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The Arapaho.

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III. CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION.

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III. — CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION.

Like most other Indian tribes, the Arapaho have numerous ceremonies, some public or tribal, others individual, either shamanistic or consisting of observances connected with birth, death, sex, and food. Of the public ceremonies, some are accompanied by dancing or singing; others, such as the tribal ceremony of the unwrapping of the sacred flat pipe, and the rites attending the use of the women's sacred bags, are without such accompaniment. Of the ceremonies in which there are dancing and singing, some are directly connected with war;¹ others are modern, such as the ghost-dance, the crow-dance, and the peyote or mescal ceremonies. The remaining dances, which are to the Arapaho the most important and sacred of all their ceremonies, are united by them under the name *bäyaa'wu*.

The *bäyaa'wu* ceremonies divide into two groups. One group consists of a form of the well-known sun-dance of the Plains tribes. The other class comprises a series of dances made by men grouped into societies of the same age, and a single corresponding dance for women. Similar series of ceremonies are found among other Plains tribes,² and have been described as organizations of warrior societies or military and social associations, while vulgarly they are known as "dog soldiers."

The Arapaho call their dances "lodges," after the enclosures

¹ The *tixanätiit*, *tcaätceciinätiit*, *tceäätiiit*, *niina'tahawaa'nt*, comprising the *seine-niinah'waa'nt*, are referred to in *Traditions of the Arapaho*, by G. A. Dorsey and the author (Field Columbian Museum, Anthropological Series, Vol. V, p. 49).

² The Gros Ventre, Cheyenne, Blackfoot, Kiowa, Crow, Mandan, Arikara, and perhaps other tribes. Compare Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales*, p. 221; Mooney, *The Ghost-Dance Religion* (Fourteenth Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology, pp. 986, 989); Schurtz, *Altersklassen und Männerbünde*, pp. 151-169.

in which they are held; and the name *bäyaa*¹*wu* seems to mean "all the lodges."¹ As the Arapaho themselves use this term, it includes the sun-dance; but this ceremony is quite distinctly of a different character from the ceremonies of the age-fraternities.

The Arapaho sun-dance is similar to that of the Sioux and Blackfoot.² It is called *haseiha*³*wu*, which means "sacrifice-lodge" or "offerings-lodge." It is held in summer, according to a pledge made in the course of the preceding year by an individual, the motive of the vow being usually the cure of sickness. The ceremony is held in a circular lodge, open above except for log rafters. These rafters extend from the walls to a forked cottonwood trunk set in the centre, and ceremonially the most important part of the structure. The lodge is open to the east, while at the west end the dancers form an arc of a circle facing the central tree. It is at this side of the lodge that what might be called an altar is arranged on the ground. The dancers, who are mostly young men, refrain from food and water during the ceremony proper, which lasts three days and nights, or, as the Indians count, four days. Towards the end of the ceremony the dancers were formerly fastened to the central tree by thongs attached to skewers passed under the skin of the breast, which they tore out. The erection of the lodge is accompanied by continual ceremonies, almost all of them having some reference to war. The trees of which it is built, especially the central fork, are spied out, felled, and brought home as if they were enemies. The erection of the lodge, and the spectacular ceremony for it, are preceded by a less public observance, lasting about three days, and held in what is called the "rabbit tent." Men of any age or ceremonial affiliations may enter the sun-dance, and not infrequently repeat their participation. The dancers wear no characteristic regalia other than ornaments of sage, and bone whistles; and, excepting to some extent the pledger of the ceremony, they are all of the same degree or rank.

¹ The etymology is not quite certain, though the Indians give the same translation. *Bä-* is the root of the word for "all," and frequently occurs as a prefix; *a*³*wu* is a suffix meaning "house" or "lodge."

² Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales*, p. 264; Bushotter, in *A Study of Siouan Cults*, by J. O. Dorsey (Eleventh Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology, p. 450).

The second group of ceremonies in the *bäyaaⁿwu* form a progressive series. They are held by bodies of men of approximately the same age, who virtually constitute societies, and who can enter each group only after they have passed through all that regularly precede it. These ceremonies cover the entire period of manhood from youth to old age, those of the oldest class being the most sacred. In general character the successive ceremonies are similar, but each has a distinct name and organization. The dances are held in what appears to be an enclosure or open tent, rather than an edifice, and last, like the sun-dance, four days. There is no central tree, and the elaborate ceremonies accompanying the erection of the sun-dance lodge are wanting. As in the sun-dance, there is a preliminary and a public portion of the ceremony; but whereas in the sun-dance the preliminary rabbit-tent ritual is quite different in scope from the subsequent dance, the first three days in each of the age-society ceremonies are strictly days of preparation. The fasting and the self-infliction of torture that give the sun-dance much of its impressiveness are also lacking in these dances. On the other hand, there are fixed and in part elaborate regalia for each of the ceremonies; and these are of several kinds in each dance, indicating degrees of rank or honor.

There is a single women's dance reckoned by the Arapaho as paralleling the series of men's dances, and quite clearly corresponding to it in general character. The age of the participants is not, however, an element in the ceremony, and in many of its details it is naturally somewhat different from the men's dances.

The full series of ceremonies constituting the *bäyaaⁿwu* is the following: ¹

Sun-dance:

Haseiⁿhaⁿwu ("sacrifice-lodge").

Men's Ceremonies:

Nouhinenaⁿ ("kit-fox men").

Haçaahouhaⁿ ("stars").

¹ Compare Hayden, *Ethnogr. Philol. Missouri Valley* (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, 1863, N. S., Vol. XII, p. 325); and Mooney, *Ghost-Dance Religion* (Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, p. 986).

Hiitceäoxaⁿwu¹ ("tomahawk-lodge").

Biitahaⁿwu² ("["?] lodge").

Hahaⁿkaⁿwu³ ("crazy-lodge").

Heçawaⁿwu ("dog-lodge").

Hinanahaⁿwu⁴ ("["?] lodge").

Tciinetcei bähäeihaⁿ⁵ ("water-sprinkling old men").

Women's Ceremony:

Bänuxtaⁿwu⁶ ("buffalo ["?] lodge").

The participants in any ceremony are called by a name composed of the characteristic element of the term for their ceremony, and h-inen ("man") or h-isei ("woman") in place of -aⁿwu ("lodge"): thus, biitahaenen, bänuxtisei. Bän-iinen-aⁿ means the men composing the báyaaⁿwu; in other words, all the companies.

In this paper the following English terms have been adopted for these ceremonies:

Kit-fox-men (nouhinenaⁿ, "kit-fox men").

Stars (haçaahouhaⁿ, "stars").

First dance (hiitceäoxawu, "tomahawk-lodge").

Second dance (biitahaⁿwu, "["?] lodge").

Third or crazy dance (hahaⁿkaⁿwu, "crazy-lodge").

Fourth or dog dance (heçawaⁿwu, "dog-lodge").

Fifth dance (hinanahaⁿwu, "["?] lodge").

Members of the sixth dance (tciinetcei bähäeihaⁿ, "water-sprinkling old men").

Women's dance (bänuxtaⁿwu, "buffalo ["?] lodge").

The terms "lodge" and "ceremony" have been used instead of the rather inadequate term "dance" whenever they seemed more appropriate.

When the societies are enumerated, the kit-fox and star companies are generally included; but when the ceremonies constituting the whole series are reckoned, these two dances

¹ Tceäox is a weapon consisting of one or two long points set at right angles into a stick.

² Biitahaⁿwu cannot be translated by most of the Arapaho. Some explain it as "earth-lodge," from biitaaⁿwu ("earth," "land," "world"). This etymology seems very doubtful. A Gros Ventre gave the meaning as "drum-lodge."

³ Hahaⁿkaⁿwu may be translated either "fool-lodge" or "crazy-lodge."

⁴ For hinanahaⁿwu no translation could be obtained. It is not improbable that the word contains the root of the word for "man" (hinen) or "Arapaho" (hinanaei).

⁵ Tciinetcei is said to designate the sprinkling or pouring of water in the sweat-house; bähäeihaⁿ means "old men."

⁶ Bänuxtaⁿwu is always translated as "buffalo-lodge," but the meaning of the first part of the word is obscure.

are usually omitted.¹ This may occasionally be due to a desire to bring the total within the ceremonial number seven; but more often it is on account of the comparative religious insignificance of these two societies, whose ceremonies lack the accurately prescribed regalia that give character to the older fraternities. At the other end of the series also, the members of the sixth dance stand somewhat apart. They consist of seven old men, each the owner of a sacred bag, who have direction of the conduct of all other dancers; they themselves hold a singing ceremony in a sweat-house, but lack the dancing and the lodge of the other societies. The fifth dance somewhat resembles the sixth—embodying the oldest men—in lacking elaborate, showy features. The four ceremonies from the first to the fourth dance, however, constitute a well-defined group with constant analogies. In all of them the main body of participants are called *naçan*¹, which is about equivalent to "rank and file."² Above these are the honorary degrees, which range in number from one in the third to five in the second dance. The number of dancers is fixed for each degree, but varies, according to the degree and the ceremony, from one to four. The participants in each dance are instructed either singly or in groups, and receive their regalia from older men who have gone through the ceremony and are called the dancers' grandfathers. These men again, and the entire ceremony as a whole, are under the direction of the seven old men constituting the sixth society.

Whether a society can repeat a dance that it has performed, is not certain. Among the Gros Ventres, whose ceremonial organization is in great part the same as that of the Arapaho, such is the case, but no instances were heard of among the Arapaho.³

¹ Compare Traditions of the Arapaho, op. cit., p. 18.

² *Naçan*¹ means "unreal," "not true;" thus *naçaninetc* is irrigation water as distinguished from natural streams.

³ As the period covered by the six or eight ceremonies is at least forty years, the interval between succeeding performances of the same ceremony or between the successive performances of the same company, must have averaged from five to eight years, if there were no repetitions. Among the Gros Ventres there are several times as many age-companies as ceremonies; so that each ceremony, even without repetitions of it by the same company, was held several times in the period of from five to eight years. These companies have names that sometimes have a totemic appearance, but for the most part are similar to the class of nick-names customary for bands or clans among the non-totemic Plains tribes. No company participated in another's dances. As

The societies of the *bäyaa*"wu are strictly not associations of men, but classes or divisions to which men belong at certain ages. It appears that normally every man of the tribe is a member of the *bäyaa*"wu (a *bäniinen*), and that if he lives long enough he will pass in the course of his life, automatically as it were, through the entire series of ceremonies. While there is instruction in each lodge, there is no initiation, and no requirement for entrance into it other than that the preceding ceremonies shall have been gone through. Least of all is there any requirement such as characterizes certain religious societies of, for instance, the Kwakiutl, the Omaha, and the Sioux, that all the members shall possess a common dream or be initiated by the same spirit.¹ Membership is not limited in any way except by age; and the basis of organization is tribal, not supernatural.²

Just as the organization into societies is not primarily supernatural, so the degrees within the societies do not indicate anything religious. They do not represent a higher stage in occult knowledge, and therefore have no resemblance to the degrees of the midewiwin of the Ojibwa, or to such leadership as that of the honaaite in the Sia secret societies. The Arapaho degrees or ranks are purely distinctions of respect and tribal confidence, bestowed of course chiefly for bravery. At the beginning of each ceremony certain older men connected with the society, and called the "elder brothers" of the members, meet and select those of the members who seem to them most worthy of the honor. The recipients of the

there were always several companies that had gone through the ceremonies of each dance, the number of participants in each performance was several times less than if the number of companies and ceremonies had been the same. In the latter case, among a tribe of two or three thousand, some of the younger companies would number a hundred or more. It is not impossible that something like the Gros Ventre scheme of organization may have existed among the Arapaho, but no traces of it were found.

¹ Alice C. Fletcher (*Annual Reports Peabody Museum*, III, p. 276); J. O. Dorsey (*Third Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 348). A similar motive occurs occasionally among the Sia: cf. M. C. Stevenson (*Eleventh Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 86).

² The Kwakiutl ceremonial organization described by Boas (*Report U. S. National Museum*, 1895, p. 419) in some ways resembles that of the Arapaho. The ordinary basis of social organization of the Kwakiutl is a sort of clan system. In the ceremonial winter season this disappears. In this period all the people are divided into two great divisions, called the Seals and the Quē'qutsa. The Seals comprise a number of the highest dancers and dance-societies. The Quē'qutsa consist of all the others. They are divided into ten groups, — seven for men and three for women, — according to age and sex. The men's societies, beginning with the youngest, are the boys, killer-whales, rock-cods, sea-lions, whales, Koskimos, and eaters. While these seven do not possess any specific ceremonies, the scheme of their grouping is almost identical with that of the Arapaho.

degrees have not had any religious experience different from that of the rest of the society. During the progress of the dance, their ceremonial functions are naturally somewhat differentiated from those of the rank and file of the dancers; and this is especially true of the highest degree, which in all the lodges is held by only one member. Even outside of the ceremony a certain behavior is sometimes imposed on the holders of degrees. Since many of the regalia are also weapons or have reference to war, the dancers of higher degrees formerly used them frequently in war. In the dog-society the members of the highest three degrees were expected not to flee even in the most imminent danger, except after certain conditions had been fulfilled; so that the bestowal of these honors was not only a recognition of past deeds, but an obligation involving future risk.

That the functions of the series of societies are not altogether ceremonial, appears from this imposing of obligations in war. Some of the societies also have certain public regulative and disciplinary powers and duties, as is customary among other Plains tribes. These powers pertain particularly to the hunt, the march, and the camp-circle.¹ In some of the accessory ceremonies of the sun-dance the young men of the tribe participate by societies. The connection with war is apparent in the instances that have been mentioned, as also in the fact that the members of three societies carry respectively tomahawks, lances, and bows as insignia. Such circumstances are, however, natural among a people the only activity of whose men, besides religion, love, the hunt, and gambling, is war, and with whom honor and fame are primarily to be obtained only through war. It must also be remembered, that, in the old life on the Plains, going to war was as much a part of the normal life of an ordinary man as participation in the ceremonies was the natural function of all members of the tribe. It would therefore be surprising if the ceremonials of the *bâyaa*"wu were not filled with references to war; but to regard these Arapaho societies as primarily social bodies with

¹ Traditions of the Arapaho, *op cit.*, p. 30.

police functions, or as organizations specifically of warriors, would result in a very inadequate conception of them.

The origin of the *bäyaaⁿwu* ceremonies, as given by the Arapaho themselves, has been published.¹ In brief this myth tells that a murderer was expelled from the camp-circle. He tried to shoot a white buffalo that approached him, but was unable to and desisted. The buffalo then spoke to him. He received buffalo to kill, and was given the lodges either by the white buffalo or by the mythic character *Nih'ā'çaⁿ*. Most of the versions of this myth include both the sun-dance and the women's dance among the ceremonies that were derived on this occasion and now constitute the *bäyaaⁿwu*. Independent accounts of the origin of the women's dance are, however, also given. According to these, the ceremony was derived directly from the buffalo themselves.²

None of the *bäyaaⁿwu* ceremonies were seen by the author; and the following descriptions are based entirely upon accounts given by the Indians, and upon a series of the regalia that were secured for the Museum. The last of the dances among the northern Arapaho was held about 1898; while the southern Arapaho appear to have discontinued the ceremonies, especially the more sacred ones, some time before that date.³

In the following accounts the dances will be treated in order, beginning with the youngest, except that the second one, on which the fullest information was obtained, will be described first, in order to make the briefer accounts of the other ceremonies clearer.

SECOND DANCE (BIITAHANⁿWU).

The ceremonies of the second dance are performed as the result of a pledge. If a man of the first lodge is sick or in danger, he may vow that he will hold the second dance in case his life is saved. When he is once more well, he an-

¹ Traditions of the Arapaho, op. cit., pp. 17, 22, 23.

² Ibid., p. 49.

³ The first ceremony (*hiitceäoxaⁿwu*) was to have been held by the Oklahoma Arapaho in October, 1903.

nounces his pledge, and the news of it is spread. When the ceremony is arranged, all the members of his society must join in it, even though it is the result of a single individual's determination. If a member of the company is sick or absent, a substitute must take his place. This substitute may be a younger brother, so that occasionally a man is found who has gone through a dance which is really beyond his years. It is said that formerly every man belonged to a society. The pledger of the dance is called *ya'nahūt*ⁱ.

When the time for the dance approaches, the "elder brothers" (*bäasahaa*) of the society select a good place for the dance, and the people gather there. These elder brothers were secured by the company on its first formation. Often they are reluctant to serve. They are then captured by stratagem, and a pipe is forced into their hands. This act constitutes them elder brothers of the company. This pipe can be carried to the man intended for an elder brother only by a member of the society who has been to war.

On what may be regarded as the first evening of the ceremony, the elder brothers assemble and select certain men in the society to be the holders of the degrees in the dance. They are said to choose the bravest men in the company for these honors. There are five such degrees in the second dance above the rank and file. One dancer is of the highest degree, and is called *hiitawa*^{hā}^{hit}ⁱ. He carries a club called *tawa*^{hā}. There are two dancers each of the second, third, and fourth degrees, and four of the fifth. These and the rank and file all carry lances. Each of the two dancers of the second degree carries a lance crooked at one end and wrapped with otter-skin. They are called *hiinousäeiciganici*. The dancers of the third degree (called *hiibiixa*^u^{çi}) have similar but straight lances. The dancers of the fourth degree are two boys not properly members of the society, who are called *biitaheisana*, which means "biitaha^{wu} children" or "little biitaha^{wu} dancers." They carry small lances painted black, called *biitaheisa*^{nau}. The men of the fifth degree have similar black lances, on account of which they are called *hiwaotä*^{na}^{xä}^{yani}^{çi}. The rank and file (*naçan*ⁱ *biitaheinena*) have

lances that are wrapped with red cloth. These insignia will be described more fully.

As soon as the men to hold the higher ranks have been selected, the dancers hurry to find older men who shall make their regalia, paint them, and guide them through the ceremony. These men they call "grandfathers." The men who have been chosen to be of a certain rank go to a grandfather who held the same rank when he went through the dance. In some cases the grandfathers appear to give the new dancers the very regalia which they themselves used; in other cases the regalia are made by the grandfather during the first three days of the ceremony. These two methods of furnishing the dancers with their ceremonial implements are regarded as equivalent by the Indians. Even an object which has just been made is spoken of as having been handed down from the past, because it is made in conformity with tradition, and preceding pieces have served as models for it.

Several dancers generally go together to secure a grandfather. Coming to his tent, they say from the outside, "Grandfather, we are coming" (Näbäciwaⁿ tcanani). He answers, "Well, come in, my grandsons" (Waⁿhei, tciitei, neiciha-haaⁿ). One of the young men, having entered, gives him a pipe. If the pledger of the dance is among these young men, it is he who gives the pipe. The grandfather receives the pipe and lays it down. Then he leaves the tent. He goes out for one of the old men who are to be the directors of the entire ceremony. This old man will also be called grandfather by the dancers. The man to whom the dancers have come takes a horse or some other present to this older man, and brings him with him to his tent, carrying another pipe. When they have entered the tent, the old man prays, holding the pipe with its bowl upward. Then he smokes and passes the pipe, and the others smoke. Then, still in the same tent, they eat a meal of food that is sent there by relatives. The same night the women relatives of the dancers prepare food. This is brought to the tent of the grandfather. There it is kept until the next morning, when it is warmed up and eaten. In the tent (Fig. 47), the grandfather (A) sits in the customary

place for the owner of the tent, on the south side. The old man (B) has the place of honor at the back. The young men (C) are opposite their grandfather on the north. Such old women (D) as may be present are at the door. The gifts of food by the young men to their grandfather are in front of him (E), and the food given to them by him stands before them (F). Before the old man at the back of the tent lie two pipes; the one nearer to him (1) is the grandfather's, the one farther in the middle of the tent (2) belongs to the leader of the group of young men.

Such are the events of what may be regarded as the first day of the ceremony. The next three days are given to making the regalia worn in the dance. On the first two evenings of

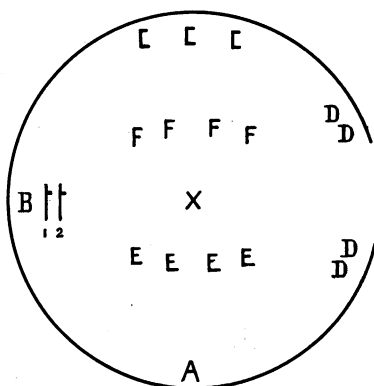


Fig. 47. Grandfather's Tent (Biitaha^{wu}). A, grandfather, owner of the tent; B, old man, instructor of the grandfather; C, young men, dancers; D, old men's wives, etc.; E, food given by the young men to their grandfather; F, food given by the grandfather to the young men; X, fireplace; 1, grandfather's pipe; 2, pipe of young man.

these three days the members of the society dance, but without their implements, as if for practice. On the afternoon of the third day the regalia have all been finished, and the ceremony proper begins with a dance in which they are worn.

On the first morning of these three days of preparation the old man must be given another present by the young men's grandfather for showing him how to paint them. If he thinks the gift insufficient, he says, "Paint them as you like." When the gift is sufficient, he goes to the grandfather's tent and describes to him how to paint the young men. The younger man listens carefully to his instructions. The old man prays again, and he and the young men and their grandfather smoke the pipe that he uses in this prayer. Then they eat the food prepared the night before. After this the grandfather paints the young men. Then they begin to make regalia for the dance.

The grandfather makes only one set of regalia. If more than one young man has come to him, he secures other elderly men, each of whom makes a set of regalia for one of the dancers. Thus each dancer virtually has a grandfather to himself. The work is done in the grandfather's tent. The old man who has been called by the grandfather does not work, but sits still and directs the making. The regalia are finished on the third day. When they are completed, they are hung at the top of a pole set up in front of the grandfather's tent. In case of rain they are taken indoors. Every noon during these three days the grandfather provides food for his grandchildren the dancers, and they bring him food. The old man who directs the making of the regalia and later the conduct of the dance receives food from both. Before these mid-day meals are eaten the old man always prays, though these prayers are no longer accompanied by raising the pipe toward the sky.

The first two evenings of the preliminary period the young men dance to their grandfathers' singing. Before they dance they give their grandfathers pipes, which they smoke. As stated, this dancing takes place without the proper insignia of the dance, but appears to be held in the lodge erected for the dance in the middle of the camp-circle.

On the afternoon of the third of the preliminary days all the participants in the ceremony, both dancers and grandfathers, gather in the lodge. This appears to be round, with the eastern side left open¹ (Fig. 48). Along this eastern end there is, however, a screen. The sides of the lodge are made of tent-skins, but are so low that people can look over them. The top seems to be left uncovered. Between the middle of the lodge and the entrance on the east is a fireplace (F). At the very back or west end of the lodge sit the old men and the grandfathers of the dancers (G). In this place also are the drums. Along the northern and the southern sides of the lodge sit the dancers, divided into two groups. Along the southern side of the lodge sit the "short men" (tcäixi-

¹ According to another statement, the lodge is oval, being longest in the direction from east to west

hinenaⁿ), O; on the northern side, the "stout men" (hanaⁿ-kaⁿbiihinenaⁿ), X. These two divisions of the company are maintained through all its ceremonies. At the eastern end of one of these two rows of dancers, nearest the entrance to the lodge, sits the dancer of the highest rank (A). Next to him is one of the two members of the second degree (B); and in the same place on the opposite side of the lodge, with the other division, the other. Next to these two men, and farther from the entrance, sit the two dancers of the third degree (C), also one on each side of the lodge. To the west of these sit the two boys (D). Next to these are the four men of the fifth degree (E), two on each side of the lodge, facing each other. Then follow the rank and file, extending westward along the north and south sides of the lodge to its back, where are the grandfathers. The pledger of the dance (Y), with a few companions (Z), sits in front of the screen at the eastern end of the lodge, thus being directly opposite but farthest removed from the grandfathers. The elder brothers of the company sit among the dancers. The people are outside the lodge, presumably mostly at its eastern end, as in the sun-dance, looking in. Four young men who are somewhat younger than this company have been selected as servants (haçianaⁿ). Two of them wait on each of the two divisions, bringing them their food and performing other offices.

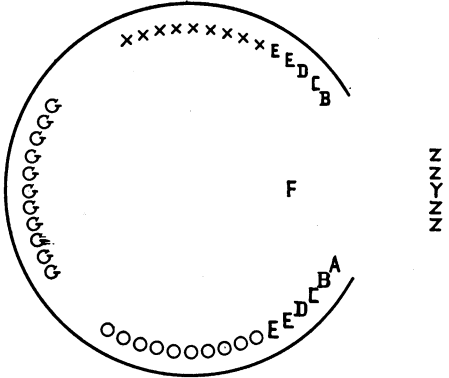


Fig. 48. Dancing-lodge (Biitahaⁿwu).

A, dancer of highest degree, with club; B, dancers of second degree, with crooked otter-skin lances; C, dancers of third degree, with straight otter-skin lances; D, dancers of fourth degree, boys with black lances; E, dancers of fifth degree, men with black lances; X, naçaniⁿ hanaⁿ-kaⁿbiihinenaⁿ, rank and file, stout men; O, naçaniⁿ tcäixihinenaⁿ, rank and file, short men; Y, yanahut, pledger; Z, companions of yanahut; F, fire; G, grandfathers and old men.

At the opening of the ceremony in the lodge, the lances

constituting the regalia, each with its accompanying belt and other insignia tied in a bundle near the bottom, are stood up in a line at the back of the tent just in front of the grandfathers. The old men smoke. One of them prays. Then one of the grandfathers arises, and, recounting a coup in the fashion customary in Arapaho ceremonials, gives away the set of regalia that he has made. The usual formula begins, —

“Nānā^açi nānihiçana^a [waotānāhiçi].”
 “It is they I mention [the Utes].”

The tribe is always mentioned first, then follows the account of the exploit. At the end he says, —

“Neici, hiiyū ha^axawa^a,”
 “My grandson, here is the lance,”

and gives his grandson his regalia. The young man raises the lance with a shout; and his relatives enter the lodge and thank his grandfather, passing their hands down his face and body. When this grandfather has sat down, another one follows; and thus they do until all the lances have been given to the dancers. If a grandfather should not have distinguished himself in war, he must pay another man to count a coup and give away his regalia for him. After all the dancers have received their regalia, the old man directing the dance smokes the pipe of one of the dancers. When he has finished, he says to the owner of the pipe, who appears to be the pledger of the dance, “Grandson, here is your pipe.” The young man arises from his place, goes to the old man, receives the pipe, and, lighting it, gives it to his grandfather. After his grandfather has smoked it out, the young man receives it again, and, going back to his place, lays it in front of himself.

Then the old men in charge of the dance say, “Now get ready.” The young men take their implements and go to their grandfathers and pay them for putting the regalia on them. They say, “Grandfather, this is for you. I want to dress.” Then they crouch down. The grandfathers take hāçawaanaxu (a root much used in ceremonials), chew it, and then, spitting on their hands, rub the young men all over the body. They also put this medicine on the belt, the lance,

and the other things the young man will wear. Each grandfather motions with the belt three times as if he would put it on the young man in front of him. On the fourth motion he puts it around him and ties it on. The same motions are made with each of the other pieces before they are put on the young man's body. After having been dressed, the young men all return to their places and sit down.

After this the wives of the grandfathers bring in food to the young men, who receive it with the ceremonial word for "thanks" (hoiii). They set the food in the middle of the lodge. Here they dance about it in a ring.

The pledger takes a split willow stick, and, using it as tongs, picks up a live-coal, which he carries to the old men. These put niox" (a sweet-scented grass much used for incense) upon it, and incense the drums that are to be used. These drums are the ordinary small drums of the Plains tribes, a foot or a little more across, with skin only on one side, and held in the hand by the strings where they cross underneath. In the sun-dance a larger drum suspended from four forked sticks is used. For the second dance from three to six drums are said to have been borrowed from people that possessed them, being returned after the dance. The leader of the singers is called hää"çinää"hinen. There is also a leader for the women who sing. She is called hää"çinā"sei. The women who sing, like the men, appear to be old, and sit at the back of the lodge with the men. The leaders in the singing do not enter the lodge and take their places of their own accord: they must be sent for from their tents, and must receive property. Large gifts are made to them for coming, and other presents are added later. They are of course provided with food during the ceremony. They begin the songs, and the remaining singers join in.

The first of the participants in the ceremony to dance are the pledger and his immediate companions. In dancing they face their grandfathers, who dance with them. Then the two boys among the dancers rise and dance, each facing his grandfather. The four men having the curved and straight lances wrapped with otter-skin, the insignia of the second and third

degrees, dance facing their grandfathers, who dance with them. They are followed by the four dancers with black lances of the fifth degree. The last of the dancers of higher degree to dance is the highest of all, the *hiitawaⁿhāⁿhitⁱ*. As the young men dance, their relatives come into the lodge and dance with them, standing next to them, or sometimes, if too numerous, forming two rows. The relatives of each grandfather also dance with him. After dancing, the young man's relatives approach the grandfather and thank him in the customary ceremonial manner, saying "hoiii," and passing their hands down in front of his face. When a young man dances, his father and actual grandfather, if alive, will also dance where they stand outside the lodge, accompanying him.

After the young men of higher degree have danced, the rank and file, including the pledger and his companions, if they are not of a higher degree, form a circle and dance, making the circuit from left to right four times, while the dancers of the higher degrees dance outside in a circuit from right to left. They dance to the accompaniment of two songs. The screen at the eastern end of the lodge where the pledger has been sitting has been removed and a stick set up at some distance. At the end of the two songs the dancers dart out of the lodge to this stick and back, racing in a crowd. The two divisions race against each other. The dancers all rush off from the place at which they happen to be when the song ends. The one who returns last is pelted by the others with buffalo-dung.

These ceremonies on the afternoon or evening of the third day bring to a close the preliminary period and mark the beginning of the dance proper. The functions of the old men are now ended. The elder brothers go among the dancers and incite them to activity. For the three following nights the dancers are without restrictions. As it is put, they may do anything they want. They dance at least the first night, and presumably the others also. For the three following mornings they dance before sunrise, racing at the conclusion of the dance. These three mornings' dances, together with the one on the preceding evening, occupy the four days dur-

ing which the ceremony proper lasts. The dancing at night during this period is carried on in two large tents, — one on the north side of the camp-circle, and one on the south. The society divides into its two halves, the stout men and the short men, and each uses one of the tents.

During the first night the company goes to four tents to sing and dance for gifts. Four chiefs or other good men are selected; and their names are called out by an old man, so that they may be prepared. The four men selected have their tents at four opposite sides of the camp-circle. After the concluding dance and race of the evening, the lodge in the middle is taken down. The members of the society sit about under small shelters. They go first to the one of the four men who is at the northwest of the camp-circle. They stand abreast before his tent. The rank and file of the company are in the middle; the men with degrees, at the ends. The elder brothers of the company, who seem to take the places of the grandfathers as soon as the religious element of the dance has given way to a more social one, stand in a row just behind the dancers, singing and drumming for them. Having reached the tent, the line of dancers curves so as to form a semicircle or three-quarter circle just in front of the tent. At first they sing slowly. The members of the company participate in this singing, as well as the elder brothers. Next they sing faster, and the members of the company dance, moving in a circle, singing, and shaking their lances. Small bunches of hoofs are attached to the lances, so that a rattling in time to the music is produced. The owner of the tent comes out, bringing food or other gifts. He lays the property in a pile. If he gives a horse, he lays a stick across the top of the pile. The four servants of the society take the food and presents, and carry one-half to each of the large tents used by one of the divisions of the company. After having sung at this man's tent, the dancers visit in turn the three others at other sides of the camp-circle. The four tent-owners who give this food to the company are called *hita²eeçana*".

The next morning before sunrise the members of the

society again dance to two songs, as on the evening before. The body of the dancers circle four times from left to right, while those who wear higher regalia dance in an opposite direction outside of them. At the end of the second song they again all rush off to race. In this race the two divisions, the stout men and the short men, race against each other. The division to which the winner of the race belongs receives the breakfast. The other division has nothing to say, but looks on and eats whatever is left. The next two mornings, before sunrise, they also dance and race in this way. On these two mornings, however, they do not race for their food. After they have raced on the third morning, the members of the company separate and go to their tents. This is the end of the ceremony.

After this the young men give presents to their grandfathers. It is said that until this time the grandfathers have received nothing from them. They themselves, however, have given considerable property to the old men in charge of the lodge. The grandfathers' wives have also supplied the dancers with food. There is no definite regulation for the amount of payment that is made to the grandfathers. The young men give them what they think right and what they wish.

During the dance the relatives of a young man will sometimes call him, lead a horse into the lodge, and give it away for him. This public giving-away, which is practised also in the sun-dance and on other occasions, is called "chief gives away" (nā'tcānahaa't'). It is a sign of affection or esteem of the young man's relatives for him. Sometimes one of the dancers, instead of running the race with the rest of the company, will ride on a horse. At the end of the race the horse, with all its accoutrement, is received by the wife of his grandfather.

The second dance has particular symbolic reference to thunder. This is especially clear in the highest degrees. The dormant, fierce temperament of the dancer of the highest degree is supposed to be similar to that of the thunder. The carving on his club (see p. 170) represents the thunder-bird

and lightning. The long eagle wing-feather tied at its end symbolizes lightning. The rain which follows the pointing-upward of the club is thought to be caused by the Thunder, who is angered. The crooked lance of the second degree (see Plate xxxii) and its accompanying regalia are also symbolic of the thunder in several respects.

The characteristic paint-design of the members of the second lodge is described as a figure consisting of four parallel lines, which are crossed at each end by four shorter lines (see Plate xxxiii). This figure is painted on the forehead, the cheeks, the chin, the upper arm, the lower arm, the thigh, and the calf. This distribution is very similar to that of the figures painted on the body in the sun-dance. As to the direction of these designs and the colors used in painting, the accounts obtained differ. It is clear, however, that there is a lack of symmetry between the painting of the right and that of the left side of the body. One informant stated that on one side the direction of the figures was lengthwise the limbs, and on the other side across them. Another informant said that the dancers were painted green on one side, and yellow on the other. A third informant stated that the left and right sides were painted alternately, the paint on one side being rubbed off when it was put on the other. Different colors of paint seem to be used. The body is, as in the sun-dance, covered with one color, and the figures are then painted over this in a darker color. One informant stated that the men dancers were painted red over their body; the two boys, yellow.

Highest Degree. — The dancer of highest degree (hiita-waⁿhäⁿhitⁱ) in the second dance sits at the extreme end of one of the rows of dancers in the lodge. Which side he sits on depends upon which of the two divisions of the company, the short men or the stout men, he belongs to. Though of the highest rank, he dances after the other members of the high ranks. He is selected as the bravest man in the company. He is supposed to be slow to anger or to move, but, when aroused, to be exceedingly fierce. He alone of all the dancers carries no lance, but has instead a round club called tawaⁿhäⁿ. He

oversees the dancers. He makes them assemble early. If they are tardy in coming, he goes to them and strikes them with his club. If they sit down to rest while the dance is going on, he strikes them until they get up and dance again. His club is not stood upright, as are the lances of the other dancers, but must be laid horizontally on the ground with the end pointing away. It is thought that if the club is allowed to point upward, it will soon rain.

This club (Fig. 49) is a cylindrical stick 90 cm. long and 5 cm. in diameter. The end is cut off diagonally. The



Fig. 49 ($\frac{1}{8}$). Club of Dancer of Highest Degree, Second Dance.

resulting elliptical surface is painted green, and notched around the edge. An eagle wing-feather is attached to this end of the club. Near the other end the club is thinned somewhat into a sort of handle. This portion is wrapped with a quill-wound thong colored yellow. This quilled thong holds in place a piece of red cloth and sweet-grass. At the handle there is also attached a kit-fox skin. It is said that small bells should be tied to the legs of the skin and to the handle of the club. On the club there is carved in angular outline a figure of the thunder-bird, its head being nearest the feathered end of the club. The head and neck of this bird are represented by two lines meeting at an angle. From near

the head two zigzag lines separate and extend along the club toward the handle. They are carved and painted green.

Lower Degrees. — The regalia of all the dancers excepting the highest consist of the lances that have been mentioned; of belts or waist-pieces of skin about 25 cm. wide; of head-dresses consisting of several feathers inserted in a small piece of trapezoidal rawhide, worn upright at the back of the head; of fur leg-bands worn below the knee; and of armllets for some of the higher degrees. A set of these regalia is shown

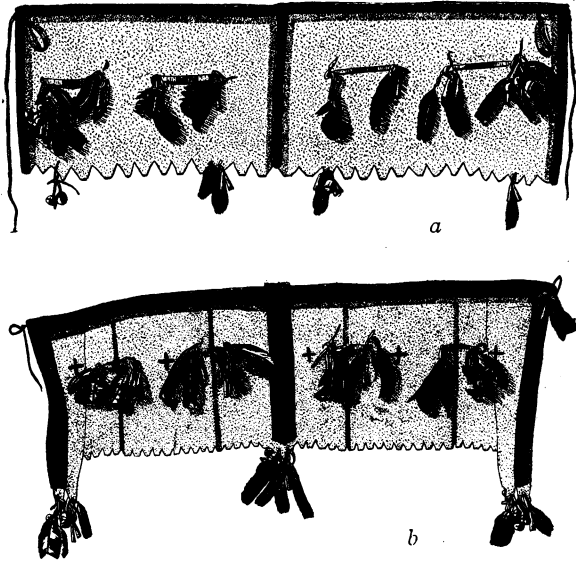


Fig. 50, a, b ($\frac{5}{32}$, $\frac{5}{32}$ a). Belts, Second Dance.

on Plate xxxiii, p. 177. The waist-pieces are called *touktcihitana* or *toutciciit*; the head-dresses, *naaⁿtitaⁿänähiitanaⁿ*, or *wakuu*, the generic term for "head-dress;" the armllets, *bääsçenâyana*; and the leglets, *waxuuk*. In general, all the regalia excepting the lance are much alike for all degrees, including the rank and file, the differences appearing to be chiefly individual and unintentional.

The waist-pieces (Fig. 50; also Plate xxxiii) are painted red, and are ornamented with strips of red cloth along the upper edge, on the two end edges, and down the middle. Green lines are painted along or under the cloth strips. Four

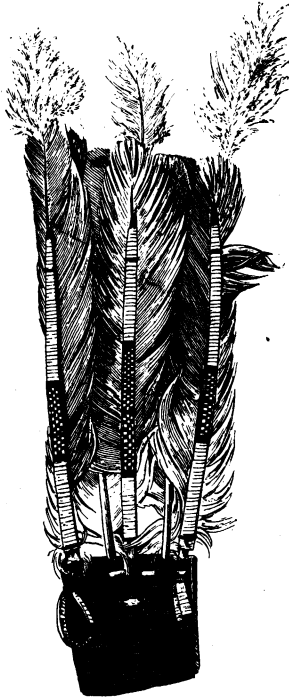
other vertical lines, and green crosses between them, are painted on the belt. Waist-pieces of the second and fourth degree, both obtained among the northern Arapaho, are yellow instead of red. The former is painted with green lines and crosses, like the ordinary red waist-piece. The latter (Plate XXXIII) is painted with green lines, but not with crosses. A red belt of the fifth degree from the southern Arapaho (Fig. 50, *a*) also lacks the painted crosses. The lower edges of all the belts are cut into notches. These are comparatively small in all the belts, excepting the belt of the fourth degree, that has just been mentioned. This has only six or seven notches, each several inches deep and wide. To the lower corners of the belts, as well as to the middle, where the red cloth strip ends, are attached small bunches of crow-feathers whose ends have been cut off. Only the yellow belt of the second degree has magpie instead of crow feathers. There are usually also either small bells or small cones of tin. Presumably small hoofs were formerly used in these places, having been replaced by metal ornaments on account of the greater effectiveness of the latter in producing a sound when the belt is shaken. The two upper corners of the belt sometimes have a few crow-feathers and bells or rattles attached. Small ornamented loops of the kind much used by the Arapaho for decorative purposes are also attached to the upper corners. In four places on the belt there are usually little strips of thong or rawhide which are wound, like the loops just mentioned, with quills or fibres, and are attached to the belt by their ends. The two ends of these short strips are usually white, sometimes yellow; the middle, red, yellow, or violet bordered by black or dark violet. At each end of the strip hang two or more crow-feathers, sometimes with a few tin cones or small bells. Usually these four attachments are so placed on the belt that they come over the middle of the four green vertical lines. The two yellow belts of the second and fourth degrees alone lack these attachments of ornamented skin strips and feathers. It is not certain whether this is a characteristic distinguishing these waist-pieces of higher degree from those of lower rank, or whether it is due to a slight

local difference between the type of waist-piece used by the northern and that used by the southern Arapaho.

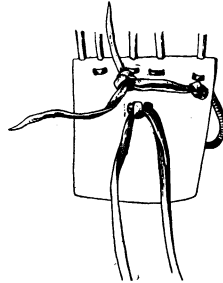
The symbolism of these belts appears to vary more than the designs on them. On one specimen the straight lines were said to denote straight paths, signifying good life; the crosses were the morning star. On another belt, which had been worn by the pledger of a dance, the long horizontal green line along the upper edge was also said to denote a straight path; and the crosses, the morning star, which makes life good and is a father of mankind. The red flannel at the edge denoted the first glimpse or shining of the star; the four vertical green lines marked the four days of the dance; the notches along the bottom of the belt were interpreted as clouds. The symbolism of the yellow waist-piece of the second degree (see Plate xxxii, opp. p. 175), as given by one of the old men in charge of the ceremony at which it was worn, is as follows. The vertical green lines are sunbeams, representing the day. The four crosses are the four old men that are mentioned in prayers. The red cloth on the belt represents paint, which symbolizes the people. The yellow on the belt is earth-paint; it is therefore the earth; it is also the yellow day when this was first shown the four old men. In painting the crosses and lines, *hāçawaanaxu* is chewed and spit on the belt four times; then a pipe-stem is moved four times toward the spot where the cross or line is to be made. On the fourth movement the pipe-stem is touched to the skin and a mark made. Then the cross or the line is painted there. A pipe-stem is used for this purpose, because the pipe, containing fire, is the sun, and it is wished that the sun will listen to the dancers and look at them. The feathers attached to the belt symbolize flight, and make the wearer's horse run swiftly. Magpie-feathers are used both on account of their handsome appearance and because the bird flies swiftly. Magpies also come about habitations of men for food and fly off with it, just as warriors attack tents and depart with booty. The notches along the bottom of the belt represent mountains, and thus the earth on which we live.

The head-dresses worn in this dance show more individual

variation than the waist-pieces, but few or none that are indications of difference of degree. To a more or less square but approximately trapezoidal piece of rawhide (Fig. 51; also Plate xxxiii), the outside of which is painted green, are attached upright feathers.



a



b

Fig. 51, a, b (refig. d). Head-dress, Second Dance.
Height, 32 cm.

a parfleche or painted rawhide bag. The feathers are most commonly hawk-feathers. Their ends are usually tipped with ornaments of dyed plumes or horse-hair. Each head-dress contains from five to nine feathers; but they so cover each other that the entire width is not more than that of two or three feathers. The shafts of three feathers are each covered with a strip of quill-work or ornamentation in fibres. This embroidery is

subject to some variation. The embroidered strips may be white, yellow, or red. The middle portion, which is bounded by black on all three strips, is always of a different color, and bears a de-

sign of small squares or spots. The number of these small squares may vary from about four to sixty. In some cases this vari-colored portion is longest on the middle strip, so that the general outline of the spotted parts of the ornament somewhat resembles a broad cross. To the two upper corners of the rawhide, just below where the feathers rise, are attached small loops of hide covered with quill or fibre. From the



DANCER OF SECOND DEGREE, SECOND DANCE.

back of the rawhide (Fig. 51, *b*) come two strings by means of which it is fastened at the back of the head, the strings passing around the forehead.

The leg-bands (Plate xxxiii, below) are usually of badger-skin, but at the present day other fur is sometimes used in place of this. They have cut crow-feathers, small rattles or bells, embroidered loops, and sometimes a fringe of slit fur, attached at the place where they are tied at the back of the calf. Sometimes larger bells are attached at several places on the leg-band.

The armlets (Fig. 52) worn in some of the higher degrees of this dance are made of rawhide, completely covered on the outside with three rows of embroidery in yellow quills or fibres, with a red design of a wide cross. Sticking out at right angles to the armlet, and attached to it by a wrapping of embroidered thong, is a bunch of buffalo or horse hair. The armlets are worn on the right arm, above the elbow.

It is by means of the lances that the different degrees are chiefly distinguished.

Second Degree.—A crooked lance carried by dancers of the second degree (hiinou-săeitciăniçi), and the accompanying regalia, are shown on Plate xxxii. They were obtained among the northern Arapaho. The symbolism of the waist-piece has already been described. The lance is called nousăeitciă". This set of regalia was conferred in a session of old men on the dancer thought worthiest. Eight horses were given for it by the recipient to his grandfather. In the race after the dancing, while carrying this lance, he rode a horse which he left for his grandfather. When he was about to receive the lance and regalia from his grandfather, the latter prayed. If the

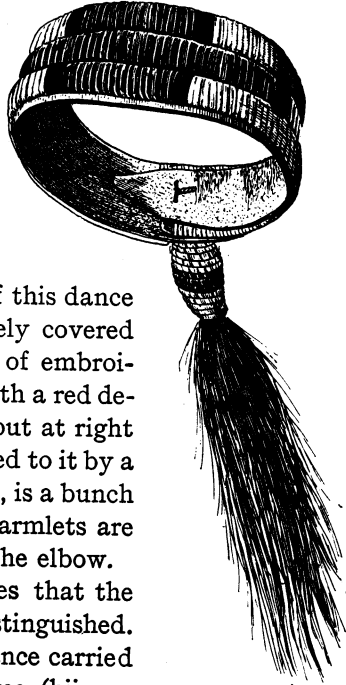


Fig. 52 (39). Arm-ring, Second Dance.

owner should go to battle, he would carry the lance. He would stand it in the ground and hold it. Unless the spear were plucked out by another man and given to the owner, he would not fly, whatever the danger to his life. The lance is made of a stick of willow, one end of which has been steamed and bent. The end of the crook is bound to the shaft by a sinew string to prevent it from straightening. The stick is painted red. It is closely wrapped with strips of otter-skin passing spirally around it. The maker began to put the skin on the stick at the crooked end. When the stick was completely covered with the otter-skin, he tied two eagle-feathers so that they hung from the end of the crook, and spit medicine on them. Then he tied three other pairs of eagle-feathers at three places on the straight portion of the lance, going from the crooked end towards the point. A pair of feathers is now missing from the lance. Where the feathers are attached to the stick, the latter is wrapped with a narrow piece of white fur, which should properly be wolf-skin. As the various parts were attached to the lance, the maker prayed to the father. This lance is a gift from the father to the people. It is not made by men themselves, but is made as the father directed that it should be made. The animals whose fur is used for the lance, such as the wolf and eagle, are also prayed to. Near the lower end of the lance a piece of sweet-grass and a strip of red cloth are bound to the fur by a thong wrapping of quill-work. This is the place at which the lance is usually held.¹ At the bottom of the lance is a knife, serving as a spear-point. There are also tufts of horse-hair at the lower end. The eagle-feathers are tipped with plumes and bunches of yellow hair.

The symbolism of the parts of the lance is as follows. The otter-skin represents the earth, for the otter lives on the earth and in the water; it is soft, and softness prevents injury from blows or violence. The red cloth represents red paint, which, being a common symbol of human life, here expresses a wish that the children who are born in the tribe may live to be

¹ An old southern Arapaho, in describing the crooked lances of the second dance, said that they had a crow's beak attached at the place where they were held.



REGALIA OF DANCER OF FOURTH DEGREE, SECOND DANCE. Cat. No. 1188.

old. The hair at the bottom of the lance is from the mane of a horse; it therefore represents the front or advance against the enemy. The yellow tips on the eagle-feathers are the sun-rays entering a tent in the morning through the holes where the tent is held together by pins over the door. At this place — just above the outside of the door — the lance is kept in good weather. The sweet-grass is used to incense the lance if it should fall to the ground through being accidentally dropped or blown over by the wind. The sinews holding the crook in place denote strength. The crook itself represents the curved nose (the eagle's beak) of the thunder.

The head-dress of this set of regalia is much like those of other degrees. Red ornamentation on the middle of the three quill-embroidered strips on the feathers outlines the shape of a broad cross and represents the morning star. Six small white spots in the middle of this ornamentation indicate the star's light. Small quill-covered loops on the lower part of the head-dress represent the rainbow, which, according to Arapaho mythology, is the fish-line or trap of the thunder. The green color with which the rawhide portion of the head-dress is painted represents the sky. The jangling of the small bells on the belt also represents the noise made by the thunder. In the armband, the projecting bunch of buffalo-hair represents the projecting tail of the buffalo-bull when he is angry. The fringe on the leglet represents sun-rays.

Third Degree. — In the third degree (hiibiixaⁿuçi) the lance used is said to be like that of the second, with the exception that it lacks the crook. Like the lances of the following degrees, it is sharpened at the butt-end, by which it is stuck into the ground so that the knife points upward. The crooked lance of the second degree can only be set in the ground by its iron point. In its wrapping and its attachments this lance appears not to differ from the preceding one.

Fourth Degree. — Dancers of the fourth degree (biitaheisanaⁿ) carry a lance like that shown in Plate xxxiii. This specimen was also obtained from the northern Arapaho. It was carried by a boy, and is quite small. The shaft is not wrapped, but is painted dark green. In other cases the color

is said to be dark blue or black. At the knife end of the shaft there is a bunch of hawk-feathers, and, hanging by a string, a white plume. From the lower end of the shaft hangs a strip of skin to which two rows of black magpie and eagle feathers are attached. This strip of skin is painted dark green, like the shaft. Like all the other lances of the second dance, this weapon should have a small strip of red cloth and a braid of sweet-grass bound to the handle by a thong wrapping covered

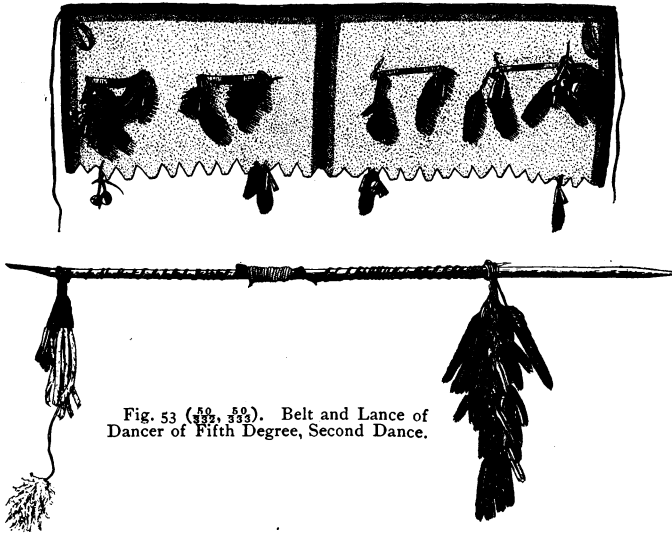


Fig. 53 (⁴⁸/₃₃, ⁵²/₃₃). Belt and Lance of Dancer of Fifth Degree, Second Dance.

with porcupine-quills. This, however, is lacking in the specimen. The belt worn with this lance has been referred to above as differing in several respects from the ordinary second-dance belt. It is painted yellow, is without the usual green crosses, has a few large notches on the bottom, and lacks the four attachments of embroidered thong, crow-feathers, and rattles present on most other belts, but has such feathers and tin rattles attached to three places along the upper edge. The head-dress consists of brown hawk-feathers instead of the more usual white or light-colored ones, and its rawhide is painted dark green.

Fifth Degree. — Fig. 53 shows a restoration of a lance of

the fifth degree (hiiwaotāna"xāyaniçi). The Arapaho at the present day generally have destroyed the shafts of their lances used in the second dance, keeping merely the various parts attached to the wooden stick. In general this lance is described as being similar to the smaller one carried by the boys. At the knife end is a bunch of hawk-feathers and a plume; at the lance end, a strip of skin to which crow-feathers

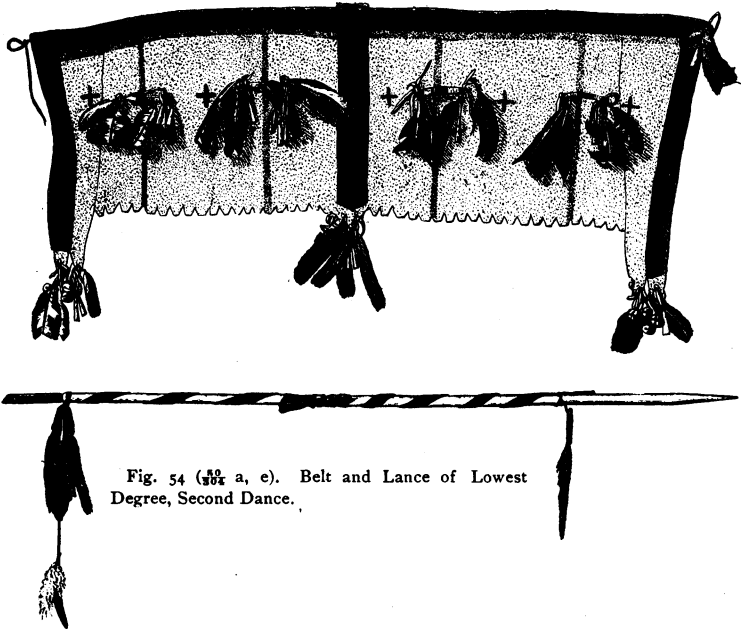


Fig. 54 (a, e). Belt and Lance of Lowest Degree, Second Dance.

are attached. The shaft in this specimen is said to have been painted blue. It was wound with a long, double string of dark-blue beads. The waist-piece worn with the lance is also shown in Fig. 53. The belt is red, but agrees with the yellow belt of the fourth degree in lacking the usual painted green crosses.

Lowest Degree.—A lance of an ordinary dancer (naçan!) is shown restored, with the accompanying belt, in Fig. 54. Like the preceding lances, this has inserted at one end an iron spear-point. At the present day the point is often a knife-

blade. The shaft is wrapped with a strip of red cloth, which does not entirely cover the wood. From the lower end of the shaft hangs a single wing-feather of an eagle; from the other end, just below the iron point, a bunch of hawk-feathers, and a single white plume at the end of a somewhat longer string of white beads. The set of regalia to which this lance and belt belong were worn by the pledger of a dance. The leg-bands of this set were not obtained. The symbolism of the belt has been described.

KIT-FOX MEN (NOUHINENAⁿ).

The first society of all, and the third before the second dance (biitahaⁿwu), is one of the boys or young men who are called "kit-fox men" (nouhinenaⁿ). They are recognized as a society, and have a dance. They regulate their own dance, however, and have no grandfathers. Consequently they also lack prescribed regalia and degrees. They have elder brothers. In fact, it is while each company forms the kit-fox society that it secures its elder brothers, whom it thenceforth retains through all its successive ceremonies. Being the youngest company, the kit-fox men stand in the slightest honor.

STARS (HAÇAAHOuhaⁿ).

The second company, called "stars" (haçaahouhaⁿ), occupies a position similar to that of the kit-fox company, like it lacking grandfathers and definitely fixed regalia or recognized ranks. In

Fig. 55 are shown two rattles used by the star-dancers among the northern Arapaho. Both are flat, rather small, and quite

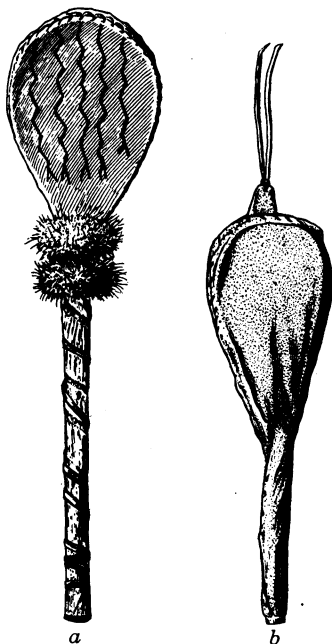


Fig. 55. a, ♂ (1887, 1887). Rattles of Star-dancers.

thin. This appears to be the characteristic shape of the rattles used in this ceremony. It is noticeable, however, that the two rattles differ considerably. One (*a*) is painted red, the other (*b*) green. The former has lightning painted upon it; the latter lacks this symbol. The former is wound with fur, the latter has two thongs tied to it. The star-dancers are described as carrying lances and rattles and wearing horned bonnets or other conspicuous regalia. It seems that this company has no lodge, their dancing being on the open prairie.

FIRST DANCE (HIITCEÄOXA^NWU).

After the star-dance, the first dance (hiitceäoxaⁿwu) begins the regular series of regulated ceremonies, being followed in its turn by the second dance (biitahaⁿwu), that has already been described. The general course of the first dance is very much like that of the second. The elder brothers of the society select the recipients of honors. The young men go to the tent of older men, who act as their grandfathers. These grandfathers are directed by the old men who have charge of the dance. Three days are used for making the regalia. The young men look for sticks that are suitable for being made into representations of tomahawks, which they carry in the dance. They collect the feathers, knife, sinew, and other implements and materials needed for making the object, and wrap them in a piece of cloth. This they take to their grandfathers, who keep the cloth, giving part of it to the old man who is directing them. When the regalia are finished, they are hung on a pole in front of the tent-door, as in the second dance.

The lodge for this ceremony is like that in the second one. The pledger of the dance has his place in front of the screen at the eastern end. The men of higher degrees sit in the lodge nearest the entrance. The relative places of the rank and file of the dancers, of the grandfathers, of the old men, and of the fire, are the same as in the second dance. The pledger carries a burning coal to one of the old men, who puts incense of sweet-grass on it, and then prays. An old man has chewed häçawaanaxu. The dancers receive a minute

quantity from him in their mouths, and then rub it, together with a little earth and saliva, over their bodies. This prevents them from becoming tired.

As in the second dance, the pledger and his immediate companions are the first to dance. These young men dance opposite their grandfathers. In dancing they hop up and down, much as in the second dance. When they have danced, each of the young men approaches his grandfather, and, saying "hoiii," passes his hands downward close to his face. This is called *ça"xueiyaa"t*ⁱ. Then they return to their places and sit down, to be followed by the four men of higher degrees. These also dance opposite their grandfathers, and, having thanked them, sit down. Then the body of dancers form a ring facing inward. The four men of higher degrees come farther into the lodge, to the west of the ring of dancers, and stand with their grandfathers, facing eastward. A song is sung, and they dance, standing in their places. To the second song the ring of dancers moves slowly from left to right, while the four men outside and their four grandfathers dance from right to left. To the third song the circle of men dance more swiftly. The four men outside again dance in the opposite direction, but their grandfathers now no longer dance with them. Presumably they dance to a fourth song before they stop. By this time it is night.

Following this evening, there are three days of dancing by the young men, who are no longer under the direction of their grandfathers. As in the second dance, they begin before sunrise, dance, and race. They dance all day as they like, and feast on what their grandmothers bring them.

The characteristic paint-design of the first dance is a figure representing a long burr, called by the Arapaho "they who go after women" (*waniseinā"hiici*). This figure is painted on the forehead, the two cheeks, the chin, the upper and lower arm, the thigh, and the calf. The entire body is painted red, the figures being in black. There is also a black line around each ankle. The figures are made longer each day, until on the last day of the dance they form a continuous stripe around the face and down the length of the limbs. This, it

will be observed, calls to mind the sun-dance painting. During the time that the dance lasts, the young men do not wash off their paint or touch their bodies with water. It is believed that if they did so, it would rain.

The dancers of the first dance carry as regalia sticks whose upper end is bent at an angle and carved into a rude representation of an animal's head. There appear to be no regalia for this dance that are worn on the body. There are only

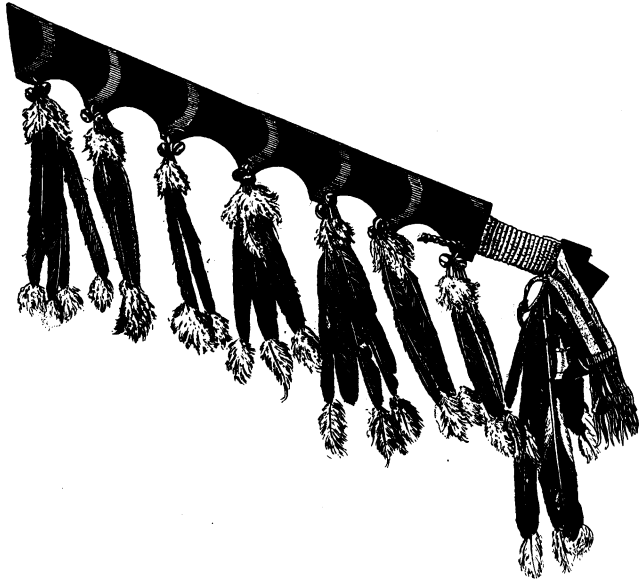


Fig. 56 ($\frac{5}{16}$). Model of Sword of Dancer of First Degree, First Dance.

two higher degrees. Each of the four men constituting these carries a flat board or wand, called *kakaox*, which is the term for "sword."¹ Of these four dancers, one is of the first degree; the three others, of the second.

First Degree. — The board carried by the dancer of the first degree (Fig. 56) is about three feet long, straight along one edge, and notched in curves along the other. It is painted black with about seven green semicircles across its flat sides, each of these semicircles corresponding to a pro-

¹ All four objects are called *kakaox*; the black one of highest degree, *honaunaa^hhuu*; the four dancers of these two degrees, *hiikakaoxuigi*; the rank and file, *hiitceãoxuigi*.

jection on the edge. Along the wavy edge are bunches of crow-feathers, which, like the feathers in most ceremonial implements, may be tipped with dyed plumes or horse-hair. The upper end of the board is cut off diagonally. The lower end is sharpened so that it may be stuck into the ground. Between this point and the main portion of the wand is a somewhat narrower part forming a sort of handle. This is wound with a thong of quill-work, under which are the usual



Fig. 57 (1883). Sword of Dancer of Second Degree, First Dance.

strip of red cloth and braid of sweet-grass. From this handle hang also a large brass bell and several eagle-feathers.

The specimen here figured is a model said to have been made for use in the ghost-dance revival. The sharp point below the handle has been cut off in this specimen. Two pendant pieces of skin, the ends of which are slit into a fringe, to which hoofs are hung, have been attached to this particular piece in place of two buffalo-calf tails, which it was impossible to secure at the time of making.

Second Degree. — The board of the second degree (Fig. 57) is somewhat similar to that of the highest degree. It

lacks the notches, however, both edges being straight. The feathers are white and dark. In the specimen figured the white feathers are of swan or pelican; the dark, mostly of eagle, with a few hawk and crow feathers. In place of being painted black with green arcs of circles, this board has from six to eight¹ square or rectangular areas on its flat surface, painted alternately green and a light-reddish color. Each of these squares contains four dots of the opposite color. The squares are separated by yellow stripes, the stripes being longitudinally divided by a red line. The strip of skin to which the row of feathers is attached is painted green, red, and yellow, to agree with the board. The upper end of the board is cut off diagonally, as in the sword of the first degree, the acute angle being on the unfeathered edge. The lower end is sharpened. To the handle at this end is hung a bunch of objects similar to those on the wand of the first degree, — a buffalo-tail, seven eagle-feathers, a bell, and a bunch of loose buffalo-hair.

Lowest Degree. — The sticks (Fig. 58) carried in the lowest degree (naçanⁱ) are about 1 m. long and about 2.5 cm. in diameter. The lower end is sharpened to allow of their being stuck into the ground, like the lances of the second dance. The upper end of the stick extends nearly at right angles to the main portion. To effect this, a stick with a sudden bend or an angular root is selected. The upper portion is carved into what has the appearance of being a horse-head, but is said to represent a buffalo. The mouth is indicated by carving, and the eye at the present day generally by a brass furniture-tack. The lower jaw is generally cut into a number of small notches. At the upper end of the straight portion of the stick, just below the head, is a wrapping of quill-covered thong. This holds in place a bunch of buffalo or horse hair standing upright at the back of the animal head. Two other longer and thinner bunches of hair fall downward from this wrapping, as if from both sides of the head. These are wrapped or tied with a bit of whitish fur. The arrangement of the hair closely resembles a method of wearing the

¹ Six in a specimen from Oklahoma, eight in the northern Arapaho piece figured.

hair practised on the Plains. The upright bunch of hair on top of the figure's head is trimmed off square above. It may be trimmed only by a man who has taken a scalp. A grandfather who has not won this distinction must secure another



Fig. 58 (1888). Stick of Lowest Degree,
First Dance.

man to do this. The entire stick, including the head, is painted red. At the lower end of the stick, just above where it begins to taper to a point, is another wrapping of quill-covered thong. This holds in place a strip of red cloth and a braid of sweet-grass, as on the lances used in the second dance, while from it hang a buffalo-tail, or strip of buffalo-skin with hair, a bunch of rattles, loose buffalo-hair such as is blown

over the prairie, seven thongs wound at intervals with quills, buffalo-fur wrapped with quilled thong, and a wing-feather of an eagle.

The stick carried by the pledger of the dance is said to be painted green under the jaw.

These sticks represent the war-spike or war-club (tceäox) of the Plains tribes, generally called "tomahawk." The first dance is said to have reference to the buffalo, just as the second dance refers to the thunder. The sticks are said to represent buffalo as well as weapons. The quill-work on the thongs that are wrapped around the sticks is of two colors. On some sticks it is white; on others, yellow. The sticks with the white quill-work represent buffalo-bulls; those with yellow, buffalo-cows. The same distinction, more elaborately carried out, is found in the women's dance. In Navajo ceremonies, white and yellow are used to represent male and female. There is also a symbolic reference to the buffalo in the sand-burr designs which are represented in the body-painting of the first dance, as the burrs constantly stick to the buffalo's hair.

THIRD DANCE (HAHAⁿKAⁿWU).

The fool or crazy lodge is the next ceremony after the second dance. The participants seem to be about forty years old.

The regalia of this dance consist primarily of a cape of buffalo-skin somewhat more than a yard square, and worn with the hair inside, over the shoulders and back. The upper half of this skin is painted red, the lower half white. In the centre a circular flap is nearly cut out, so that it hangs loose. At the corners of the cape are small bunches of crow-feathers. This cape or robe is held in place by a string around the neck or breast. From its upper part hang two strips of skin about two inches wide, and somewhat longer than the cape. These are painted red, and have a few crow-feathers at the ends. In addition, the crazy-dancers wear a head-band, across the front of which is a bunch of owl-feathers. They wear also

a leglet¹ of raccoon-skin around the ankles and a narrow strip of skin covered with porcupine-quill work below each knee. Around the neck, on an embroidered thong, hangs a bone whistle. In place of the clubs of the first and the lances of the second dance, the weapons carried in this ceremony are small bows. Four arrows are used with each. One arrow has an iron point, another a rounded knob of wood at the end, the third is chewed soft, while the fourth is split and has inserted in it a small quantity of a supposedly powerful root which is used in this dance. After the dance, this medicine is taken out and the bow and arrows are thrown away.

There is only one dancer of higher degree in this ceremony. He is called the "white crazy man" or "white fool" (naⁿk'ha-haⁿkä). His regalia differ from the others in being almost completely white. His cape is entirely white instead of being half red, and light-colored owl-feathers are attached to it in place of the black crow-feathers. This dancer is painted white over his entire body. As the dancers move about the camp-circle, he always goes last, being markedly slow in his actions in contrast with the lively and untiring movements of all his companions.

The general course of this ceremony is much like that of the two that precede it; the elder brothers, grandfathers, and grandfathers who direct the ceremony, playing the same parts as in the dances already described. Three days are also used in making the regalia, the third of these days being at the same time the first day of the dance. On the morning of this third day, the regalia, being completed, are given to the young men, who are dressed in them by their grandfathers. Holding their bows, they stand abreast in front of the old man who directs their grandfather. This old man does not move. Then the grandfather recounts a coup. As he says the last word, the men all shoot at a buffalo-chip lying just inside the door, shouting and jumping toward it. It is said that this is not done by the entire company of participants in the dancing-lodge, but by each group of dancers in their grandfather's tent,

¹ In one specimen obtained the leg-bands are of raccoon-skin; in another, of badger; those of the white-fool are of young wild-cat.

where their regalia have been made. After shooting at the buffalo-chip, the dancers proceed to make the circuit of the camp-circle in single file. On returning they undress again.

In the dancing-lodge the pledger of the dance is the first to dance, standing opposite his grandfather, who dances with him. Then the white fool dances opposite his grandfather. Then the entire company dance in a circle. This order is entirely analogous to that followed in the preceding ceremonies. The dancers also jump up and down, as in these dances, but the position taken in dancing differs from that in the first and second dances. The crazy-dancers hold one hand over the eyes, and the other extended out from the body and somewhat down, and blow their whistles.

The ceremonies of this day are concluded with a spectacular dance through the fire with bare feet. Two elder brothers of the company and their wives go to two grandfathers of the company and their wives, and are taught by them how to build the fire. The two older women instruct the two women, and the two older men, the men. They receive property for this. The elder brothers and their wives split tent-poles and build the fire. The two grandfathers then show them how the glowing coals are to be spread. After having given this instruction, they take away the horses or other property that they receive in payment. The dancers now dance again, and at the conclusion rush into the fire, stamping or dancing on it until they have trampled it out. Then they run about the camp-circle.

For the night after this fire-dance, and for the three succeeding days, the dancers are supposed to be crazy. They act in as extravagant and foolish a manner as possible, and are allowed full license to do whatever they please anywhere through the camp except within the tents. A root which they have attached to one of their arrows, to their owl-feather head-circlets, and to their capes, is supposed to make them extraordinarily active during this period, and to give them the power of paralyzing men and animals. This root is called *tcetcäätcei*. Only very small pieces of it are used.

These could not be identified. The Gros Ventres use a root, which they call by a dialectic form of the same name, for similar purposes. They declare that this root is the well-known poisonous wild parsnip. It seems very probable that the same plant is used by the two tribes. It is believed that if a living thing is touched with this medicine after it has been prepared by the older men and given to the dancers, inability to move will result. It is thought that the same effect can be produced by a dancer sweeping his cape, which has the root attached to it, over the tracks of a person or animal. It is said that birds, which leave no tracks, are the only beings that cannot thus be paralyzed. Much is told about the power of the crazy-dancers when armed with this medicine. One narrator, when a boy, saw a hunter driving a buffalo-bull toward the camp during the crazy-dance. The hunter, on seeing the dancers, dismounted and walked off to his tent, afraid of being paralyzed together with the buffalo. The dancers brushed their medicine over the buffalo's tracks. The bull was only able to walk. The dancers came up to him, sat on his back and on his head, pulled his beard, and dragged him into the camp-circle, where he was killed. Before paralyzing the bull, the dancers were playing with a large rattlesnake. It is also said that they take a stick with a little grass on the end of it, spit their medicine on this, and then allow a snake to bite it. Then, striking it with the stick along the length of its body, they make it unable to coil, so that they can handle it with impunity. They paralyze dogs by striking them, and give them to their grandfathers for food. If a dog runs away from them, they cause it to fall down, unable to move, by merely sweeping their capes over its tracks. The dancers are unable to paralyze or injure one another, because they are protected by the same root that gives them their power. When they desire a woman, they go around her tent, spitting on it. When they enter, the inmates are so fast asleep that they do not awake.

It is evident that suggestion is an important factor both in the efficiency of the *tetcaätcei*-root and in the performance of the fire-dance.

The crazy-dancers act as ridiculously as possible, and annoy every one in camp. Sometimes one of them will act like a bird. He will climb up a tent-pole and sit on top of the tent, like a bird. The rest, coming up, shoot at him, aiming their arrows backward over their shoulders. The dancer on the tent-pole then falls down, rolls over, and lies dead. After this he may impersonate a buffalo or some other animal, and his companions shoot him again. The dancers pursue every one who ventures out of his tent, and do all the mischief they are capable of. If another tribe, such as perhaps the Cheyenne, are camped not far away, the crazy-dancers may run several miles to kill dogs there. If a chief or other distinguished man, becoming angry at their provocations and liberties, should take his bow to shoot at them, the dancers by a single motion would paralyze his arms. It is said that if a man from fear should refrain from entering this dance with his proper company, he would be particularly persecuted during the entire dance. Of all the people in the camp-circle, only the crazy-dancers' grandfathers are exempt from annoyance.

On the last day the dancers rub their hands over the bottoms of sooty kettles, and then slap themselves over the body and face.

The crazy-dancers do whatever they can in reverse fashion. They "talk backward," as the Indians say; that is, they say the direct opposite of what they mean. When their elder brothers summon them to a feast, they say, "Do not come!" If they should say, "Come!" the dancers would not come. When one of the dancers is carrying a comparatively heavy load, such as a dog, he acts as if it weighed almost nothing; while, if he is carrying a puppy, he pretends that it is exceedingly heavy. The shooting-backward over the shoulder that has been mentioned is done for the same reason.

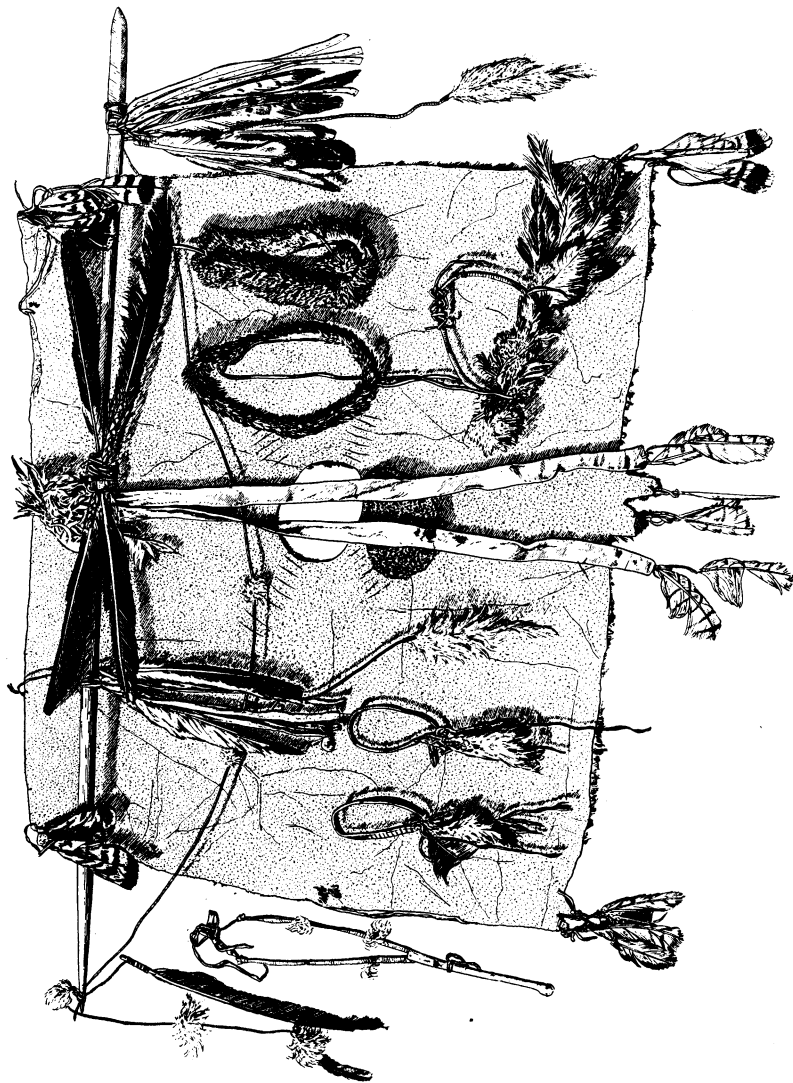
The foolishness of the dancers is connected with their owl-feather circlets. When they enter a tent for a feast, they take off these head-bands and give them to a man, presumably one of the servants of the company, standing at the door. As they go out, the circlets are returned to them. If they

should not take off the circlets, they would act as foolishly in the tent as out of doors. If a person not a dancer has been paralyzed, he can be made well again by being rubbed with one of the circlets, especially that of the white fool.

In the dancers' ears are put mushrooms. Their hair is said to be drawn over the head and fastened at the ear.

In this ceremony, as in all the others, the häçawaanaxu-root is used to prevent the dancers from becoming tired. The crazy-dancers receive this from one of the old men in the following way: At night the old man goes out from the camp-circle with the dancers' wives. The women lie down on the ground naked. The old man bites off a piece of root and gives it backward to one of the women without looking at her. It is said that if the old man is unable to restrain himself, and looks at the woman, it is bad for the tribe. He gives each woman a piece of root. The women return to their husbands and kiss them, transferring the small piece of root from their own mouths into their husbands'.

First Degree. — As stated before, the dancer of the first degree is called the "white crazy man" or "white fool" (naⁿk'hahaⁿkäⁿ). His regalia are shown on Plate xxxiv. It will be observed, that, apart from being whitened everywhere, the chief difference between these and the ordinary fool-dancer's regalia is in the bow or stick which he carries. This seems to be a sort of lance, and was described as being about 120 cm. long. The stick itself had been thrown away by the owner, and a restoration is shown here. At one end a knife is inserted. The other end is pointed. At the knife end hangs a bunch of red-tailed hawk wing-feathers and eagle tail-feathers. About 30 cm. from the opposite end is a similar bunch; while at the extreme end, opposite the knife, is a single black eagle wing-feather. There are four other long, narrow, black feathers tied to the stick, — two extending in one direction, and two in the opposite direction. These are tied in the middle with a buckskin thong painted green. Under the windings of this thong are sweet-grass and sage. This part of the stick serves as a handle. A white string extends the length of the stick. It is intended to represent a



bow-string. On this are two small bunches of down. On one side of the knife was said to have been painted a small circle, on the other side a crescent, representing respectively the sun and the moon, presumably to symbolize, in this case as in others, day and night. At present only a small speck of green shows on one side of the knife.

The head-band of eagle-thigh plumes and great horned-owl feathers includes a bluebird's skin. The plumes indicate lightness; the white color of the feathers, cleanness. The head-band contains *tcetcaätcei*. In case of illness, it is sometimes passed across the body a number of times, and then in the same way down the body, being given a sort of rotary or elliptical motion. A small mushroom on the head-band represents the human ear. As the crazy-dancers carry a small mushroom in their ear, it is probable that this is intended for such use.

As to the circular flap in the cape, and the cuts in it, the owner of the regalia knew nothing. He said that the feathers at the corners of the robe represented the people holding to and living in accord with the injunctions of the father. The human race lives over the entire world, and this is indicated by the fact that the feathers are at the four corners. The two long loose strips of skin attached to the cape are those by which Indians and whites hold to the father. This latter interpretation is probably due to the influence of ghost-dance ideas.

Marks cut on the bone whistle symbolize a strong breath; that is, vitality. Leg-bands of thongs wrapped with whitened corn-husk fibre, with attached red-tailed hawk feathers, are tied just below the knee, while bands of young wild-cat skin are worn around the ankles. The regalia are kept folded in a rectangular buffalo-skin case opening along the top. Similar cases are used for the regalia of all the crazy-dancers. They are scarcely distinguishable from the cases used to hold the regalia of the women's dance.

In connection with these regalia, the owner said that the father made man and woman to live on the earth in order that the human race might grow. These regalia would make

part of human life as long as men survived. The father said to men, that, if they did no evil during their life, life would continue as it was; but if they did wrong, there would be a change. However, when men were more numerous, they disobeyed the father and killed each other. Then he told them that there would be a change of life (their race would be superseded by another). Then a new life began. These regalia were then given to the new life. They are day, night, wind, rain, human beings, and all animals, and have existed among the people since they were given.

Before parting with his regalia, the owner prayed to them. He said they should remember that he was selling them not only for money, but because they would be kept in a better place. Their shadow would remain in his tent, and their teachings in his mind. Therefore he asked that he himself and his relatives might remain well and have good fortune.

The white-fool regalia are supposed to be very powerful, and there is thought to be considerable danger that those who remove them from their buffalo-skin case and handle them, or even see them, will become temporarily paralyzed in consequence. This of course does not apply to the white-fool himself. To prevent any such effect, hāçawaanaxu-root is used. Before the case is opened, the hand is touched to the ground, a little of the root spit on the palm, and the body is then rubbed over with the hands. The regalia are laid on sage, and not allowed to come in contact with the ground.

Lowest Degree. — The ordinary crazy-dancer's apparel has been described. Plate xxxv shows a figure dressed in this costume, and in what is described as a characteristic dance position.

FOURTH DANCE (HEÇAWAⁿWU).

The fourth dance, or dog-lodge (heçawaⁿwu), follows the crazy-lodge. The participants are men about fifty years old. Like all other lodges, it can be held only when an individual of the proper age has made a pledge to make the lodge in order to avert personal danger or death. The lodge itself, the securing of older men for grandfathers, the making of the



CRAZY-DANCER OF THE LOWEST DEGREE.

regalia, and the three days' preparation, are analogous to what occurs in the preceding ceremonies.

There are three higher degrees in the fourth dance. The highest is called "furry or shaggy dog" (tciiyanehi). As in other ceremonies, there is only one dancer of this highest rank. He wears a shirt covered with crow-feathers. This dancer must have some one to drive him, before he will move. He must be struck like a dog. He does not even eat of his own accord.

Four men called hiinaⁿtceiyaniçi constitute the second and third degrees. They wear long scarfs reaching to the ground. These scarfs are slit along the middle near the upper end, and the head and one arm are inserted through the opening. The scarf then passes over the other shoulder and hangs down at the side, the end reaching to the ground. At this end there is an eagle-feather. These scarfs are called "ropes" (sănaⁿk^u). In battle the men wearing them fasten the ends to the ground with an arrow or a stick. When they are thus fastened, they do not flee, however great the danger, until a companion releases them and orders them away. The shaggy dog follows a similar practice. He remains in his place, even at imminent risk of death, until he is driven away. Owing to these restrictions, a man is always left with such of these dogs dancers as are present in a fight, in order to enable them to escape if necessary. The four ropes (sănaⁿk^u) are of two ranks. Two are red, and their wearers are of the second degree of the dance. The other two are yellow, and regarded as not so high in rank, forming the third degree.

The ordinary dancers of this society wear an upright bunch of turkey-feathers on their heads. This is not worn by the shaggy dog or the men with scarfs, who have only a horizontal eagle-feather and a hanging plume at the back of the head. All the dancers, both rank and file and those of higher rank, have whistles of eagle-bone, and rattles consisting of a skin-covered stick along which small hoofs are attached. All the dancers also wear leggings painted alternately with red and black stripes and fringed with hair. No implements suggesting weapons are used in this dance.

A grandfather who has not scalped an enemy may not make or touch the leglets fringed with scalps. He must employ some one else in his place. When the regalia are completed, they are hung on a pole in front of the tent-door, as in the other ceremonies. In the lodge the pledger takes his pipe to the fire and lights it. He then smokes it while he is going to his grandfather. Having passed his hand in front of the old man four times, he gives him the pipe, holding it with both hands, the bowl being upward. When the grandfather has smoked it, he returns the pipe, and the dog-dancer says "hoiii" three or four times, and again passes his hand over the old man's face. Then, laying the pipe across each shoulder twice, he goes back to his place. The other dancers follow in the same way. After this the regalia are given them by their grandfathers, who, as in the preceding lodges, recount coups and place each object on the dancers' bodies after the fourth motion. If several members of the society have gone together to one old man for their grandfather, he has secured other old men to help him, one for each of the dancers. In this way each dancer has his own grandfather to make his regalia and give them to him in the lodge; and to him the dancer gives property.

The dancing in this ceremony differs somewhat from that in the preceding lodges. When the participants have received their regalia, the lodge is taken down. They dance for four nights after this, in each case for the entire night. These four nights do not follow in succession, but occur at intervals as there is occasion. The dancers go to some tent in the camp-circle, and, forming a ring in front of the tent, whistling, and shaking their rattles, they dance. At the back of the circle or semicircle, facing the tent, stand the elder brothers, and behind these their wives. At the sides of the circle, behind the dancers, stand their own wives. Some of the dancers enter the circle and dance. In dancing, the feet are barely raised from the ground. The four men wearing scarfs have the ends of these regalia held up by other men, so that they do not drag on the ground. The owner of the tent goes out and lays down a gift. If he gives a horse, he lays down

a stick, mentioning the name of the recipient, who takes the stick and thanks him. Sometimes he merely lays down the stick, and the dog-dancers themselves select the one of their number who is to receive the horse. Four servants accompany the dancers to carry the gifts and the food to the tent used by the company. The dancers follow the camp-circle from left to right, stopping at whatever tents they like. They do not, however, solicit presents from their grandfathers. Dancing with this object is carried on in much the same way in the younger lodges; but there it occurs for three successive nights, and forms only part of all the dancing in the ceremony, since the company dances inside the lodge on the first evening and the succeeding mornings. In the morning the dog-dancers have a feast and distribute the property they have received during the night. They are then painted by their grandfathers. After this they go to their tents, and, rubbing off the paint, go to sleep. They are not allowed to sleep while painted, and are also forbidden to wash off the paint.

The painting in this dance consists of long black lines crossed by shorter ones. The face is painted red, and over this are painted the lines. One passes around the face. Another reaches from ear to ear, extending across the nose. There are also black stripes on the forehead. The act of painting constitutes an important part of this ceremony. The painting is continued for some time after the making of the regalia and the first night's dance. Every morning each dancer, accompanied by his wife, repairs to his grandfather. His grandfather has a string with a number of knots tied in it, representing the number of times he was painted when he went through the ceremony. This number is often about forty, but sometimes runs as high as ninety. Too great a number is thought to be undesirable. Every time the grandfather paints the dancer he unties one knot in his string. At the same time the younger man makes a knot in a string which he brings. At the end of the painting the grandfather has thus untied all the knots in his string; and his grandson's string now contains the same number, which, when he in turn becomes the grandfather of a later dancer, will be untied in

the same way. The dancer's wife is painted by the grandfather's wife. Every morning that the dancer is painted he takes food and his pipe to his grandfather.

The collection in the Museum contains a dog-dancer's paint-bag. It consists of a plain bag of skin, in which the other objects are kept. It is painted red. In it is a knotted string containing about fifty knots. It is covered so thickly with paint as to redden the fingers when touched. Two small bags, containing respectively black and red paint, and a small stone, are also contained in the paint-bag.

During the period in which the dancers are daily painted, they go every night, accompanied by their wives, to their grandfathers' tents. The grandfather and the woman leave the tent and go off some distance. The woman lies down. The old man sits and prays, and then, biting off a piece of *hāçawaanaxu*, gives it to her backward. Then the woman returns alone to the tent, where she is met by her husband, who utters the ceremonial word for "thanks" and kisses her. She spits the medicine from her mouth into her husband's. The grandfather must be given a present each time. A gun, however, counts for four presents. This is continued until the dancer has been painted the full number of times that his grandfather's string calls for. This ceremony, and the painting of the dancers' wives in addition to the dancers themselves, occur in the crazy-lodge and the dog-lodge, but apparently only in these two.

Anything lent to the dog-dancers during the ceremony becomes their property. They may also eat food belonging to any one without interference. With the men of higher degrees these practices are said to continue until their next dance. The shaggy dog must also follow the restrictions which he observes during the dance until the next ceremony performed by his company. If any of the five men of higher rank should be unwilling to accept these honors, on account of the dangers or the restrictions involved, the elder brothers who have chosen them would force a pipe into their hands,—an act that compels them to comply. This forcing a person to take a pipe is practised on other occasions by the

Arapaho as a means of compelling acceptance of something undesired.¹

First Degree. — The dog-dancer of highest rank, the tciiyanehi, has been mentioned. No example of the shirt covered with crow-feathers, which is characteristic of this degree, could be secured. The leggings shown in Plate xxxvi were said to have been worn by a tciiyanehi, but are probably not different from the other dog-dancers' leggings.

Second Degree. — Plate xxxvi shows the regalia of the second degree, the red scarfs (sāna^{"k"} or tayaa^{"tceiya"}). As a second set of the regalia of this degree was obtained with fuller information, this will be described first. A scarf is worn, as shown in Plate xxxvi, over the left shoulder. At the upper end of the scarf is a short fringe made by slitting the end of the buckskin strip into forty narrow pieces, each of which is wound with corn-husk as a substitute for porcupine-quills. This fringe indicates that the dancer is painted a considerable number of times by his grandfather, but the number of pieces in the fringe is not intended to give the exact number of times. This is indicated only by the knotted string described. Near the upper end of the scarf are six eagle-feathers. These, it was said, should properly number seven, and should be lightly painted red to correspond with the color of the buckskin. Where these feathers are attached to the scarf, there is tied also a piece of root, called niäätä["], which is said to mean the "foremost" or "principal." As the dancers go about the camp to sing, or before going into battle, they bite off a small piece of the root. It is also used as incense.² In four places on the long red scarf is a set of transverse bars of embroidery. Each bar is white, and is divided by small black portions into five divisions. This design represents the four hills or ridges of life.³ On the sides of the scarf, eagle-plumes were attached at regular intervals, and some of these remain. They represent dog's hair. They serve to make the wearer of the scarf light and quick in battle. If he is pinned

¹ A company's elder brothers can be made to accept their positions in this way; and a young man may compel a man with whose wife he has eloped to accept reconciliation by procuring this man's ceremonial grandfather to place a pipe in his hands (p. 13).

² Cf. p. 32.

³ Symbolism of the Arapaho Indians, op. cit., p. 78, Fig. 117.

down by the lower end of the scarf during the fight, he moves around the stick. As he does so, the light eagle-down sways. If he continues to move, he will not be shot, just as the moving feathers are not struck. At the lower end of the scarf is a gray feather of an eagle, called an old bird by the Arapaho. The feather is gray, like the hair of a man beginning to age, and therefore appropriate to this dance.

On the rattle of this set of regalia, which does not differ essentially from the rattles of other dog-dancers, there are bands of embroidery, broad crosses on which represent the morning star. A head-dress, tied to the scalp-lock, is worn with this scarf. This consists of a plume of eagle-down, the lower end of which is thickened by a winding of red cloth. Over the cloth is wound a string of blue beads. The red cloth symbolizes blood; and its being covered, or nearly covered, with beads, indicates the absence of wounds. The beads, being smooth and hard, symbolize invulnerability. The blue color of these beads represents the smoke which in battle conceals and protects the fighter. The whistle of this set of regalia is missing. The leather string to which it is attached consists of a single strip of buckskin slit at each end for the greater part of its length into seven strands. The middle portion, which is undivided, passes around the back of the neck. The seven strands of buckskin hang down in front of each shoulder. Each string is wound in seven places with corn-husk. The seven strings on each side, as well as the seven ornamented spots on each, refer to the seven old men at the head of the Arapaho ceremonial organization. The strings as a whole represent the old men's hair hanging over the chest; and the ornamented places, the matted or gummy spots in their hair. The smooth wider portion of skin in the middle represents the back of the head or skull. The leggings that were worn with these regalia during the ceremony had not been preserved by the owner, but had been cut up for other purposes. The scalps with which they were ornamented had been furnished by various prominent men in the tribe.

The regalia of this degree shown on the figure of the dancer



DOG-DANCER OF SECOND DEGREE.

represented in Plate xxxvi have the required seven eagle-feathers attached near the upper end of the scarf. The embroidery on the scarf was given the same interpretation of the four hills of life as in the last piece. There are seven feathers; and the pendants on each side of the string by which the whistle is hung number seven, because, as the wearer stated, in the lodges of the older men everything is done seven times. The pendants in this set, however, are embroidery-wound in only four places, instead of the more usual seven. These four places, again, designate the four hills of life. The scarf has niäätäⁿ attached to it, and sweet-grass is attached to the rattle which represents a snake. It is incensed with this grass before being used. An eagle-feather should be worn horizontally at the back of the head with this scarf, and a down head-dress should hang from the same spot, so that the two form a cross.

The leggings on this figure (Fig. 59), though properly part of another set of regalia (see first degree), are characteristic of all the dog-dancers. They are of deerskin painted yellow, and are fringed. Small bunches of hair are attached to them. Transverse black lines across the leggings represent coups. Those on the right leg indicate the most honorable ones, those on the left represent deeds of less distinction. A long red line, forked for the greater part of its length, represents the course of life of man, who is at first alone, but later married. At the upper end of the leggings are two small, loose flaps of skin. One is painted green;

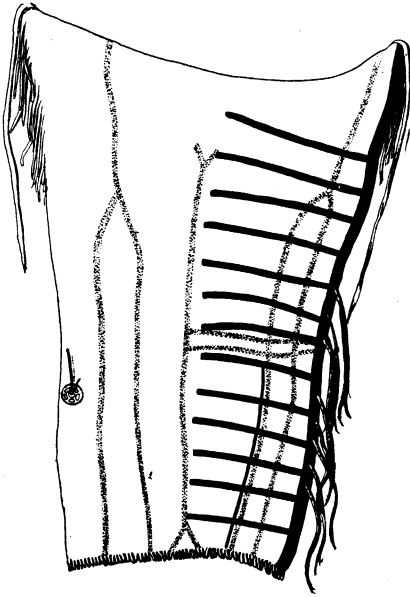
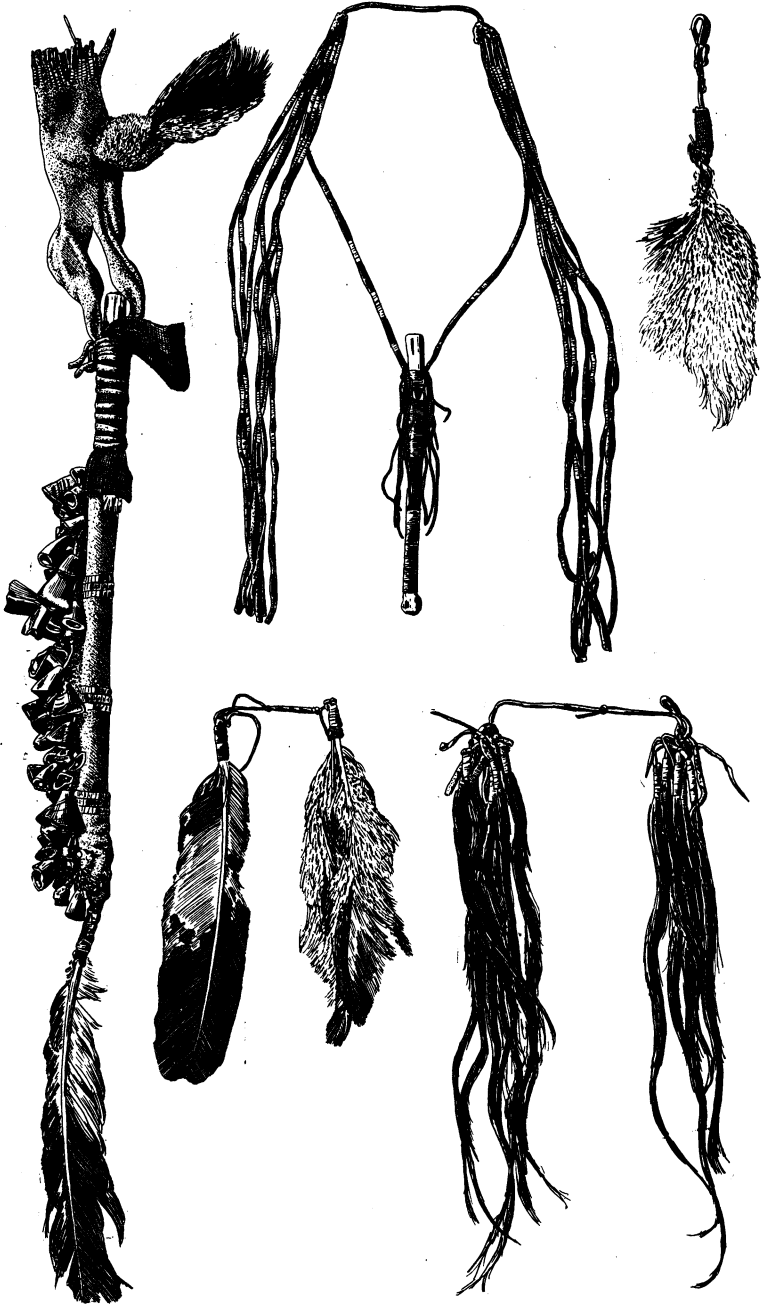


Fig. 59 ($\frac{30}{37}$). Legging of Dog-dancer, opened out.

One is painted green;



REGALIA OF DOG-DANCER OF THIRD DEGREE.

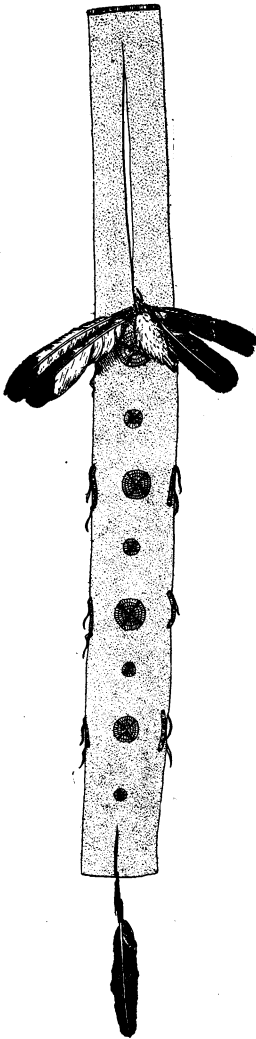


Fig. 60 ($\frac{5}{8}$). Scarf of Dog-dancer of Third Degree.

the other, yellow. This duality also represents husband and wife.

Third Degree. — Plate xxxvii and Fig. 60 show the regalia of the third degree, which are similar to those of the preceding. The most striking difference is that the scarf (Fig. 60) is painted a light yellow instead of a dull red. The ornamentation of the scarf differs also in that the quill-embroidery consists of four circles, each with four black radii, and of intervening smaller circles, in place of the four sets of four bars that are the ornamentation of the red scarf. The signification of these ornaments was given as the four generations of the world. It is not certain that the other small differences between the yellow and the red scarf are indicative of the difference of degree.¹ This yellow scarf has five eagle-feathers and a plume attached to it, in place of seven feathers on the red scarf. There are both *niäätä*ⁿ and *häçawaanaxu* roots on it. The rattle represents a snake. The head-dress of eagle-down is worn hanging at the back of the head.

Lowest Degree. — The regalia of the ordinary dog-dancers are comparatively simple. Most conspicuous is the large head-dress of upright turkey-feathers (Fig. 61). No scarf is worn.

¹ There are many individual variations in Arapaho regalia, due to the fact that each set is made by a different person. The differences arising from the absence of certain portions or ornaments in some objects are also not intentional. Certain parts of regalia, such as whistles, seem often to be merely borrowed for the occasion. Lance-shafts and bows are usually thrown away after the ceremony, only their attachments being kept. Feathers, medicine-roots, and other parts appear at times to be taken off in order to be attached to another ceremonial object, owing to lack of material. Very few sets of regalia except those of the highest rank in the higher ceremonies are therefore found in a state of entire completeness.

The rattle, and the whistle with the thongs to which it is attached, are identical with those of higher degrees. Bunches of human and buffalo hair are fastened as fringe to the dancer's leggings.

FIFTH DANCE (HINANAHAN^NWU).

In the fifth dance, the members of which are old men, no regalia are worn nor do there appear to be any degrees of



Fig. 6r ($\frac{5}{8}$ d). Head-dress of Dog-dancer of Lowest Degree.

rank. The participants sing for four nights in the lodge. They sit in a circle. No drums are used, but the old men of the sixth society rattle for them. The participants are painted red over the entire body. They are naked except for a buffalo-robe painted red. The fourth night they sing until twilight. Then, taking their robes and squatting low, they form a circle and hop about, imitating prairie chickens, and calling as the prairie chickens do. One or two dance inside the ring. While they dance they sing a song that has reference to prairie chickens. When the sun rises, they leave the

lodge in all directions and shake their blankets, just as birds stretch and shake their wings in the morning.

This ceremony is highly respected, and young people do not enter the lodge or go near it. The old men are said to be questioned by the still older ones as to their knowledge. They are also given the häçawaanaxu-root which the dancers in all the preceding lodges receive from their grandfathers. One informant stated that the members of the fifth lodge danced, butting and hooking each other like buffalo-bulls.

SIXTH DANCE (TCIINETCEI BÄHÄEIIHA^N).

The last lodge, the members of which are the oldest men of the tribe, differs still more than the fifth from the earlier ceremonies. It is said to consist of only seven men. It is not clear just how this statement is meant, nor what arrangement is made when the company that has passed through the fifth dance numbers more than seven men. It would appear that membership among these seven old men is determined by the possession of one of seven sacred tribal bags or bundles of buffalo-skin. Each of these bags contains a rattle, a buffalo-tail used for sprinkling or whipping the body while sweating, and presumably paint and other objects. The seven rattles are described as simple round rattles of rawhide containing gravel. They were painted red with a black crescent representing the moon, and therefore the night, on one side, and on the other a circle symbolizing the sun and the day. At the top was tied a reddened down-feather. These rattles were handed down to succeeding generations, new ones not being made for each ceremony. The best of care was taken of them, so that they were never lost or destroyed. Only if one wore out completely was a new one made. The sacred bags containing these rattles were never buried at the death of the owner. They were given to the old men to keep, but were not regarded as private property. They belonged to the tribe. All of them are said to be still in existence.

These seven old men embodied everything that was most sacred in Arapaho life. They directed all the lodges. The actual part they played in these consisted chiefly of directing

the grandfathers, often only by gestures. The grandfathers, in turn, instructed the dancers. This oldest society is therefore said to contain all the others. Every dance, every song, and every action of the lodges was performed at the direction of these old men.

The extreme sacredness of this lodge makes it difficult to secure information in regard to it except on acquaintance with the older Indians. The young and middle-aged people

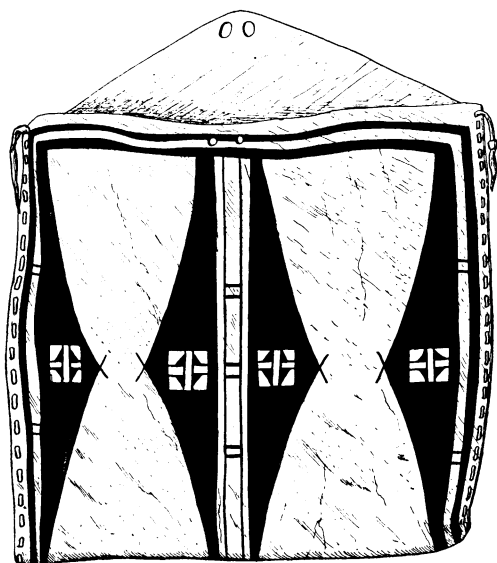


Fig. 62 (⁵⁰/_{64g}). Rawhide Bag.

are almost completely ignorant of it. The seven old men are said not to dance. They sing for four days in a large sweat-house. This is said to be made like the ordinary sweat-house,—that is to say, domed, instead of conical like a tent,—but to be larger. In this they sweat once each day. During this period they fast and do not drink. They sing many different songs, accompanying them with their sacred rattles. They have no regalia and are entirely naked. They paint only in red. Black is said to belong to all the preceding lodges, but not to this. Ever after having performed this ceremony they must paint with red daily.

Fig. 62 shows a rawhide bag said to have belonged to one of the members of the sixth dance. It does not appear to differ from the ordinary square bags of rawhide, and is painted with a customary design. The flat isosceles triangles containing a rectangle were said by the elderly man from whom the bag was obtained to represent the mountain from which the buffalo issued.¹

WOMEN'S SACRED BAGS.

The seven sacred bags owned by women and regarded as corresponding to the seven sacred bags of the sixth lodge

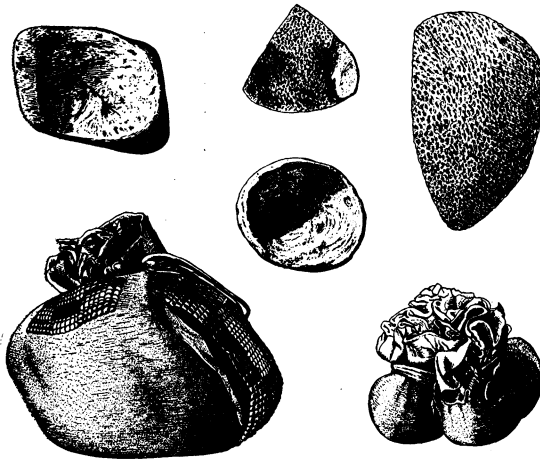


Fig. 63 ($\frac{2}{3}$). Woman's Sacred Bag and Contents.

have been mentioned previously, and an account of the ceremonies at the transfer of such a bag from one possessor to another owner has been given.² Fig. 63 shows one of these bags and its contents. The bag is small, being less than 30 cm. long. It is made of skin, and is painted red. Near its opening it is ornamented with red, blue, and white beads. These beads are larger than those now used by the Arapaho. The bag contains pieces of cloth; four small skin bags tied together, each containing a broken or powdered part of a

¹ Symbolism of the Arapaho Indians, op. cit., p. 77, Fig. 87.

² See pp. 30, 70, of this volume.

plant used as incense; two small stones, naturally hollow, serving as paint-cups; and two bones said to be made from the knee-joint of a buffalo, ground to an edge, used for marking the outlines of embroidery. The bones do not differ from the bones formerly always used for this purpose.

WOMEN'S DANCE (BÄNUXTA^NWU).

The only women's dance corresponding to the series of men's dances is the bänuxtaⁿwu. The meaning of this term is not known, but it is generally translated "buffalo-dance." The participants represent buffalo.

Like the men's ceremonies, the buffalo-dance is made by reason of the pledge of an individual. The woman who has made the vow goes, accompanied by her husband and bearing a pipe, around the camp-circle from left to right, entering each tent and trying to persuade the women therein to participate in the ceremony. As she is about to start out on her circuit of the camp, her husband cries out, riding around the camp,

"Nänäⁿtcaa^a waⁿwaⁿhotaniinitciinisānaⁿ bänuxtiseinaⁿ."
 "Get ready now are ready to go around the bänuxtaⁿwu
 women."

There appears to be no restriction or limitation as to the age of the dancers, but most of them are young women. The women whom the pledger asks do as they think best. Some agree to take part in the dance, others refuse. It is often difficult to persuade them to enter the ceremony, on account of the payments that must be made by the dancers. As the pledger of the dance goes from tent to tent, she is accompanied by those whom she has persuaded to participate. The women are accompanied by their husbands.

The lodge is put up in the centre of the camp-circle. It is made of tent-poles and tent-skins contributed by the people of the camp. It is said to be similar to the lodge of the fifth dance, and resembles in certain respects the sun-dance lodge. Seven tent-poles tied together with a rope of buffalo-skin are set up in the middle. Across these near the top is tied a dig-

ging-stick (biinahaaⁿ) painted red. Against this rest the other tent-poles. One pole each at the northeast and southwest are painted black; one each at the northwest and southeast, red. The two colors, as so often in Arapaho ceremonials, represent night and day. Three or four skin tent-coverings are used to cover the poles. The entrance is at the east.

Degrees in this dance are comparatively numerous. Highest of all is the "white-woman" (naⁿkuuhisei), who appears to be the pledger of the dance. Second in rank is the "owner-of-the-tent-poles" (hiitakaⁿxuinitⁱ), who represents an old bull. The insignia of the third degree are called "red-stand" (bääkuu); those of the fourth degree are similar except in color, and are called "white-stand" (nanaⁿkaäkuu). Two little girls, called "calves" (wouu), are also regarded as of high rank. The rank and file (naçanⁱ) are distinguished according to the sex of the buffalo they represent, the bull regalia being whitened, those of the cows painted yellow. The dancers of all degrees except the red-stand and white-stand wear a head-dress of buffalo-skin falling over the back of the head and the shoulders and surmounted with horns. The red-stand and white-stand head-dresses consist of a narrow band passing around the head, in which red and white feathers are stood upright. All the dancers wear belts that resemble the men's belts for the second dance, and all have whistles.

The general course of the ceremony is much like that of the men's ceremonies. For two days after the lodge has been erected in the centre of the camp-circle the regalia are being made, and the participants dance in the lodge without them. On the third day they put on their full regalia, and what is considered the first of the four days' dance begins. Each of the dancers has a grandmother, a woman who has been through the dance, and who fills exactly the place of a grandfather in the men's dance. These grandmothers are under the direction of old men, or of one old man, who takes the place of the man who first obtained the ceremony, having seen it supernaturally performed by the buffalo.¹

¹ Traditions of the Arapaho, op. cit., p. 49.

After the lodge has been put up, the old man who directs the ceremony enters, followed by the women participants. These are led by the owner-of-the-tent-poles. Singing, they march around the tent. The old man, holding a pipe, moves it four times toward the ground, each time spitting hāçawaanaxu on the ground. On the fourth motion he touches the ground where he has spit medicine. Then the owner-of-the-tent-poles strikes the ground with an axe four times, and cuts out the ground.

The regalia are made in the dancing-lodge, not in the tents as in the men's dances. The grandmothers make the regalia, their husbands advising them. When they do not know how to proceed, one of the old men is asked, receiving payment for the information.

The white-woman has a bed made for her at the western end or back of the lodge. There she lies down, not to move during the entire ceremony unless ordered. Whenever she wishes to change her position, her relatives must make gifts to the old man in charge of the dance. She abstains from food and water while the ceremony lasts. The two calves are at the two ends of the semicircular line of people at the back of the tent. They also are not allowed to change their position during the ceremony; and if they wish to move, their parents must make a payment to the old people in charge of the dance. It is said that the parents of these calves are often completely stripped of property at the end of the ceremony. For this reason it is very difficult to persuade people to allow their children to take these parts.

On the third day, when the regalia have all been made, the dancers put them on. They dance facing their grandmothers, who dance first, and whom they imitate. Both the dancer and her grandmother each blows a whistle. At first all those of the higher degrees dance, the members of each degree separately. They turn or twist their heads to the left with a regular movement, blowing their whistles each time. After the dancers of higher degrees have danced, the ordinary dancers form a ring with them, and all dance in a circle. The servants of the society, who are a man and a woman, meanwhile

drive away dogs, and, as during the entire ceremony, in other ways attend to the dancers' wants. After this dance the women walk off from the lodge to the camp-circle, strung out like a herd of buffalo. They walk around the camp-circle four times from left to right, and then back into the lodge, where they return to their places. In this procession the owner-of-the-tent-poles goes first. At the end of the procession come the two calves. They hold two sticks in each hand, which they use like canes, though with an exaggerated motion. Behind the calves, the last of all, comes the white-woman, who walks very slowly. She also has two sticks. As they march, all blow their whistles with a long, continuous sound. While the women are marching, the old men at the back of the lodge continue their singing and rattling. When the dancers return to the lodge, they take off their regalia. The skin coverings of the walls of the lodge are now raised on all sides, and the people come from all parts of the camp-circle to watch. The old men sing to the women's dancing. The women walk about in a circle. To a second song they move faster. To a third song they begin to run in a circle. At the fourth song they run fast. At the end of the song they rush off to the stream near the camp. The one who reaches the water and drinks first is thought to have made the greatest effort, and is called a good cow. From the water the women all run back to the lodge, and the one who arrives first is also highly thought of. The women's action in this part of the ceremony represents the buffalo lying, standing, walking on the ground, going to water and returning, and raising the dust as they march.

Another part of the ceremony consists of the dancers leaving the lodge and going outside the camp-circle. There they "sit" (lie) and walk like buffalo. They continue to do this until they smell some buffalo-dung that has been lighted. Then, still imitating buffalo, they become frightened and run back to the lodge. Two men with bows follow them, and, having entered the lodge, each counts a coup. Then they shoot one of the buffalo women. This woman has a piece of fat under her belt. She appears to die, and they go through

the motions of cutting her up and taking out the buffalo-fat. These two men are called "buffalo-hunters" (tcābiheihiha").

The buffalo women dance also at night, but no precise accounts of this have been obtained.¹ During the night, as at the time when the women race to the water and back, men are allowed to come to the lodge and watch; but during the day no men, excepting the old men directing the ceremony, are permitted in the lodge, as the women seem to take off their clothes in order to paint.

The dancers have the face painted red. The chin is blackened. Around the corners of the mouth rise small black horns. This entire painting represents a horned buffalo-head. On the centre of the nose is made a black dot, which symbolizes a buffalo-calf. The painting is done every morning during the dance. The white-woman is painted white; the calves are painted yellow.

The head-dresses for this dance (see Figs. 64, 66, 69) have the form of a kind of cap of buffalo-skin, which covers the forehead and falls loosely over the back of the head to below the neck. Most of these head-dresses are made of buffalo-fur; that of the white-woman, however, is covered thickly with white plumes. In front, directly over the forehead of the wearer, is a rectangular piece of dressed buffalo-skin, notched along the upper edge. The lower part of this piece of skin is embroidered with horizontal stripes, the number and coloring of which varies in different head-dresses. From the sides of the top of the head-dress rise two buffalo-horns, which, when the piece is worn, are held upright by means of strings drawn through to the inside of the head-dress. The ends of the horns are tipped with plumes, and the horns are painted either white or yellow to correspond to the color of the rest of the head-dress. On one side of the head-dress, just below the horn, is tied a small ring wound with embroidery and with two transverse strings and four plumes tied to it.

As has been mentioned, the head-dresses known as red-stand and white-stand (see Figs. 67, 68) differ altogether from

¹ It is perhaps to this dancing that the statement given in Traditions of the Arapaho (op. cit., p. 49) refers, that the buffalo women danced to four songs, standing in their places and changing their position at the end of each song.

these buffalo head-dresses, being merely head-bands stuck full of large feathers. The belts of all degrees (Figs. 65-69), including those of the red-stand and white-stand, are essentially alike, however, differing only in color and in minor details. In a general way the belts are similar to those of the second dance, being made of painted skin nearly a foot wide, notched along the lower edge, and ornamented in certain respects like the belts for the second dance. In place of the red cloth bordering these waist-pieces, however, the women's belts have narrow strips of quill-wound rawhide. These run along the top of the belt and down the two ends, being white or yellow, according to the color of the belt, with small black areas at a few points. At four places on the belt there are vertical bars of quill or fibre embroidery. These are about half as long as the belt is wide, so that they do not extend altogether across it. They are also white or yellow, and each one is crossed by four small black marks. In the spaces between these vertical bars there are embroidered crosses. These bars and crosses resemble the green painted lines and crosses on the second-dance belts. The wavy lower edge of the women's belts is embroidered. In addition to this, the belts are ornamented with three sets of attachments hung from near the top in three places. Often these attachments are so placed as to cover three of the embroidered crosses. The middle set consists of a buffalo-tail, some loose buffalo-hair, and two or sometimes three pendants. These pendants resemble somewhat the ornaments hung in a row over the doors of tents,¹ but are shorter; they consist of from two to four strips of quill-wound skin, at the lower ends of which there are small hoofs and quill-wound loops. The two other attachments also contain a buffalo-tail, and are similar to the one in the middle, but their pendants are different. They have only one pendant, consisting of a pair of thin strings wound with embroidery, and bearing the customary hoofs and loops. These thin pendants seem usually to have also down-feathers at their lower ends. At one end of the belt there is usually a small hoop like that on the head-dress. In complete sets there is

¹ Plate IX, also Fig. 10, of this volume.

usually also a third ring (Fig. 68), which is carried in the hand and moved so as to describe a circle each time the whistles are blown. This, however, lacks the strings and down-feathers attached to the rings on the head-dress and belt. A pair of skin bracelets or leglets wound with quill-work are also worn by the buffalo women. At the place where the ends of these are tied together there are one or two small hoofs and loops. An eagle wing-bone whistle completes the women's dance regalia, which are carefully kept folded in a rectangular case of buffalo-skin. These cases are about 60 cm. wide, and 30 cm. high, or a little smaller, and open along the top. They are almost indistinguishable from the cases for the regalia of the fifth dance.

First Degree.—The regalia of the first degree—of the white-woman—may be seen in Figs. 64 and 65. The head-dress (Fig. 64), in its general shape, is similar to the majority of head-dresses worn in the dance, but is somewhat larger and longer, falling well below the shoulders. Its chief difference from the other head-dresses is that it is not made of buffalo-fur, but of a piece of dressed skin covered with a large number of plumes of swan or goose down. The feathers are attached to thongs that pass through the skin to the inside of the head-dress. A white weasel-skin is attached to the head-dress. There is on it also one of the small hoops described, together with häçawaanaxu-root. The white embroidery on the front of the head-dress bears four black vertical marks, tapering downward. These black marks were said to represent buffalo-horns. On the belt (Fig. 65), which is shown



Fig. 64 (787). Head-dress of White-woman.

doubled over, are embroidered five crosses and four white bars marked with black. The middle cross is nearly covered by the middle buffalo-tail and attachments. There are three pendants, each of three strips, attached to this tail. The thin pendants on the two other tails also number three, whereas

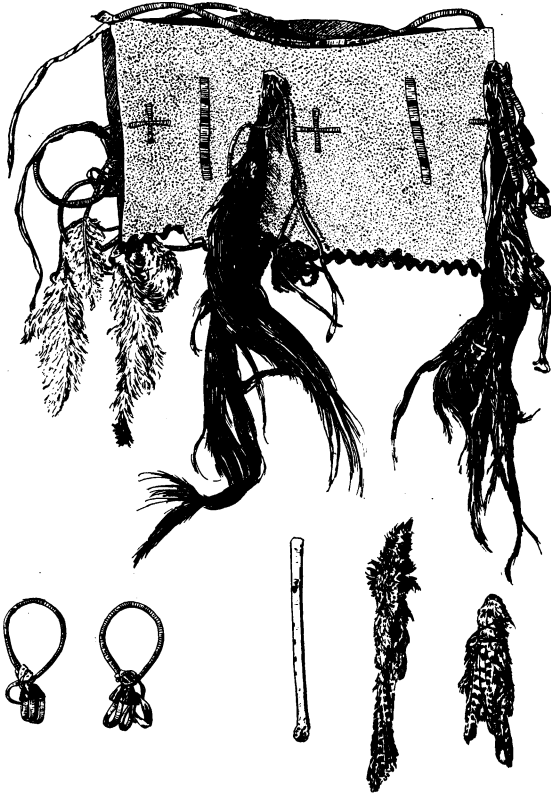


Fig. 65 ($\frac{50}{48}$ - $\frac{50}{32}$). Regalia of White-woman.

in most other belts there are only two. At one end of the belt are two hoops. Two bird-skins, identified as those of the whip-poor-will and poor-will, shown at the bottom of Fig. 65, are tied to the belt when it is used. Two embroidered strips of skin with attached small hoofs and loops, also shown in Fig. 65, were said to be worn around the leg under the

knee, but appear rather like wristlets. Two small embroidered loops with white and brown feathers are put on the two sticks with which the white-woman walks. The wearer of these regalia may not eat either the heads of horned animals or any birds.

Second Degree. — The regalia of the second degree — of the owner-of-the-tent-poles — are represented in Fig. 66. They do not seem to differ very much from the regalia representing a buffalo-bull among the rank and file of the dancers. The head-dress and belt are entirely whitened. Even the buffalo-hair of the head-dress is dusted with white paint. On the front of the head-dress, at each side of the rectangular piece of embroidered skin, is a small loop wound with corn-husk

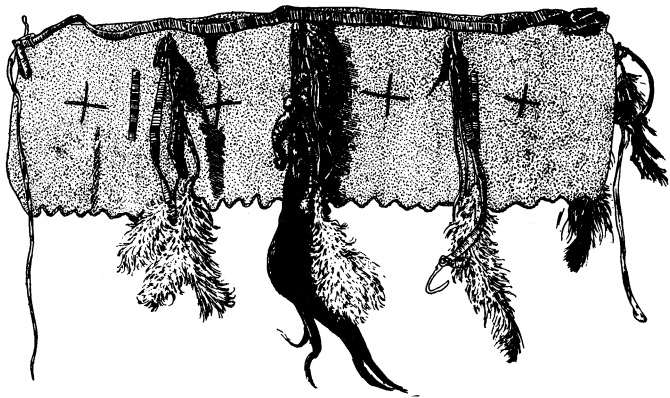


Fig. 66 ($\frac{1}{16}$). Regalia of Owner-of-the-tent-poles.

embroidery. These loops represent eyes. Between them there is a loosely attached thong, also wrapped with embroidery. Below this loose thong are three other stripes of ornamentation. Each of these four stripes of white has four black marks on it. This ornamentation represents the four hills of life.

The belt is about 25 cm. wide. Along its top runs a fibre-wound thong, white, with small black marks at regular intervals. It represents a snake. At the right side of the belt is a small ring wound with corn-husk. This represents the sun. White morning-star crosses are embroidered on the belt. Of the three bunches of pendants, the middle one consists of a piece of yellow buffalo-calf skin, a buffalo-tail, a piece of loose buffalo-hair as it is found on the prairie, and two ornaments of hanging thongs wound with corn-husk. On these are black marks which represent *hiiteni*.¹ At the ends of these ornaments are small hoofs, the rattling of which is symbolic of the tramping of a herd of moving buffalo.

Accompanying the belt is a small ring similar to the one attached to the head-dress. A third ring is carried in the hand. All three rings have four small black marks upon them, which, in the two that are fastened to the belt and the head-dress, are connected by strings and have white plumes tied near them. These four marks at opposite sides of the rings represent the ends of the earth (*hāneisa*ⁿ *biitaawu*). The blowing of the whistle that belongs to these regalia indicates the roaring of buffalo.

The owner-of-the-tent-poles represents a buffalo-bull leading his herd. During the ceremony the wearer of these regalia acts like such a bull, for instance, driving back cows that leave the herd. After the race of the buffalo women, she makes a tea or drink of red paint and ashes. Those who are tired from the race drink this to refresh themselves. Like all other regalia of high degree, these are handled with much reverence and care. They are hung up so as not to touch the ground. Children are forbidden to be noisy where they are kept. Occasionally they are taken into the open air, and, after being spread out, are prayed to. This is to see that they remain in good condition. Before this can be done, the owner must rub her body with *hāçawaanaxu*. Before the regalia may be repacked, this root must again be chewed and spit on the objects. Only the owner herself may take them from the case or put them back. While the regalia are in the

¹ See p. 40 of this volume.

tent in which they are kept, no ashes may be taken from it. Before the ashes are removed, the owner of the regalia must leave the tent. If this is not done, it is thought that ashes may be blown into her eyes and she may lose her eyesight. If this should happen, she would use *hāçawaanaxu* to cure herself. Four horses, two cattle, and other property were paid by the owner of these regalia to her grandmother.

The case in which these regalia are kept is made of buffalo-skin, and represents a buffalo-calf. At one of its lower cor-

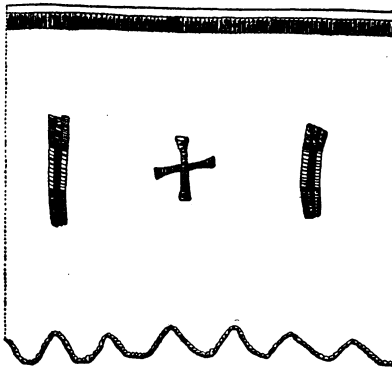


Fig. 67 (1882). Head-band and Part of Belt of Red-stand.

ners there is a small hole through which a small piece of yellow buffalo-skin projects. This represents the buffalo-calf's tail.

Third Degree.—The regalia of the third degree—the red-stand (*bääkuu*)—are not illustrated in detail, since they are the same in form as those of the white-stand (see Fig. 68). The head-dress consists

of a piece of skin shaped like a tube, into which feathers are stuck (Fig. 67). This head-band has been stuffed with tobacco, and is tied around the head. The feathers, which are mounted on sharp sticks, are set into holes at regular intervals. The head-band represents a rattlesnake. At one end it is horizontally divided for a short distance, resembling the open jaws of a snake. At the other end there is a stiff projection wound alternately with white and black rings of quills. This part resembles the rattle of the snake. The skin of the entire head-band is painted red. It is ornamented with quill-embroidered bars. The color arrangement of these bars is similar to the one frequently used on objects

that have a tribal style of ornamentation,¹ being yellow, red, yellow, the colors being separated by transverse stripes bordered by black. Between the bars are small crosses. In the very front of the head-dress are stuck two long black eagle wing-feathers (see Fig. 68). Where these are attached to the stick on which they stand, a split red-shafted flicker feather is fastened to them. These two upright black feathers seem to represent buffalo-horns. All the other feathers in the head-dress are fluffy plumes of the great horned owl, and are painted entirely red.

The belt accompanying this head-dress (Fig. 67) is also painted red. Otherwise it does not appear to differ much from other belts for the women's dance. Instead of the usual four vertical embroidered bars and five crosses, it has only three bars and four crosses; so that the attached buffalo-tails cover the bars instead of the crosses. This difference may be due to the fact that this piece came from the northern Arapaho, whereas all the others shown are from the southern branch of the tribe. Three sets of pendants are attached to the middle buffalo-tail. The three embroidered vertical bars are yellow at the ends, while the middle portion is white and light red. The yellow and the red-white portions are separated by transverse red stripes.

A small loop consisting of a thong, part of which is covered with quill-work, is worn as a finger-ring with these regalia.

Both in the red-stand and white-stand there is no small hoop on the head-dress. There is one on the belt; and another, without strings or feathers, is carried loose.

Fourth Degree. — Fig. 68 shows a white-stand (nanaⁿkaäkuu). This is an almost exact counterpart of the red-stand, except for its color. The total number of feathered sticks in the head-band is eighteen. The head-band represents a snake, and has embroidered crosses upon it; but the horizontal bars between the crosses do not show the same arrangement of colors as the red-stand described. They are white stripes crossed in four places by black lines, and are thus identical with the vertical bars embroidered on most of the belts. The middle

¹ See pp. 64-67, also Fig. 12, of this volume.

buffalo-tail of the belt of this apparel has only two sets of pendants attached to it.

Fifth Degree. — It is not certain of which degree the two calves (wouu) are regarded to be. They are said to wear an

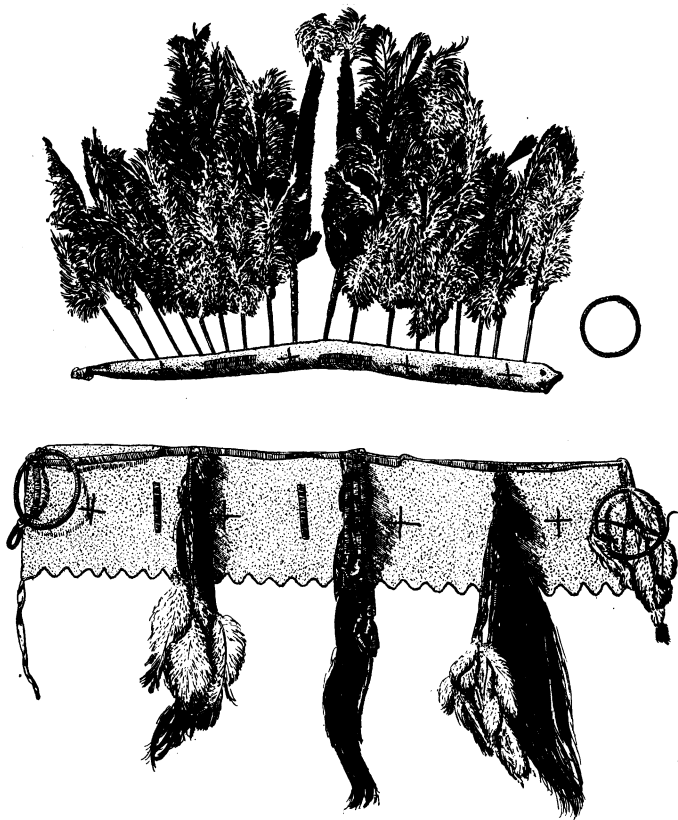


Fig. 68 ($\frac{50}{38}$, $\frac{50}{38}$). Regalia of White-stand.

embroidered head-band representing a snake, in which stand white feathers. It would therefore seem that they wear a miniature white-stand, just as the two boys in the second dance carry black lances like the dancers known as hiiwao-tāna"xāyaniçi. The calves walk with two sticks. They are painted yellow to represent yellow buffalo-calves. Their

mothers enter the ceremony with them, taking the parts of buffalo-cows that have calves.

Lowest Degree. — Fig. 69 shows the regalia of one of the rank and file (naçan'). As these regalia are those of a cow, they are painted yellow. Those indicating bulls, like the owner-of-the-tent-poles, are white. It will be seen that the piece of skin on the forehead of this head-dress is quite narrow, and its ornamentation somewhat simpler than is usual. The embroidery on the belt presents no unusual features, but it seems that the attachments are not quite what they should be. Strips of buffalo-skin with long hair have been used in place of buffalo-tails, perhaps on account of lack of the latter. Attached to the middle one of these strips of skin

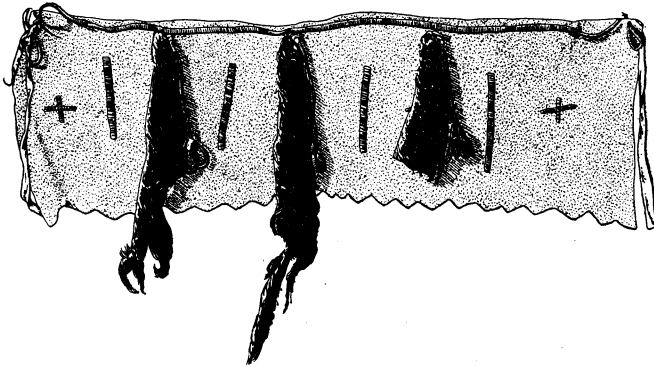


Fig. 69 ($\frac{50}{100}$, $\frac{50}{100}$). Regalia of Lowest Degree of Women-dancers.

there is only a single pair of thin pendants, of the kind belonging properly to the buffalo-tails on the sides. A pair of bracelets or leglets belongs to this set.

Fig. 70, *a*, shows part of the embroidery from another specimen of buffalo-cow regalia. This ornamentation is somewhat

different from that on most of the regalia. On the belt the four vertical bars are each closely flanked by two crosses. Each bar is not in white or yellow, divided by four black marks; but its two ends are yellow, and its middle portion red without any black. The embroidered piece of skin on the head-dress was said to represent the brain and eyes.¹ Fig. 70, *b*, shows still another form of embroidery on a head-dress.

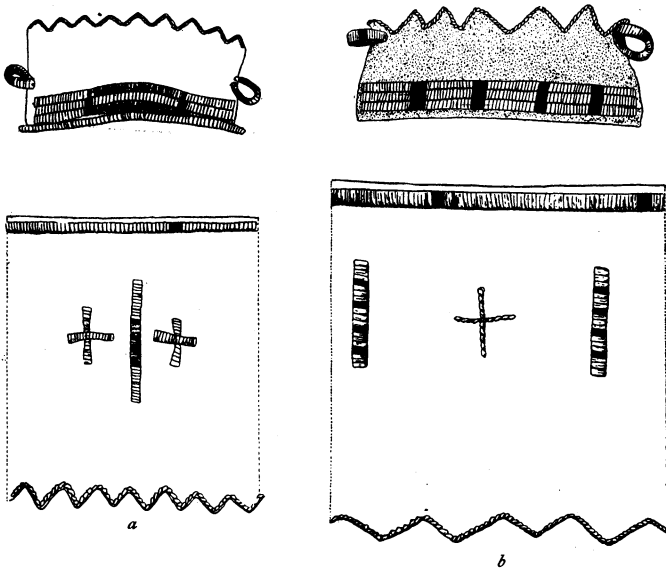


Fig. 70, *a* ($\frac{A_1^0}{721}$, $\frac{A_2^0}{722}$), *b* ($\frac{A_1^0}{882}$, $\frac{A_2^0}{883}$). Designs from Head-bands and Belts of Women-dancers.

This is from a bull head-dress. This embroidery, consisting of a white stripe transversely divided by four black marks, is identical with the bars embroidered on the belts.

Place of the Women's Dance. — It is quite clear that the women's dance corresponds very nearly to the series of men's dances. In certain details, however, it resembles the sun-dance. Though the lodge in which it is held is made of tent-poles, and not of forked trees cut for the purpose, it has a centre pole like the sun-dance lodge; and four of its poles are

¹ Symbolism of the Arapaho Indians, op. cit., p. 72, Fig. 16.

painted, as in the sun-dance. There is also a similarity to the sun-dance, in that the pledger, the white-woman, is painted white, and has her place at the middle of the back of the lodge. In the men's dances the pledger is not necessarily of the highest degree. Several other features of the women's dance, such as the cutting of the ground and the mimic shooting of the buffalo preceded by recounting of coups, resemble certain parts of the sun-dance.

In the majority of its characteristics, however, the women's dance resembles sometimes one and sometimes another of the series of men's dances. The symbolizing of buffalo, and the classification of the dancers into buffalo bulls and cows, are analogous to the first dance of the men. The two calves call to mind the two boys in the second dance, and the number and variety of degrees suggest the same ceremony. The belts worn by the women are also very much like those used in the second dance. There is a similarity to the crazy-dance in the buffalo-skin cases in which the regalia are kept. These are nearly identical for the two ceremonies. That the single dancers of highest degree, the white-fool and the white-woman, are painted entirely white and are respectively very slow in movement and not allowed to move at all, is another point of similarity. Whistles like those of the women are used by the men in the crazy-dance and in the dog-dance. In the use of these whistles by the dancers, and of rattles by the singers, the women's dance resembles the older societies of the men; but in the racing of the dancers there is a similarity to the first and second dances. In the estimation of the Arapaho, the women's dance is more sacred than the dances of the younger men, ranking in this regard probably at least as high as the dog-dance.

SUMMARY.

The Arapaho *bāyaa*^{wu} consists of a form of the widely spread sun-dance and of a series of men's ceremonies graded by age, and a single but analogous ceremony for women. The men's ceremonies are performed by groups of men of the same age. These companies are not voluntary organizations,

but consist of all the individuals of a certain age in the tribe. There is a symbolic reference to war in most of the ceremonies; and the companies, or sometimes certain members of them, have social and warlike functions. All the ceremonies are under the direction of the members of the oldest society. Intermediary between these and the dancers are men known as the dancers' grandfathers, who instruct them in the parts to play in the ceremony, and provide them with regalia. The ceremonies are held in a lodge in the centre of the camp-circle, and consist of a three-days' period of preparation and a four-days' period of dancing. Very characteristic of these ceremonies are the numerous degrees of rank, which are indicated by differences in regalia. These differences in rank do not depend at all upon any previous religious experience or training. They have little purpose except their own existence, and are bestowed as marks of honor. While there are many similarities of detail between the sun-dance and the age-ceremonies of the *bäyaaⁿwu*, due to their being ceremonies of the same tribe, there is nevertheless a fundamental difference in scope and character.

SYSTEM OF THE BAYAA'WU.

	APPROXIMATE AGE.	No. of DEGREES.	FIXED REGALIA OF DANCERS.				SYMBOLIC REFERENCE.	LODGE.	CHARACTERISTIC ACTION OF PARTICIPANTS.
			Wristle.	Musical.	On Body.	On Head.			
Sun-dance.....	Any	—	—	Whistle.	(Sage.)	—	Of brush; centre pole.	Dancing, fasting, torture.	
Kit-fox dance.....	18	—	—	Rattle.	—	—	None (?).	—	
Star-dance.....	20	—	—	—	—	—	None.	—	
Tomahawk-dance..	25	3	Tomahawk.	—	Belt.	Buffalo.	Skins; no centre pole.	Dancing, racing.	
Bitahawu.....	30	3	Lance.	—	—	Thunder	" " "	" "	
Crazy-dance.....	40	2	Bow.	Whistle.	Cape.	Feathers at occiput	" " "	" "	
Dog-dance.....	50	4	—	Whistle and rattle (Rattle.)	(Scarf)	Feathers at forehead	" " "	Dancing, fire-stamping, extravagance.	
Hinahanwu.....	60	—	—	—	(Robe.)	Feathers on head.	" " "	Dancing, painting.	
Water-sprinkling old men.....	70	—	—	Rattle.	—	—	" " "	Singing, one dance.	
Women's dance...	Any	6	—	Whistle.	Belt.	Buffalo head-dress.	Sweat-house	Singing, sweating.	
						Buffalo.	Skins; centre pole.	Dancing, racing, repre- senting buffalo.	

SYSTEM OF DEGREES OF THE BĀYAA^NWU.

	NUMBER OF INDIVIDUALS.	CHARACTERISTIC REGALIA.	COLOR OF REGALIA.
Tomahawk-dance.			
First degree.....	1	Kakaox (sword).	Black.
Second degree.....	3	Kakaox (sword).	Red, etc.
Lowest degree { bulls. indef- { cows. inite.		Tceāox (tomahawk). Tceāox (tomahawk).	Red and white. Red and yellow.
Biitaha ⁿ wu.			
First degree.....	1	Tawanhā ⁿ (straight club).	
Second degree.....	2	Crooked fur-wrapped lance.	(Otter-skin).
Third degree.....	2	Straight fur-wrapped lance.	(Otter-skin).
Fourth degree.....	2	Boy's lance.	"Black."
Fifth degree.....	4	Beaded lance.	"Black."
Lowest degree.....	ind.	Lance.	Red.
Crazy-dance.			
First degree.....	1	Bow and cape.	White.
Lowest degree.....	ind.	Bow and cape.	Red and white.
Dog-dance.			
First degree.....	1	Feather-covered coat.	(Crow-feathers).
Second degree.....	2	Scarf.	Red.
Third degree.....	2	Scarf.	Yellow.
Lowest degree.....	ind.	Upright feather head-dress.	(Turkey-feathers).
Women's dance.			
First degree.....	1	Swan-down buffalo head-dress.	White.
Second degree.....	1	Buffalo head-dress.	White.
Third degree.....	?	Head-dress of standing feathers.	Red.
Fourth degree.....	?	Head-dress of standing feathers.	White.
Fifth (?) degree.....	2	Head-dress of standing feathers (?).	White (?).
Lowest degree { bulls. ind. { cows. ind.		Buffalo head-dress. Buffalo head-dress.	White. Yellow.

LIST OF DEGREES AND ILLUSTRATED REGALIA.

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Second degree } oxuiçi) { with colored sword. Fig. 57		185
Lowest degree (naçani hiitceäoxinena ⁿ or hiitceäoxuiçi).....	Fig. 58	187
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Lowest degree (naçani hahan ⁿ kâ ⁿ nenana ⁿ).....	Pl. xxxv	opp. 196
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First degree (tciiyanehi).....	Fig. 59	203
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Lowest degree (naçani bânuxtiseina ⁿ , bulls (waxaçou), cows (bii).....	} Fig. 69	223

(Continued from 4th page of cover.)

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