agency.

The seventeen years of conflict with the Cheyenne, costing hundreds of lives of both civilians and soldiers, as well as untold millions in funds, were unquestionably directly or indirectly of our own making, through the unfortunate but apparently inevitable disregard of the Indians' rights. Half the money spent in waging war would have saved, in the hands of capable, humane executives possessing a knowledge of Indians, practically all bloodshed and carried the tribes through this trying period of transformation from the freest of nomadic hunters to reservation dependents, accepting the sad change pathetically but without conflict. Secretary of the Interior O.H. Browning, in his report for 1868, states: "It is believed that peaceful relations would have been maintained to this hour had Congress, in accordance with the estimates submitted, made the necessary appropriations to enable this department to perform engagements for which the public faith was pledged. A costly Indian war, with all its horrors, would have been avoided."[20] Mr. N.G. Taylor, Commissioner of Indian Affairs and member of the Peace Commission, estimated the awful cost as twenty-five lives and a million dollars for every Indian killed during this period.

In these years of Cheyenne and Arapaho conflict, the Northern Cheyenne played but a secondary part, having allied themselves with the Sioux, particularly Red Cloud's Ogalala. Indeed, so close was the alliance that these Cheyenne joined the Sioux in the Black Hills council of September 20, 1875. The cry of "gold in the Black Hills" had gone out, prospectors and miners were flocking into the country without regard to the existing treaty with the Sioux, and in 1875 a commission was sent for the purpose of securing a relinquishment of the Black Hills portion of the reservation, or the privilege of mining for a term of years. The Indians were arrogant in demeanor and so exorbitant in their desires (making the demand that they be supported without effort on their part for seven generations) that no arrangements could be consummated.

Following their participation in this abortive council, the Cheyenne took an important part in the Sioux hostilities, growing

[20] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,* 1868.

out of encroachment by whites on the Black Hills territory. By the end of the year 1875 the situation was so menacing, and the minor depredations of the Indians were so numerous, that serious plans were inaugurated toward sending a strong force into the field against them. General Crook, commanding the Department of the Platte, was instructed to make a winter campaign against the hostiles. The first conflict occurred on March seventeenth, when General J.J. Reynolds, with parts of the Second and Third Infantry, and half-breed scouts, engaged a party consisting largely of Cheyenne but under Crazy Horse, an Ogalala, while encamped on Little Powder river, Montana. The charge was made at daylight, the camp taken with the first impetuous rush, and lodges, camp equipment, and ammunition were destroyed at once. The Indians soon rallied, and opened an annoying fire on the troops, who were also suffering fearfully from the cold, many being badly frozen. Notwithstanding the apparent success of the attack, the order, for some inexplicable reason, was quickly given to abandon the field. This was done with such haste that the dead were left in the hands of the Indians. This was the one effort of the winter campaign, and the failure to do more than to destroy the camp and capture a few worthless horses was a keen disappointment to the army.[21]

On June 17, 1876, General Crook's command, consisting of the Second and Third Cavalry and the Fourth and Ninth Infantry, and some two hundred and fifty Crow and Shoshoni scouts, met the main force of the hostiles in the hills west of Rosebud river, Montana. The battle was a severe one from the start, and judging from the testimony of Sioux and Cheyenne participants, as well as the Crow allies of the army, had it not been for the Crow and Shoshoni scouts, Crook would have received severe punishment if not defeat. He buried his dead on the battle-field, and on the following day started on his return to the commissary camp, which he had left on Goose creek, a small tributary to Tongue river. Immediately following this, Custer, with the Seventh Cavalry, came up the Rosebud almost to the scene of Crook's battle, then crossed the divide between the Rosebud and the Little Bighorn, and on the twenty-fifth, seven days after the Crook affair, and about twelve miles from its scene, occurred the Custer engagement.[2] While this is considered a conflict with the Sioux, the Northern Cheyenne

[21] Bourke, *On the Border with Crook,* New York, 1892, pages 270-280.

were largely represented, and apparently considered the Sioux cause their own.

On November twenty-fifth Colonel Mackenzie, with nearly two thousand troops, including his Indian scouts, engaged the Cheyenne on Crazy Woman creek, Wyoming.[22] The attack was made at daylight, and was a complete surprise. Men, women, and children rushed from their beds practically without clothing, and the troops, vastly outnumbering the Indians, quickly drove them from the camp. The weather was so severe that the soldiers, bundled in all the clothing they could get on their bodies, suffered seriously, but what the misery of the almost naked Indians must have been is beyond conjecture. Many children were frozen to death during the day. After the first stampede from the camp the Indians rallied and continued a stubborn fight during the entire day. The lodges and their contents were burned, and frightful must have been the rage of the freezing Cheyenne as they beheld the destruction of their warm blankets and clothing, their lodges and ammunition. This was the worst defeat suffered by the Cheyenne.

The disheartened Dull Knife at once went for aid to his old-time comrade in conflict, Crazy Horse, but the latter would not succor him, nor aid him in a battle of retaliation. This further discouragement caused Dull Knife to surrender and offer to join the troops in a fight against the now despised Sioux chief, and early in the year 1877 practically all of his band had come in to Red Cloud agency and surrendered.

During the autumn of 1876 Colonel (General) Nelson A. Miles had been persistently campaigning against the northern Teton Sioux under Sitting Bull and Gall, and on January 8, 1877, he met Crazy Horse in the Wolf mountains of Montana. The battle-ground was of the chief's choosing, but notwithstanding his confidence and the strength of his position, he was soon dislodged and driven from the field. Perhaps with this crushing defeat Crazy Horse realized his mistake in not supporting Dull Knife with his large following of freezing Cheyenne. Realizing the futility of further resistance, the greatest of the Sioux chiefs, with his whole following and such Cheyenne as were with him, came in and surrendered.

Practically the only band still unconquered was that led by Lame Deer, who thought that by keeping well within the fastnesses of the

[22] Bourke, op. cit. See also Bourke, *Mackenzie's Last Fight with the Cheyennes*, 1890.

mountains and the wilds he could avoid disastrous conflict with the troops. It fell to the lot of Colonel Miles to give chase to this last hostile Cheyenne band. With his command he left his cantonment at Tongue river, May 1, 1877, and moved with all possible stealth in the hope of surprising Lame Deer's camp, which was supposedly on the Little Muddy, now Lamedeer creek. In this he was successful, surprising the camp at sunrise on the sixth of May and capturing it with slight loss to the troops. As the result of the ill-considered act of a thoughtless orderly in covering Lame Deer with his rifle, the chief was tragically killed while shaking hands with Colonel Miles, and at the same instant a shot was fired at the officer, who with quick intuition dodged and saved his life.[23]

The battle of the Little Muddy was the closing conflict in the three years' warfare with the Northern Cheyenne. The final result of the campaign was that a large part of the Cheyenne were taken to Indian Territory in the summer of 1877. Captivity in a humid climate did not agree with these men of the north, and as their numbers lessened from disease and discouragement their longing for the old home increased, and on September 9, 1878, Dull Knife and about three hundred of his people broke away and started northward. Their path was a scene of bloodshed and outrage, and notwithstanding their insignificant numbers and the vigor of the campaign against them, they succeeded in reaching Dakota. With troops increased by reinforcements and further strengthened by Indian scouts, the pursuit of the fugitive Cheyenne was continued into the wilds of Dakota, where, on October twenty-third, Dull Knife and his band were captured. Little Wolf with a small company escaped. The prisoners were taken to Fort Robinson, Nebraska, and thrown into an old barrack. Notwithstanding their continual protest against being taken to the unhealthful south, they were notified in January that they were to be taken back. Against this ultimatum Wild Hog, in a characteristic speech in behalf of the tribe, protested and expressed the determination to die there fighting rather than to be taken south to die of disease. That such a determination meant almost certain death must have been apparent to them. They numbered at that time but forty-nine men and ninety-nine women and children.

[23] Miles, op. cit. Letter from Colonel D.L. Brainard to the author.

Following Wild Hog's defiant protest an effort was made to starve and freeze the captives into submission. No food or fuel was given them for five days, and for three days the water supply was withheld. At the end of that time the officers induced Wild Hog to come out for a parley, and an effort was at once made to arrest him. He fought like a madman, but in the end was manacled. This act of treachery further embittered the Indians, who at once covered the windows of their prison, and in concealment tore up the floor for use as a barricade. During the night of January 10, 1879, the Indians, having secretly retained possession of three guns, shot the guards and began a desperate but hopeless effort for freedom. They were pursued by the troops and shot down wherever one could be found. More than thirty were killed that night. The final struggle of the remnant of the band occurred on January twenty-second, when, although surrounded by four companies of cavalry, nineteen warriors with their women and children once more, true to the words of Wild Hog, refused to surrender. In the charge that quickly followed twenty-three were killed, fewer than fifteen making their escape and joining Little Wolf. On March twenty-fifth that chief and the remnant of the Northern Cheyenne were taken prisoners. Their long-continued resistance was at last apparently convincing that these people of the north could not successfully be transplanted into the south. Their headquarters were, for a time following the capture of Little Wolf, at Fort Keogh, Montana, and in 1884 they were given a small, discouragingly sterile reservation on Tongue river, in Montana. Poverty and want have been largely the portion of these people on their reservation. Little can be expected through agriculture, as both opportunity and inclination are lacking. Stock-raising, however, promises better days for this handful of people who so stubbornly held out for a tithe of what they rightly thought their own.

TRIBAL ORGANIZATION

Government, at least in its outward forms, was more highly developed among the Cheyenne than was common in the tribes of the plains. For if their chiefs had no greater measure of authority to compel obedience, at least they constituted a regularly organized body whose members were elected in a definitely prescribed manner. The council

of chiefs consisted of forty men, with four others acting as advisers and virtually occupying the position of head-chiefs, although they were not so called. Members of this body were chosen by reason of their bravery, uprightness, wealth, and hospitality. Tenure of office was not limited to a fixed period.

When, as usually happened after a few years of service, the chiefs felt that on account of advancing age they ought to retire in favor of more active men, they despatched messengers to the various bands, commanding that all assemble at an appointed time and place for the election of chiefs. When the new camp was formed, a double lodge was pitched in the centre, with the arrow-keeper's lodge inside the right horn of the camp-circle. In the double lodge the forty chiefs assembled, and their four counsellors sat side by side in the position of honor opposite the door. The bundle of "chief-sticks" (forty red-painted counting-sticks in the custody of the arrow-keeper) was brought in, and the four old chiefs opened it, took out the sticks, and thrust them upright into the ground in a single row in front of them. Then the council agreed on the name of one man from each of the five tribal bands, and in a body went to the lodges of these men and conducted them into the double lodge one by one in the order observed by the bands in the camp-circle, placing them in the same order at equal intervals about the circle just made vacant by themselves. In front of each man the four oldest chiefs planted a stick. Next the retiring forty chiefs made four circuits of the camp, each time gathering a number of the thirty-five other men whom they had chosen, and bringing them to the chiefs' lodge, where they placed them in the circle with a chief-stick in front of each. Bands were not equally represented in the council. Ceremonial smoking followed, and then the new chiefs selected four of the retiring body to fill the positions occupied by the four aged advisers. When these men had taken their places, one of them addressed the new chiefs, admonishing them to use discretion in the exercise of their power and to spare themselves no expense or suffering in promoting the welfare of the tribe, to deal with the people as with their own children, and always to do even more than was asked of them.

The duties of the chiefs were much the same among the Cheyenne as among other tribes of the plains, although the Cheyenne seem to have been more closely organized than some others — a condition to which

two factors contributed. In the first place, theirs was a comparatively small, compact tribe in which unity of action was still possible and desirable. Secondly, their head-men formed a self-perpetuating body, and in that respect its members were comparatively, but only comparatively, free of the temptation to listen too closely to the voice of the people. The lodge of the chief was a centre for the dispensing of charity to needy tribesmen and hospitality to visitors. Before finally announcing a decision on any such question as making peace, moving camp, or planning a general hunt, the chiefs must secure the ratification of the leaders of the warrior societies, the so-called soldier chiefs. Each of these had already discussed the pending question with his principal followers, and had informed the chiefs of the other societies of the stand he proposed to take. Thus, it is said, the soldier chiefs were always found in substantial agreement on any proposal submitted to them. The head-men of the warrior societies, then, as will more clearly appear in the discussion of those organizations, were the real governing power, combining executive with partial legislative functions; while the council of forty-four constituted a body whose business was almost wholly advisory.

The warrior societies were originally four in number: Dog Men, Kit-fox Men, Lances, and Red Shields. At a later period the Bow-strings were organized, and among the Northern Cheyenne appeared a sixth, the Crazy Dogs. These were almost altogether warlike in their spirit, purpose, regalia, and ritual, certain religious features which appear having had their foundation in the desire to influence the supernatural powers to lend their aid in battle. The societies were entirely independent, each of the others. They were not classified according to the age of their members, as parts of a system through which all warriors must pass from lowest to highest, as was the case among the Piegan and the Arapaho. A man joined a society at the invitation of its members, some of whom conducted him from his lodge to that in which the company was then assembled, where, arrayed in their distinguishing regalia, he danced, sang, and feasted with them and thus became a member. This, however, did not debar him from ever changing his affiliation; for after the election of chiefs any one had the privilege of providing a substitute and joining another society. Thus there was a more or less complete reorganization, which sometimes involved the selection of new warrior chiefs. The high regard in which

the societies were held is indicated by the fact that the sins of the family were visited upon the innocent head of a warrior member, and he was summarily expelled from the organization. Thus in 1858 White Bull, of the Northern Cheyenne, nearly four years a member of the Crazy Dogs and two years an official, was expelled from the society because an uncle had shot at, but not wounded, a man who had shot at his dog. On the same day members of the Lances came for him and he at once joined them. Men guilty of killing a tribesman, whether intentionally or accidentally, were forever barred from membership in any society.

There were various grades, or degrees, within the society, but through these a man might progress more or less rapidly according, in the main, to his success in war. Besides the chief and his assistant war-chiefs, there were others above the rank of ordinary members, chosen for their courage to be the standard-bearers. The insignia of the Dog Men were four strips of tanned skin, ten or twelve inches wide and eight feet long, with a lengthwise slit near one end. They were called "dog-strings." Two of them, more elaborately embroidered with porcupine-quills than the others, were worn over the right shoulder and under the left, and trailing behind on the ground, by the two bravest men of the society. Two others wore the less gaudy pair. At the trailing end was fastened a wooden picket-pin. In battle, when their comrades were hard pressed, those who had been appointed to wear the dog-strings for that year drove the stakes into the ground and there fought to cover the retreat of the others. It was expected of them that they would die rather than retreat. But Indian customs usually furnish a loophole for escape from such stringent requirements, and in this case it is found in the provision that if a comrade ordered them away, as if he were speaking to a dog, they were at liberty to retreat with the others. At the end of each year the wearers of the dog-strings relinquished them to four other members newly chosen for the position; or, if one had been killed and the dog-string lost, his widow had a new one prepared for his successor. The ensign-bearers of the Kit-fox Men had lances wound with strips of otter-fur, the lower part at the handle being bent in the form of a strung bow. Among those of the Lance the men who filled the position carried lances bent from end to end and strung, like a bow; while among those of the Red Shield they had red-painted buffalo-hide shields, from the edge of

which hung the buffalo-tail. Four members of the Kit-fox, the Lance, and the Red Shield societies were unmarried women, daughters of chiefs, who assisted in the singing and dancing at the celebration of their rituals. They were called sisters, and accordingly no member of the society to which such a maiden belonged was permitted to marry her. To be chosen for this position was a great honor, which only girls of distinguished families and of unblemished character could attain.

The Dog Men formed the largest and most powerful warrior society. At an indeterminate date, which some informants loosely give as two generations ago, they were joined by all the men of one of the tribal divisions. The reason of this unusual occurrence is not known, but it may be conjectured as due to the popularity and war successes of the chiefs of that society. This position of preeminence was maintained, and in the course of time the tribal band and the warrior company became practically one, and the name of the band was changed to that of the society. Thus the Dog Men became the famous Dog Soldiers so frequently mentioned by early observers and writers, and later army officers and Indian Bureau officials. Constituting at the same time a powerful military organization and a distinct tribal group, they roved at will over a large territory, hunting and raiding far northward and southward of the Platte.

In addition to their dances and their raids, the warrior societies performed the duties of the so-called soldiers common to all plains peoples. They were the camp police, and they preserved order on the general buffalo hunt. They enforced the orders of the chiefs. But more than that, their wishes were consulted before any matter of public interest was settled. They were in fact the real ruling power, the only body that could compel obedience.

Socially the Cheyenne consisted of a number of hands. According to White Bull, a Northern Cheyenne, there were, disregarding subdivisions, or offshoots of principal bands, five such groups. The Hévísts-uní'pahis ("buffalo-aorta shrivelled") were so called because certain warriors of that band, finding themselves without a pipe, used instead a piece of the aorta of a buffalo, which shrivelled with the heat. This grew to be a not uncommon custom, as the supposition that it was a more healthful manner of smoking gained credence. Hévhaitaneo, or Hair Men, the name applied to the second band, is of comparatively recent date, having its origin in the persistent use by this division of buffalo-

robes after woollen blankets had become common. Their former name has been forgotten. Hótamitáneo, Dog Men, is properly the name of a warrior society, but subsequent to the concerted action of the men of the Masí'kota band in joining the Dog society, the name of the warrior organization came to be used in place of the band name, which is now obsolete and of uncertain meaning. The Ohmísis, or Eaters, are now, with a few scattering representatives of other divisions, the Northern Cheyenne, having remained in the north when the rest of the tribe took up their residence on the Arkansas. Statistics of population after the separation show that the Eaters were by far the largest of the tribal divisions. The Sótaia, formerly a distinct tribe of cognate speech, allied themselves with the Cheyenne and gradually came to be regarded as one of the tribal group. This occurred not earlier than 1833, as the Sótaia still maintained a separate existence when in that year they and a majority of the Cheyenne established themselves in the country surrounding Bent's Fort, on Arkansas river. In strictness, it should be said that the original divisions of the Cheyenne were four in number. These were merely divisions, and not clans, for there was no ban on the marriage of those belonging to the same band. The only restriction was that known relations should not be married. When a man and a woman belonging to different divisions married, their lodge normally was pitched in that part of the circle occupied by the woman's group. Thus it appears that descent was reckoned in the female line.

While in an external way the Cheyenne resemble the Sioux and other plains Indians, there is a subtle independence of spirit and an attitude of superiority which is characteristically Cheyenne, and shows them to be of individual mentality. Their resentment of ill treatment through the disregarded treaties and promises has already been mentioned. They recognize their own ferocity to the extent of accounting for it by a myth.

A man had two children. This family lived alone, and the man spent his days in hunting. Before starting out he would paint his wife's face, and when he returned he would always find her face unpainted. He perceived that there was somebody of whom he did not know. One day he went away as usual, but came back almost at once. He saw a water-monster come out and take the paint off the woman's face. "This is the way my wife has been deceiving me," he said. "I will kill her!" Then he killed the woman and the water-monster. He cut her

body up and took the meat into the lodge. The children ate the flesh, and this is why the Cheyenne people are fierce. The younger one knew by the taste that this was the flesh of his mother.

There is little about the Cheyenne to suggest their early habitat on the lakes and among the forests of the east. Generally their myth stories say little not common to the prairie region, but occasionally some fragment appears which gives a glimpse of a long-forgotten past. So faint is the suggestion that it is like the breeze blowing to us across the meadows or through the forests: something in its tantalizing aroma recalls days of long ago and childhood, but so vaguely that it seems but a dream. One of these interesting fragments is the story of the waterfall.

In the earliest times the people lived in the north, and eastward, beside a lake whence issued a stream which soon plunged over a precipice, a lofty waterfall. A game of *ahkóeo* was in progress, and in the throng of people pressing about to watch the players hurl their shafts after the rolling wheel, two men, strangers each to the other, met face to face. Both were dressed and painted exactly alike. Said one, "You appear to be dressing to imitate me!" The other protested: "This is my own way of dressing and painting. How do you know this way?" "I got it from the old woman under the waterfall," was the answer." "It is true, what you say," said the other. "We both have this from the same spirit."

After they had come to an understanding they announced that they were going to consult the spirit of the falls again, and they requested that the camp be moved down to the river. And so it was done. Then, before the eyes of all the people the two young men disappeared beneath the water. Back of the sheet of falling water they came into a cave, where sat an old woman. She gave to them dried buffalo-meat, corn, beans, and seeds of the squash, and told them to take these gifts to the people. Holding them tightly in their hands they again plunged into the water. Soon the waiting people saw them emerge, and the color of their painting was no longer as it had been. They gave the people the food in their hands, and it more than sufficed to feed all.

This was the beginning of the use of buffalo for food, and of the planting of seeds in the earth.

This may be all fiction, or like many another myth it may contain the germ of truth: there may be here a faint reminiscence of the life near the Falls of St. Anthony. Or, to carry conjecture still farther: since

it is highly probable that the tribe once inhabited the Algonquian territory of eastern Canada, it is not inconceivable that some prehistoric Cheyenne, seeking reputation as a magician, found the way to pass behind the wall of water at Niagara and brought thence, as gifts from the Old Woman, strange seeds which in reality he had procured in the southern country. Assuming that there actually was a man who passed behind a waterfall, we have an ideal illustration of the growth of a myth. In various versions of the same tale we are told that the seeds were brought out from a lofty waterfall just below a large lake; that they were brought out of a waterfall; that they were obtained in the depths of a spring flowing from a hillside; that the heroes went into a butte and got them; and finally that the butte was on the eastern margin of the Black Hills. Here we have in effect a panorama of the changing environment of the people as they moved from the region of lakes, rivers, and cataracts to the semi-arid plains west of the Missouri. The great waterfall loses its immensity; it becomes an abundant spring in a hillside; then its role is taken by the hill itself, which finally is localized to the earliest known home of the narrator. A man who has lived all his days on the prairies of Dakota finds a bald butte an easier feat of imagination than a roaring mountain of water.

The religious beliefs, customs, and practices of the Cheyenne all centre about the sacred arrows brought to them by the culture hero Motseiyóïv,[24]as recounted in the following brief myth:

A certain young woman of long ago perceived that she was approaching motherhood; but only after four years had passed was the child born. The people said among themselves, "This boy must be a supernatural person." When he reached the age at which boys begin to wear robes, a calf-skin was given to him, but he immediately began to wear it with the hairy side exposed. Only magicians wore their robes so. At a time when, according to their custom, the magicians sat in their lodge ready to practise their ceremonies, the boy entered and sat down beside their principal man. The performance began, and each man in turn arose and exhibited his peculiar powers. At last it was the boy's turn to prove his right to sit with the men of magic power. First he made incense of sweet-grass, and purified a bow-string in the smoke. Then, after two of the men had encircled his neck with the

[24] Translated by the interpreter Red Water as "Sweet Medicine," and by Mooney as "Standing Medicine."

bow-string, he covered himself with his robe and commanded them to pull on both ends of the string with all their strength. They obeyed, and the head was severed from the body and rolled upon the ground. The two assisting magicians placed it under the robe with the body, and when a little later they removed the robe, an old man was seen. Over him they replaced the robe, and when again they raised it a human skeleton was revealed. They covered the bones, and these disappeared. Finally they threw the robe over the spot of bare ground, and when for the last time they removed it, the boy was seen where he first had sat. This was greater magic than any of the others possessed, and thenceforth they regarded him as having supernatural power. The boy was approaching manhood, when one day after the hunt, as he knelt removing the skin from a buffalo-cow, an old man came up with his pack-dogs. According to the custom, any old, dependent person had the right to appropriate any portion of the hunter's buffalo; but this man demanded all. "Take the meat, grandfather," said the youth, "but leave the hide, for I wish a robe." "The meat I will take," responded the old man, "and the hide, for I need both." He shoved the boy aside and began to cut up the carcass. Protesting, the boy returned to his work, but again he was pushed away. Then in anger he passed round behind the old man, raised a heavy leg-bone, and struck him a furious blow on the head. The old man fell lifeless, and the boy finished his work and returned with the hide to his grandmother's lodge.

Now, when it became known that the old man was dead at the hands of the youth, the warriors angrily surrounded the lodge of the boy's grandmother, determined to kill the murderer, for the old man had been one of the chiefs. Simultaneously they rushed upon the lodge, but the boy upset the earthen cooking-pot, and in the column of smoke and steam from the extinguished fire he arose and in the form of an owl passed through the smoke-hole. A few days later he returned secretly, and again they attempted to take him, but, as before, he assumed another form and escaped them. Thus five times in all the boy eluded the warriors, and each time the form he took was different from the others.

After the fifth time the youth left his people and wandered among the hills. At length he came near to a butte higher than the others, in the side of which appeared a door. He entered, the door closed behind him, and he found himself in a tipi-shaped cave. In a circle, as if in

a lodge, sat many aged men. Each had a medicine-bundle and each represented a tribe. The circle was complete except at one point, and there in the vacant place the youth sat down under a medicine-bundle wrapped in a fox-skin. Then one after another the medicine-bundles were opened, and the songs, prayers, and sacred rites of each one were practised, all assisting the owner of each several bundle. When after a long time the bundle wrapped in fox-skin was opened, it was found to contain four arrows, whose stone points were wrapped in eagle down-feathers. Thus the young man learned the songs of the medicine-arrows. Four years he remained in the butte, learning the secrets of medicine practices, and during all that time his people were starving; for his power had taken all the animals from their country and kept them hidden among the hills. At the end of this period of instruction he prepared to return to his people.

Two boys, wandering far from the camp in search of roots to satisfy their gnawing hunger, were met by a young man carrying something wrapped in a fox-skin. "Gather some dry buffalo-chips," he commanded them, and they did so, and when he laid his hands on them they became pemmican. The boys ate their fill, and then the young man said: "I am Motseiyóïv. Take some of this pemmican to your fathers, and say that the one whom they drove away has returned. Tell them to pitch the camp in a new place and erect a double lodge in the centre. There let four good men meet me with pipes." The boys hastened homeward, and the young man's words were obeyed. On the next day he appeared in the double lodge to instruct the four chosen priests in the rites of the sacred arrows; and at the end of their songs and prayers the camp was surrounded with buffalo.

This sacred palladium of the Cheyenne consists of four arrows wrapped in a fox-skin and is always in the custody of some aged medicine-man, who holds his position for life. The arrows are regarded as a gift from the supernatural through the agency of Motseiyóïv, and are supposedly possessed of extraordinary power in that one pair, when pointed at a human being, will bring about his death, and the other pair caused the buffalo herd to move senselessly in a circle while they were being shot down. The bundle of arrows is kept in the lodge of its custodian, which is hedged about with many restrictions against unseemly conduct in its vicinity. There are also four other priests, or assistants to the custodian, besides whom none may lay hands on the

unwrapped arrows. These four, like the keeper of the arrows, are old men, and of course medicine-men, appointed to their position because they have shown particular zeal and aptness in memorizing the songs and details of the ritual. On the death of the keeper, one of them succeeds to his office.

Each year the arrows are exposed to the view of the males of the tribe in order to insure a continuance of health and prosperity; but no woman would think of looking upon them, lest she die. Like so many other religious rites of the plains Indians, the ceremony of opening the sacred-arrow bundle is performed at the request of some individual, in this case a man, who thus redeems a pledge to the supernatural. Camp is established on fresh, undefiled ground, and the pledger pitches his lodge within the circle and at the side opposite the entrance. Offerings to the supernatural are carried to this lodge by those who will, and several highly esteemed warriors who have committed no wrong toward any tribesman erect a large lodge in the centre, using the poles and covers of two ordinary tipis. On the following day the pledger removes the offerings to this sacred-arrow lodge, and then brings to it the arrow-bundle from the lodge of the keeper, which stands within the camp-circle and at the right of the ceremonial lodge. Inside are only the keeper, the four assistants, and other medicine-men acquainted with the ritual. The four open the bundle and examine the arrows, carefully holding the points toward the opening of the lodge and of the camp-circle, so that no one shall incur death by having a point directed toward him. If the feathering, or the down-feathers surrounding the arrow-heads, appear worn, the four assistants replace them with new ones, being careful to duplicate every detail with great exactness.

The third day is spent by the men in their own lodges in the performance of the rites connected with their own individual medicines, while in the ceremonial lodge the medicine-men are offering supplication for each family of the tribe. On the last day a short forked pole is brought to the lodge, and the four assistant arrow-keepers bind the arrows lengthwise to it, the two pairs pointing in opposite directions. In front of the lodge the pledger then thrusts the pole into the ground, and every male in the camp goes to look at the arrows and to offer prayers and gifts. The females remain within doors. Next certain members of the warrior societies move the ceremonial lodge and pitch it over the pole; and the assistant arrow-keepers rewrap the

sacred objects and return them to the lodge of their custodian. In the ceremonial lodge the medicine-men pass the night singing the songs of the arrows, and in the early morning they repair to a sweat-lodge.

The sacred bundle, which is held by the southern branch of the tribe, now contains only two of the original arrows, the second pair having been made within comparatively recent years in imitation of the genuine ones. About 1840 the entire bundle was captured by the Pawnee, but subsequently two of the arrows were returned to the Cheyenne.[25]

A ceremony taught them by Motseiyóïv, long obsolete until reenacted in the summer of 1909, was probably given each year at the opening of the arrow-bundle. The participants in this ceremony dressed and painted in imitation of different animals and simulated their actions, the Crazy Dancers enacting the part of hunters in the drama.[26] The ceremony is thus described by Richard Throssel, who saw it given in the summer of 1909.

"The Indians left their regular camp and moved to a place selected for the ceremony. The encampment was in the form of a horseshoe, with its opening toward the stream. At the centre of the large open area within the camp was pitched the medicine-tipi, a large one formed by joining two. In the centre of this lodge they set in the ground a young cottonwood tree of such height that its leafy top stood above the longest tipi-pole. In this lodge they held the rites of the first four days, which were secret. In the meantime there had been placed inside of the camp-circle and some fifty feet distant from it several lodges to

[25] According to a Sioux calendar a single arrow was restored in 1844.

[26] The Crazy Dancers were a well-known medicine society claiming the ability to perform remarkable if not supernatural feats, such as lifting great weights, jumping extraordinary distances, throwing their fellow men about as though they were without weight, taking objects from the bottoms of kettles filled with boiling soup, and dancing barefoot on hot coals. The Indians state that they used internally some herb to make it possible for them to perform these superhuman feats of strength. They also used, in preparation for the dancing on the coals and plunging their bands in hot liquid, an herb which was chewed and rubbed on the flesh, and when observed by the author in performing the feat of taking objects from boiling kettles they apparently covered their hands with a thin coating of clay. The preparation for this feat as described by other tribes is that they first cover their bands with some vegetable matter, which makes them gummy, and then apply a thin coating of very finely powdered earth, which dries quickly.

be used by the different groups of 'animal' dancers in dressing for the public part of the ceremony. On the fifth day the medicine-tipi was taken down, and on widely spread tipi-poles were stretched lodge-covers, forming a sheltered arena, which was quite open at the side toward the opening of the camp-circle, and from this dance arena stretched two diverging lines of cottonwood saplings, planted in the ground so that they looked like growing trees. This made a V-shaped tract enclosed by the lines of brush, with the dance structure at its point. Late in the afternoon of the fifth day the different groups of animal personators, the buffalo, the wolves, the foxes, the elk, the antelope the deer, and others, came out and marched round the camp-circle and as they proceeded, the old, the needy, and the afflicted came out to stand by their path to receive a blessing, which took the form of the 'animal' brushing a willow wreath along the body of the petitioner from his feet to his head. As the actors came to the ceremonial lodge the same animals danced single-file in a great circle, outside of which the wolves characteristically prowled, and the bulls kept between them and the circle, as though protecting a herd. The Crazy Dancers turned hunters and tried to attack the animals, all that participants simulating the actions of the animals represented. The performance was in four acts, the participants going to the dressing lodge in each interval. At the end of the fourth dance they all rushed singing to water for a drink, and the following them the spectators went to drink at the same spot. Then all returned to the arena for one more act of the dancing, which closed the ceremony."

With the Cheyenne the sweat-bath is one of the most essential religious observances. Through its agency their purified minds and bodies are brought in accord with the supernatural powers. Even when it is employed in healing disease the thought is that the power of the spirits, not the steam, will expel the sickness.

Certain medicine-men have the right to build sweat-lodges and conduct the ceremony, and they can impart that prerogative to others. In this way alone can a man obtain the sweat-lodge medicine, that is, the right to have a sweat-lodge built and then to preside at the ceremony. After the promise of valuable presents the medicine-man instructs the novice, while his wife teaches the wife of the latter her duties. The transfer of the medicine of healing and fighting is also involved in the transaction. When a man first receives the sweat-lodge

medicine he has seventeen willows used in the frame-work, and as he grows older he changes to twenty-five, then to forty-one, and finally to one hundred and one. These are thrust into the ground, bent over, and bound tip to base in pairs, so as to form eight, twelve, twenty, or fifty arches, the odd willow crossing the framework from east to west with its butt thrust into the ground in front and its tip bound down to other withes in the rear, representing the backbone and tail of the buffalo, which the structure symbolizes. The origin of the sweating ceremony is ascribed to the buffalo, and a buffalo-skull is always placed in front of and looking toward the lodge. On one side of the structure the arches are colored with black earth-paint, on the other side with red. Also two of the many stones collected for heating are colored black, two red, and one half black and half red. In the centre is the circular hole, about eighteen inches in diameter and twelve in depth, for the reception of the heated stones; and from here to the entrance in a strip about eight inches wide the sod is removed.

With his invited guests the giver of the sweat enters the sudatory, and sitting at the back, opposite the entrance, draws with the tip of his finger in the exposed soil of the stone-pit two parallel lines with each pair of ends connected by a V-shaped indentation. This figure, which is called *hétanihyá* (cf. *hétan,* man), is always made in virgin soil exposed for a ceremonial purpose. (In former days, if the participants were preparing for a raid, or for a buffalo-hunt, he next indicated hoof-prints around the edge of the hole.) Then he fills his pipe, extends the mouthpiece to the four directions, smokes, and starts it about the circle. (If the sweat were being taken in anticipation of an expedition against the enemy, any man who wished to have the help of the spirits to kill a man touched the mouthpiece to the figure in the stone-pit; or if he wished to capture horses, or to kill many buffalo, as the case might be, he thus gave smoke to the hoof-prints.) Four pipefuls of tobacco are thus smoked, and the pipe is then filled a fifth time and laid behind the pit. The stones being called for, the two black ones are brought in first and placed at the nearer corners of the hole. The red ones are next placed at the outer corners and the party-colored one is laid in the centre. Then juniper leaves or sweet-grass is dropped on each stone, and the remainder are carried in. The giver of the sweat lifts the pipe, points it to the cardinal directions, goes out, passing to the left of the stone-pit, and lays it against the buffalo-skull, the stem between the

horns. Each man takes his medicine-bundle from the ground, where it has been lying in front of him, and places it on top of the sweat-lodge, and the wife of the master of ceremonies deposits a vessel of water in the pathway leading from the stone-pit to the entrance. The cover is lowered, and the woman with ceremonious motions pours a cup of water and passes it to her husband, who starts it round the circle, each man taking a sip, which he spits into his hands and rubs over his entire body. Last the head-man body. Last the head-man takes a mouthful and spurts the water five times upon the stones, and while the others grasp their rattles, he begins to pray to his own particular guardian-spirit, that is, to his medicine, and to all the other spirits, for those who have come into his sweat-lodge, that any present sickness may pass away from them, that they and their children and relatives may live long, that prosperity may be the lot of all. The following is a typical prayer:

"Spirits, hear me; think especially of me, miserable man. Those that enter my sweat-lodge for safety, going out may they leave behind all that is bad. Take thought of them; that good may come to them, take thought. Let horses of different colors come to them. Ye spirits, my different wives I have given to you, that I might be permitted to speak to you. My wives from you I make no attempt to hide, that I might be permitted to speak to you. In your sweat-lodge the earth has been renewed. Stones of different colors they have heated, woods of different colors they have erected. Your pipe is filled; come and smoke. When they go out of my sweat-lodge may some good go with them. To the places whence they came, may they all take good luck. May all their relatives receive good; their children embrace it with joy. Let their way lie along the good road. Especially remember me, poor as I am; help me. That our patients may arise with ease, take thought of them; let them once more walk about with joy. Everywhere in divers manners I have tortured myself; may the spirits pity me. Who are ye that taught this custom? I do not claim to know anything; I am poor; I am far from knowing anything. Old men taught me this way, and if I make a mistake, turn it into good. Especially remember poor me. Everything I ask of you, grant me. *Hená-hani!"*

At the close of the invocation the men shake their rattles four times; then the singing begins, the master of the sudatory beginning and all the others joining. Eight songs are given; but these may be one

song rendered eight times, or two songs each rendered four times, or four songs each rendered twice. Prayers sometimes intervene. Near the end of the singing the woman throws water on the stones. The first period ended, the cover is raised front and back for a few minutes, the woman takes a drink of water and passes a cupful to each man, the cover is lowered again, and there follows a second series of songs, equal to the first in the number of its parts and of their repetition. Thus the four divisions of the entire set of songs are used. One such set comprising eight songs (the eighth being a repetition of one of the others). Two of these songs, each repeated four times, are given in each interval of sweating.

When for the fourth time the cover is raised, the men or women or girls attending receive the rattles, which, one by one, are out at the front. The rattles they place on the right side of the buffalo-skull side by side and pointing toward the lodge, and the medicine-bundles behind the skull. For the last time the cover is dropped, the remaining water is dashed on the stones, and after an interval without singing, all come out, some to plunge into the water, others to squat about the fire and smoke the pipe that has been leaning against the buffalo-skull.

As with the majority of tribes, the individual presumes to secure supernatural strength and divine direction through fasting on the hills and in the mountains. The personal experience of the informant White Bull is an interesting illustration of their practices. His sepultural experiences are quite out of the ordinary in the Indians' countless methods of self-torture for the purpose of spiritual attainment.

"When sixteen years of age I fasted for the first time. My horse had been shot in battle, and I wanted to avoid such accidents in the future; and also I had made a vow that if a sister, who was very ill, should recover, I would make a fast. I went into the mountains north of Platte river. On the first night I saw nothing, but on the second a woman came bringing a pipe in one hand and a spear in the other. I hated women at that time, and would not look at her. I thought she came from Thunder, because she was carrying the spear. 'I have brought you this pipe,' she said. 'Whenever you go to war, you will overcome the enemy if you have this Pipe. Take this lance and no man will be able to shoot you, but if a woman shoots at you, you may fall.' By this I understood that if I were to be killed it would happen by a woman's hand. I refused to take the pipe and lance, and she said

she would give me medicine from the ground. She did this, and told me how to use it, giving me also songs which I still use. I made no answer, but merely said in my heart that I would accept. Just behind her sat many spirits with horns on their heads. They looked like human beings, but afterward they turned into horned owls and flew away, the woman following them. From a little distance she made a great noise like thunder, and I knew she was Thunder.

"The third night there was a rain which continued in the morning and throughout the day until about two hours before sunset. Then a rainbow appeared. Hanging from the arch were seven shields, the designs on their faces so plain to me that I could remember them. That is the way I got the right to make shields, and since then I have made many, each painted as one of those seven had been.

"I was weak from fasting, and lay down. At sunset I arose and saw seven men on horseback coming from the east, each bearing one of the seven shields. I kept my eyes particularly on a black horse, whose rider had a gun, and I noticed also a roan horse.

"The fourth night I heard singing below at the foot of the mountain. I went down crying, and saw an animal at the spring. It was blue, with spots of white, and had horns. It said: 'This water is mine. It is different. In the summer it is cooler and in the winter warmer than any other water. Whenever I breathe I cause a fog. What do you wish?' I did not speak to that animal, but returned to the top of the hill, and remained standing there until daylight.

A horse was brought to me by a friend, and I returned to camp. My father made a sweat-lodge, which I entered with many others. Then he gave me water, rubbed me with sage, and said: 'My son, I smell you. You smell like a water turtle. 'I took a sip of water and gave the cup back to my father, saying 'Drink, father, that I may live long.' I did not tell him what had seen.

"When I was about twenty-four years of age I wanted to prove that my medicine was great and to get more power for warfare, so I had my friends dig a large hole in the ground shaped like *héta-nihyá*. Then they sang many songs and bound my arms and legs tight with bow-strings, and put me into the hole which was like a big grave. All the men and warriors of my tribe were there to see me do that, and two hundred and fifty of them put ropes around a very large stone and pulled it over the hole. Then I sang my songs many times, and in a vision I learned

that I was to be a great warrior, and I sang more songs and then in the night the stone moved away, and I came out."[27]

The most important religious and devotional observance of the Cheyenne was the Sun Dance, which, as given by them, was in its broadest principles similar to the sun ceremony of the many other prairie tribes. An obvious difference in the rite as given by the Cheyenne and by the other important Algonquian group of the west, the Blackfeet, is that the teaching of chastity, which is the most important precept in the Blackfoot ceremony, is quite lacking in the Cheyenne rite. From the best information obtainable it is evident that the torture features were far less in evidence than with many other tribes. They claim that but one man at a time would be pierced and tied with thongs, while with the Apsaroke as many as fifty might be enduring the agony of self-torture simultaneously. The Cheyenne with characteristic tenacity have, however, continued to hold their ceremony long after most other tribes have abandoned its observance. Many of the Cheyenne say that they were taught it by the culture hero Motseiyóïv, but Mooney states that the Southern Cheyenne attribute its origin to the Sotaia.

The ceremony is given in fulfilment of a vow made by some individual of the tribe. In this respect their practice conforms with that of the Sioux, Apsaroke, and Blackfeet, in fact, all prairie tribes with whom the author is acquainted. The incentive occasioning the making of such a pledge might be one of several adversities requiring the utmost appeal to the infinite. Perhaps the warrior seriously beset in battle would beseech the spirits, "If spared I will make the Sun Dance!" Or a man afflicted by serious illness in the family might cry out, "Spare this loved one and I will make the Sun Dance for you!" Numerous are the instances in which it has been pledged to avoid threatened danger from lightning. White Bull, in speaking of his vow to give the ceremony, states that he made his promise directly to Thunder.

After uttering the vow the devotee is committed to a prescribed manner of life and conduct, and during the period intervening between the vow and the ceremony, be it for but a few months or for practically a year, he, if married, must cease all association with his wife or wives,

[27] By what manner of trickery he made his escape could not be learned. The members of his tribe believe that by his supernatural power he freed himself from the cords which bound him, and then raised the rock to escape. It is probable that the inspiration of this medicine affair was from biblical sources.

as continence is strictly enjoined on both husband and wife. After publicly announcing his determination to give this ceremony the pledger continues to keep himself painted with the sacred red earth-paint.

Following the announcement many councils and smokes are held, particularly with the members of his soldier society, whom he requests to join him in dancing. Participation in the dance, however, is not confined to the members of his society: others may volunteer if they desire.

In addition to the pledger, the ritual requires for its second most important character a woman, ordinarily the wife of the one who has made the vow. However, if for moral or other reasons she is not deemed worthy or fit by the members of his lodge, some other woman is selected by them to participate in her stead. In this event the woman selected must also abstain from sexual relationship during the intervening period. It is said that a woman also may make the vow, in which event the ceremony does not differ from one in which a man has made the declaration, the woman simply taking the same part as the wife in the regular way, and her husband the part of the pledger.

There seems to be no fixed time at which the ceremony should be held, any period during the summer or autumn sufficing, and the actual date need not be determined far in advance, or if practically settled upon can be changed as occasion requires.

The author witnessed the Cheyenne rite in early October of 1909. The camp site was on the western bank of Tongue river. Dorsey's statement that the camp-circle must always be situated on the southern bank of a river could not prevail in this instance, owing to the direction of the river's course. The author and party arrived late Sunday afternoon, finding many of the Cheyenne already encamped, and having passed at a distance of five miles a large number of Indians who were to arrive at the ceremonial grounds the following afternoon. The lodge in which the preparatory and secret ceremonies were to be held was already in position, its location being slightly inside the circle, and at the right-hand rear, as one stood at the back of the circle looking toward its opening to the northeast.

In this instance there were two pledgers, Standing Elk and Fisher. There was, however, but one female participant — the wife of Standing Elk. Old Wolf was master of ceremonies, his duties being to instruct

the pledger and generally to direct the ceremony.

On Monday afternoon scouts were despatched to the hilltops to watch for the coming of those who had been encamped at a distance, and toward evening they were seen signalling the approach of the newcomers.

Soon a great cloud of dust arose skyward from the direction of the mountains, and there emerged from it a horde of gaily dressed warriors. With their appearance the bands of scouts from the hilltops rode wildly toward camp, shouting and shooting. When the approaching warriors reached the edge of the plain overlooking the encampment, they halted as though they were a war-party preparing for an open attack. Then with singing of songs, shouting, and firing of arms, they made their peaceful but noisy attack on the camp, riding several times completely round its inner circle. Closely following the warriors were the women with the camp impedimenta, the children, the dogs, and then the youths driving the herds of horses. As though thoroughly drilled, each family took its proper place in the complete circle, and in a few minutes hundreds of tents were being simultaneously erected. There was much shouting to and fro, and much good-natured banter by the women, who thus exchanged greetings without delaying domestic establishment. In every direction about the camp and its vicinity were riding men and boys, singing, shouting, haranguing, each with the importance of a field-marshal, and grouped about on the hills were everywhere parties of young men, or perhaps of maidens, looking down on the camp's activities. Every hill and plain was dotted with the grazing horses, and herds were being driven to water. There by the river's edge was another scene of great activity. Girls in size from toddling babes to young womanhood were there in scores, many with water-buckets, and amorous youths, ostensibly looking after their drinking herds, were availing themselves of the opportunity for a word with the coy maidens.

Before, the tents were fairly up twilight was creeping on, and as the fires were kindled the crackling flames and flying sparks glowed red in the gathering darkness. About the circle rode the haranguer of the camp, advising and instructing all as to plans for the coming days. By the time the evening meal was over, night had closed upon the camp. Darkness, however, lessened little the activities of the assemblage. By each camp-fire were grouped gossiping matrons, and half within its

flickering light romped the children, making the most of this period of festivity, while in many lodges could be heard the beat of the drum and the accompanying song. With the coming of darkness appeared a new phase of Cheyenne life. Everywhere about the camp with noiseless moccasined feet stalked white-robed, ghostlike figures — men, young and middle-aged, — so enwrapped that only dark eyes peered out. The individual knew no one, and no one knew him, the voice only disclosing identity. About the ceremonial lodge, in which were occurring preliminary rites, was a large assembly of these white-robed men. Constantly others came, singly and in groups of two, or a half-dozen, and as constantly others drifted out and faded into the darkness. This was the focal point from which they came and went. The moon was at its full, and soon, like a tremendous ball of fire, rose out of the darkness, and long before the camp settled into slumber all was bathed in the soft, mysterious light of its autumn radiance.

Tuesday was a day given to minor matters and the discussion of plans for the building of the sun-lodge on the following day. Also, during the day the secret ceremonies in the preparatory lodge were continued, and the paraphernalia to be used in the public rite was prepared. The evening was spent like the preceding one, in visiting, gossiping, flirting, and intrigue.

On the following morning the camp was engaged early in the activities of the most important day. Men of the warrior societies went in the four directions for the small poles that were used in constructing the lodge. A group of the old warriors proceeded to a nearby cottonwood grove to select and cut the centre-pole. No virgin participated in this, as was the case with many tribes, nor was there any ceremony attending the cutting. The men simply gathered close about the tree, and as it began to fall they all shouted as though it were an enemy. Its branches were then cut away, ropes were attached to it, and with horses they dragged it close to the site that had been selected for the structure. The old men now sat about awaiting the return of the young men, who had gone to greater distances for the other poles. Soon these parties were seen simultaneously approaching. Each one who brought a pole had decorated himself and his horse with willow or cottonwood boughs, some carrying on their horses such quantities of the brush that the animal was half hidden in the foliage. Considerable of this material was used later in constructing the altar. The entry of the returned warriors

was an occasion of much excitement. Notwithstanding many heavy poles were being dragged, they were brought at a trot or gallop, for many riders fastened their reatas to one timber. When all were within the circle there was a general forward movement from the four semi-cardinal points toward the ground where the holes had already been dug. The posts and the circle of stringers were soon in place, and a rest was taken for the noonday meal.

During the forenoon a final preparation of the pledgers to depart from the preliminary ceremonial lodge was made, and early in the afternoon they took up their journey toward the half-constructed sun-lodge. As the principal actors in the drama emerged from the lodge, the pledger's wife was in the lead. She leaned far forward, bearing in her hands a buffalo-skull, which had been prepared with a coating of red paint and by inserting a compact knot of grass in the nasal cavity, as well as in both eye sockets. The woman's body was painted, and she wore about her from the breasts to moccasin-tops a buffalo-robe with the hairy side out. At her wrists and at the sides of her head were tied tufts of sage. Behind the woman came the chief priest, and next the two pledgers. They were painted on both body and face with perpendicular lines of white. The march was a slow one, each step a movement by itself, requiring a good part of a minute. When perhaps a hundred yards from the preliminary lodge they ceased their snail like progress, the woman sat upon the ground, and at her right gathered the old men who were assisting in the ceremony, all of whom must have previously pledged the Sun Dance. Those thus seated formed a semicircle, the woman at the left, and the buffalo-skull just in front of her and to her left. The two pledgers with certain of the old men took their place in a shorter semicircle a few paces to the rear. Then many women and children came forward to receive the blessings of the pledger's wife. Each one walked up and sat for an instant upon her lap, the woman rubbing her hand on the suppliant's head with a couple of downward strokes. Next the pledgers moved forward in advance of the line of old men and stood there while the woman again advanced a slight distance and received instructions in offering the pipe to the buffalo-skull and to the earth. Once more the slow march was resumed toward the sun-lodge, and a short distance from it they halted and took their positions sitting in a half-circle. Then the pledgers, led about the half-made structure, applied a little of the sacred paint to

each of the principal timbers that were to be used later. Four times they encircled the lodge ground, measuring and painting the poles; then they took their places in the row of sitting principals. The bundle of brush symbolizing the thunderbird's nest was then fastened to the top of the centre-pole.

The day was now drawing to a close, and from all directions came men carrying tipi-poles and covers. Quickly with shouts and intervals of song they raised the centre-pole to place, and a great clamor burst forth as it slipped into the hole and stood upright. Long rafter-poles were then placed from the encircling stringers to the crotch of the centre-pole, and firmly tied into place on the horizontal timbers; tipi-poles were bound irregularly to the rafter-timbers, and the lodge-covers spread over the whole. The canvas covering extended from the ground only half-way up the roof, leaving a large opening in the centre for light and ventilation. The pledger's wife, the chief priest, and groups of old men then entered the sun-lodge, and the ceremony can now be said to have been at the point of beginning.

Following the entrance of the principals, who were led by the woman in her customary bent-forward position and carrying the buffalo-skull, the mass of people swarmed in to take possession of the lodge. Every one was dressed in his finest gala clothes, and many rode into the lodge on their horses. All circled about the centre-pole, shouting loudly and shooting into its top. This throng soon dispersed and went to their camps, but the pledgers and the woman were not to leave the lodge or its immediate vicinity until the final act of the ceremony. Shortly after dark the people began to reassemble. Among the early ones to arrive was a party with the drum, and the drumming and singing must continue constantly during the dancing. When one grew weary another took his place. About nine o'clock the men who were to join the pledgers in the fasting and dancing came in, usually each one accompanied by friends and those who had painted him, this having been done at his own lodge. The actual dancing did not begin until about half-past ten. For the first hour or two the dancing was of a preliminary form, in which the participants swung the arms forward and back and brought them to a momentarily fixed horizontal position. At midnight began the regular form of the Sun Dance, the men standing side by side with their hands hanging loosely at their hips and each with an eagle-bone whistle in his mouth. The dance

movement is practically a jumping up and down on the balls of the feet without changing position.

With each movement, and in unison with the singing, they blew their eagle-bone whistles. After long hours of dancing when nearly exhausted they but raised themselves on their toes. All during the night with brief intervals the dancing continued, the rising of the sun being the signal to cease. The dancers then wrapped themselves in their blankets and slept for a time. Soon the chief priest, his assistants, and the pledgers began the making of an altar, the centre of which was the buffalo-skull. Five sods were ceremonially cut and brought in, one being placed at the back of the skull and two at each side. An oblong depression was cut in the earth in front of it, and before this excavation was placed an arch of withes symbolical of the rainbow, and on each side were planted down-covered sticks, seven on one side, nine on the other.

Quickly following the completion of the altar began the dance of the Crazy Medicine Society. It was given as a feature of the Sun Dance, and this has been the custom for such a long time that apparently it is considered an essential part of the ceremony. It must be regarded in the light of a supplementary performance, and it shows how from time to time features are added to important rites: for it is evident that in time the Crazy Dance would have become an actual part of the larger rite.

For the secret portion of the Crazy Dance ceremony they erected a tipi about a hundred yards north of the Sun Dance structure, and in front of it they placed a tripod on which was hung a large kettle. Into this was thrown a dismembered dog to boil. During the ceremony participants reached their hands into the boiling pot, took out pieces of meat, and ran with them to the Crazy lodge. Two of the men wore only breech-cloths, and their bodies were painted black, with white spots. The women participants were painted in the same fashion, and their hips were concealed by a skirt drawn between their legs. When the last of the dog-flesh was taken from the boiling kettle, there was a scramble in which the tripod was thrown down, and all the dancers quickly scurried away to the river. Immediately the people began to bring quantities of food to the sun-lodge in order to have it blessed. It must have been a sorry trial to the fasters to see the wagonloads of food piled about them. As soon as the priest had performed the

ceremony of blessing, those who had brought the food returned with it to their lodges or formed in groups near by and partook of the feast. While throughout the entire camp the feasting was going on, the dancers were being painted for the first dance of that day. Later in the afternoon the painting was completed, and there was a short period of dancing, then an interval during which the dancers were again painted in preparation for the long trial of the night. The night dancing began about nine o'clock and continued with short intervals until about two in the morning, when the exhausted men wrapped themselves in their blankets and slept until about an hour before sunrise, at which time they again took their positions and began to dance, that they might be there when the sun came up to see them. Then they slept for a short time, when once more quantities of food were brought in to be blessed. Painting began early, and during the afternoon the participants danced steadily, the ceremony closing at sunset.

The ceremony should have continued twenty-four hours longer, but the Indians were anxious to go to the agency to obtain certain money for cattle which they had sold. Ordinarily it occupies what the Indians term four days and four nights. In this instance it was simply shortened one full day, for the so-called four-day and four-night ceremony is but three days and three nights, as they begin to dance at dark of the first day and close at sunset on the fourth. This fact, however, does not belittle the physical endurance undergone by the devotees, as to fast for seventy-two hours and dance fully one-third of that time is no mean feat. It is safe to say that should the normal white man attempt this form of dancing, even without the fasting, he would fall from exhaustion before the end of the first hour. Even with the Indian it is likely that the devotional excitement makes such endurance possible.

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