THE PIEGAN

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

THE Piegan *(Pikúnni),* the Bloods *(Kaínôw),* and the Blackfeet *(Siksiká)* are closely related and allied Algonquian tribes, and usually have been designated collectively as Blackfeet. They were formerly forest Indians, and during the early traditional period probably dwelt in the region of Little Slave lake. From this locality, which was doubtless but one of many camping places during their gradual migratory movement from the Atlantic seaboard, the accepted primal source of the Algonquian stock, they moved slowly southward until they reached the buffalo plains of Alberta and Montana and became prairie Indians. They were the last of the woodland Algonquian tribes thus to migrate to the western prairies of the United States. The Arapaho, from whom the Atsina, or Gros Ventres of the Prairies, diverged, came out at a much earlier but undetermined date. Sir Alexander Mackenzie, on his exploring expedition to the North sea in 1789, noted the Blackfeet on the upper and middle Saskatchewan, and suggested that they were then slowly moving toward the northwest. There is nothing in Indian tradition to bear out such a presumption, and if a northwestward movement was observed, it was no doubt a minor one, in fact, but a part of their constant travel back and forth. Evidence supporting the belief that the Blackfeet tribes came from the vicinity of Little Slave lake, — that, in other words, there was a general movement southward from a far northern country, — is found in these three facts: first, that when seen by Mackenzie they possessed horses; secondly, that the Piegan emphatically say they obtained their first horses from the Kutenai, whom they must have met east of the Rocky mountains and not far north of the forty-ninth parallel; thirdly, the Piegan statement that they formerly lived to the northward of Bow river, and that their northern neigh bors were the Beaver Indians, whose home, according to Alexander Henry, was north of Little Slave lake on Peace river. "On the 13th [October, 1792] at noon we came to the Peace Point; from which, according to the report of my interpreter, the river derives its name; it was the spot where the Knisteneaux [Cree] and Beaver

Indians settled their dispute."[1] The words of the Piegan informant, Tearing Lodge, are particularly valuable in relation to their southward movement.

"Our three tribes came southward out of the wooded country to the north of Bow river. We began to make short excursions to the south, and finding it a better game country and with much less snow, we kept coming farther and farther, and finally gave up altogether our old home. This happened before my grandfather's time. We call that former home *Istssóhtsi* ['in the brush']. The Piegan led in this movement and were followed by the Bloods and later the Blackfeet. We all hunted in the plains between Milk river and the Yellowstone, the Piegan finally wintering on the Musselshell or the Upper Missouri, the Bloods on the Belly river, south of the site of Fort MacLeod, the Blackfeet on Bow river, or its tributary, High river. Of course, individual families and small bands of the Blackfeet sometimes spent the winter among the Piegan."

Tearing Lodge, who was born about 1830, distinctly remembers his paternal grandfather, *Sistsáwana,* Bird Rattle, who was probably a centenarian when he died, about the year 1840. Tearing Lodge heard him say many times that he was born in the forest, and that he was a grown man with many children[2] when the people finally left it. At that time his wife had died, and he never married again. This last fact would make it seem probable that he was at least fifty years of age when the forest country was definitely abandoned by the Piegan, or about the year 1790. It is evident that the movement of the tribe to the country inhabited by the Kutenai, from whom they procured their first horses, was earlier than the date indicated by Tearing Lodge's testimony, as the members of the tribe seen by Mackenzie on the Saskatchewan in 1790 had horses. Also Henry, the younger, in 1808 speaks of the Piegan as having an unusual number of horses. All evidence indicates that the movement southward was a gradual one, in the nature of summer hunting expeditions and the return northward in the winter,

[1] Mackenzie, *Voyages to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans,* London, 1801, page 123. The Beaver Indians were of Athapascan stock, of the group usually referred to as Chipewyan, and closely related to the Sarsi.

[2] In the old days the Piegan men rarely married before they had reached the age of thirty.

and as time went on their headquarters shifted gradually southward. Tearing Lodge states that Bird Rattle used to say that through the forest country ran a large river, which Tearing Lodge thinks was larger than the Missouri. After the Piegan had begun to make short trips into the prairies, they one winter returned to the large river, to find white men on the other side. These men traded with them, and as the people began to go farther south the white men followed them with their goods. Later, when they returned to the large stream, they found a fort built on the other side, which Tearing Lodge believes was Edmonton House.[3] On reaching the prairie country they first met the Kutenai, who had many horses, and the Piegan traded with them and were friendly for a long time. The Bloods, who later followed the Piegan, quarrelled with the Kutenai over horses, and from that time the three associated tribes were hostile toward the Kutenai. At that time they had a few guns, but the Kutenai had none. The next people they met were the Flatheads (Salish), with whom they were friendly and traded horses. Later they met the Atsina, with whom they became so friendly that for a time they were considered allies.

It is difficult to present anything like a satisfactory estimate of the Piegan population previous to their observation by white men. Mackenzie, who saw them in 1789, was probably the first explorer to note their number. His estimate was from twenty-two hundred and fifty to twenty-five hundred and fifty warriors, or perhaps eighty-five hundred souls. Henry, the younger, in 1808 gave the population of the associated tribes as fourteen hundred and twenty warriors or six hundred and fifty tents. It is safe to estimate in this instance that there were eight to a tent, but if the extreme estimate of ten to a tent be allowed, it gives but sixty-five hundred. It is possible that Henry did not include all the bands. In the interest of trade it was the business of both Mackenzie and Henry to determine as accurately as possible the population of the different tribes with which they were to deal, hence

[3] Old Fort Augustus, on the Saskatchewan, was built in 1798. It stood on the left bank of the river, close above the mouth of Sturgeon river. The situation is thus a little below the present Fort Saskatchewan, and fully twenty miles in an air-line northeastward from Edmonton. Old Fort Augustus has often been confused with New Fort Augustus, which was built at the present Edmonton, presumably on the destruction of the former by the Blackfeet, between July, 1809, and June, 1810, and was maintained by the Northwest Fur Company until its fusion with the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821. *Henry-Thompson Journals* Coues ed., New York, 1897, pages 278, 566, et seq.

it is safe to assume that their count was fairly accurate, Mackenzie's probably being nearer right.

Henry (and later Hayden) tells of their having suffered a serious attack of smallpox in 1781. Yet he does not speak of the epidemic as though it were an extraordinary one, as he no doubt would have done had it been similar to the scourge which almost annihilated the Mandan in 1837. Also, had they suffered from the disease to such a remarkable degree, Mackenzie would doubtless have mentioned it. It is not likely that the tribe lost in this first smallpox attack more than a third of its population. Granting such a loss, and assuming Mackenzie's figures to be approximately correct, we may regard the three tribes as having had an early population of practically twelve thousand. They suffered again from smallpox in 1838, and also in 1845. In 1855 Governor Stevens, while on his famous treaty expedition, estimated their population to be eighty-five hundred and thirty. Following this they once more suffered from smallpox in 1857, and again in 1869 the same disease swept over the prairies. In the winter of 1864 the three tribes lost about seventeen hundred and eighty by measles. The agent reported that the Bloods alone left standing in their plague-stricken camp five hundred death-lodges as silent monuments of the winter's devastation. The Indians were inclined to attribute this disease to the malevolence of the white men, suggesting that it was sent them in their annuity goods.

Hand in hand with pestilence stalked the liquor traffic, a foe scarcely less pernicious, and indeed they must have been a hardy and prolific people to have so well maintained their population against such maleficent odds. Disease was the white man's first bequest to them, and smallpox spread in advance of the traders and trappers. Quickly following, as a fit ally in the distribution of death, came the whiskey sellers, whose chief object was so to debauch the natives that their furs and other trafficable property could be secured as cheaply as possible. The usual procedure in the region was that when a party of Indians came to the trading post, they were first given sufficient liquor to intoxicate them, that they might be free in their traffic, and by the time they recovered from this debauch their furs were in possession of the traders. The argument of the traders was that they were to be commended for getting the Indians' furs for the least possible return, as the less whiskey the natives had the better off they were. Alexander

Henry, the younger, who was a pioneer in this despicable traffic, and who was as lacking in illusions or in sentiment as any man who ever put his thoughts on paper, expatiated on the painful effects of the white man's invasion. Any conduct in association with the Indian, pernicious enough to arouse sympathy in the heart of Henry, must indeed have been incomprehensible to a man of the present civilization.[4]

Fate, apparently not yet content with its dispensation to the Blackfeet tribes, dealt them another blow in the winter of 1883-1884, when more than one-fourth of the Piegan died of starvation — six hundred was the exact number recorded. There were, however, many other deaths in isolated camps, of which no record was made. This winter of misery and death was the result of official stupidity, coupled with the disappearance of the buffalo. Dr. George Bird Grinnell, in *Blackfoot Lodge Tales,* so graphically describes that fearful winter that further words would be useless.

In minor vicissitudes the people seem to have been under a particularly unfortunate star, and suffered more than their share of misfortune in the matter of inefficient, if not culpable, agents; and if by chance they did for a short time get a well-meaning and capable agent, he was so antagonized by the whiskey interests that little could be accomplished for the Indians' good.

A study of the Piegan conflict with white people, either citizens or soldiers, gives but a scant harvest, and shows that, considering their number and their provocation, they were one of the most harmless of tribes. It is true that in the popular press the name Blackfoot or Piegan was continually associated with massacre, outrage, and treachery. This, however, was but a habit without justification in fact. Such crime as they were guilty of was usually the direct result of drink, for which "civilization" was wholly responsible, and such murders as they committed were simply the price we paid for the privilege of debauching them. Few tribes have been so unfortunate in this respect as the Blackfoot group. They dwelt partially in the United

[4] "Their morals have not yet been sufficiently debauched and corrupted by an intercourse with people who call themselves Christians, but whose licentious and lecherous manners are far worse than those of savages.... That baneful source of all evils, spirituous liquor, has not yet been introduced among the natives of the Columbia. To the introduction of that subtle poison among the savage tribes may be mainly attributed their miserable and wretched condition." (Coues, op. cit., Vol. II, pages 710-711.)

States and partially in Canada, and the traders and traffickers under each government vied with one another in wrecking them. Each side with whom they dealt in their international existence did all it could to incite the Indians to reprisal on the other government. The average Indian, who has but one people and one government with which to contend, is generally deserving of much sympathy, but when he is a victim of two governments and their subjects, he is unfortunate indeed.

Strictly speaking, the Piegan were never at war with the United States. The attack on Red Horn's camp in January, 1870, in which one hundred and seventy-three (three-fourths of whom were women and children) were massacred, was officially only a "killing." Had the incident been reversed and Red Horn and his people made an early morning attack on a Montana village of three hundred inhabitants and killed one hundred and seventy-three of them, regardless of sex or age, every member of the attacking party who could have been caught would have been hanged on the spot. In justification of this outrage the only excuse offered was that it was a punishment for their discontent and petty crimes. To consider the causes which led to this regrettable affair, it is necessary to turn backward to the treaty of July 3, 1868, negotiated by W.J. Cullen. At the close of the council the tribe was apparently satisfied. During its progress Mountain Chief had asked that certain disreputable characters be removed from their territory. In consequence, these ruffians made the most of their first opportunity for revenge, and while the old chief was visiting Fort Benton, Montana, they abused him in such a way that the members of his band declared their determination to retaliate, which they soon did by stealing eighty horses. Following this the citizens captured twenty-one Piegan and held them as hostages for the return of the horses. On the delivery of a part of the animals, and Mountain Chief's promise to send in more, the prisoners were released, but they suffered only indignities from the settlers immediately afterward. The agent, in his report for 1869, states that there was much discontent among the Indians owing to the non-ratification of the treaty, and the further fact that in consequence they were to receive no annuity goods.

"They have learned that the late treaty has not been confirmed, and it is difficult to explain to their satisfaction, why such is the case, they having endeavored to keep the obligation sacred on their part, preventing their young men from making raids upon the whites in

retaliation for indignities committed upon members of their tribe. The country south of the Teton River, ceded to the government under the late treaty, is being surveyed and fast taken possession of by settlers. In this particular alone is the treaty being recognized by the government."[5]

During the year the Indians killed two herders, and in retaliation the settlers murdered four Indians. Late in November a small Indian war-party stole a freighter's mules, and later the same party made an attack on a Mexican hunting camp, killing one and wounding another of its occupants. Outside of occasional horse-stealing, this was the extent of the hostilities that caused the attack on Red Horn's camp.

In aggressive intertribal conflicts the Blackfoot tribes displayed remarkable activity, and were a terror to those of smaller numbers. Considerably outnumbering the majority of the tribes with which they came in contact, they were naturally arrogant, and brave in their confidence. The Apsaroke, one of their worthy foes, said of them that they were the bravest of warriors, but lacking the skill to make advantageous use of their courage. The objects of offensive warfare were the honor attendant on scalp-taking, and the scarcely less important one, the acquisition of horses. To possess many scalps made a man great among his people, and while nothing was of such material value to hunting Indians as horses, it was also much more of an honor to have horses won as trophies of personal courage or skill rather than to raise them, and usually the horses captured were the pick of the enemy's herds. War-parties for the purpose of securing horses were apt to meet with defeat and the loss of some member of the party, and such a death would in all probability result in an expedition for revenge. Or, if the enemy had been defeated and had lost some warrior, they would likely organize a party to avenge that loss. So, with scalping and horse-raiding parties constantly fomenting trouble, there was always danger enough lurking about to preclude the possibility of a dull life. The stealing of women always added a little zest to the game of intertribal fighting. A war-party might consist of but two men, and the usual number was from five to ten; occasionally there were as many as fifty or a hundred. In most cases the fatalities were few.

When a successful warrior wished to lead a party he caught his best horse, and, without dressing up, and holding his gun above him,

[5] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,* 1869, page 300.

rode round the camp-circle singing a war-song. When the people heard this they knew he was preparing to go against some enemy, and those who wished to follow him began at once to repair their weapons and their moccasins and other apparel. On the following morning the leader saddled and started out, and those who intended to join his party followed singly or in small groups, until the entire company was assembled on some near-by hill or ridge. In their absence the father of the leader might decorate his horse and ride about the camp, singing for his son's success.

War deeds of many kinds were recognized. The taking of a loaded gun from a man trying to shoot the aggressor was the bravest thing a warrior could do. Another great coup was to grapple with an unwounded enemy. Next came the charging alone against the enemy and striking one of them with a coup-stick. Striking a wounded man was an honor, but not the striking of a dead one, yet the taking of a weapon from a man, whether wounded or dead, was counted. Securing a horse in battle was a coup, and while the taking of horses from an enemy's camp was not a coup, it was an honor equal to capturing horses on the range. It was a coup for a man to lead a successful war-party, that is, one that killed an enemy or captured horses without the loss of a man. The scalp-dance was performed when a war-party returned with more scalps than they had lost.

The Piegan in the earliest times of their prairie life claimed the country from the mouth of the Yellowstone to Beaver Head river across to the mountains, thence to the site of Helena, Montana, thence along the eastern base of the mountains to Chief mountain, which is practically on the international line, thence in a straight line to the Cypress hills, and from there to the mouth of the Yellowstone. In those times they spent the summer roving where they would within this vast territory, following the best buffalo hunting. The winter was spent at times on the Musselshell, again on the Missouri river about the mouth of Sun river. After the treaty with Governor Stevens the Piegan began to winter farther north, along the Marias, owing to the hostility of the Apsaroke, against whom they claim to have occasionally sent war-parties across the Yellowstone. This, however, was unusual, if it occurred at all.

The enemies of the Piegan were the Kutenai, Flatheads, Nez Percés, Shoshoni, Apsaroke, Sioux, Cree, and Atsina. Enmity with

their old-time friends, the Atsina, is thus accounted for: The Atsina were camped near the Little Rockies, when a party of Flathead hunters killed a lone Atsina, drove away many horses from near the camp, and started westward. About this time a Piegan named Big Crow went to Fort Benton to trade. On the way he met the Flatheads driving the horses, and a friend of his among them gave him a buckskin pony from the drove. Then they went on. The Atsina in pursuit reached Fort Benton, recognized the horse, and thought that the Piegan had killed their man and stolen the horses. He denied the charge, but they doubted him, returned home, and reported that the Piegan had done the deed. So their warriors came to the Marias and stole some horses from the Piegan, their former close friends. A party of Piegan pursued, and in the fight one of their chiefs was killed.

Their conflict with the Cree was principally during the last few years of the buffalo hunting, and was occasioned by Cree encroachments on their best hunting grounds. Previous to that the Piegan had not molested the Cree, who in their poverty possessed nothing worth stealing. Even the women were not worth capturing, says the informant. No doubt tribal pride would not encourage a man to add to his household a woman from such an inferior people. Their conflicts with the tribes dwelling westward from the Rocky mountains occurred usually when they met in the buffalo prairies, but occasionally they made raids across the mountains to attack the enemy on their own home ground.

In life and manners the Piegan differed little from the other purely hunting tribes of the plains region. The buffalo furnished their principal food, and its skin, horns, and bones, with the addition of the skins of antelope, elk, and deer, supplied material for their dwellings, clothing, and implements. Agriculture they never practised after coming to the prairie. It is to be presumed that they knew nothing of it in their old home country in the north, which, if anything, was less adapted to farming than their present habitat. As among some other tribes, tobacco seed was planted, but only ceremonially.[6]

In disposition the Piegan are particularly tractable and likable. One can scarcely find a tribe so satisfactory to work among. In the old days of primitive customs and laws, they were fond of formality, especially in their social relations, and these exactions were, of course, largely

[6] For a description of this ceremony, "Religion and Ceremonies"

a part of their religion. A noteworthy phase of such form in their daily and hourly life was the excessive use of the pipe. On lighting it they touched it to the earth and held it to the sky, in silent prayer to the spirits — the earth-people and the sky-people. Each serious act of their waking day was preceded by similar formal smoking. They did not confine their religious observances to a fixed time or place, but rather were constantly in act or thought supplicating the Infinite. The simplicity of their theomythology certainly did not lessen their devotion. Alexander Henry bemoaned the fact of their constant formal smoking, as it interfered with expeditious trading. He naturally did not attribute such forms to religious motives, but considered them merely "parade." Had anyone suggested that this "parade" of the despised Indian was a religious observance, he would not have been believed. Henry mentions that when beginning to drink, the Piegan first sprinkled a few drops of the liquor on the ground and cast a little to the sky, showing that even in this they made offerings to their deities. Henry's testimony relative to their customs is interesting, as it proves them to have been purely primitive. Inasmuch as Lewis and Clark saw so little of the Piegan, it is particularly fortunate that Henry took sufficient time from his traffic to keep a journal, for this gives a most valuable glimpse into the past.

Physically the Piegan are of medium stature and of firm, compact build, not given to corpulency as are some Indians. One constantly working with Indians is forcefully impressed with the slight superficial differentiation in the sexes, the women looking quite masculine. This is of course natural to all tribes, and in fact to all primitive people, inasmuch as there have been no ages of shielding and protecting of the females; but rather in their life the women have to meet their full share of the physical exertion and hardship. But the writer has met no people in whom he was so impressed with the slight difference as here. Their tractability, from an early period, has resulted in the marriage into the tribe of many white men, a fact having an important bearing on the sociology of the group, and which in time will be of greater importance, for there is now so great a proportion of mixed-bloods that the blending in the future will be very rapid. Many tribes were prone to discourage marriage with white men, and were even more opposed to the rearing of children of mixed blood, but no such prejudice seems to have obtained with the Piegan.

Notwithstanding the comparatively brief time since their settlement on the prairie, their former forest habitat apparently has left slight impress on their culture, nor do their folk-tales make any considerable reference to a former or a different home country. It seems incredible that in so short a period a people, however primitive, could so completely lose sight of a former home. It is evident, in this case at least, that folk-tales are constantly changing. If the Piegan possessed a long, intricate hero story, beginning with the creation and continuing to modern times, such as is quite common in the Southwest and on the north Pacific coast, they would be apt to retain by its aid at least historical fragments.

The author first saw the Piegan during the summer of 1898 at the season of their medicine-lodge ceremony. They were in camp on a depressed stretch of prairie, entirely concealing them from the sight of any one approaching. Suddenly one rode out in full view of their encampment and beheld a truly thrilling sight. The camp was a combined one of the Piegan and many visitors from the Piegan of the north, the Bloods, and the Blackfeet, in all some two hundred and thirty lodges. If this poor remnant of a once so powerful tribe proved such an inspiring sight, what must it have been at the height of their existence! Red Plume describes the camp of his people when he was a youth as a circle a mile or more in diameter and in some places sixteen lodges deep. To have seen such a vast camp would have been worth long privation and hardship.

Their lodges of buffalo-skins, and later of canvas, were of the common tipi form. The testimony of the old men is that they used skin lodges while still in the forest, but this would seem doubtful, particularly as to their winter habitations. They likely began gradually to use them as they moved southward on their hunting expeditions. The one distinctive feature of the Piegan lodges is the characteristic decoration of the inner lining. They, like other Indians, often painted their lodges, so as to indicate either the coups of the owner or his medicine, or sometimes both.

The clothing of the men and women was of the material and pattern usual to the tribes of the northern plains, yet possessing such distinctive marks that one well acquainted with the different tribes could tell almost to a certainty to which one a garment belonged. The difference, however, is practically too slight to describe.

Polygyny was the rule, but the first wife was considered the real wife, "she who sits by his side," the others being in a measure servants of the first. Younger sisters of this wife were potential wives of her husband, but he was not compelled to take them. In arranging a marriage the young man presented to the girl's father as many horses and blankets as he or his family could afford. The greater the number of presents, the prouder the girl, and to be taken as a wife with scant exchange of presents was no honor. To elope was a disgrace to all parties concerned. The rules governing a wife's conduct were strict, and the punishment for transgression most severe — she would probably be killed, at the request of her husband, by the All Comrades or by his or her relatives, the husband having the first right to kill her if he saw fit. If an unfaithful wife was not killed she would likely have her nose or ears, or both, cut off, that she might pass the remainder of her life an object lesson to others. The guilty man also was likely to be killed by the wronged husband, or he could perhaps escape such punishment by sending horses and other presents. In the old days the whole life of the tribe centred in their buffalo hunts. In the autumn they separated into divisions or bands, each group camping in some favorite place on a wooded stream; but with the coming of the spring they united and began the general hunt. Before horses became plentiful, the Piegan depended largely on the buffalo drives, usually selecting as the fall some sheer or broken precipice. From the selected spot they extended, for half a mile or farther, two diverging lines of small stone heaps. After a night of ceremony and invocation for the success of the hunt, young men were sent out to drive the herd carefully toward the opening of this trap. The ponderous and stupid brutes once inside of the line, the concealed hunters all rushed out and with shouts and the waving of blankets ran the stampeded herd forward and over the edge of the cliff. In some instances the greatness of the fall was sufficient to kill the animals outright; in others the hunters constructed at the foot of the precipice a rough enclosure of logs, and killed the impounded animals with arrows.

With the securing of abundant horses the Piegan abandoned the *pískun* and gained their meat by the more exciting chase of the buffalo on horseback, this, like the drive, being a serious enterprise under the leadership of a chief or chiefs and attended by religious rites. No individual hunting was allowed. The white buffalo, as with

other tribes, was sacred, and to take one in the hunt was an important matter. However, its killing and dressing were not attended with the elaborate ceremony observed by the Sioux and some other tribes. If one was found in the herd, great effort was made by the hunters to kill it. When shot, they say, it fell with its head to the east, where the sun rises. Without dismounting, the hunter called for some other man in the party and said to him, "I give you this white buffalo." The other man pondered, and if he had in his herd an especially fine horse, he said to the one who killed the buffalo, "I accept it." Then the killer rode away and the other dismounted and set fire to some buffalo-chips, one of which he laid at the animal's nose, another at the tail, another at the feet, and a fourth at the back. Then on each burning chip he placed sage, and with a bunch of sage he wiped the blood from the animal's wounds. Next he carefully skinned it, removing every particle of skin from the face and even to the edge of the hoofs. Leaving the meat, he wrapped the skin in a robe, mounted his horse,and rode to his home. There he ordered his best horse to be brought and tied in front of his lodge. The skin he took into the lodge, where a space was cleared before the place of honor, and there he laid the bundle. He ordered food prepared, and called out an invitation to the man who had killed the buffalo. After the feast and the smoke, he said, "There is your horse outside." Then the skin was dressed, without formality, the head-skin and the tail remaining attached to the hide. The owner wore it on special occasions, and after keeping it for a year or two, he prepared a feast, laid the skin in the place of honor, put some presents beside it, sent for a good horse, and tied it in front of the lodge. Then he summoned a medicine-man who knew all the sweat-lodge songs. When the singer entered the lodge, the owner of the skin gave him the pipe, and said: "That horse outside is yours. I wish you to sing the songs of the sweat-lodge, for I am going to give this skin to the Sun." So the priest sang the first seven sweat-lodge songs, those given by the sun, and then began again to sing them, at the same time painting on the skin with black an arch for the course of the sun, a circle for the moon, another circle for the morning star, and at the sides of these, two straight lines for the sun-dogs. He finished the painting as the seventh song was reached for the second time, and instructed the owner of the skin to place it in a certain tree, if any trees were in that vicinity, or on a hill or a high rock. The owner obeyed, with many prayers to the

sun for good luck. Occasionally such a robe was offered to the sun by placing it in the fork of the centre-pole of the medicine-lodge before it was raised.

Chieftainship was, in a liberal sense, elective, in that the council of sub-chiefs of the several bands and the heads of the All Comrades societies selected the head-chief. Such position was held through life or until the incumbent was so impoverished that he desired to relinquish it. The change in this case was usually in the spring, when the bands were assembled. At this time, if the head-chief were ready to resign, he would call the chiefs of the bands into his lodge for a feast. Then he would say, "I am growing old;" or, "I have no more horses. You must select another man to lead you." He might then suggest a good man for the office, or he might wait for suggestion from others. The necessary qualifications were many good coups and many horses, for it was a chief's duty to extend hospitality to all, and to provide the needy with horses. The procedure in choosing the successor of a deceased chief differed but slightly from the above. He was elected by a council of the chiefs elected by a council of the chiefs of bands and of the five elder societies, held in the lodge of one of the sub-chiefs. After a common opinion as to the fitness of some one man had been reached, the meeting was ended. Each chief was supposed to observe secrecy as to what had been done, and about two days later another council was called, the man selected being invited. He was then informed, if he had not been at the other gathering, that he had been chosen to lead the tribe. This election took place usually about three weeks after the death of the old chief, following a period of mourning, during which time some worthy relative of the deceased chief was regarded as temporary leader. When the election council was held, the people did not know that a choice was being made, but supposed the meeting to be merely one of the numerous feasts constantly in progress.

If a chief were too overbearing, he was killed. Little Dog, father of the present Little Dog, once when drunk struck Crow Top across the face with a rope. The brother of Crow Top turned and shot the chief dead. Little Dog's son was *Itsúinamah,* Takes Gun In Water, or *Akápani,* Many Butterflies. He was in the rear of the advancing column (the tribe was moving camp), and, hearing that his father had been killed, he came to the head, and cried, "Who killed my father?" They answered, "Óya killed him." He rode toward Óya, when a relative of

the latter shot down the young man. This occurred about 1862-1864. The chief Bear Head was also killed during a drunken outbreak. Big Lodge, a head-chief a long time before the white men came, took his daughter back from her husband; the younger man became angry and killed the old chief, but he was punished, because the old man had a right to take back his daughter. The usual punishment for murder was the exaction of blood-money and the general contempt of the murderer on the part of his tribesmen. The All Comrades societies were the dominating factor in the tribal organization, and indeed the power of the head-chief depended largely on his cooperation with them. At the tribal council called by the chief, not only the chiefs and head-men but also the chiefs of the societies were summoned. These were called by name by the chief's criers, who were old men with strong voices. When the tribe was on the march the members of the warrior societies rode ahead, at the sides, and in the rear, to protect the others. The Braves, consisting of the oldest unmarried men, were always given the most dangerous position.

The men of the Piegan tribe were organized into a series of warrior societies in which membership was based on age. Arranged in the order of the age of their members these groups were: Doves, Flies, Braves, All Brave Dogs, Tails, Raven Bearers, Dogs, Kit-foxes, Catchers, and Bulls. As a whole they were known as All Comrades.[7] The function of the societies was primarily to preserve order in the camp, during the march, and on the hunt; to punish offenders against the public welfare; to protect the camp by guarding against possible surprise by an enemy; to be informed at all times as to the movements of the buffalo herds; and secondarily by inter-society rivalry to cultivate the military spirit, and by their feasts and dances to minister to the desire of members for social recreation. This was true more particularly of the companies composed of warriors in the full vigor of youth or middle age; but the ritualistic performances of those comprising the elderly men — the Kit-foxes, the Catchers, and the Bulls — seem to have partaken of the nature of religious ceremonies. Probably the members of these three did not perform police duty.

When the various bands of the tribe first assembled in the spring,

[7] The societies of the Doves, possibly the Flies, and the Bulls, were introduced after the others had become associated as the All Comrades; hence these three probably were not a part of the system.

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

man patrolling that portion of the camp-circle in which his own band dwelt, stopping at the edge of that section and meeting there the sentinel of the next band and exchanging signals with him. If any man was seen among the horses, a rush was made for him. If he ran away, he was shot at, the presumption being that he was an enemy trying to steal horses; but if he made for the camp, it was known at once that he was a youth who looked upon the cutting loose of his neighbor's horses as a good joke, and accordingly he was caught, beaten, and sent home in disgrace without his robe. Guarding the camp at night was performed in turn by the societies appointed for the season's police duty. Day and night, in camp and on the march, mounted or afoot, the soldiers on duty carried their spears, which were as much insignia as weapons. The Piegan soldiers, like those of other plains tribes, tried to prevent the individual from jeopardizing the public weal by unwisely alarming the buffalo herds for his own selfish gain or by removing his lodge from the camp of the tribe; and they punished the disobedience in these matters by breaking the offender's weapons, maiming his horse, destroying his

lodge, or by beating or even killing the man himself. Sometimes an especially obstinate malefactor was forced to march at the head of the column, under guard, to show that the soldiers were all-powerful.

Each order of the All Comrades had as a member an old man whom they called Big Comrade, their herald, whose duty was to ride through the camp making announcements of concern to the members, such as an order from their leader to assemble and set out on a scout for buffalo or the enemy, and to make known to the people the results of such expeditions. The Big Comrade held office indefinitely, advancing with one group of warriors as they passed through the grades of the system, until he died or became unfitted for active duties. Each society elected one of its members to the office of leader, choosing one who was wealthy, and capable in war and hunting. The regalia, the songs, dances, and mythic lore comprising the ritual of a Piegan society, were purchased by the members of the group just below it, acting collectively but receiving their paraphernalia and instruction individually, albeit at the same time. Thus a youth, in company with others of like age, purchased his membership in the youngest society, and after a number of years the entire body passed into the next grade, and so continued until at a ripe age they acquired the rights of the oldest order. After disposing of their membership in a society, a group had no place in the All Comrades until they became possessors of the ritual of the one next above. It is uncertain whether or not these exchanges occurred at regular intervals. Some affirm that it was so, the interval being four years; others say that four years were spent in each of the orders following the Braves. But old men declare that they cannot recall a summer in which any two societies disposed of their rights; and as there were more than four societies, two exchanges must have taken place in some one year if four years were spent in each organization.[8] It seems to have been true of all the societies that the ceremonies attending the acquirement of a ritual extended over a period of four days; but the dances occurring on other occasions lasted only one day.

The society of the Doves was first formed among the Piegan in 1855 or 1856, in imitation of the similar organization then existing

[8] Tearing Lodge and Painted Wing, both born about 1833, became Flies about 1854. They spent three years each in this and the next two societies; but after becoming Tails they never sold their rights, as the system was then becoming obsolete.

among the Blackfeet and the Bloods. Youths of about fifteen years were eligible. The relinquishment of membership in this organization was typical of the procedure in all other cases. In the early summer those who were of the appropriate age met, elected a chief, and notified the Doves of their wish. The members of the company then met in their lodge and spent a day in dancing and feasting, and on the following day they entered a double lodge erected by the aspirants. The latter followed, and each gave to one of the Doves a pipe and a present; and the members, accepting these, gave in exchange the bows and arrows which each Dove carried as insignia, and painted the candidates as they themselves were painted, each having his individual style of decoration. When all had been painted, the members sang their three songs; then the candidates filed outside and sat down, forming an elongated arch with its opening toward the east, and six or more of the best singers among the members sat in a concentric curve within the arch and began beating on a stiff rawhide and singing the Dove songs. The new members arose and danced, each holding an arrow on the string as if about to shoot the enemy, and having several other arrows in his bow-hand and more in the quiver. Near one end of the line of dancers stood a young unmarried woman, chosen before the exchange ceremonies began, who also held a bow and arrows and assisted in the singing.

After about an hour of dancing and singing, each song being repeated many times, the new members rushed out on the prairie, shooting at the ground, or at dogs that might happen in their way. They returned to the double lodge, changed their dress, and went home. The same dancing and singing were repeated on the next three days, the new members painting themselves in the double lodge, but former members singing for them at the dance. The Dove dance, lasting one day, was held at any time during the summer that the members might desire, the double lodge being then pitched in the centre of the camp. The last dance of the Doves occurred about 1874.

Prior to 1855 or 1856 the Flies were the youngest of the age societies; and it is probably true, as some informants aver, that this society was of later origin than the others, and was at first not really one of the warrior societies. Youths of about twenty years became Flies. Ordinary members painted their bodies red, wore buffalo-robes with the hairy side out, and carried a claw of a hawk or an eagle. In the hair at the back of the head a downy eagle-feather was worn. The

chief wore a long eagle tail-feather in his hair, a yellow robe, and had his body painted. In their dance the Flies knelt on the ground around the singers, covered with buffalo-robes, and with heads to the ground, grunting. After four songs they leaped up, threw off their robes, and rushed about the camp scratching with their hawk or eagle claws whomsoever they encountered. The people evinced great fear, and hastened within doors out of their way. In the performance following the acquirement of the ritual, the Flies danced four days; on other occasions they were content with a single day's dancing. Their last dance was celebrated about the year 1872.

The Braves painted their bodies red, and each had a bone whistle and a spear whose long head consisted of a Hudson's Bay dagger and whose shaft was wrapped with bright cloth and ornamented at intervals with feathers. At the beginning of their ceremony they sat on the ground in an incomplete ellipse. Ten or twelve paces to the westward sat four men of fine physique, naked and painted white. These were *Apátsi,* White Braves. At the north were four others, painted black — the Crows — each with a bag on his back. About twenty-five yards to the eastward sat two men wrapped in buffalo-robes, each wearing a broad belt of grizzly-bear fur and having grizzly-bear claws around the biceps of each arm and around each calf, and on his head a pair of claws projecting upward and inward like buffalo-horns. These were *Kyáyatsi,* Grizzly-bear Braves.

Near the southeastern horn of the open ellipse sat a man called *Síksikatsi,* Brush Brave. Representing a herder, he wore a robe consisting of a piece of old lodge-cover, and carried a bundle of brush, as if driving a herd toward a buffalo-fall. Two songs were used alternately, four times each. During the four repetitions of the first song the Grizzly-bear Braves came forward and made the members rise and dance, after which they returned to their station and sat down. During the four alternating repetitions of the second song all danced, including the Grizzly-bear Braves, who imitated bears. While they danced they held arrows aloft, and at the end of the fourth repetition each Grizzly shot one blunt arrow into the air, and all the people ran, but the Braves stood fast, demonstrating their fearlessness. When the arrows fell, two of the Crows picked them up and put them into the bags on their backs. The Braves scattered, running quickly just outside the camp-circle, removed their moccasins, left them there, and ran singing into

the camp to their respective lodges. Then the people rushed out to get the moccasins for good luck. Meantime the Grizzlies were running about the camp, taking whatever good food they could find and giving it to the others, who carried it to the double lodge, where a feast was held far into the night. At any time when food was scarce in the Braves' lodge, the Grizzlies made requisition on any person coming in from the hunt. The last dance of the Braves was held in 1877.

The distinguishing paraphernalia of a member of the All Brave Dogs consisted of a rawhide rattle ornamented with feathers of the eagle, the hawk, the owl, the woodpecker, or other bird regarded as a powerful fighter; an eagle tail-feather worn at the back of the head; and a Hudson's Bay tomahawk. One side of the face was painted red. Two men known as Grizzly-bear Braves painted the face red with a vertical black streak crossing each eye, and another downward from each corner of the mouth, representing tusks, and wore on the head two bear-claws in the manner of a pair of horns. The leader wore a wolf-skin robe. In their ceremony the dancers marched from their lodge, dancing and shaking their rattles. Behind them were the singers, and next the wives of members to assist in the singing. Last of all came the two Grizzlies, as if to keep stragglers in line, and in advance of all rode two men called Riders, crossing and recrossing the line of march in opposite directions. In single file all proceeded to the eastern entrance of the camp, thence passed round toward the south, on the inside of the circle, dancing and singing until they came to the lodge of some chief, where they halted and sang and danced, while the Riders rode round and round them, as if they were really dogs and had to be guarded and kept in their place. The women of that lodge brought food and a pipe, and after the visitors had eaten, the chief himself came with gifts, which the women of the All Brave Dogs took charge of and later distributed among the members. Then they passed on, still singing and dancing as they went, until they reached the lodge of another chief in the second quadrant of the circle, and there were repeated the acts already described. Thus four stops were made, and eventually the dancers returned to the entrance of the circle, whence they proceeded to the centre of the camp and sat in an open ellipse for the dance proper. The two Riders were stationed at the north. The singing began, and whenever a dance song was commenced they rode round the group in opposite directions, whipping the members

to their feet. This was the procedure always followed by the All Brave Dogs, but in the ceremonies attending the acquisition of their ritual this first day was succeeded by three days of dancing in the open and feasting in the lodge. Only on the first day, however, did they collect presents from the chiefs. The last exchange of the songs and costumes of All Brave Dogs took place in 1877. Those who then purchased the society rights still own them, and hold their dance each summer. In 1909 there were about twenty-five members, all old men. The origin of the Tail society is accounted for in the following myth:

A chief of the first people had two wives, the one an industrious worker, the other his favorite, who performed no labor. On a day while the worker was gathering wood, she heard something singing. She looked all about, but could see nothing. Yet it seemed to be very close. Her eye fell on a small stone lying on a roll of old buffalo-hair; it was singing: "Woman, take me. I am supernatural." She wrapped it in the hair, placed it in the bosom of her dress, and returned to the lodge. To her husband, the chief, she said, "Go round the camp and find a small piece of buffalo-fat, if you can." The tribe was starving. So he made a search, and found a piece of fat in the lodge of the beaver medicine-man. This the woman mixed with a bit of brown earth-paint and daubed the stone with it. That night she laid the stone on the buffalo-hair in the centre of the lodge, and began to sing, and the people whom the chief at her bidding had invited joined in the sonts. All night they sang, and the next morning the people beheld many buffalo around the camp. The woman imparted to the men the wisdom she had learned from the stone, and under her direction they built the first buffalo-fall. She gave the stone to her husband, and it became known as *inískim,* the buffalo-stone. After the buffalo-fall was completed, the chief selected a young man, who, properly instructed, started out to drive the buffalo between the lines of brush and stones. He gradually herded them in, and then the people rushed from their concealment behind the heaps of brush and stones, and so frightened the buffalo that they hurled themselves over the edge of the cliff. The young man now sat on the brink of the precipice and looked on while the others killed the buffalo. In the corral the animals were running about in a circle, while on the outside men were shooting them down with stone-pointed arrows. The chief remained in his lodge, and the best portions of the meat were taken to him, because it was his duty

to feed all who came to his home. During the winter a young man was driving the buffalo into the runway, when a cow became buried in a snow-drift. With the bit of brush in his hand he prodded the cow, causing her to jump forward and struggle out of the drift. Once free, she galloped away and escaped. On the second night following, as he sat in the chief's lodge listening to the songs of the buffalo-stones (for he was again to drive the herd), a strange boy entered, sat beside him, and said, "Father, my mother wishes to see you." The young man went out with the boy and found a woman sitting in the brush. He said: "You do not belong to this camp. Whence did you come? What are you?" "It is true," she answered, "I do not belong here. That time you drove the buffalo, I was the cow in the snow-drift, and you prodded me with a stick. This is our son, and I have come to you with him. There is only one reason I have come to you. This boy keeps saying, 'Why do you not show me my father?' I have told him, 'You have no father among the buffalo. We will go to find him.' So we have come, and now you and we must live together. One thing I ask of you: if you ever become angry with me, do not strike me with fire." The young man took the woman to his lodge, and she was his wife. One night the wind blew, and the lodge was filled with smoke. He sent her out to fix the smoke-flaps, but she could not arrange them effectually, and in sudden anger he seized a stick from the fire and struck her with it. The woman and the boy at once leaped up, rushed out of the lodge, and appeared immediately as buffalo galloping away. He followed them. The calf stopped occasionally and waited for him, but the cow would force him to go on, saying, "Your father did not treat us well." After a time the calf came back to him, and said, "Father, my mother says you had better go back." So the young man returned to the camp. Days passed, and thinking his wife must have overcome her resentment, he started out to find her. He arrived at the village of the buffalo-people. When he had found his wife, she told him that the buffalo chief had decreed that he must undergo a series of tests and demonstrate his worthiness to have a wife of the buffalo-people. So for many days he remained in their camp, and when he had successfully pointed out his son under various difficult circumstances, the chief gave him the dance of the buffalo calves and permitted him to take his wife and child back to his own people, among whom he organized the Tail society, in imitation of the dance of the calves.

The Tails wore moccasins, leggings, shirt, and belt, a buffalo-tail at the belt behind, and an eagle tail-feather in the hair; the face was painted yellow, with a horizontal stripe of red across the eyes. While they sat in the formation characteristic of the dances of all the societies, the singers chanted a song; then as the first dance-song was begun the other members rose, and, still facing in, one foot slightly advanced, threw the weight of the body from one foot to the other, never lifting the feet from the ground. Then they turned so as to face outward, resumed the first position, and turned again, always dancing in the same manner, the changes in position coinciding with the beginning of the repetition of the song. After a pause the second dance-song was commenced, and the Tails once more arose and danced, this time in a double column, each couple shoulder to shoulder, passing round the group of singers and back to their first position, where they reversed and danced round in the same direction as before, but backward; the two movements were repeated. After another interval, during which all rested, the same song was used again four times, and they danced as before four times round the circle; and again, and again, until the song had been used sixteen times in all, and the dancers had passed sixteen times round the group of singers. The members then retired to their respective lodges. The last ceremony of the Tails was observed in 1874. The Raven Bearer society was organized by a man who in a dream beheld a raven dancing with a feather-bedecked flag. In imitation of this device each ordinary member of the Raven Bearers had a strip of red cloth, six or eight inches wide and about eight feet long, attached by one of its longer edges to a staff. At the opposite edge feathers of the raven and of the hawk, the owl, the eagle, and other birds of prey, were attached by the quills at right angles to its length. Each had a rawhide rattle and some arrows, but no bow. The chief wore a large gray wolf-skin, slit down the back so that it slipped over the head of the wearer and permitted the wolf's head to hang on his chest. Two others were distinguished from the rank and file: the standard of the one being decorated with scalps instead of feathers; of the other exclusively with eagle-feathers. In their rites the Raven Bearers sat on the ground and planted their staffs before them, the two leaders sitting apart from the others. When a dance song began, all arose, took up their standards, and danced, facing inward and thrusting forward with their staffs, all the while imitating the croaking of ravens. The leaders turned, and the

others followed their example and danced, facing outward. They sat down, but the singers continued, and after a short pause the dance was repeated. Again they sat, and other songs followed without dancing. After each day's performance the members retired to a double lodge, and, becoming seated, thrust the staffs into the ground, and left them there while they went home. The ritual of the Raven Bearers was last transferred about 1874, but those who then purchased it performed a dance as late as 1890.

The special ensign of a Dog was a strip of red cloth about eight inches wide and six feet long, covered on one side with eagle-feathers sewn on longitudinally, and provided near one end with a slit through which the wearer thrust his head. The band trailed behind when he walked or stood, and was thrown around in front when he sat. It was called "the rope." The Dogs wore a close-fitting hood of smoke-blackened lodge-cover, which behind was covered with owl-feathers and extended to the middle of the back. Their rattles were rounded sticks covered with deerskin and strung along one side with small tin cones;[9] and they painted by smearing the face with yellow and scratching downward with fingers slightly separated, thus producing vertical bands. The dance leader used black paint in the same fashion, and wore a black trailer. He sat at the right extremity of the curving line of dancers, and in the ceremony of acquiring the ritual his black "rope" was fastened to a picket-pin driven in front of him. First the scouting songs were repeated, while the Dogs sat shaking their stick-rattles; and this continued without dancing until the "black-rope" man sent a messenger to his most attractive wife. She came, accompanied by many relatives bearing gifts, and wife and presents were given to his predecessor, who in return pulled the stake and released him. The new leader drew his comrades one by one to their feet, and dancing began. The giving away of the woman occurred only on the first of the four days, and not at all as a part of the single day's proceedings in an ordinary dance of the Dogs. This society last sold its rights about 1860, and became obsolete a few years later. The Kit-fox society was peculiar in that the wives of members played a more important part than in other companies; in fact, they were practically members.1[10] The

[9] Before tin was obtainable they probably, like other tribes, used deer dew-claws.

[10] A similar society among the Bloods was called the Horns. According to a Piegan

men had curved staffs wound with strips of otter-skin, wore otter-skin anklets and the usual leggings, shirts, and moccasins, and painted their faces and bodies red. Their leader wore as a cap the skin of a kit-fox, while another officer had a curved staff wound with strips of swan-skin from which all except the down-feathers had been removed; and two others carried bows, and arrows in quivers made of mountain-lion skin. When the people were moving camp, the Kit-foxes sometimes rode in a body, the man with the swan-skin staff crossing and recrossing in front of them. In purchasing the songs and equipment of the Kit-foxes, the Dogs entered the lodge where they were in session and gave each a filled pipe. After the smoke they repaired to their homes and gathered what presents they intended to give, and these their wives carried to the Kit-fox lodge. The candidates, with their wives just behind them, sat in front of the members (whose wives also were behind them), and were painted. The men then moved back, and the Kit-fox women painted the others. The members filed out and their singers sat in the usual incomplete ellipse; the initiates formed a concentric curve around them, their wives taking their places back of their husbands and the wives of the former Kit-foxes behind the ones they had painted. The initiates planted their staffs before them. Their chief sat in the middle of the curving line, and on each side of him one of the two distinguished by the quiver of mountain-lion skin. During the second song they chewed a certain herb, spit on their hands, rose, and made four simulated efforts to draw their staffs out of the ground. At the conclusion of the song they pulled them out, and began the dance as the third song was started. The night was spent in dancing in the double lodge, and so were the next three nights; but there were no rites for the daytime. The smallpox epidemic of 1845 nearly exterminated the Kit-foxes; the chief, the man with the staff wrapped in swan-skin, and several widows remained. The widows appointed male relations to take the place of their dead husbands, and so the

informant, each of the retiring Horns, men well advanced in years, spent a part of the night on the prairie away from the camp in company with the young wife of a candidate. It is said that wives known to be rather lax were sent on this mission. When the women returned, some of them would cry out to their husbands, "You have been really painted!" Others would say nothing. This informant, and others, averred that such was not the custom of the Piegan, but others admit that it was. The exact form of the practice among the Piegan is not known. For similar customs of the Atsina, see Volume V

society continued to exist; but its ritual was never thereafter sold, and its last dance was held a few years later.

The insignia of each Catcher were a flat, red-painted club of cherry wood about thirty inches long and two and a half inches wide, at the lower end of which were attached a dangling tail-feather of the hawk or of the eagle and a rattler of buffalo-hoof; and an eagle-feather, with a bit of otter-skin attached to it, thrust transversely through the hair at the back of the head. Their shirts were painted red. Two officers carried ash pipe-stems about thirty inches long decorated with eagle down-feathers; and two others had each a quiver of arrows. A young man chosen to be their messenger had a tomahawk-pipe. Having decided to become Catchers, the Kit-foxes, without asking leave, appropriated the two largest lodges they could find and pitched them as one structure in the centre of the camp-circle. Here the Catchers assembled, and to each of them one of the Dogs gave a pipe, and, after the smoke, was painted by him. After instruction in songs and dancing had been given, all filed out and sat down in the usual formation. The new members danced facing inward, then facing outward, then inward, and again outward. Four times this was done, and at the end the spectators hurriedly scattered, for if any one was caught his robe was torn to pieces by the Catchers. At night the company met in the double lodge in response to an invitation by one of the women to a feast, and there sang and danced. Four days and four nights were consumed in the ceremonies attendant on the purchase of the society's paraphernalia and songs, but on other occasions their dance was finished in a day. The last observance of this ceremony occurred a few years before the treaty-making of 1855, when the Piegan sold their rights to a party of Bloods at Pine Coulée, near Fort MacLeod, Alberta.

The society of Bulls is said to have been outside the series of organizations known as All Comrades. It was therefore an independent company of old men banded together without regard to their previous affiliation with the societies of the All Comrades. It was formed, probably about 1820, by a man who, in a dream in the mountains, saw a certain kind of dance, and on his return made the necessary insignia, sold it to a number of old men, and instructed them in the songs and dance. Some of the members had war-bonnets consisting of a circlet of feathers, others had circlet and trailer (the trailer representing the hump of the buffalo), and others caps formed of the scalp of the

buffalo with the horns, shortened by cutting off the base, still attached. All wore buffalo-robes with the hairy side exposed. Two, wearing the caps of buffalo-skin, used robes made of the skins of very old bulls, and they were known as Scabby Bulls. The chief wore on his head a circlet of eagle-feathers with a small pointless arrow-shaft attached to it in such a manner that it lay straight across his forehead. From the arrow hung pieces of weasel-skin, like fringe, to about the level of the eyes, and at each end was a reddened down-feather of the eagle. When the Bulls were ready for a dance, they announced this fact to the people, and the camp was then moved about a mile away from the body of water beside which they had been dwelling. The Bulls with their lodges remained behind. After dressing and painting, they sat near the water with robes drawn over their shoulders, scattered about as buffalo lie. The two Scabby Bulls lay behind the herd. A young man, previously appointed to the duty of "driving in the buffalo," rode up, dismounted at some little distance, approached cautiously, and threw a stone into the water. As if frightened, the Bulls started to their feet, but in a moment lay down. The young man gathered a number of buffalo-chips, lighted them, and placed them carefully in the water so that they floated down and sent their smoke drifting toward the Bulls, who again showed signs of uneasiness, as if the strange scent frightened them. Finally the man remounted and drew near, shouting, and the Bulls started to their feet and trotted away, ever mimicking the actions of buffalo. Riding from side to side to keep them in a compact herd, not moving too rapidly, lest they stampede, the young man brought them to the camp, exactly as a herd of real animals was diverted into the lines leading to the buffalo-fall. When they reached the camp-circle, the young man rode in front of them and led the way to the place in the centre where the dance was to occur. The people surrounded the "buffalo," and the warrior, after recounting four of his coups and giving a present to a needy old person as each was related, told where he had found the buffalo and how he had driven them in. Squatting on the ground the Bulls began to sing their four songs, and when the dance-song was reached they arose and danced, imitating the movements of buffalo. It was a few years prior to 1845 that the Bulls gave their last performance of the drama of driving the buffalo herd. On that occasion an old man named *Sinopôkum,* Fox Louse, fell as they moved toward the camp. He got up and followed the others,

but in a short time expired. This caused men to regard with suspicion participation in the dance of the Bulls, and it was never repeated.

When the informant, Red Plume, was a boy — about 1850 — the Piegan in camp formed a circle fully a mile in diameter, with the lodges placed close together, many deep, and children as well as horses frequently became lost in the maze of lodges. On occasions when the three tribes came together, they usually camped separately, each forming its own circle, and the societies of the three did not join in their dances and feasts. In the fall the bands dispersed, each gens camping where its own chief wished, these small villages being scattered along the streams; occasionally two or three gentes camped together. In the spring, when the grass began to be green, the tribal chiefs sent runners telling the bands in what direction he desired to move. Such plans, however, had been discussed in council during the winter.

The tribe was divided formerly into a number of gentes, thirteen of which can now be named. It is not certain that there were no more. Informants do not at all points agree as to the order in which these gentes camped in the circle, but the order was approximately as follows, beginning at the left of the entrance as one approached the camp: Worm People, Skunks, Those Who Do Not Laugh, Small Robes, Fat Renderers, White Breasts, Blood People, Buffalo Dung, Black-patched Moccasins, Hard Topknots, First Finished Eating, Small Brittle Fat, Seldom Lonesome, Pack Meat Raw.[11]

Marriage within the gens was prohibited, but sometimes such unions were made by two young people eloping. When they returned, they were permitted to live together, or rather it should be said they were compelled to do so. Such marriages were regarded as a disgrace to the gens, and were the occasion of slurring remarks from others. Usually a woman went to live with her husband's people, since descent was traced through the male line, but sometimes the man accompanied his wife and dwelt among her kinsmen. Property of husband and wife was owned in severalty. A dying man disposed of his own property among his family and his relations. If he gave something to a person outside his own gens, that person would return before the man died and give him some fine clothing, saying, "Here, my friend, take this with you." Such

[11] Many of the gentes mentioned by Grinnell in *Blackfoot Lodge Tales* were offshoots of one or the other of the above, mere subdivisions of a true gens, not yet distinct enough to be classed as independent social units.

articles were always buried with the man. Sometimes the deceased man's parents would forcibly prevent outsiders from taking what he had bequeathed to them. The property of one who died unexpectedly was shared by his relatives, position and influence, as well as closeness of the relationship, determining the amount claimed by the heirs.

Intercourse of any kind between son-in-law and mother-in-law was prohibited. If a man came into a lodge and found his mother-in-law there, he quickly withdrew; but if their glances happened to meet, he hurried out and announced that he would give her a horse. Thereafter they might pass each other without shame, but still they could not sit in the same lodge. The taboo could not be removed by giving her a scalp or horses taken from the enemy. Brother and sister might not converse alone or remain alone in the lodge. Brothers were close friends, helping each other in danger, and a similar relationship existed between brothers-in-law of equal age. An elderly man sometimes took a young unmarried brother-in-law into his lodge and treated him as his son. The father's brothers were held as important as the father himself.

As to the Piegan of to-day and to-morrow, one would need to be an optimist indeed to see a silver lining to the overshadowing cloud. The transformative period is naturally discouraging, and the promise long held out to them of better things through civilization has proven worse than empty husks. A century and a half ago they were a proud hunting people, free to roam a vast domain, which they held by their own right of strength. Game was everywhere abundant, and theirs was the happy life of the well-fed and contented. They had built their tribal laws well for their own government, and their religion, primitive though it was, answered their instinctive call to the infinite.

Now there are but a few hundred left. The old vigor has been undermined by the change in food, and therefore they are the less able to withstand the attack of diseases against which the Indian physique has not had time to fortify itself by gradual inoculation.

The majority are making a worthy struggle, but their development through the unrecorded ages was that of the hunter, and to become a farming people in a single generation is more than can be expected.

RELIGION AND CEREMONIES

THE SUN DANCE[12]

The Sun Dance of the Piegan, their most important religious ceremony, was performed annually in the fulfilment of a pledge to the sun made by some woman (who thus avowed herself virtuous)[13], in the belief that her promise to erect a lodge to the sun would result in the recovery of some relative from illness or in his escape from threatening danger. To illustrate the manner in which such a vow was made, the narrative of Paíyotôhkuta, an old woman, is repeated.

"My husband, Spotted Eagle, was very ill. I said to him: 'You are about to die. You are close to the ground. I have been with you since I was a girl, and I have never done wrong. Therefore, to save you I will take some of those tongues and eat with the Sun.' I was referring to the buffalo tongues which were eaten in the ceremony. So at once I sent a messenger to Curly Bear and his mother, Small Woman, who had three times built the medicine-lodge, and therefore had the right to instruct others.

"When the two came, I filled a pipe for the woman, while my husband filled one for the man. They knew for what purpose they had been summoned, and after we had smoked, the man painted my husband's face and upper body with red, while Small Woman painted my face, head, and arms. We four stepped outside and faced the noonday sun, Curly Bear at the right, and my husband, Small Woman, and I at his left. Curly Bear raised his voice, invoking the Sun: 'Here is Paíyotôhkuta! She says that she will build you a lodge to save the life of her husband! I ask you to do this because I know it is true, what she says. Save the life of her husband, and all the people will rejoice

[12] The native word is *Okán*, which is also the name of the sun-lodge. The lodge in which the two votaries (the pledger, and the man for whose welfare she pledges the medicine-lodge) prepare themselves by fasting and prayer is *okôyis (muyís,* lodge). The votaries themselves are *ikaíyôw,* but after the completion of the medicine-lodge they become *ikôw.* The root OK (IK) is of unknown origin.

[13] The death of the person in whose behalf the vow was made was taken as a sign that the pledger had not always been virtuous; the old people looked down upon her, and her husband, if she were married, always thought in his heart that she had been untrue to him.

and give you presents!' We turned and walked round to the southern side of our lodge and there looked up, while Curly Bear called: 'He-héeeeé! he-he-éeeeé! he-héeeeé! he-héeeeé! All Above People, here is Paíyotôhkuta! She is going to build you a lodge to save the life of her husband, and it will be so! Help him to become well!' Thus also at the western side and at the northern side of the lodge he invoked the aid of the Above People, after which we reentered."

While the four sat in the lodge conversing and smoking, certain young men were erecting a sweat-lodge, for the two men were now to participate in a ceremonial sweat — a rite in which spiritual preparation had a more important aspect than physical purification. Curly Bear, followed by the sick man, Small Woman, and Paíyotôhkuta, walked slowly toward the sudatory. The two men entered and sat at the rear, the patient at the priest's right hand; the women proceeded round the lodge and sat behind and facing it. After any other old men desirous of participating had entered the sweat-lodge, the priest with the tip of his finger drew a circle in the soft earth in the centre of the lodge, where the turf had been removed by the builders to make the pit in which the heated stones were to be placed. In this circle, which represented the sun, he placed some bits of sweet-grass, and called to the two young attendants, "Take those two *o'tuyátsis* and bring embers!" Each youth took a forked stick and brought a glowing coal, which he carefully deposited within the circle after the bits of sweet-grass had been removed. The priest raised the sweet-grass toward the west, and sang.

He dropped the grass on the embers, and, while it burned, the young men who had built the sudatory handed in a pipe which they had filled, saying, as they gave it to the priest, "May I live long!" The priest accepted the pipe, held the stem toward the east, took a pinch of tobacco from the bowl, rubbed it along the stem, and dropped it on the earth. Then holding the pipe in his right hand, with his left he took another pinch of tobacco and rubbed it along the stem. Next, holding the stem toward the east with both hands, he prayed: "Old Man, Old Woman, here is Paíyotôhkuta! She is going to build you a lodge. Let it be well, that we all may go from it without accident!" He then lighted the pipe and gave it to the man at his left; and so it was passed on round to the door, each one smoking, and then was handed back to the man at the other end of the circle, who puffed and passed

it to the one at his left, and so, after each person had smoked, it came again to the priest. He loosened some of the ashes, waved the pipe in a clock-wise direction over the stone-pit, and when it came above the southeastern corner he emptied the bit of ash. He loosened more, and emptied it at the southwestern corner; thus he deposited ashes at the northwestern and northeastern corners, and in the centre, each time waving the pipe round over as much of the circle as was necessary in order to reach the desired point. Finally he gave the pipe, stem-first, to an attendant, who took it round the southern side of the sweat-lodge and laid it, stem toward the south, just behind the sudatory on a small mound of the turf and earth that had been removed in digging the stone-pit. The attendants, using forked sticks with willow webbing between the prongs, brought in one heated stone and deposited it on, the rim of the pit at the southeastern comer; and others were placed, in the usual order, at the other three comers and in the middle. Observing the ceremonial order, the priest laid a bit of sweet-grass on each of the five stones, and the four on the rim were pushed into the hole; after which the remainder of the stones were brought in without formality, the young men rolling them into the doorway, and the old men who sat there pushing them into the pit, each of them using two sticks. A wooden bowl filled with water, and a horn or a wooden cup were passed in to the priest. Each man handed his robe to the attendants. The priest gave a cup of water to the man at the southern side of the door, who swallowed a sip and with the remainder wet his hair.

Each man in succession received a cup of water for the same purpose. The priest then poured water at each of the four comers of the hole, and a few drops on the stones in the middle. He poured a cupful slowly on the stones that had ashes clinging to them, called to the attendants to lower the cover, and dashed water on the stones seven times, bidding the man at the southern side of the door to pray. A typical prayer for such occasions is the following*: "Nápi, Kipitáki, Ipisóahs* [Old Man, Old Woman, Morning Star], may this woman be successful in building this lodge, for you will receive many presents there. May there be no accidents, and when we disperse, may everybody depart satisfied and happy. Let my women and my children grow up strong and successful. Let those who are in this sweat-lodge be healthy and have many horses, and success in all things they undertake."

Even while the prayer was being uttered the priest began to chant

the song already used at the first burning of incense, and all the others joined in the singing. The second man in the circle lifted his voice in prayer, while the priest again threw seven cupfuls of water on the stones, and began to sing with the others:

Morning says, let us make a says, marten give me; do not de-Star sweat-lodge; ceive me.[14]

Again water was dashed on the stones, and while the third man prayed the others sang:

I am Morning I say, let us make a I am daylight let us make a Star; sweat-lodge. person; sweat-lodge.

While they sang this, they made gestures symbolical of the morning star appearing above the horizon, bringing the daylight.

Then followed the fourth song, with the same accompanying acts as the others:

Old Man says, let us make a sweat-lodge; he who was smooth[15] says, let us make a sweat-lodge.

After this fourth song the priest called, "Lift the cover!" The attendants on the outside raised it, but after a moment it was lowered, and the fifth song was begun; and after the eighth song the cover was raised again, and again lowered. Then followed a third series of four songs, and the cover was raised a third time; and four more songs were succeeded by the final raising of the cover. The old men then passed out through the front, while the priest and the sick man emerged through the rear.

The words of the fifth, sixth, and seventh songs are as follow:[16]

[14] Morning Star is conceived to be a young man; hence his desire for such animals as marten, whose skin he uses in bedecking himself. By "do not deceive me" is meant "do not deceive me by not giving the marten."

[15] *Sumáwa* refers to the myth of Scarface, whose face the Sun made exactly like that of his child, Morning Star, so that his wife, Moon, could not distinguish them.

[16] The seven songs here given are the same as those used by the Sun in the myth of the origin of the beaver-medicine (tobacco), except that the words are somewhat different. Any possessor of the sweat-lodge medicine, or of the beaver-medicine (member of the Tobacco fraternity), when presiding at a sweat-bath, sings these seven songs, along with nine others having no words. On similar occasions persons having painted lodges sing the medicine-songs that belong to their lodges; still others may use songs belonging to some medicine article, such as a weasel-skin shirt, even if this has been acquired by purchase. Ordinary sweats continue through two to four songs.

Áwaniwa	*Kipitáki,*	*anohkítsi*	*ihtsi's*			*kúkkit.*	
Says	Old Woman,	another	sweat-lodge			give me.	
Nápiw	*áwaniwa,*	*áhkunaihtsiyop;*	*síkimi,*	*nitáwan,*	*apísi,*	*nitáwan,*	*kúkkit.*
Old Man	says,	let us make a sweat-lodge;	black horse,	I say,	wolf,	I say,	give me.

Nápiw	*áksipima,*	*étôpiwa;*	*natósiw.*	*Maaíya*	*nitótowanai.*	*Áwaniwa,*	
Old Man	is coming in,	is sitting here;	he is sacred.	His robe	I have taken.	He says,	
áhkunaihtsiyop;		*naaíwa*	*kitôkut;*		*natoyíw.*		
let us make a sweat-lodge;		my robe	I have given you;		it is sacred.		

The remaining nine of the sixteen sweat-lodge songs have no words.

After the sweat, the old men who participated plunged into the cooling stream, while the four returned to the lodge and ate.

The pledge to build the lodge of the sun might be made at any time subsequent to the last preceding Sun Dance; and from that time until early summer the pledger and her husband[17] lived their daily life in the usual manner.

At the approach of summer, when the camp was moved, the lodge of the pledger was pitched inside the circle a short distance from the other lodges, and henceforth it was occupied only by herself and the faster. At the same time they selected a middle-aged man of some ability as a crier to be their herald and in general to fill the place of host in their lodge during the day. For the woman there was appointed a female attendant, who provided wood, kept the lodge clean and orderly, and cut up the food of the two votaries.

The next time the hunters started out for buffalo, the faster saddled

[17] For the sake of simplicity it is assumed that the one in whose behalf the pledge is made is the husband: in reality it might be any relative; but in any case, the one who assists the pledger is, as a rule, her husband. Both the woman who makes the pledge and the man assisting her are known as *ikaíyôw,* a word of unknown meaning. For want of better terms, the former, throughout this narrative, will be designated as the pledger, the latter as the faster; it must be remembered, however, that the woman, as well as the man, abstains from taking food in the usual quantities. Both the man and the woman who act as instructors of the faster and the pledger are known as *ikôw*, another untranslatable word. The male instructor is herein called the priest, the native term *ikôw* being used exclusively of the female instructor. Actually, both are *ikôw.*

his horse, and, without weapons, bearing only pipe and tobacco-bag, rode after them. Coming to the first dead buffalo, he dismounted, gathered some buffalo-chips, laid them closely together, and covered them with sage. The hunter who had killed the animal and was now cutting it up brought the tongue to him, and after brushing it off carefully with sage, the faster laid it on the bed of sage. He filled his pipe and offered smoke to the sun, praying: "Sun, I am going to begin to collect the tongues for you. May we have success." Then the two smoked, and the faster tied a thong around the end of the tongue, hung it across his saddle, mounted, and rode to the next hunter, praying constantly to the sun. Each hunter as he was approached brought the tongues of his kill to the faster, who, after smoking with him, hung them across his saddle. Only the first tongue was placed on the bed of buffalo-chips and sage. After collecting all the tongues, no matter how many buffalo had been killed, he returned to his lodge.

In the meantime the priest and the *ikôw* had gone to the faster's lodge and there arranged four buffalo-chips edge to edge in a row extending from immediately in front of the honor-place toward the door. Over these and on the ground at each side they spread sage. Then they went home; but later, when the faster was seen approaching with the tongues, they returned, received the tongues, laid them side by side on the sage, and left the pledger and the faster to themselves. All night the tongues lay there.

Early in the morning the attendant of the faster called aloud for the priest and the *ikôw,* at the same time summoning by name all those women, and their husbands if they were married, who during the year had vowed to the sun that for certain beneficence granted they would "cut the tongues" for the Sun Dance. Soon the two instructors appeared, and began at once to paint both votaries with red on the face, head, and arms. At the same time the others began to arrive, the men entering first and passing round on the southern side past the place of honor to the northern side, the first man sitting near the door on the northern side of the lodge. The men filled up the northern side, and the women the southern. The four principal actors sat in the rear, directly behind the tongues, the priest on the extreme left, the faster at his right, then the pledger and the *ikôw.* The last-named placed between the finger-tips of her companion a bit of black paint, and then directing her hand caused her to paint two black stripes along

the edge of the tongue lying nearest the rear of the lodge, and a stripe of red down the middle. This, the "chief tongue," was taken up by the priest, who began to sing, in company with the others:

At the beginning of the words "it has started, sacred," the priest gave the tongue to the man at his left, who slowly passed it to his neighbor, by whom it was held during the words "I, sacred, walk." The fourth man held the "chief tongue"' while they chanted the conclusion of the song, and so it went on, the song being rendered four times during the passing of the tongue down the row of men. The man beside the door, when he received the tongue, arose slowly and walked deliberately and carefully, holding it in both hands across the space separating him from the woman nearest the door, to whom he handed it. Again the song was repeated four times, while the tongue was returned to the pledger, who retained it. She prayed: "Nátos [Sun], the promise we made you is about to be fulfilled. I prayed that you might save the life of my husband, and he is well. May we live to be old together. May we have good luck with the lodge we are about to build for you,"

As soon as the "chief tongue" left the hands of the priest, he started another tongue on its way, and another, and another. The second tongue came finally to the woman at the right of the *ikôw,* and she kept it, and each succeeding tongue was retained by the woman at the right of her who had the next preceding one. If there were more tongues than women, as many of the women as the number of tongues made necessary received more than one. The singing continued only while the "chief tongue" was being passed about. After all the tongues had been distributed, the woman next the door spoke, still sitting and holding the tongue in her lap: "This tongue I am going to cut, because I have never had two men. This being so, I will slice this tongue without cutting a hole in it, and without cutting my hand." The next woman repeated the words, then the next, and so on to the last one, including the pledger. Then they began carefully to cut the tongues, slicing them lengthwise into thin continuous strips. If the knife slipped and cut a hole in this strip, or cut the hand, the accident was regarded as indisputable proof that the woman had lied, that she had at some time committed adultery.[18]

[18] Paíyotôhkuta has cut the tongues thirteen times, but never saw a woman make a slip with the knife. But in 1886 Little Woman (not the Small Woman mentioned above as the ik *ôw*), the wife of Bull Shoe, cut a hole in the tongue she was slicing and

In preparing the tongues the women first cut off the rough outer skin and laid it away; then as the tongues were sliced, they were heaped in front of the pledger, who, when all had been prepared, arose, gathered them up, and hung them on the strings that passed from lodge-pole to lodge-pole. Two women who at some previous time had performed the duty of boiling the skins now appointed two other women from the number present to attend to this matter. These latter hung a kettle on the tripod over the fire, boiled the skins, served the broth to all the company, and distributed the skins among the women, who took them home and divided them among their relatives. The skins were eaten in the belief that they would bring good fortune. On the following morning the same company again assembled in the lodge of the faster. The two women who had boiled the skins now placed the tongues in the kettle, the men smoking and talking reminiscently the while, and the women exchanging bits of gossip. Pledger and faster sat silent. The tongues, thoroughly cooked, were spread on a clean rawhide, and after drying were again hung up by the pledger. With a horn dipper the two women poured a portion of the broth into the cup that each person had brought, beginning with the faster, and after the broth had been drunk to the last drop the people dispersed. This, as well as the eating of the skins, was in the nature of a sacrament.

In the manner described, the faster continued to gather tongues until one hundred had been secured; but if so many were obtained before the proper time for the ceremony was at hand, he continued to collect tongues, although he never tried to obtain more than two hundred. Whenever tongues were brought in, the same ceremony of preparing them was observed, exactly the same people participating. Each time a quantity of tongues had been properly dried, these people were invited into the lodge, where the pledger and the *ikôw* placed the tongues with the others in a parfleche, to the accompaniment of the "chief tongue" song.

At the time when the faster began to collect tongues, the *ikôw*

at the same time cut her finger. "*Kyaiyó!*" she cried, "I have cut myself!" White Calf was the priest. He said, harshly," Go out before it bleeds, and never come back!" She went out. Bull Shoe simply hung his head and said nothing. He remained in the lodge until the end of the tongue cutting. It is not known that he ever scolded his wife, but he believed that she had lied, and thereafter whenever there was any gathering of the people he kept her at home, in order to avoid reminder of his humiliation.

made a new travois, which she painted red and leaned against the back of the faster's lodge, where it remained until the camp was ready to move to a new locality. When the command to move was given, she laid the travois flat on the ground, pointing in the direction in which the march lay, and on it she spread a buffalo-robe. After folding the robe about the parfleche containing the dried tongues, she bound the whole to the travois. When the horses were driven in, a gentle animal was harnessed to the travois, and the pledger mounted. When the next camping place was reached, the *ikôw* detached the travois from the horse, carried the parfleche into the faster's lodge, which again was pitched inside the line of the camp-circle, and leaned the travois once more against the back of the lodge.

On the march the priest and the faster rode beside each other, and directly behind them were the two women. While there was no particular position in the column for them, others were not permitted to approach within less than about fifty yards of the travois with its burden of consecrated tongues.

After the beginning of the tongue-cutting, the two votaries abstained from eating and drinking, except before sunrise and after sunset, and then they took very little. While the sun was above the horizon they did not go out of their lodge, and at other times only in response to the demands of nature. Each morning and each evening the priest and the *ikôw* came and led them outside a short distance behind the lodge. Morning and evening, also, some female relative, or occasionally the *ikôw*, brought a small quantity of food, which the pledger's attendant cut up, for if the devotees touched a sharp instrument, somebody would meet with an accident. They never applied water to their faces or bodies; to do so would cause rain. Each morning the priest and the *ikôw* came into the lodge, rubbed the paint from the faces of the pledger and the faster with a muskrat skin, and applied a fresh coat of red. The two votaries spent the day sitting in the rear of the lodge, each with a red-painted buffalo-robe, worn with the hairy side in, around the shoulders and tied at the neck. It was a rule of the faster's lodge that fire must burn constantly throughout the day, no matter how hot the weather, and the lodge-cover could not be raised to admit air. If the day happened to be exceedingly hot, the *ikôw* might come and remove the robe from the woman, and the priest might do the same service for the man. Besides the robe the man wore moccasins and loincloth;

while the woman wore moccasins and her ordinary skin dress under the buffalo-robe. During the day the faster might spread another robe outside the lodge, and lie there, while his friends visited him and smoked, the attendant filling the pipes. On such an occasion the taboo against speaking was lifted; but the woman was compelled to remain inside all day, and she was not permitted to speak. To use a flame in lighting a pipe in this lodge would cause bad luck; hence one of a number of small willow sticks kept for this purpose was thrust into the fire, and its glowing end applied to the tobacco. If in the lodge of a faster a spark from the fire burned a hole in the woman's dress or in the man's robe, this garment had to be given to someone, and if nobody would have it, it was thrown into the river. There was no superstition, however, that ill luck would follow the acceptance of such garments. None might pass in front of these two votaries while they smoked, for blindness would have been the portion of the offender.

Anybody wishing to pass waited until the pipe was laid out near the fire, then he walked between the votary and the pipe. In the faster's lodge, the woman slept at the rear, and the man at the northern side. They alone occupied the lodge at night, but continence was strictly enjoined. A feast was given to the chiefs and head-men every day in the faster's lodge, the food being furnished and prepared at their own lodges by various relatives. In the days when intertribal warfare flourished, it frequently happened that in the same year more than one woman made the vow to build the lodge of the sun; for in no other way, they believed, could a husband or a lover so surely be saved from the dangers of the war-path. Each one pitched her lodge within the camp-circle, and, with her husband, or other person assisting her as faster, occupied it during the preparations for the ceremony; and each of the men collected the required number of buffalo-tongues. Each pair of votaries employed the services of a priest and an *ikôw*.

When service-berries were fully ripe, the attendant of the faster publicly ordered the members of one of the four younger warrior societies to select the place for the dance. The formula was: "Braves, Spotted Eagle asks you to go ahead and look about for a place where there is tall timber and a suitable spot for the medicine-lodge!" The Big Comrade of the designated society then rode about the camp calling on the members to hasten. The young men assembled in ordinary dress and set out on horseback. They remained away all day, and on their

return the Big Comrade reported to the faster what place had been chosen. Then he rode about the camp announcing the news.

Early the next day the faster's attendant called on the members of another of the younger societies to build a sweat-lodge. They soon mounted and rode away in a body to the willow brush, where their leader appointed ten men to gather ten willows each for the sweat-lodge, ten more to collect ten stones each for the same purpose, and one to secure the skull of a buffalo-bull. The skull was to be perfectly preserved, and to have large horns. The remaining members sat on the ground smoking and conversing while the twenty-one departed on their missions. Before cutting each wand, the willow gatherers prayed: "I am going to cut you for the medicine-lodge. You are strong and straight. May I grow to be the same!" As he picked up each stone, each of the other ten prayed: "Sun, I am picking up this stone for you. May we have success!" The other young man, after finding a perfect skull, said: "Sun, this buffalo-head is taken for your benefit. In a certain battle a man with a fine head of hair was killed, and I took his scalp. That is why I take this skull." Each willow gatherer tied his willows into a bundle and took it to the meeting-place, and the other ten brought their stones in their blankets. There they waited until the skull was brought. Riding abreast with the Big Comrade in the lead, the man with the buffalo-skull at the extreme end of the line and a little apart from the others, they moved slowly into the camp from the east, rode completely round it on the inside of the rows of lodges, then passed out toward the east, and a short distance away they laid down their burdens. Immediately they began building the sweat-lodge, and the Big Comrade sent some of those who had taken no part in the gathering of material into the camp-circle to get wood, one stick from each lodge. The remainder of those not occupied with the building he dispatched for buffalo-robes to be used in covering the lodge. Six he appointed to put the willows in place, three men on each side. After all the willows had been thrust into the ground and bent over, he chose a man who had performed a notable exploit in war to dig the stone-pit. This man arose and briefly recounted his coup, then with an axe making a motion as if to strike at each corner of the space to be cut out, starting at the southeast and passing round in the direction of the sun's course, he began to cut off the sod and take out the earth from a space about twenty by twelve inches, and as deep as the length of

his hand, placing the earth and sod on a robe, which, after completing the work, he carried out and around on the southern side of the lodge, depositing the material at the rear. The buffalo-skull was placed on the pile of earth, facing the west. A messenger was sent to the faster, to say, "Give us the paint." He returned with black and red paint, and the willows were painted, black on the northern half, red on the southern.

While the sudatory was being constructed, the priest and the *ikôw* were repainting the two votaries; and when report came that the sweat-lodge was prepared, the four came out, single file, and walked very slowly to the sweat-lodge, heads bowed and covered with their robes, the women constantly praying to the Above People for a successful ceremony, and the men singing to the air of the song of the "chief tongue" at the tongue-cutting:

Nitátowa, mátapo; nitátowa, wáwuh; nitátowa, ipúyi.
I am sacred, standing; I am sacred, walking; I am sacred, stopping.

Approaching from the rear, they passed round the northern side of the sudatory. The two men entered, and the women went on round and sat behind the buffalo-skull, facing the sweat-lodge.

Two of the builders of the sweat-lodge had by this time brought from the faster's lodge a parfleche filled with dried tongues, which now they distributed among their comrades, who sat about on the ground. Each held aloft a bit of the meat, saying: "Sun, this is a portion of the feast we are going to have with you. May we have harmony, and may no accident occur. If the enemy come, may we defeat them without injury to ourselves.

Those who have children, may their children grow up to be strong and healthy." Then, moistening the piece of meat, he placed it on the ground and offered the same prayer to the Earth People. Next each one broke off another morsel and ate it, and laid the remainder of the tongue aside to be taken home to his relatives.

When the two principals first entered the sweat-lodge, a young man filled a pipe and passed it in to them, and they sat smoking and praying while the young men were offering the meat to the Sun and the Earth People. Old men were now congregating. When the offerings had been made, the priest said, "Bring in the head!" The chief of the society appointed a man for this duty, and the latter fetched a skull

and laid it, facing eastward, in front of the priest. The paint left from the painting of the willows was placed beside it. Constantly praying, the priest marked with a finger-tip a spot of red on the right half of the face of the skull, and to the accompaniment of the song of the "chief tongue" it was passed to the left from man to man, until it reached the door, where it was received by the attendant who had brought it in and by him was taken round the southern side of the lodge and laid on the pile of earth at the rear. The usual ceremonial sweat, previously described, now followed, and at the end the four principals returned to the lodge of the faster. On each of the three following mornings the camp was moved a short distance toward the spot selected for the dance, and another ceremonial sweat was observed, the remaining three of the junior societies taking charge in turn.

A portion of the third day was consumed by the priest and the *ikôw* in transferring to the faster and the pledger their medicine-songs, and consequently their rights and privileges as priest and *ikôw*. From the building of the first sudatory until the medicine-lodge was erected, each night before leaving the lodge of the faster the priest laid him down in whatever position chance might dictate, and in that position the faster was expected to lie throughout the night. In the morning he was placed in a sitting posture, and during the day he could change his attitude only under the directing hands of his mentor. The *ikôw* performed the same duties for the pledger.

On the morning following the fourth sweat, great excitement prevailed in the camp. The chiefs assembled in the lodge of one of their number and cast about for a man who had counted four good coups of the different kinds; and when they had found him, the camp-crier shouted out the news that this man had been selected to cut the centre-post. Men bustled about importantly, urging, haste, for the two votaries were becoming thirsty. The chiefs appointed the members of one of the four junior societies to go with the "scout," and these all quickly dressed and followed the warrior to the timber. There they moved about looking for a straight cottonwood with a fork about twenty feet from the ground. When such a tree had been found, the warrior took an axe, and, standing beside the tree, said, "In such a fight I took an axe from the enemy; may we have equal good luck with this tree!" Then he touched the tree on the eastern side after making four feints. He followed the same procedure on the other three sides, but

at the last place, that is, at the north, he really struck a blow, and then handed the axe to one of the young men, who began to fell the tree. The others stood back waiting in great excitement, and as the tree commenced to topple, they all shot at it and shouted as if it were an enemy, and when it fell, they rushed forward, each trying to be the first to tear off a branch, which was believed to be a sign that he would capture a gun in his next battle.

On the same morning each chief of a gens appointed young men to secure two or three forked cottonwood posts, a like number of ridge-poles and rafters, and a quantity of willow brush for thatching; and other young men he appointed to perform their share of the labor of digging the holes for the centre-post and the outer ones. The digging of the holes was begun under the direction of a self-appointed body of four very old men, who indicated to the workmen where the centre-hole should be made; then the young men stepped out ten paces from the centre and placed the outer holes two long paces apart. Thus the lodge was about fifty feet in diameter, and the outer posts about six feet apart. Both the cutting of timbers and the digging of holes were accompanied with the prayers of the workers for their own good fortune and for the successful issue of the ceremony. When the post-cutters came in with their burdens, they placed them in the holes without formality or delay. The centre-pole was brought in unceremoniously as soon as it was cut, without waiting for the erection of the other posts, and was laid with its base over the hole and the top toward the east, so that when it was raised it would follow the course of the rising sun. With it was brought a quantity of boughs of the black birch.

Meanwhile the attendant of the faster had summoned the women who had taken part in the tongue-cutting, and after they had assembled, some young man was despatched in haste for juniper leaves. While he was gone, the priest said to one of the men, "Dig this hole." The one so addressed came forward, and with an axe which the priest had laid there, made the usual preliminary, ceremonial motions at each comer of a space about three feet by two (its longer axis extending east and west), and just behind the fire-pit. Then he removed the sod from this space and laid it, as well as the earth which he took out, on a robe spread beside him. He then carried the robe outside and poured the earth just behind the lodge. Immediately he set out to procure a certain kind of white clay, which he brought back and deposited on the

cleared space. Then with a knife he dug two circular holes about two inches in diameter and four inches deep, one at the southeastern, one at the northeastern corner of the cleared space. The priest then bade another man place embers in these holes, and drop upon them some of the juniper leaves which in the meantime had been brought by the messenger and deposited all around the cleared space. This done, the priest spread the white clay evenly over the virgin soil, and with the tip of the middle tail-feather of a certain kind of large hawk he traced in the clay an arch, opening toward the east; then farther toward the east a circle; next a smaller circle; lastly, along each side, opposite the first circle, a straight line running east and west. The arch represented the new moon, the first circle the sun, the second the morning star, and the two lines the sun-dogs.[19]

The *ikôw* now selected a woman, and they two, under the direction of the priest, opened a bundle and took therefrom a head-dress[20] consisting of a band of rawhide, about three inches wide, ornamented along each edge with porcupine-quills, and with two eagle-feathers projecting upward in the front, two at the back, and two more at each side. At the tip of each feather were tied a red down-feather from the tail of the eagle, and a bit of weasel-skin.

From another bundle the women took a dressed elk-skin robe, a deerskin dress ornamented with beads across the breast and shoulders and fringed at the bottom, leggings beaded at the bottom, beaded moccasins, a necklace consisting of a deerskin string running through a few beads and one dentalium shell with a wisp of human hair attached to it, two wristlets consisting each of a deerskin string passing through a few beads and several elk-teeth, a stuffed badger in a rawhide bag, a root-digging stick with a number of buffalo-hoof rattlers attached to the end. At the same time the priest removed from another bundle a raven-tail, a necklace just like that described above, another necklace

[19] The sun-dogs are called *otsíikskiwahsin,* "he (sun) has painted his face."

[20] This sacred head-dress is called *natówas (natoyíw,* supernatural; *ma's,* turnip [*Psoralea esculenta*]) in allusion to the myth of the girl who married the star. The feathers symbolize the leaves of the turnip which she disobediently uprooted, and the root-digging stick taken from the bundle next to be opened represents the stick which she then used. According to another myth the feathers of the circlet represent the prongs of an elk's horns. Colloquially the Sun Dance is frequently called, at least by the younger Piegan, the "Turnip Medicine Dance."

consisting of a human scalp suspended on a string between two pieces of the root used in making incense, two wristlets of rawhide ornamented with porcupine-quills, a bone whistle suspended by a string, a wooden bow with a wisp of human hair attached to its extremity. Then, in the concealment of robes held up before the two principal women, the *ikôw* painted red the face of the pledger, and replaced her clothing with the articles taken from the first bundle of apparel, hanging the badger-skin and the root-digger on her back by means of a pack-string, while the priest and the people sang.

Then the head-dress was placed on her head, to the accompaniment of another song:

Natówas ***natósiw; nisaáma natósiw.***
"Sacred Turnip" is sacred; my medicine is sacred.

The priest now painted black the face and body of the faster, and began to array him in the articles taken from the second bundle. When only the raven-tail was left, he picked it up and danced before the sitting faster, he and the others singing:

Nínaw áwaniwa: súwatsi, nitáwan.
The man says: tail-feathers, I say.

Then he attached the raven-tail to the faster's hair in such a manner that it projected over the forehead like a visor, singing the while:

Maistówa ápassapiw máhkitopihpi.
Raven looking for a place to perch.

Thus was transferred to pledger and faster ownership of the paraphernalia in which they were arrayed.[21]

[21] After disposing of these medicine-bundles, a man or a woman no longer possessed the right to officiate as instructor to one about to build the sun-lodge; for he no longer had the garments and ornaments in which such a one must be dressed. If, however, he later dreamed of them, he would try to rebuy them; and if the owner refused to sell, he would proceed to make a new set for himself, regarding the dream as his authority. Thus there came to be as many as ten or twelve sets of this sacred regalia. When a man and a woman not married purchased this medicine together, as pledger and faster, each acquired possession of the portion appropriate to his sex. Such a case occurred when

The priest laid on the ground between himself and the door four bunches of sage, each two a pace apart. Then the four principals arose, and the priest made four motions of planting his foot on the first bunch of sage, singing:[22]

Ománina, anákyomatapot; ákainokimaup.
You chief, you must start we will rejoice. in your finery

As he sang, the priest stepped slowly from one bunch of sage to the next, the faster, the pledger, and the *ikôw* following in the order named; the two women at this point exchanging the relative positions which heretofore they had held. With bent heads muffled in robes they proceeded to a lodge, open in the front so as to form a mere shelter, which some female relatives of the pledger had erected behind the medicine-lodge. After encircling the medicine-lodge, they entered the shelter, and the parfleches containing dried tongue were laid in a row before them. Now, all the women who during the year had vowed, by their chastity, that for the sake of some relative they would "eat buffalo-tongue with the Sun," crowded up and sat down in front of the shelter-lodge. Any parent, wishing to make an offering to the sun in behalf of a child, took a filled pipe and an offering — a robe, for instance — tied to a stick, and carrying the child in arms gave the pipe to the *ikôw* (or, in the case of a man, to the priest), who accepted it, extended the pipe to the four quarters of the sky, all the time praying for the child, and smoked it, afterward passing it to the pledger (or to the faster). The offering was taken and laid aside, to be later tied to the central pole of the medicine-lodge. After smoking and laying the

an unmarried woman made the vow, or when the husband of the pledger did not care to endure the fasting. In the earliest days of which men now have positive knowledge, the usual price for this medicine was four or five horses and a quantity of robes. At the present time the price is fifteen to twenty-five horses, but one instance is known in which sixty horses were given.

[22] These words were added to an air already in use in the Sun Dance, after a certain warrior had returned alone with a Nez Percé scalp. He sat down on a near-by hill, and when the people despatched a messenger to learn who this man was, he sent to the chief the command contained in the words of the song. This Nez Percé scalp was given to the medicine-lodge, and since that time a scalp has formed a part of the fasters costume.

offering aside, the *ikôw* (or the priest) painted the face of the suppliant with red, and made a small black disc on the forehead and one also on each cheek, and a smaller one on the bridge of the nose. Then he painted the child in the same manner. Many parents came for this blessing on their children.

In front of the shelter-lodge lay a buffalo-skin procured on the preceding day by four hunters sent out especially for that purpose. After the blessing of the children, an old man[23] selected some young warrior who had performed a notable exploit, and led him to the buffalo-hide, and the young man who at the last Sun Dance had attended to the duty now to be executed sat down beside the newly chosen one, and directed him how to cut the hide into a single long strip, beginning at the tail, which formed an end of the strip. The instant the cutting began, the women who had proclaimed their virtue opened one of the parfleches, and each took a tongue. Then standing beside the one for whose benefit the vow had been uttered[224] she held the tongue with upstretched arm, saying: "Sun, I promised that if this, my relative, recovered from his sickness, I would eat this tongue with you. Now you are looking down on me, and you know I am virtuous." If any of the surrounding throng of mounted young men could of his own knowledge dispute her declaration, it was his duty to challenge her, and she retired in disgrace. If no exception was taken to her averment of chastity, she ate a piece of the tongue and gave a morsel to the man at her side, preserving the remainder for the family.

While the women redeemed their pledges, the remainder of the tongues were distributed among the members of the four junior societies, who were assembled in the open, each organization in its own circle, singing.

At the command of some chief, young men now hurried away, and quickly returned, each with a lodge-pole taken from one of the smoke-

[23] The same old man appointed the warrior for this function each year, so long as he lived, having been selected for the office because in battle he had seized an enemy by the hair and dragged him from his horse.

[24] The death of this person before the occurrence of the Sun Dance was held to be proof that the woman had uttered a false vow. In the spring of 1909 the wife of Wolf Plume vowed that if her child recovered she would "eat tongue with the Sun." The child died, and Wolf Plume now believes that his wife has at some time been guilty of unfaithfulness.

flaps of his lodge. While the top of the centre-post was being raised and supported on a built-up pile of wood, they connected their lodge-poles in pairs by means of stout rawhide thongs, in preparation for the raising of the centre-post. The tail-end of the long rawhide strip was made fast to the crotch of the centre-post, and a fagot of black-birch boughs was tied in the fork.[25]

Then at the door of the shelter-lodge appeared the four principals. Walking slowly, with covered heads, they reached the butt of the pole, where the two women remained standing while the men mounted and walked the length of the pole to its top, which rested on its wooden support. Other men quickly leaped up on the pile of wood and with their robes held on outstretched arms formed a screen about the two. Thus sheltered from the gaze of the crowd, the faster dropped his robe and placed it in the fork of the centre-pole, and the priest took from him the remainder of his costume. The young men then made three successive feints at raising the centre-post by means of their lifting-poles, and at the fourth movement they actually raised it. At the same moment the men on the pile of wood at the top of the pole leaped down, the faster nude except for his loin-cloth. As the pole began to rise, the *ikôw* took the head-dress, the belt, and the elk-skin robe from the pledger, and carried them on her arm, while she led the other woman homeward, following the two men, who, with any old men who wished to participate, entered a sudatory placed in such a position that the faster's lodge stood between it and the medicine-lodge. The sweat was finished about two hours before sunset, and the faster partook of some hot soup. The woman had already drunk a cup of broth and eaten some meat; but she was not permitted to wash until the next day. Meanwhile the young men had bound the eaves-poles upon the circle of uprights, thrown the rafters into place, from eaves to peak, where they were secured by a young man who mounted the centre-pole and bound them to the crotch by means of the long rawhide strip. Then willows were leaned from the ground to the eaves, to afford shelter from sun and wind, and the roof was roughly thatched for a short distance above the eaves. Toward evening the younger men in their finery assembled in the medicine-lodge, where they formed in two lines extending east and west, and danced forward and back,

[25] This bundle of branches had no symbolic significance, its purpose being merely to prevent the rafter-poles from splitting the fork.

toward and away from each other. While they danced, an old man dug the fire-pit in the centre, an act that gave to this dance of the young men the name of Cutting-out Dance (*Atanímma paskan*). On the following morning the two votaries brought to the medicine-lodge saplings and brush, and a quantity of juniper leaves. Already virgin soil had been exposed in an oblong space behind the centre of the lodge, the turf had been packed into a raised rim about the space, and two circular incense-holes had been sunken at the eastern comers. On the raised rim they laid their leaves of juniper, and with the poles and brush they constructed in the position of honor a rectangular roofless booth, open in the front, and about eight feet wide by four deep. It stood about four feet behind the incense-altar. Booth and altar together were called *itátapiskatsi-maup*. All was now ready for the dance. About the middle of the morning an old man, the Whistler,[26] entered the shelter and sat down at the rear. He wore a loin-cloth, a dressed elk-skin robe tied at the neck, another dressed elk-skin robe doubled and belted around his waist, and moccasins without ornamentation. On a thong around his neck hung two eagle wing-bone whistles, on which he blew when dancing, sounding a note each time his feet touched the ground. He carried an eagle-wing fan, and a rawhide thong, along each side of which were attached seven down-feathers of the eagle. At each end of this thong was a loop, through which he slipped a little finger, when dancing, holding his hands apart on a level with his chest and moving them with short, sharp, upward and downward jerks, so as to shake the feathers in rhythm with his dance. At all times an arch opening downward, representing the new moon, was painted in bright red earth-paint on the Whistler's forehead, and on each temple a straight line symbolizing the sun-dogs. When he entered the shelter his body from head to foot was painted red-brown. But on the second morning, while two men held a robe over the entrance of the booth, he repainted with black, staining the lips vermilion. On the third day he used red-black; on the fourth yellow; on the fifth, if the dance continued so long, red-black with small black spots on the right cheek representing the Great Dipper.

Having entered his booth, the Whistler never left it until the end

[26] *Átapiskatsima.* This word, as well as that designating the booth and the altar, is derived from *ákkatsimáuw,* "to whistle on an instrument," as on a bone whistle; primarily used of the whistling sounds made by some animals, as the otter and the marmot.

of the ceremony, except to dance forward toward the incense-altar. Before sunset and after sunrise his wife brought a small quantity of food and water; but during the daytime he neither ate nor drank.

The office of Whistler was obtained by purchase, the first incumbent having been instructed in a dream how to dress, paint, and dance.[27] There was never more than one Whistler at the same time. His principal function was to insure clear weather during the Sun Dance. If a cloud approached, he arose and danced, and with an eagle-wing in one hand and another wing or the skin of some animal in the other he made gestures as if to brush the cloud away. Before lying down to sleep he prayed that the sky might remain clear; and if during the night he heard thunder, he arose, prayed, and sang his song.

When the Whistler appeared in the medicine-lodge, he ordered the camp-crier to announce how many days the Whistler would dance. The minimum number was four, the maximum seven. The herald also summoned the old men who had passed successively through all the warrior societies, and these, with their wives, assembled and sat in a circle at the right of the Whistler's shelter, each with a small drum. They were the singers. At the right and somewhat in front of the booth sat the pledger (now owner of the sacred paraphernalia in which the builder of the medicine-lodge must be clothed, and bearer of the title *ikôw*), and in a corresponding position at the left the woman from whom she had purchased the medicine. The two men might, if they chose, sit near the centre-pole. As the spectators assembled, individuals were constantly bringing to the Whistler a pipe filled with tobacco, and presents to be given to the sun. He lighted the pipe, inhaled a few whiffs of smoke, and held up the gifts, murmuring a few words of offering. After the ceremony was over, the presents were tied to the lodge-poles. Now and then a man would lead his entire family up in front of the Whistler, and offer him a pipe. The old man arose then, bade the singers sing, and danced where he stood. He turned his back to the petitioner, faced him again, repeated these movements, and finally took the pipe. He prayed to the sun for this man and his

[27] Red Plume and Tearing Lodge say that the ceremony existed long before the original Whistler had his dream: that this was a new feature added to rites already old. Other informants deny this. The failure of all myths to account for the origin of the Whistler adds weight to the testimony of those who assign a comparatively recent date to the introduction of this feature of the ceremony.

family, and for all the people, and lighting the pipe, passed it among the people who sat on each side of his booth. While they smoked, he painted the faces of the man and his family with red, and made a spot of black on the forehead and on each cheek.

Soon the lodge was filled with spectators, and next came, in a body, the members of one of the two youngest societies, who sat in a row on one side of the lodge in front of the onlookers. They were quickly followed by the rival organization, whose members sat at the unoccupied side. The singers began to chant, and the Whistler arose and danced forward to the incense-altar, where he remained during the song, leaping up a few inches from the ground, blowing shrill notes on his bone whistle, and fluttering the feathers attached to the thong stretched between his hands. At the beginning of the song one of the societies put forward their most renowned member, who called for some of his comrades who had achieved nothing in battle, and with them performed an imitation of the encounter in which he won the coup of which he was most proud. The Whistler danced backward into his shelter, the song ended, and the young warrior related in words what had just been demonstrated in pantomime. If this young man had performed any other notable deeds, he called out another set of his comrades to reenact the battle, to the accompaniment of another song, and so it continued until each member had recounted all the coups worthy of narration. After the first society had finished, the members of the other began. Any man who had no noteworthy record of encounters with the enemy, but had stolen horses, would take his place beside the central fire, with a number of tally-sticks in his hands. Then as he related each deed he dropped a stick on the fire; hence such men were nicknamed "fire builders." No pause was made at noon, for the dancers did not eat or drink; but food was cooked and distributed among the spectators, inside and outside the lodge, by female relatives of the dancers. The dancing continued until the warriors had finished relating their deeds, which might be a little before or considerably after sunset. The spectators then dispersed, the dancers filed out of the lodge and went home, and the camp-crier shouted: "Let nobody' make a noise near the medicine-lodge; the Whistler wishes to sleep!" If the Whistler was desirous of having dreams, he lay in one position throughout the night.

The remaining days of the ceremony were given to dancing of this

kind, but on each day the performers were the members of the two societies next above those who had danced on the preceding day. If the dance continued so long as to exhaust the number of societies, the recounting of coups was done by old men without regard to their past or present connection with any organization.

Torture in the Sun Ceremony seems to have been unusual among the Piegan.[28] It was practised as the fulfilment of a pledge to the sun in a dangerous crisis. Having made such a vow, a man would, on any day of the ceremony he might choose, ask to have two raw-hide ropes tied to the fork of the centre-pole and left hanging there. Each rope had a loop in the lower end. Then, having smeared his body from head to foot with white clay, and wearing only moccasins and loin-cloth, he entered the lodge and asked some man who had himself suffered this ordeal to cut his breasts. The older man prepared three willow skewers, and after recounting four coups and expressing the wish that the young man might be successful in tearing himself loose, he placed a stick against the devotee's breast and thrust the point of a knife through the flesh, forming a slit, through which he inserted one of the skewers. Thus he also inserted one in the other breast, and the third in the flesh behind either shoulder, hanging on this one a shield. Then he placed the loops of the ropes on the two skewers in the breast and pulled them taut. The young man began to dance, while a set of singers — not those who sang for the other dancers — commenced to sing the torture song.

This song was continued without intermission until the young man had torn himself free. If after repeated efforts he still failed to tear the skewers out, he reached about and rent from the flesh the skewer on which hung the shield. Then at the request of the young man's relatives, the piercer cut thinner the shreds of flesh and gave the bits to the dancer, who now found it possible to free himself. He embraced the centre-pole, wailing and calling upon the sun, then buried the bits of flesh at the foot of the pole, took up his robe, and went forth into

[28] Red Plume has seen the torture rites four times, thrice when he was a small boy, and once when he was a young man. This last instance was about 1870, when torture ceased to be practised by the Piegan; for the Whistler of the Northern Piegan assured them that they would die if they gave their bodies to the sun. Each time there was but one man who mutilated himself, and Red Plume never heard of an occasion when more than one did so in the same ceremony

some solitary place from which the medicine-lodge was not visible, for he was not again to look upon it.

The night of the last day the Whistler spent in his shelter, and early on the following morning he went to his home and without formality removed his sacred paraphernalia. Knowing that the dance was ended, the people prepared to move camp a short distance.

Among the Piegan, as among other tribes, the songs of the Sun Dance originally were mere vocables set to the air; but in the course of time words were provided for a few. Of the songs now in use four are sung to words. The score of one and the words of three are here given, with a description of the typical manner in which the words were added to the original airs.

Wolf Plume and a married woman were lovers. During the progress of the Sun Dance she and other women crowded close about the medicine-lodge, looking in at the dancers. Wolf Plume came up and stood behind her, leaning upon her and letting his painted face rest against one of the lodge-posts. Soon after this he was killed in battle. For several years the woman mourned secretly, and then the tribe camped again at the place where the dance had occurred. Still sad at heart, the woman went to the abandoned lodge to look again upon the place where they had stood together. At last she found the spot and saw faint traces of Wolf Plume's paint still adhering to the post. At this unexpected sight her heart broke, and taking a rope she climbed this post, then mounted to the peak, and placing the rope around her neck she sang the following song, and cast herself off, just before her friends, who had heard the singing, came running to save her. Her words were then adapted to one of the ceremonial songs:

A young woman after marrying began to rue her loss of freedom, and one day, thinking herself alone, she sang, voicing her regret. Some young men overheard her, and at the next performance of the Sun Dance she was surprised and chagrined to hear one of the singers repeat her own words to the air of one of the usual songs:

É'nikatapíwa ahkómius; itókôpi itómiup.
There was abundant time to marry; at the Sun Dance we married

In a certain performance of the Sun Dance a man named White-buffalo Chief was relating his long record of daring exploits, when one

of the singers in his enthusiasm shouted:

Unistaí-na, pináttsiksiwut! Itássapiup!
White-buffalo Chief, do not stop! We are looking!

Thereafter, when any especially noted warrior was recounting his coups, this song was employed.

The Sun Ceremony is still observed each year, with such modifications as have been necessitated by changed conditions.

MYTHS OF THE ORIGIN OF THE SUN DANCE

There was an orphan boy whom people called Poor. One day as he sat by the river crying for sheer loneliness, a handsome youth stepped out from the brush and stood before him. "Why are you weeping?" he asked. "I have no relations," said the orphan, "and no playmates." "Well, then," said the stranger, "I will be your playmate." Poor was unaware that his new friend was Morning Star. They played together, and as the day advanced and they became hungry, Morning Star disappeared into the undergrowth and soon returned with food. So for many days they amused themselves, their favorite pastime being the construction of a miniature sweat-lodge of a hundred willows, and a round lodge of poles, and then singing certain songs that the stranger knew.

Since Poor no longer ate food in the lodge of his only sister, she became curious to know how he spent his time among the trees by the river. So her husband spied on the boys and saw what they did; but because he felt that there was something supernatural about this, he said nothing.

The boy grew to manhood. His brother-in-law spoke to him of the old play, and, expressing his belief that it was medicine, asked that he perform as a man what he had practised as a boy. The young man turned to his sister and said that if he did as they desired, she would have a part to perform, and this she could not do unless she could truthfully and in public avow herself a virtuous woman. She declared herself able and willing to do so, and accordingly under the direction of the young man the first Sun Dance was held. Thereafter the ceremony was conducted annually, and after each observance the young man

would go to war, when invariably he performed some great deed. Each exploit he made record of by cutting a stick and painting it black; and for this reason he received the name *Ákuhkik-sáki,* Cuts Wood.

In old times there was a girl of great beauty, the daughter of a chief, who, though sought by all men, showed favor to none. There was also a very poor young man, whose face was marked by an ugly scar. Seeing that she had refused the rich and handsome, Scarface determined to learn if perchance she would accept him. And so he asked her to be his wife, only to be met with such ridicule for his presumption that in confusion and shame he hurried away, out of the camp, and southward.

Many days he travelled, and at last, weary, hungry, and alone, mourning over his hard lot, he fell asleep on the ground. In the heavens Morning Star looked down and pitied this young man, knowing he was in trouble. To his father, the Sun, and to his mother, the Moon, he said, "There is a poor young man lying on the ground and crying, and there is nobody to help him. I am going to have him for a companion." His parents said, "Go and get him."

So Morning Star took Scarface up into the sky. The Sun said: "Do not bring him into the lodge yet, for he smells ill. Build four sweat-lodges." So it was done. Sun led the youth into the first sweat-lodge, and bade Morning Star fetch a coal on a forked stick which he gave to him. When the ember was brought, the Sun broke off a bit of sweet-grass and placed it on the coal, and as the incense arose he began to sing, "Old Man is coming in with his body; it is sacred."

He passed his hands through the smoke, rubbing them then over the young man's left arm and side and face, and then over the right, to purify him and to remove the odor of earthly people. Thus he did in the other three sweat-lodges, and then the youth's body was like yellow light. Next he began to brush lightly with a feather over his adopted son's face, obliterating the scar and causing him, with the final touch of long yellow hair, to look exactly like Morning Star. Finally he led the two youths into his lodge and placed them side by side in the position of honor at the rear. "Old Woman," said he, "which is our son?" She pointed to the young man: "That is our son." "You do not know your own child," answered he. "This is not our son. We will call him Mistaken For Morning Star."

The two became close companions. One day Morning Star pointed out some large birds with long beaks, warning his foster-brother that

he must never go near those creatures, for they had killed his brothers with their beaks. Suddenly the birds began to pursue them. Morning Star fled, but Scarface picked up a club and one by one struck the birds dead. When Morning Star related to his father what had happened, Sun made a song of victory for his warrior son, and in gratitude for the saving of Morning Star's life gave him the forked stick for lifting embers in making incense, and a braid of sweet-grass, emblems of the sweat-lodge medicine. "And this, my lodge, I give you," he said. Scarface observed very carefully how it was made, and then returned to the earth. When the people heard that Scarface, the poor disfigured youth, had returned as a handsome man, they thronged to see him. "I have been in the sky," he said. "Behold me! Morning Star looks just like this. The Sun gave me these two things, and he gave me his lodge." Then he explained the use of the stick and the sweet-grass, and announced that he would build a sun-lodge. Thus the first sweat-lodge and the first medicine-lodge were built.

An old Elk was jealous of his wife, and constantly abused her, so that at length she took her two children and fled. Through the hills, down the river, and into the forest he pursued them, and there, as he neared them, he sang.

The two young Elks heard and recognized the voice, and counselled their mother not to fear, for his medicine was not strong. The three stopped, and as the Elk trotted toward them, his wife began to sing.

And suddenly she became a woman, wearing a circlet of eagle-feathers and an elk-skin robe. She said: "See if you can overthrow that tree. If you can, you may do as you please with me." He began to sing.

At the end he struck the tree with his horns, but it stood firm. Then the woman sang:

Atsíwashkuyi ni-saám.
The forest my medicine.

As she sang she made motions with her head as if she were an elk striking the tree with her horns, until it trembled and fell. So Elk acknowledged the superiority of her medicine. The circlet of feathers and the elk-skin robe became a part of the costume worn by the

woman who builds the medicine-lodge.[29] The feathers represent the prongs of the elk's horns.

Two girls were lying on the ground under the stars, for it was too hot to sleep in the lodge. They saw the morning star rise, and one said, "I wish I could marry that bright star!" On the following day, as she stooped over her bundle of wood, a young man stood before her. "I am that bright star you wished to marry," said he, "and I have come for you." So she went with him into the sky, and there lived as the wife of Morning Star. He early warned her never to dig up a certain large turnip, but eventually her curiosity to know the reason of this prohibition overcame her resolution, and one day she thrust the end of her digging-stick into the ground beside the turnip. The stick resisted every effort to withdraw it, and she called upon two Cranes to help her. They alighted, and Crane Woman said: "Because I have been a true wife I can help you. But first I shall give you the songs that belong to this root-digger." So she sang the sacred songs that pertain to the stick carried by the medicine-woman in the Sun Dance.

She thrust her bill into the ground and pulled out the stick and the turnip, both of which the woman carried home. Now, because she had looked down through the hole left by the root and seen her old home, Morning Star knew she would become homesick. Hence without delay he summoned Spider and by his thread had the woman and her child lowered through the hole to the earth. She brought the turnip and the root-digger from the sky, and became the first medicine-woman in the ceremony of the Sun Dance.[30]

[29] Another version relates that a woman was enticed into the woods by the promise of an Elk that he would give her medicine. He himself gave her the head-dress and the robe, and other animals supplied the remaining parts of the costume. She returned to her husband and became the first pledger in the Sun Dance. Yet another account tells how the man who dreamed the beaver-medicine afterward dreamed successively that he received from Elk the head-dress and the elk-skin robe. Therefore he prepared these articles and gave them to his wife, who first wore them in the ceremony.

[30] Two feathers of the head-dress worn by the pledger in the Sun Dance represent the leaves of the turnip, and the bonnet itself is called the "sacred turnip."

OTHER RELIGIOUS PRACTICES

In the religion of a purely hunting people we cannot expect any but the simplest forms. Their life is simplicity itself, consequently their pantheon is naturally not complex. When we see tribes which for a time have been agricultural, then we find some deity associated directly, though perhaps vaguely, with growing things, and as their lives grow more complex, we observe a broadening of their religious conceptions.

The religious thoughts and beliefs of the Piegan do not differ materially in kind from those of other tribes of similar environment, yet there are certain distinctive characteristics. While the principal or final plea of the Sioux is directed to the zenith with the words "O, Great Mystery, give me the desire of my heart," the Piegan in his utmost invocation addresses the sun directly as Natósiw. They have likewise personified and deified the moon, the morning star, the milky way, and the great dipper. Every animate thing, be it animal, bird, or fish, has a spirit and possesses supernatural strength, which it is advantageous for man to acquire. Also certain noticeable rock formations are considered possessed of supernatural attributes. Winter, which causes so much suffering, is, of course, personified. Bodies of water, particularly rivers with their dangerous rapids and whirlpools, are believed to be the abode of malign spirits.

To ask the Piegan, or, in fact, any Indian direct questions bearing on the subject of religion yields scant light. It is necessary to learn rather from the every-day life of the people and from their ceremonies, prayers, and songs.

The sun is invoked as *Natósiw.* He is also frequently addressed as *Nápiw,* Old Man. There has been considerable discussion as to whether Natósiw and Nápiw, the trivial trickster of the folk-tales, are one and the same character. The question seems to be easily answered. When the Piegan speak of the sun as Natósiw, they undoubtedly have in mind the sun personified. Sun, in the ordinary sense, unpersonified, is either *natósiw* or *kye'súm*. That the latter is the original word for sun is proven by the word for moon, *koko-míkye'sum*, "night-sun." Now the term *Natósiw* is applied not only to the personified sun, but as an adjective to all sacred or supposedly supernatural animate creatures or objects, and is, in fact, the only word for medicine-man. When supernatural

attributes are assigned to things not personified, *natoyíw* is used. It is plain therefore that formerly the sun was *kye'súm,* and that *Natósiw* is a later epithet meaning "the supernatural one." Then a second epithet was applied when they began to call him "Old Man," exactly as we may call God "the Eternal" or "our Father." *Nápiw* is used of any aged man, and if the same appellation designates the mythological trickster and a venerable, white-haired Piegan, why should there be confusion when it is used also of the ancient, the venerable sun? Nápiw, occurring in ceremonies as an expression of reverence, is quite dissociated from the term as applied to the trickster.[31]

Kípitaki, Old Woman, is the personification of the moon, and the morning star, the child of the sun and moon, is Ipisóahs. The fact that the sun and moon possess offspring argues that in Indian thought they are actually personified, and are not, as Max Miller and others have suggested, simply the servants or visible essence of the day-god and the night-god. There may be a vague impression on the Indian's mind that there is an undefined power acting upon visible objects. We see, perhaps, a slight indication of this feeling in an expression quite common to many tribes, the translation of which is "by itself." When we say that an inexplicable accident was "an act of God," the Indian says "it happened by itself."

The great dipper is *Ihkitsíkumiks,* The Seven, who go round and drive up the daylight. *Spómitapi,* Above People, including all visible objects of the heavens comprehended in their pantheon, and *Kshákhom-mitapi,* Earth People, including all the spirits of the creatures of earth and air, are much invoked, a common form of prayer beginning, *"Aíyu, Spómitapi! Aíyu, Kshákhom-mitapi!"* — "Help, Above People! Help, Earth People!" If the spirit of an animal comes to a man in a dream it is *ksístui-tapiw.* The spirit of an animal appearing in a dream preserves the form of the animal or assumes the form of a human being. In the one case it is called apánitapiw, "butterfly-person," in the other *ksístui-tapiw,* "by itself [unreal] person." The faster or dreamer is not deceived into thinking the spirit an actual human being or the spirit of a human being, for something within him reveals the real identity of the spirit. It seems that Above People do not appear to fasters as *ksístui-tapiw*,

[31] Wissler *(Anthropological Papers, .American Museum of Natural History,* Vol. II, Part I, page 11) calls attention to the fact that in the folk-tales *Kípitaki,* Old Woman — the personified moon — is constantly associated with Natósiw, but rarely with Nápiw.

which implies a distinction between them and the supernatural parts of animals. In other words, though the line of demarcation is vague, it may be said that the Above People are gods and the Earth

People but spirits, giving these two terms the meaning of common usage, rather than assuming, as many students do, that god and spirit are synonymous. Such may be the better usage, but in this case it seems to simplify the statement to call the non-material of the animal the spirit.[32]

Any one who has had a vision is *natósiw* that is, supernatural. Healers are *aísokinaki,* and can become such only through dreams, and use only such remedies as are revealed to them. Thus, every healer is necessarily *natósiw,* but not every *natósiw* is a healer, since the ability to heal comes as a special revelation.

The Piegan possess a most unusual number of medicine-bundles, and while they attribute to the component parts of these palladia unquestioned supernatural power, they are less secretive than other tribes, and will freely discuss them and occasionally even part with them. The contents are as varied as the bundles are numerous. Each article in them adds its quota of supernatural power, consequently it is advisable to possess many well-stocked bundles. The principal articles contained are, of course, skins of animals or of birds which appeared to the owner in his fastings. Others are objects forming a part of the paraphernalia belonging to some one of the sacred ceremonies. Each bundle is certain to contain several so-called buffalo-stones, *inískim.* One was exhibited having more than twenty of these fetishes. The buffalo-stones are sections of the inner cases of ammonites, or at times the whole of small fossil snails, and again they are simply oddly shaped bits of stone. Owing to the very peculiar shape of these fragments, it is most natural that a primitive people, seeing them, should at once assign to them supernatural attributes. There is here some slight evidence of phallism, as each stone is considered male or female, and some of them are wrapped in a cover of deerskin in such a way as further to accentuate the suggestion of sex.

All articles in these bundles, as well as the wrappings themselves, are kept constantly painted with red earth-paint, which, for some unexplained reason, is called "seven paint." It is put on all sacred things,

[32] The distinction is exactly that existing between the superior and the inferior deities of Greek and Roman mythology

and secular articles are made sacred by its application. Participants in the ceremonies are painted with it, and in other ways it enters into all ceremonies and religious rites. At the close of life the body is made ready for final disposal by its use. Seven with the Piegan is to a certain extent a mystic or sacred number, and is perhaps to be associated with the name of the great dipper, which they call The Seven. There is probably some connection between the ceremonial use of seven and the peculiar name of the ceremonial paint.

The greatest of all medicine-bundles is that containing the Longtime Pipe. This has been in possession of the tribe as long as the memory of man can tell. The tribe possesses many other medicine-pipes, but this is *the* pipe. Its origin is accounted for in the following myth.[33]

Heavy clouds hung low over the earth, and thunder rolled. A great storm threatened, causing all the people to be filled with fear. A beautiful girl, an only child of a chief, went out and said, "Thunder, take away the storm and I will marry you!" The thunder ceased, the tumultuous clouds grew quiet and passed away, and the sky cleared. Not long thereafter the girl happened to be alone a short distance from the camp. A man appeared before her, and said, "I am the man you promised to marry." The girl, remembering her promise, went with him into the sky. She lived there with him for a time, then began to long for her father, and Thunder allowed her to return, giving her a pipestem for a present to her father. This was the Long-time Pipe.

This pipe is now in the custody of Sleeps Long, who has had it two years, giving as presents when he secured it thirty horses, many blankets, garments, and other articles. Their own story of the exchange is that Sleeps Long, desiring to be an important man among his people and to insure exceptional health to his family, built a sweat-lodge and called the family of the custodian of the pipe. To them he said: "I wish that Longtime Pipe; you have had it long enough." The other replied,

[33] The following reference by Henry to the pipe shows that it and the legend of its acquisition are by no means modern: "Thunder is a man who was very wicked and troublesome to the Indians, killing men and beasts in great numbers. But many years ago he made peace with the Blackfeet, and gave them a pipestem in token of his friendship; since which period he has been harmless. This stem they still possess, and it is taken great care of by one of their chiefs, called Three Bulls. Lightning is produced by the same man that makes thunder when he visits the earth in person and is angry; but they know not what causes his wrath." — Coues , *Henry-Thompson Journals,* Vol. II, page 529.

"Wait; we must make some clothing."

After a deerskin suit had been made for him and a dress for his wife, he told Sleeps Long that he was ready. The latter prepared a sweat-lodge, erected a large double lodge, and invited all the people to come. The best horse of the custodian was painted with red, saddled, and brought to his lodge, and there in the presence of all the chief men the pipe-bundle was opened and the songs sung. Then Sleeps Long was put on the horse and the pipe handed to him. A former custodian led the horse toward the double lodge. Just behind came the wives of the two principals, carrying the wrappings of the pipe and the tripod on which the bundle, when not in use, was always suspended, and behind them the people singing the songs of the pipe. On reaching the lodge, Sleeps Long was helped from the horse, and, accompanied by his wife, walked in, carrying the pipe. Spectators thronged about the lodge. Members of the warrior societies patrolled the camp, warning the people to be quiet during the songs. The singing occupied three nights from evening until midnight. On the first evening the horses and other presents were taken to the ceremonial lodge and given to the former custodian.

Except in the exchange of the pipe, the bundle is rarely opened save on the occasion of the first thunder of spring. In fine weather it is suspended on the tripod back of the lodge during the day, and at night it is hung in the rear of the lodge. When the ashes from the fireplace are being removed, the bundle is taken outside, the rekindled fire is sanctified by the burning of incense, and then the pipe is brought back into the lodge.

When the first thunder is heard in the spring, the old men who have owned the Long-time Pipe, or at the present time any other medicine-pipe, hurry to the lodge of the custodian. The one who first reaches the place takes down the bundle, burns incense, praying to the Above People, Earth People, and Thunder, removes the wrappings, and exposes the pipe. By this time the other medicine-pipe owners have come in, and they begin to sing the songs, at the close of which the pipe is rewrapped and hung on its tripod.

On rare occasions a person very ill and despairing of recovery asks that the medicine-pipe be opened for him. It is then exposed and rubbed over his body. This is a serious rite and requires the giving of very expensive presents to the custodian.

The Long-time Pipe was never used for smoking except on some extraordinary occasion in the medicine-lodge. What occasion would justify such use could not be learned.

The pipe is, in reality, only a stem about thirty inches long made of hard-wood and ornamented its entire length with weasel-skins and near the middle with a bunch of eagle-feathers arranged like a fan. On the rare occasions when it was smoked, the bowl from another bundle was used.

Second in importance to the Long-time Pipe are the beaver medicine-bundles, of which there are many. The owners of such bundles, together with those who have contributed any portion of their respective contents (even if only a single feather or a skin was purchased along with the songs of the bundle), constitute a fraternity whose function is the ceremonial planting of tobacco-seeds. The tobacco is called *nawúksi, or námistsi,* and the members of the society are *Aiyóhkimi,* a word said to mean "one having water" (*ôhkíu*, water). The significance of the term is not known, though the mythic obtaining of the medicine from a water-animal may have bearing on the origin of the word. Any person wishing to become a member of the fraternity ceremonially buys from the owner of one of the beaver medicine-bundles a portion of its contents, his purchase including some of the tobacco seed-pods and usually a skin or two as the nucleus of the bundle which he will vow to create. In collecting the various skins and objects for his bundle, he is not permitted to kill the animals, but must acquire them by purchase; and as a rule the seller demands that he be made a member in return for the medicine article he offers. At the present time there are at least eleven complete beaver-bundles, besides many others of a more or less recent beginning.

It will be noted that there is a strong resemblance between the order and the ceremony here described and those corresponding among the Apsaroke. Similarities so striking can be explained only by the assumption of adaptation by one tribe or the other. The evidence seems to favor the conclusion that in this case the Piegan were the borrowers; for the first chief of the Apsaroke, the one who led them in their migration from the Missouri River villages, is described as a "tobacco medicine-man" and the founder of the tobacco ceremony among the Apsaroke, and this migration was of a much earlier date than the appearance of the Piegan in the plains. Again, a Piegan myth

recorded by Wissler[34] seems to indicate that the woman to whom is ascribed the honor of having procured the beaver-medicine was an Apsaroke, which may be taken to mean that the narrator of the myth believes the Piegan obtained the ceremony from that tribe.

According to the myth presuming to account for this medicine, there was a man whose habit it was to camp alone. He was constantly engaged in killing every kind of bird and animal, whose skin he kept in his medicine-bundle, that his medicine might be powerful. One summer he camped beside a stream in which was a beaver-dam, and at once determined to get a beaver-skin, for as yet he had none. The old Beaver, having supernatural power, knew of his intention, and, resenting it, determined to avenge himself at once. So one day when the man's younger wife came to the stream for water, the Beaver made love to her and persuaded her to come to his lodge. The husband, when his wife did not return, became anxious and angry, and sent his other wife to look for her.

She quickly returned, exclaiming that she had found foot-prints leading down and into the water, but none coming out. Then the two went together to look, and the husband found it so. Thinking she might have gone to the camp where the tribe was assembled, he hastened thither to inquire, but nobody had seen her. Then it was thought that she might have run away with some young man. Inquiry was made if any young man was missing, but all were accounted for. Then the people began to suspect that the husband had murdered the woman. This he denied and was able to disprove by his other wife.

In the autumn the two joined the main band and camped with them during the winter, but in the spring moved away again to live by themselves. Every morning before sunrise the man went on his way hunting, but his heart was heavy with longing for his young wife. In time they pitched their lodge on the spot where she had disappeared, and on the first day the man went hunting along the stream. Beaver told the woman: "I saw your man walking along the bank, and I feel sorry for him. You must go back. Take this root to make sweet smoke. If he is glad to have this young Beaver, your son, and does not abuse it, I will give him something of great value. If he treats the child badly, it will anger me." So, while the man was still absent, the woman came

[34] *Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History*, Vol. II, Part I, page 77.

out of the water, bringing the incense root and the little Beaver into the lodge. The elder sister sprang up and caressed her in the greatest joy. Then she asked, "What is that in your arms?" "That is my child," was the answer. The elder sister took it up and fondled it. In front of the place of honor sat their husband's drinking bowl of stone, filled with water. Into this bowl the elder wife placed the little Beaver, saying, "Our husband will be here about noon." So they sat there telling their experiences of the past year. By and by heard someone coming. When the man reached the door, the younger wife whispered, "Do not let him in yet; we must burn this root!" So the other woman called out, Do not enter yet; we will rejoice!" He said: "Rejoice? You must mean that my younger wife has returned!" She replied that such was the case. The elder woman then placed some coals at the back of the lodge and put on them a piece of the root; then she also made incense near the door. When the smoke arose she bade the man enter. He went in, and was overjoyed to find his younger wife, whom he fondly greeted. Then he went to sit in his usual place, and being thirsty, removed the cover from the bowl to drink, saw the Beaver, and took it out and fondled it, saying, "What is this pretty little thing?" The old Beaver in the river could divine all this, and said to himself: "My friend is very fond of that child. I will keep my promise and give him something of great value." That night the younger wife told her husband: "The Beaver are going to sing all night. Early in the morning you must prepare this lodge by cutting off all the grass and roots from this back part and cover it with fresh white clay." So the man did this, and then spread robes all around the prepared space.

Later in the morning the old Beaver called on the Sun, the Moon, and the Morning Star, telling them that he was going to give his friend something, and he wished their help. So they came down to the earth. This made seven in all, three old Beaver men, one old Beaver woman, and the three Above People. These three, when they came down, went to the bank of the river. In the lodge the elder woman said, "I hear somebody coming." They heard singing, and some one came to the door; but the visitors passed on round the lodge on the outside, and again came to the door. The younger woman told the man, "Push some of those coals to the back, and put some of the root on them, and some in front near the door." After he had done this, the seven came in, the chief Beaver and the other two old men Beaver, then the old

woman Beaver, then Sun, Moon, and lastly Morning Star. They passed round to the south and sat in the rear. The woman Beaver and Moon sat together, and Morning Star passed on behind them and the others to sit behind his father. Then the younger woman passed round to the southern side of the lodge and sat beside the woman Beaver and the Moon. The man sat on the northern side of the lodge, and his elder wife on the southern side, at the door. The woman Beaver carried a large bundle, which, after sitting down, she placed behind her. All were silent for a time. The Beaver then spoke to his friend, the man: "I have seen that you are very fond of our child. That is why I have come here to give you something. I am going to give you something because of which these people from whom you are moving away all the time will be your children. I have called Sun, Moon, and Morning Star to come down and help me make you this gift. You must not sit there alone; you are going to sit here with us." Before speaking he had made a little mound of the fresh earth in the shape of a beaver-house, and covered it with slough-grass. Four bits of willow sticks he leaned up against the mound. Then he said to the woman Beaver, "Give me that." She reached around and took from the bundle a braid of sweet-grass, which she gave to him. Then she handed him a forked stick. With this he removed from the fire a coal, which he placed in the shallow depression he had made at the front of the little beaver-mound. Then he broke off a bit of the sweet-grass and placed it on the coal. To his friend he said: "Come over here and sit with us. Go round behind all these people." The man arose and passed the door and the southern side of the lodge, and while they all leaned forward he passed behind them and sat beside the chief Beaver, on his left. The Beaver said, "Now watch me!" Holding his right hand in the incense, he placed it on his nose, then again over the smoke and on his right ear, then on the top of his head; then with his left hand he placed smoke before his nostrils, and on his left ear. Turning to Sun, he said: "I called on you to help me. Now add something to this." Sun then gave the seven songs of the sweat-lodge. The first was: "You man, let us build a sweat-lodge." And the man at once promised: "You shall have a sweat-lodge." In the next song he said: "You man, I say, give me a marten." The man's elder wife took from her husband's bundle of furs the skin of a marten, which she placed in front of the Sun. Then he sang: "You man, I say, give me a tail-feather." The woman took a feather from the tail of an eagle-skin

in the bundle, and laid it beside the marten-skin. The fourth song was: "You man, I say, give me a white buffalo." The woman placed a white buffalo-skin before him. "You man," he sang, "the Old Woman says, give her an elk-skin. You man, the Old Woman wishes a tail-feather." The woman then placed a dressed elk-skin and a feather in front of the Moon. Morning Star felt neglected, and said, "My mother is not a man; why do you give her a tail-feather?" The Sun perceived that he was vexed, and said, "Sing, and ask for what you want." Morning Star sang: "I am Morning Star. You man, I say, give me a marten and a tail-feather." These were placed before him. The seventh song was by the Sun: "You man, I want a black one and a white one. You man, the Old Woman says a black one and a white one." The woman then gave him a "beaver-fur" buffalo-robe, and a white wolf-skin to Moon. All the time he was singing, Sun was thinking: "I wonder if this is the man who has been offering to me many skins of the animals he kills." For this man would frequently hang up a skin as an offering to the Sun, but the Sun was not sure the man before him was the same person.

Beaver then put another coal in the little depression in front of the mound and dropped a piece of the incense root on it, then purified himself as before. The woman Beaver did likewise, and he sang: "There comes *natósiw,* Old Man; *natósiw walking, natósiw* coming in, *natósiw* sitting down." He sang: "There comes *natósiw,* Old Woman; *natósiw walking, natósiw* coming in, *natósiw* sitting down. She is *natósiw.*" In the third song he said: "The man is looking for his medicines. He has found them; they are here. They are *natósiw.*" The fourth song was: "The woman is *natósiw* sitting down; she is looking for her medicine; she has found them; they are here. They are *natósiw.* The man's robe I have taken," he sang. "He gave it to me; it is *natoyíw.*" The sixth song was: "The woman's robe I have taken. She has given it to me; it is *natoyíw.*" All this time the woman who had married the Beaver was sitting behind them; but after the fifth song the woman Beaver had told her to move up into the circle, and had made her sit on her left. When they sang about the robes, the Beaver made movements as if taking the robe of the man, and his wife made motions as if taking that of the younger woman. They did not touch them, but simply made the movements. At the third repetition, however, they pushed the robes slightly down from the shoulders of the man and the woman, and at the fourth they pushed them down to the hips. The chief Beaver gave

the forked stick and a ball of buffalo-hair to Morning Star, who went to the door and sat with his face directed to the eastward, looking out. Beaver also had a ball of buffalo-hair. Then he sang the seventh song, holding the ball of hair up toward the east: "Here comes Old Man; he is coming for something; he is *natósiw* coming in. Here comes Old Woman; she is coming for something; she is *natósiw* coming in. The man is coming in. Morning Star is coming in." Each time he said the words "coming in" he made, with the hand holding the buffalo hair, a gesture suggesting the act of entering, and at the end of the song he put the hair on the coal; and Morning Star turned at the same time, holding the forked stick up horizontally with both hands and moving it from side to side like a shield, and emitting a grunting sound. Then he returned to the rear and gave the stick to the chief Beaver.

Now the Sun had given the man seven songs, and Beaver had done the same. The latter sang again: "When I am sitting in my house, I move round." Then he and the woman Beaver held their hands in the incense, and, turning, placed them over the bundle behind the woman four times, each time singing, "Making medicine "the other six joining in the singing. At the fourth [*natówanistsi*], blessing the two Beaver actually laid their hands on the bundle, and they then sang a third song: "I take up my medicines [ni-saá-mists]. They are becoming. I carry them; they hear me. They are *natósiw*." During this song they lifted the bundle out before them, and made four motions of laying it down, singing, just as they actually laid it down, a fourth song: "It will be *natoyíw* where I sit." The fifth song was: "Buffalo I have taken. It has started, *natósiw*." While singing this they reached behind them and took up a buffalo rawhide and a buffalo bag containing buffalo-skin rattles. These they brought out in front of them while singing the sixth song: "In the mountains I am *natósiw* sitting. I heard. I *natósiw* arose, and I *natósiw* went down. Where I sit is *natoyíw*." During this song, they held the rawhide and the bag in their hands. The seventh song followed: "In the mountains I am *natósiw* sitting, almost invisible. In the spring I *am natósiw* coming down. On the earth I *am natósiw* sitting." They then laid down the rawhide and the bag. The man Beaver spread the rawhide out; on it appeared the outlines of a frog and a water-dog.

Opening the bag containing the rattles, the Beaver began another series of songs: "We are natósiw people, and we must hurry!" Taking

out the rattles, he placed two in front of each person who was to sing: that is, himself, the other two men Beaver, and Sun. Each one held the two rattles with the large ends touching the ground, and all four sang: "Raven is looking for the buffalo. He has found them. They are *natósiw.*" At the same time they held the forefinger of the right hand crooked like a bird's beak and waved it to and fro. All the while the man for whom this medicine was being made was watching closely. The third song continued: "Raven says, 'Timber is our home. When we are sitting there'" — at this point they placed their right hands on the rattles — "'it is *natoyíw.'*" The air was repeated again, with different words: "Raven is looking for something to eat"; — they held their fingers curved to represent a beak — "he has found it" — they pecked with their fingers on four sides of the rattles and made a sound in imitation of the raven's cawing. Again the air was repeated, with new words: "The Raven is walking round; he is *natósiw.*" Another repetition followed: "Raven says, 'Briers are our home. When we are sitting there, it is *natoyíw.*'" Again they sang the seventh song: "Raven says he is looking around for something to eat; he has found it." Here they again pecked with their fingers on the four sides of the rattles. The rattles, which all this time had been held with the left hands so that the large ends rested on the ground, were now laid down.

They sang then: "The man says: 'I have been looking for my medicines. I have found them; they become me. They are *natósiw.*'" Here they all laid their arms across their breasts. Then another song followed: "The woman says: 'I have been looking for my medicines. I have found them; they become me. They are *natósiw.*'" They then held their hands over the incense — which was kept burning by Morning Star — and sang: "The Rattles I have taken." Then each picked up his two rattles. The song ended, and they began to beat on the rawhide with the rattles, singing: "The running of an elk is *natoyíw.*" The rattles were then laid down, and the chief Beaver went on singing without the others: "The man has come in *natósiw;* he sits *natósiw.* He says: 'I am looking for my medicines. I have found them. They hear me; they are *natósiw.*'" Then they sang: "The woman has come in *natósiw;* she is looking for her medicines. They hear her; they are *natósiw."* Another song followed: "I am looking for my medicines. I have found them; I

take them; they become me. They have pitied me."[35] Next the Beaver sang, touching his finger to the ground: "The Earth has pitied me; it is sacred." Raising his hands, he sang: "The Above has pitied me; he is sacred." Then with his hands still in this position, he sang: "He said, 'Sharp things are my medicine."' Next the man Beaver and woman Beaver sang: "I say, 'I will hook a chief"'; at the same time they turned their palms up and with fingers curved made motions as of a horned animal attacking, gently touching with their fingers the strings that tied the bundle.

Then the woman Beaver untied the bundle and exposed the contents — the skins of many different kinds of animals, which the man Beaver arranged in a row. First he took out the beaver-skin and placed it at the left, and all lifted their rattles and sang the beaver song: "When I dive, I save myself." While singing, the man Beaver took the beaver-skin by the neck with his right hand and the woman Beaver held it by the hind legs. They laid the beaver-skin down and the singing continued while the woman who had married the Beaver passed behind him and came round in the front to sit beside the little beaver-lodge that had been built there, and the woman Beaver moved in and sat on the other, the left, side of the mound. Each woman then took one of the willow sticks and held it crosswise in her mouth, and the two arose and danced, one behind the other, four times round the fire, and then laid the sticks in their places and sat down. No words were sung during this dance.

They next sang the songs of Otter, Hell-diver, Muskrat, Mink, Woman Beaver, Child Beaver, Marmot, Prairie-dog, Buffalo-stone, Dog, Fish, Hoop (used in the hoop-and-pole game), Lynx, Buffalo Dew-claws, and each article representing these creatures or objects was carried four times round the fire by the woman Beaver and the woman who had married the Beaver, while they danced and imitated the movements of the animal represented. They sang and danced four days and four nights without interruption, and thus the Beaver gave his medicine to the man whose wife he had taken.

The ceremony described by the myth is the ceremony in which the beaver-medicine is transferred by an owner of a beaver medicine-bundle. The medicine-man takes the part of the man Beaver, singing

[35] The expression "he has pitied me" means that the spirit spoken of has appeared to the speaker in a dream.

also the songs ascribed to Sun, and his wife that of the woman Beaver, while the purchaser and his wife respectively personate the man and the woman who married the Beaver. Some young man in the audience of members acts the part of Morning Star.

The narrator of the myth apparently assumes that when Beaver said, "I will give you something of great value, which will make you chief of your people," he referred to the tobacco plant, and that he also instructed him in the planting of the seeds.

As directed by Beaver, the keeper of a tobacco-bundle always opens it in the spring, and sings a series of songs, one for each article in the bundle. Then he sends out a young man to find a place for the planting, which must be at the foot of the mountains where a certain variety of grass grows. The messenger journeys until finds a satisfactory spot. Then, placing a tuft of the grass in his hair, he returns to the lodge of the man who had sent him. The latter, as the messenger approaches, warns him to say nothing until incense has been made and the song sung: "Who is the young man coming with news?" The messenger lays the grass before him, saying that he found it at such a place. The old man then plants a stem of the grass in the ground and invites the old men to a feast, that he may tell them where the planting is to be. He also selects two young men to prepare the ground, which they do by cutting away any shrubbery, burning over the surface, then loosening the soil in preparation for the seeds, and building a fence of poles about the plot. On their return the beaver medicine-man moves his lodge to the centre of the encampment and invites all members of the tobacco fraternity to a feast. Under the direction of the two young men they open the bundle and sing all through the night. About the bundle each man sticks a root-digger in the ground, and beside it he also plants a willow stick, to the tip of which is fastened a small deerskin bag holding some of the seed. The following morning the members and their wives go singing and dancing toward the prepared spot. Arriving there, they sit in a row at the side of the plot, with their root-diggers stuck in the ground in front of them, and with the willow wands bearing the pouches of seed by the side of the diggers. The women sing and the men dance in front of them, after which the plot is marked off in rows, one for each man. The man whose stick is at the right first makes small holes for the seed along his row, the man next in order doing the same, until all are ready, when the men

in unison move across the field, planting a few seeds in each hole. The seed planted is not taken from the small pouches, but from the supply prepared by each man by mixing the dung of elk, antelope, and buffalo with seeds in a small receptacle made of a bladder. The two young men with brooms of willow twigs brush over the ground, and close along the edge of the planted spot thrust willow withes into the ground and bend-them over archwise, making in this way a light ceremonial fence inside the protective structure of poles. The planters then return to the camp for the night, and in the morning the encampment is moved a few miles. Again the tobacco lodge is pitched in the centre of the camp-circle, and once more the willow wands are thrust into the ground, but this time the bag of seed is accompanied with a pair of tiny moccasins for the tobacco people, for it is believed that the seeds are people. The two young men, mounted on the fastest horses in camp, now ride headlong to the lodge, rush in, snatch up the wands with seeds and moccasins, again mount, and race away full speed to the planting ground. As they leave, the priests shout, "Do not look back!" Reaching the ground they plant the wands quickly and ride rapidly away without a backward glance.

It is said that a reckless youth, sceptically wishing to see if the seed was really people, once watched the planting from a distant butte. After the planters had gone away he saw many small people moving about over the freshly worked ground. He then went on and joined his people, and at once fell ill. In superstitious fright he told of his experience, and before morning he was dead.

After the planting of the wands with moccasins for the tobacco people, it was the custom to move at once to the hunting grounds. In the autumn they returned toward the tobacco garden, and while still a day's march distant they chose two young men — not the two who had served at the planting — and sent them forward to learn the condition of the crop. In planting, each man had marked his row with a distinctive stone. Picking a plant from each row which had grown well, but none from the others, and holding them carefully in their hands in such manner that they would know to whom each plant belonged, they rode back to camp. As they approached, they shouted like returning scouts. The tobacco men in anticipation of their return had assembled in the lodge, and as they heard the cry they began to sing, "Who are these young men who are coming to give us news?"

The young men entered the lodge and at once placed the respective plants before the men who had planted them. If any failed to receive a plant, he was very sad, as he felt certain that some member of his family was soon to die. The night was given to dancing, and the next day they moved camp close to the tobacco garden and at once gathered the plants, the harvesting being a continuation of the ceremonies with prayers and songs. Each member of the fraternity distributed a few of the leaves among his relatives, and into his medicine-bundle he put as much of the seed and leaves as he had taken out for the planting, keeping the remainder to smoke.

The tobacco songs are sung also at times other than the planting, especially at the time of a new moon. It is not necessary to sing at each new moon, but the songs must be sung in the spring when the ice in the rivers breaks up. Only the man giving the ceremony opens his bundle, the others leaving theirs at home. The date of the last actual planting was 1868 or 1870. The fraternity, however, increases in strength, notwithstanding the fact that the growing of tobacco has been discontinued.

Fasting formed an important part of a man's devotional acts. In preparation for his long vigil on a mountain-top the devotee purified his mind and body, that the spirits might come to him and impart their power. At an age between fifteen and twenty a youth would decide of his own volition to go to one of the high peaks and fast for dreams. First he built a sweat-lodge and invited some old, successful man to make use of it. The old man at once responded, bringing a few of his friends to assist him in the rite. Usually the boy did not sweat with the medicine-man, but occasionally he was asked to enter and sit at the left of the principal man, who then prayed to the spirits which had appeared in his most important dream, asking them to come to the youth. In any case, whether the boy entered the sudatory or not, the medicine-man sang his medicine-songs in the sweat-lodge. Then at night, following this sweat, the youth took a pipe and a few presents to the medicine-man, asking him for his assistance, and the old man painted him and sang his medicine-songs. The next morning the youth set out on his journey to the mountains.

Most young men fasted many times, the usual period being one to four days. Tearing Lodge says he has fasted seven times, first at about the age of twenty, each time from one to ten days, and never twice in

the same year. Celibacy was not absolutely essential to the experiencing of visions, yet men never fasted for revelations after marriage.

After returning the faster would not reveal his dream, but would instruct his closest friend what to do in case he were wounded, assuring him, "When you do this, I will be well." If, in later life, he was fortunate in escaping danger in battle and illness, his immunity was regarded as proof that he had dreamed well.

An informant thus relates an experience in fasting:

"One day I was thinking of the fighting that occurs on war expeditions, and that it would be a good thing to be able to escape bullets. So I thought I would go and ask an old man to help me. I knew Red Short Robe had strong medicine. I built a sweat-lodge and brought out a robe, a shirt, a quiver of arrows, a knife, a saddle-blanket, and some tobacco. I stood by the sweat-lodge, and called, 'Red Short Robe, here is a sweat-lodge ready for you!' It was an honor for a medicine-man to be selected for this purpose. He brought five old men with him, and they entered without a word. I handed in the pipe and the presents, and the old men smoked. They gave me the pipe, and I laid it behind the lodge; then I rolled in the stones and gave them the water. He sang the medicine-songs which he had received in one of his dreams, and I raised the blankets. They came out, and the old man said, 'Come to my lodge to-night, and I will paint you,' and he told me to bathe in the river to make myself pure. That night, after washing my body, I went to his lodge with a pipe, and after he had smoked, he painted me and gave me a small pipe with tobacco, and steel, flint, and tinder. He said: 'When you get up there on the mountains, and it is dark, fill this pipe, light it, and hold it up in the air to the person of whom I have been singing. Then, after that, take a few puffs yourself.' He did not say who this person was, only that it was a spirit. He painted my face yellow, then put black on the forehead, and told me that was the way the person looked who came in his dream. Then he sang the four songs he had received, and called, 'Ksistui-tapiw, help this boy!'

"From his lodge I went home and slept, and the next morning, according to his instructions, I bathed again in the river, washing off the paint, and rubbed perfume on my body and clothing. Then I mounted my horse, and accompanied by another boy went to the mountains. When we got as far as the horses could go, I sent my companion back with them and went on afoot. When I reached my destination,

I erected a little cell of stones, about two and a half feet wide, and as high, and long enough to receive my body when lying down. On the bottom I laid sage and green brush, and made a roof of the same. Then I sat in the shade of a pine, and after it was dark I put off my clothing, lighted the pipe, and held the stem in the different directions for the spirits to smoke. I placed my clothing some distance away, and, after praying, went into the little cell. In whatever way you lie down, you must remain all night without moving. The next morning I went out, put on my clothing, and passed the day sitting or walking about. When night came, I did as I had done on the preceding night. So it went each day and each night. And each night I had the same dream: a person came and told me how to cure myself if wounded, and each night he said just the same thing and sang the same songs. This person was a man, and I think he was the same one who came to Red Short Robe, though he was painted in a different way. After he had come to me seven times, it seemed to me that it was a true dream, and it was useless to stay any longer. If it had not been the same dream seven times I would have remained the full ten days.

"After reaching home I went into the lodge and sat down to rest. Then I bathed in the river and perfumed my body, and went to the old man, whom I told that I had had a dream. But I did not tell him what it was. He said, 'It is good.' The next day I built, another sweat-lodge and called Red Short Robe. I covered the sweat-lodge with a fine red blanket, and said, 'I have great belief in this dream, and I want you to continue to help me.' That night I went again to the old man's lodge, and again he painted me and sang for me and prayed to the spirit.

"As soon as I returned from the mountain my sister started to prepare food for me, but I said: 'No, wait! At night I will eat.' That night I counted the mouthfuls, and ate only five. The next day I ate nothing until night, and then ate six mouthfuls. The third day I ate seven, the fourth eight, the fifth nine, the sixth ten mouthfuls. During all this time I remained quietly in the lodge, but after the sixth night I ate as usual, and began going about. This was what the spirit told me to do.

"The spirit who came to me told me also to wear a certain kind of feather. Several moons passed before I saw any feather like that one, and I asked the man who had it to give it to me. He did not wish to, and asked why I wanted it. I said, 'Just to have it.' I gave him

a good blanket-coat for three of his feathers. A man never kills any animal whose body he is to use for medicine: such things must always be bought from other people.[36] But there is no wrong in killing such animals for food or for trading. If a spirit came to me and told me to wear eagle-feathers, it would be right to kill all the eagles I could catch, only I would not use the feathers myself, but would trade them or give them away. To use them for my own medicine would be like killing the dream."

The soul is called by the Piegan, *o'táki*, shadow. What they mean when they call a soul a shadow is not that the shadow cast by the body is the soul, but rather that the soul is an unsubstantial thing, as intangible as a shadow. Also the state of the after-world is apparently a shadow-life. That there is an after-life is not questioned, but there is no thought of a future physical existence. The Piegan locate the region of the dead among the sand-hills north of Cypress hills in the province of Saskatchewan. They appropriately call the region Big Sand. Immediately after death, or sometimes before, a relative clothed the body in the best garments and painted its face red. If the deceased were a man of experience, and had expressed the wish that his body be wrapped, it was done, otherwise wrapping might be omitted. The body was then placed on a scaffold inside the lodge, or else on the bed. The personal effects were left in the lodge, his tobacco cutting-board, knife, and pouch lying as if the family were still living there, the weapons and clothing occupying their usual places. Then the lodge-cover was painted on the outside near the door to indicate the coups of the dead man lying within. A horse was killed beside the door, and the lodge was left standing alone. Lodge-burial was practised only when the owner of the lodge or a favorite young man died; the bodies of others were wrapped and placed in trees, or, if no trees were available, in graves. Exposure of bodies on outside scaffolds was not practised.

For some years many of the bodies have been placed in log huts, or enclosures, on some high hill. One of these visited by the author was on a point overlooking Two Medicine river. It was, in fact, two log enclosures, the first one so old that the logs were crumbling. They

[36] Another informant does not agree with this statement, but says that when a man has had a vision of an animal-spirit he at once tries to obtain the skin or the feathers of that animal or bird by himself killing it, and does not try to buy it, for in so doing he would reveal to the people what his medicine is.

contained many bodies, some of which had been carefully wrapped, and others placed in rough boxes. In the old enclosure these had so crumbled with age that little idea could be formed of the number of bodies placed there. Tobacco-boards, knives, implements, guns, saddles, cooking utensils, and small chests of miscellaneous trinkets formed a part of the mouldering heap. The mixed-blood guide directing the way to the grave-houses, apparently rather conscience stricken, went to a wrapped body deposited some ten years ago, and as he placed a few pinches of tobacco on it, said, "Have a smoke with me, old man!" Then he added, "He will like that, I know."

In mourning for a near relative, especially for a son, a woman cut her hair short, severed the first joint of a little finger, gashed the legs with bits of flint, and wore poor clothing; the father thrust an arrow through the outside of each calf, each thigh, and on the inside of the arm just above the elbow; and then, if their son had been killed, they started round the camp, leading his horse, crying for revenge. When their lamentation had sufficiently excited the young men, some warrior would dash out on his horse, calling all men to follow him. Others would quickly join the party, and they started out, accompanied by the father. If they returned with a scalp and the hands or feet of an enemy, a scalp-dance was held. The parents then washed the blood from their bodies, put on good clothing, and danced with the scalp, perhaps chewing the hands or feet of the enemy. For a near relative who met a natural death, the women cut their hair, while the men merely cried. Widows mourned during a period of two to four years before remarrying.

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