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THE ARAPAHO

THE Arapaho, the most southerly tribe of the Algonquian stock, has been known historically only from the beginning of the nineteenth century, and within that period has roamed over the southern plains, principally about the upper waters of the North Platte and the Arkansas, but frequently also on the streams flowing into the Yellowstone in the north and the Rio Grande in the south. Little is known of their history before their arrival in this region. Of Algonquian lineage, they would naturally be presumed to have migrated from the northeast, a conjecture that harmonizes with a native tradition recorded by Captain W.P. Clark prior to 1885, to the effect that they had once lived in western Minnesota and had raised corn previous to the crossing of the Missouri.[1]

Exploring the Saskatchewan country in 1789, Alexander Mackenzie observed that, next to the Blackfeet, and extending "to the confluence of the South and North branch, are the Fall, or Big-bellied Indians, who may amount to about six hundred warriors.... The Fall, or Big-bellied Indians, are from the South-Eastward also, and of a people who inhabit the plains from the North bend of the last-mentioned river [Missouri] latitude 47.32. North, longitude 101.25. West, to the south bend of the Assiniboin River, to the number of seven hundred men."[2] The Fall Indians were the Atsina, or Gros Ventres of the Prairies, who originally formed a part of the Arapaho, and it thus appears that the latter tribe in 1789 occupied the plains from the Missouri at about the site of old Fort Stevenson in North Dakota, northward to Assiniboine river in southwestern Manitoba, a distance of about a hundred and fifty miles. That they were even then not newcomers in the region is indicated by the letter of Saint Pierre, written in 1751 at Fort de la Reine on the Assiniboine, in which he speaks of the war made by surrounding tribes on the Gros Ventres.[3]

[1] Clark, *Indian Sign Language,* Philadelphia, 1885, Pages 39, 40.

[2] Mackenzie, *Voyages,* London, 1801, pages lxx-lxxi.

[3] Margry, *Découvertes* et *Établissements des Français,* etc., Paris, 1879-1888, VI, page 640, in a letter of Jacques Le Gardeur de Saint-Pierre, "capitaine d'une compagnie des

It was probably not later than the beginning of the eighteenth century that the Arapaho crossed the Red River of the North into the plains, at about the same time that the Cheyenne established themselves on the western fork of that river. The tribe was then composed of five divisions, speaking fairly distinct dialects, but all, of course, mutually intelligible. These, passing from north to south, as they camped, were: *Aáninena,* nicknamed by the modern Arapaho as *Hitouséna,* Beggars; *Baasawuséna,* Brush-lodge Men; *Nakasiséna,* Sage-brush Men; *Hánahawuséna,* Rock Men; and *Nawathíneha,* Southerners. The last-named are the present-day Southern Arapaho; the Sage-brush Men are the Northern Arapaho; the Beggars are the Atsina. The other two divisions have been absorbed by the Northern and the Southern Arapaho. According to Mackenzie's estimate the entire tribe must have numbered between four and five thousand. The northernmost band, the Atsina, with nearly half the population of the tribe, pushed northwestward beyond the South Saskatchewan, and the remainder crossed the Missouri and moved in a generally southward direction. De Smet, the Jesuit missionary, concluded from native testimony that the Atsina "separated from the nation a century and a half ago, on account of differences between the chiefs."[4] The date thus indicated, 1713, appears to be considerably too early, as we have seen that they were on the lower Assiniboine as late as 1751. The crossing of the Missouri by the Arapaho occurred probably not long after 1789, the date of Mackenzie's observation, for Lewis and Clark in 1806 reported them, to the number of fifteen hundred, on the headwaters of Loup river in what is now central Nebraska.

The explorers called them variously Kaninavisch (a corruption of the Ojibwa name), Gens des Vach, and Blue Beads, described them as being on the defensive against the Sioux but at peace with others, and stated that they exchanged horses and leather for the goods which the Mandan obtained from British traders. Ten years later Long was informed that the Arapaho "wander in the extensive plains of the

troupes détachées la Marine en Canada, chargé de la découverte de la Mer de l'Ouest. Fort de la Reine was established in 1738 by La Vérendrye across the Assiniboine river from what is now Portage la Prairie, Manitoba, about fifty miles west of Winnipeg. It was burned by the Cree about 1852.

[4] *Western Missions*, 1863, page 254.

Arkansas and Red river, have always great numbers of horses, which they rear with much less difficulty than the Shiennes, whose country is cold and barren."[5]

In 1818 the Atsina, having committed depredations on a post of the Hudson's Bay Company, fled to the south and found refuge with their kindred, who were then camping at the head of Powder river, in the present Wyoming. In 1823, when the Atsina returned to the country north of the Missouri, the Arapaho were on the North Platte.[6] It is improbable that the same people were roving the plains of the Red river at one season and camping a thousand miles northward on Powder river at the next. The facts seem to prove that at the date of Long's observation the division into a Northern and a Southern band was in existence; and indeed since from the first there were five dialectic groups, it is probable that there was a more or less distinct line of division from the moment the Arapaho crossed the Missouri. In 1862 the two bands were noted by Hayden as quite distinct. "The first portion call themselves na-ka-sí-nin, 'People of the Sage,' and number one hundred and eighty lodges. They wander about the sources of the South Platte and the region of Pike's Peak, also northward to the Red Buttes on the North Platte. Sometimes they extend their journeyings in search of buffalo along the foot of the Big-horn Mountains.... They spent a large portion of the winter of 1859 and '60 on the branches of Powder river, near the base of the Big-horn Mountains. The second band call themselves na-wuth'-i-ni-han.... They number two hundred lodges, and range along the Arkansas River and its tributaries.... It would seem from 'Long's Expedition to the Rocky Mountains' that the Arapohos occupied nearly their present district in 1819 and '20."[7]

The Arapaho were hostile to Shoshoni, Ute, Comanche, Kiowa, Pawnee, Apsaroke, and Sioux. From the Shoshoni, their traditions say, they captured their first horses; and with the Ute, whom they regarded as their bravest enemies, they fought most frequently. In 1841 they joined the Cheyenne in making peace with the Sioux, the Kiowa, and

[5] *Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains*, Philadelphia, 1823, II, page 367

[6] Hayden, *Ethnography and Philology of the Missouri Valley,* 1862, page 341. Clark, op. cit., page 41.

[7] Hayden, op. cit., page 321.

the Comanche. Since the earliest times they have been closely allied with the Cheyenne, and since the date last named this friendship has included the Teton Sioux, particularly the Ogalala. With the Cheyenne they participated in the series of uprisings beginning in 1856, and though the Southern band gave up the struggle in 1868, the Northern Arapaho in considerable numbers were implicated with the Ogalala Sioux and the Northern Cheyenne in raids along the frontier and in several engagements with the troops, notably in the annihilation of Custer's command in 1876. In 1869 the Southern band was placed upon a reservation in Oklahoma, which they shared with the Southern Cheyenne, and in 1878 the Northern band was finally brought under military escort from the Pine Ridge reservation of the Ogalala and settled on the Wind River reservation, Wyoming, along with the Shoshoni, with whom for several years they had been at peace.

Estimated in 1862 at, respectively, 2,000 and 800, the two bands in 1890 numbered, according to the census enumeration, 1,272 and 885, respectively. Their present numbers are 892 and 861. The two divisions of the tribe possess the same culture, speak practically the same language, and, in fact, are merely parts of the same people.

The Arapaho, contrary to the popular conception, are not closely related to the Cheyenne, except by association and customs. Linguistically the two tribes are of one stock, yet so distinct that neither can understand the language of the other. Also, the Arapaho character appears to have more of cunning and treachery than the Cheyenne, and this lack of frankness, together with a corresponding want of that independent, even reckless, courage of mind that has always been regarded as characteristic of the Cheyenne, widens the unlikeness of the two peoples. Physically the Arapaho were not wanting in courage and ferocity.

The inclination toward religious thoughts and practices is especially noticeable. The object of highest veneration is the Flat Pipe,[8] which is held in a family of the Northern band. It consists of a wooden stem about two feet long, inserted, without angle, into a straight, cylindrical bowl of black steatite inlaid with a whitish stone. Carefully concealed in a mass of skin wrappings, the pipe is kept in the back part of the custodian's ceremonially painted lodge, on a stand consisting of four

[8] Why the pipe is called "flat" is not clear; perhaps the reference is to the flattened stem, perhaps to the fact that the bowl does not form an angle with the stem.

sticks driven into the ground.

The lodge of the keeper occupied a position just inside the camp-circle and opposite the entrance of the camp. Like the priest of the Lakota Calf Pipe he proceeded in advance of the moving column, but unlike the former he himself, and not a virgin, carried the precious bundle. Only occasionally was the sacred pipe revealed to a favored few who could afford the expense attendant upon the ceremony.

On such occasions those who were present smoked the pipe, praying for health, prosperity, and any special boon desired, and the keeper related the story of the pipe. This was not a simple myth of the creation; it began with that episode, explaining thus the manner in which the pipe came into the possession of the people, and continued with a mythical history of the first people. From several descriptions by Arapaho who have heard it, the lore of the pipe-keeper seems to be a mass of myths, folk-tales, traditions, rules governing the social relations and ceremonial procedure, precepts and injunctions to the moral life. It constitutes in fact the unwritten bible of the Arapaho. It can be recited only when the pipe is exposed, and only by the pipe-keeper, and four nights must be consumed in the telling. When the pipe-keeper, Weasel Bear, died in 1908, he had no male heir of mature age, and the sacred bundle was given, without instruction in the mythology, to his daughter, a young woman. There is no one now living able to repeat the myth in full if he would. It begins with the following incident:

The Flat Pipe, on a stand of four sticks, was floating on the water which covered the earth. On the stand there was also a person. Besides these two there was nothing visible excepting water. The Father (who was the person) called all the water-fowl, and the creatures under the water, and when they came flocking about him, he said that he wished them to search for the land, for there was nothing on which the pipe could rest. One by one the fowl dived, but they all failed. The turtle asked leave to try. He remained under the water four days and four nights, but he brought to the surface mud from the bottom of the water. The Father took the mud from the turtle's belly, worked it in his hands until it became dust, and blew it to the four quarters of the world. Land appeared in every direction, and while it was still soft and moist, the Father took some of the earth and formed two images, into which he put life. These were the first Arapaho, a man and a woman.

While the Southern Arapaho revered the Flat Pipe and its custodian no less than the members of the Northern band, few were able to make the long journey to the northern country; hence in recent years they have paid much attention to the sacred wheel. It occupies a place exactly similar to that held by the pipe — its possession is hereditary; it is kept, swathed in wrappings, in the back of the owner's lodge, and is opened only at the request of one who wishes to offer special supplication. When any one desires a great favor of the Supernatural, he may vow to "wrap the wheel."

He then takes food and skins (now cloth) to the lodge of the custodian, where, after much smoking, and praying, and the unwrapping of the wheel, he places his offerings upon it for a new covering. The wheel is about twenty inches in diameter, and is formed of a square withe, one end of which is carved into a representation of a snake's head. It is ornamented with eagle-feathers and with symbolized markings, and is the type of wheel used in the game of hoop-and-pole.

An indication of the deeply religious bent of the Arapaho mind may be seen in the ceremonial adornment of robes and lodges. Robes of the better sort were ornamented with several, sometimes with numerous, bands of quillwork. This embroidery, as well as the work of painting a lodge to conform to a vision, could be performed only under the supervision of a woman who owned one of seven medicine-bags. These contained the necessary instruments and materials for embroidery and painting, and were transmitted either by inheritance or by purchase. A woman desirous of acquiring the knowledge and the right to ornament robes would invite to her lodge one of the old women who owned the sacred bags. The latter, accompanied by such others as wished to help her, came, and with a minutely elaborate ritual instructed the novice in every act and movement of the work. One complete band was laid on each day until the robe was finished, but the old woman presided only on the first day.

Corresponding to these medicine-bags of the women are an equal number in possession of the seven old men that constitute the highest of the age societies. Their rites are performed in a sweat-lodge constructed at the centre of the camp, and their position is that of a tribal priesthood. They, or some of them, preside as instructors at each ceremonial performance of the societies and at the Sun Dance, and their sweat-bath typifies the purification of the tribe.

The power of the supernatural was sought by the Arapaho in the manner wellnigh universal among the Indians, namely, by fasting in lonely places. In this phase of life they differed from the majority of plains tribes in that the fast was commonly not undertaken at the age of puberty, but after maturity had been reached. The conception of sexual knowledge as a bar to communion with the supernatural powers, so frequently encountered, is entirely foreign to the Arapaho thought. Men fasted, and saw visions, even after passing middle age. To the faster, if the powers pitied him, there appeared the spirit of some animal in human form whence it was called, as also by the Piegan, "unreal person." The peculiarities of its dress and adornment were to be carefully noted by the faster, and adopted as his own for use on ceremonial or other important occasions. It sang, while the faster listened attentively that he might later employ the same songs to secure the aid of the spirit helper. Then it directed him to gather certain things — leaves, roots, bark, earth, — which were to be used in the manner he prescribed for curing or warding off diseases of mind and body. Finally the spirit resolved itself into an animal form, and disappeared. The period of fasting varied from a day to seven days, with four days and four nights as the normal. After awaking from his trance, the devotee returned to his home, and as soon thereafter as possible he obtained the things demanded by his vision for his personal adornment and for effecting cures. These constituted the contents of his medicine-bag, which was, as a rule, the skin, or a part of it, of the animal with whose spirit he had held communion. Since the supernatural being of the vision became the faster's tutelary spirit, men fasted not once, but many times, in the hope of thus obtaining many spirit helpers. But medicine-power was acquired not alone through fasting; it could be inherited or purchased. That is to say, that the Arapaho fell into the universal error of transferring the supernatural attributes from the spirit to the symbol of the spirit: Christ is lost in the cross, the dream-creature in the medicine-bag. In addition to the medicine-bags, which were made up by the direct command of the spirits, we find much use of objects which, casually obtained, operate by sympathetic magic to produce desired results. Some of these may be true fetishes, that is, objects regarded as actually endowed with life and capable of exerting supernatural power of their own volition; but the vast majority must be designated as talismans, which, though not held to be conscious

entities, nevertheless exercised an influence over things or creatures to which they bore a real or fancied resemblance. Thus a man cherishes the hoof of an antelope, that his horse may win the race; or a bullet, that the guns of his enemies may miss their mark; or a stone, that his body may be impenetrable to missiles.

Power to expel disease was received as a part of every vision, and every successful seeker after visions became a medicine-man. The treatment of disease was the usual mixture of thaumaturgic practices, such as sucking the evil out of the affected part, brushing the patient with feathers, and singing, with the administering of vegetal decoctions, some of which chanced to have real medicinal value.

The principal spirits worshipped in prayer are the Father, the Four Old Men, the Sun, and the Earth. The Father is the equivalent of the Above, and represents the same conception as the Great Mystery to the Sioux, the vaguely imagined power over all. Many prayers begin with the words, "The Above, my father!" The Four Old Men are the four world-quarters of the semi-cardinal points, and the Earth is the great mother, counterpart of the Above. *Niá-tha*^{n}, Spider, is the sometimes amusing, sometimes godlike culture hero of a countless number of folk-tales, corresponding exactly with *Iktómi,* Spider, of the Sioux, and with Coyote of the plateau and Rocky Mountain region. The wonder-working hero of many episodes, his name was quite naturally given to the miraculous white man. Even more recently it has been coupled with that of the Above, but the evidence is plain that Spider and the Above, or the Above Father, were not one. The same tendency of the younger generation to confuse the mythological trickster with the supernatural power has been noted among the Atsina, the Cheyenne, the Piegan, and the Apsaroke. In addition to the powers more commonly addressed, supplication for help is directed to the thunder, the winds, the morning star and the other stars, the moon, the creatures of the air, the animals on the earth and under it, and the beings of the water.

In ceremonies the annual Sun Dance occupies the first place. Although different in some details, it nevertheless so closely resembles the Sun Dance of the Cheyenne that a description of it would be largely repetition. It is still observed. Less impressive but actually more important in their effect on the tribe, inasmuch as practically every person was a participant, were the ceremonial performances of the age

societies.

According to their age, the men and youth of the tribe were organized into eight societies, comprising a system which closely resembled that of the Atsina, already described at some length. These were not only military in spirit, but, at least in the case of the two composed of the oldest men, essentially religious. The regalia of the other six included many weapons, or symbols of weapons; and in some, certain members were expected to bear the brunt of the battle when their comrades were hard-pressed. In each society there were several positions held by especially courageous and capable men, who were distinguished from the ordinary membership in their paraphernalia and in their conduct at the dance. Members of the lowest society were sixteen to eighteen years of age, and of the eldest about seventy years or more. When for any reason a man wished to obtain the special favor of the supernatural, he would vow that in return for the boon desired he would perform the ceremony of the society next above the one in which he had last participated. His wishes having been gratified, when the appropriate time in the summer arrived, he and those with whom he had danced in the rites of the younger society now performed the rites of the next older, being provided with their paraphernalia and instructed in the proper procedure by older men who had already performed this ceremony. Like the Piegan system, the Arapaho contemplated the passage of every male through the entire series of ceremonies; the two are dissimilar in that in the former the rites were not performed because of a pledge, but a ritual became the possession of the group next below whenever they determined to purchase it. Like those of other plains tribes the warrior societies of the Arapaho performed in turn the duties of peace-officers.

The women danced in a single ceremony[9], the ritual of which was built on the same lines as the rituals of the men's ceremonies, and like them was founded on, or rather was accounted for by, a myth.

Bluebird married Elk Woman and Buffalo Woman, and the latter, being ill-treated, ran away with her son, Calf Stands Up, to the home of the buffalo people. He followed, and there beheld the dance of the buffalo, but before he was permitted to depart with wife and child, it was decreed that he should be tested in various ways, which

[9] *Banuhtá*^{n}*wuu*. It is commonly called Buffalo Lodge, in allusion to the character of the dance; the meaning of the word cannot be given by the Arapaho.

included principally the identification of his son among a crowd of exactly similar calves, and the running of a race with the young bulls. The final ordeal was that he should remain awake during four days and four nights of story-telling by the buffalo. In all the other trials Calf Stands Up had been able to assist his father, but, as he explained, he was unable to sleep for him, and Bluebird at last nodded and slept. Immediately the buffalo began to dance, round and round, trampling upon the body of the man until it was ground into the earth.

Now, before setting out on his quest Bluebird had told his brother, Magpie, that if harm came to him among the buffalo, a column of dust would ascend to the sky. When the buffalo danced over his body, the dust rose in a cloud, and Magpie said to Elk Woman: "What my brother told me has happened. Make a sweat-lodge, and I will search for a piece of his body." He flew toward the cloud of dust, and at a short distance he heard groaning. Following the sound, he discovered a bit of a feather which Bluebird had worn on his head, and with this he hastened homeward. He placed it inside the sweat-lodge, then going out he stood at the southeastern comer, and cried, "O, Father, I have brought back my brother!" At the same moment he shot a black arrow straight into the air, and called, "Look out, brother, the arrow will strike you!" With the same procedure he shot another black arrow at the southwestern comer, and a red one from each of the remaining comers. Each time he uttered his warning, the sweat-lodge was shaken from within, and when the fourth time he shouted, "Look out, brother, the arrow will strike you!" the osier frame was violently shaken, and Bluebird stepped forth. "I have much to tell you," he said, "but first we must prepare, for the buffalo will be here, and they will be angry."

Elk Woman proposed a plan. With bark of the choke-cherry, the red-osier, the cottonwood, and the alder, she formed concentric circles about the camp of the people, and the bark became immovable barriers. No sooner was this done than the buffalo were seen rushing thunderously down the slope. They attacked the outer obstruction, and demolished it, but the horns of some were broken, and others were slain by the arrows of the people. The second barrier and the third were passed with great loss to the buffalo, and at the fourth Buffalo Woman herself snapped off one horn and got the other hopelessly entangled. Elk Woman killed her. It was then that buffalo began to be

food for the people, and that the first buffalo-lodge was built under the direction of Bluebird.

The ceremony was performed at the instance of a woman who had pledged herself to this duty, and the dancers were women and girls of any age who cared to participate and could afford the expense incurred in obtaining the costumes. Each procured the services of an older woman who had taken part in the ceremony, and who was known as the Grandmother. Some were distinguished from the ordinary dancers by peculiarities of their costumes. These were the pledger, who was called White Woman; several who dressed alike and were known as Red Stand; others whose costumes varied from those of the Red Stand in being white and who therefore were called White Stand; and two young girls enacting the part of Calves. The other dancers wore head-dresses consisting of a pair of buffalo-horns surmounting a portion of the buffalo-skin, which covered the head, neck, and shoulders like a hood. The mode of procedure will be illustrated by a description of the making of the Red Stand paraphernalia.

During the two days consumed in the making of regalia, those present in the lodge were the old man who played the part attributed by the myth to Bluebird, the Grandmothers and their husbands, and the dancers. A piece of deerskin was placed before the old man, and the Grandmother of the Red Stand cut out a strip for the preparation of the head-dress. Then, working under the direction of her husband, she embroidered the skin with yellow and black porcupine-quills, arranging them in four long rectangles so that they divided the length of the skin into four parts. In each of the four open spaces thus created, she embroidered a cross, the symbol of the morning star. Then the edges of the strip were united in such a way that the effigy of a rattlesnake was produced.

Tobacco was cut up and stuffed into the form by means of a stick, and the rattlesnake was then smeared with red paint. In all this the woman was guided by her husband, but if at any time advice was needed, they consulted the old man in charge, and for his knowledge they each time paid well. Next, as an apron for the Red Stand, a piece of elk-skin was serrated along the lower edge, and yellow porcupine-quills were embroidered on this margin. Along the upper border was sewn appliqué a narrow strip of rawhide completely covered with quills, all yellow except a few black ones at each of four equidistant

points. On the elk-skin itself were then embroidered three vertical bars of yellow, broken by black quills, and in the middle of each space thus defined a yellow cross was added. To the rawhide appliqué and just above each vertical bar was attached a pendent buffalo-tail. The apron was then painted red. Next, sixteen sticks such as are used for arrow-shafts were prepared by peeling and pointing them, and to each was bound a large owl-feather. They were then thrust upright into small holes along the back of the skin rattlesnake, and in advance of all, just back of the head, were placed two eagle tail-feathers, mounted on shafts. At the quill end of each plume was attached a red feather from the crest of a golden-winged woodpecker. Two small hoops of bent willow wound with quill-embroidery, and one of them crossed by two perpendicular diameters of deerskin thong, were then prepared, and the latter was attached to the apron while the former was added to the rattlesnake. Lastly, a willow stick about an inch in diameter and three or four feet in length was peeled, painted yellow, and provided with a wrist-thong passing through a hole at the upper end. The thong was quillworked, and owl-feathers were fastened to it. This completed the paraphernalia of the Red Stand. In the meantime the costumes of the other dancers had been made, with corresponding ceremony.

On the third day the company again assembled in their lodge, and the dancers were painted and dressed by the Grandmother. In the case of the Red Stand the procedure was as follows: Gifts in addition to the numerous articles already presented to the old man in charge were piled up before him, and he took the head-dress and the apron from the lodge-pole to which they had remained fastened over night, and laid them on the presents. The woman sat before him, and her Grandmother, coming from behind, placed the apron about her waist and fastened it. Then with four preliminary motions she took up the rattlesnake head-dress and slowly placed it as a circlet on the woman's head. With her left hand she put the cane into the woman's right, and placed a bone whistle between her lips, bidding her blow. The woman began to blow, and the Grandmother placed her hands under the dancer's arms from behind and affected to lift her to her feet. The woman began to dance, as did the others, who in the meantime had been under-going similar preparation, each being instructed in the movements by her Grandmother. Then single-file they proceeded out of the lodge and four times round the camp-circle, after which

they returned to the buffalo-lodge, and, while the spectators crowded about, the women danced round the lodge in single file, first slowly, but gradually increasing their speed until at the fourth song they were running as fast as they were able, all the while imitating the actions of the buffalo. At the end of the fourth song they entered the lodge and sat down. Directed by the old man, the Grandmothers removed the costumes from the dancers, wrapped them up, and delivered the bundles to the women. Then the performers raced out to the water and back to the lodge, it being regarded as a good omen to be first to drink or first to reach the lodge.

They began then to go about the camp collecting food, something from each family, which they brought to the lodge and prepared for a feast. The night passed in singing, dancing, and feasting. The two days following were spent in similar dancing, the constant aim, of course, being the imitation of buffalo. The mode of painting changed slightly on each day. At the end of the last night, the women crept out of the lodge, shook themselves like buffalo, stood up, and made their way to a sweat-lodge.

A young man desirous of marrying sent a female relation with several horses to the father of the girl he wished to have. To her proposal the father would make no direct reply, but he would ask the advice of his eldest son, who could either make a decision or leave that to an uncle or other relation. If they decided in favor of the suitor, the woman left the horses and reported her success to him, but if they refused, she took the horses back. On the same day, or later, the women of the bride's family erected a lodge and collected many articles of value to be used as presents, and then word was sent to the young man, who with his relations came and sat at the head of the bed. The girl sat at the foot. A feast was given to the visitors, and the members of the family and the friends of the young man, as they departed, appropriated some of the presents given by the family of the girl.

Polygyny was the custom, and usually a man took for his wives the younger sisters of his first wife, provided he could support them. These were paid for just as was the first wife, and in some cases a lodge was provided for each. It was the duty of a man to take the widow of a deceased brother. Customs in courtship were much like those of the Sioux. The young man wrapped himself in his blanket, sometimes turning the inner side out so as to provide a disguise, stationed himself

beside a path or near the lodge of his sweetheart, and awaited her coming. If she approached, he tried to persuade her to yield to his embraces. The Arapaho were not at all strict, especially at the great tribal gatherings, when the old people would counsel the younger women and girls to give themselves up to the young men when they were approached. Elopement, either to some secret place on the prairies or in the hills, or to the lodge of the young man's father, was not uncommon, and the bestowal of gifts on the girl's family effected a reconciliation. A man had the right to whip an adulterous wife or to disfigure her by cutting off her nose. A man detected in adultery would send an old man with a pipe to the outraged husband, who by accepting it signified that he would not do the other any physical harm. Whether he would receive the woman into his lodge or send her to her paramour was entirely a matter for him to decide. A man was not permitted to look at or to speak to his mother-in-law, but after giving her some trophy of war, such as a captured horse, this restriction was invalidated.

Brothers and sisters were not intimate with each other, and did not speak of delicate subjects in each other's presence; but brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law had considerable freedom in their intercourse. There were no clans or gentes among the Arapaho. Contrary to the usual customs of the prairie tribes, the Arapaho buried their dead in the ground. The face of the corpse was painted with red, the sacred color, and the body, arrayed in all its finery and wrapped in robes, was carried to the grave by relatives of the deceased. A man's weapons were sometimes buried with him, and his horse was killed at the grave. Articles that had been closely associated with the deceased were either destroyed or given away, in order that the ghost, revisiting the scenes of its earthly existence, might not trouble the family. In mourning the hair was shorn, old clothing donned, self-adornment and amusement were avoided. Before the body was interred, while sorrow was still acute, women slashed the skin of their arms and lower legs. Usually the brothers took, by force if necessary, the greater part of a deceased man's property, leaving as little as they chose for the widow and the children. As a rule there was little disposition to provide for them. The other world was imagined to be far in the west across the great water, and was pictured as a land of complete happiness and material prosperity.

Men part the hair in the middle and braid it at the sides and at the back in the well-known fashion of the Sioux. Formerly it was parted from the crown of the head to the temples, the forelock being thrown back in a pompadour, and the portion hanging in front of the ears being either braided or simply tied at the end, in the manner now seen among the Apsaroke and the Flatheads. They say that this old style of theirs was adopted by other tribes to the north, and that they themselves originated it.

Women part the hair from the forehead to the nape of the neck, braiding it at the sides; but formerly they allowed it to hang loosely.

In their habits of dress, of hunting, camping, making war, and gaming, the Arapaho were a typical plains tribe of the kind previously described in this and in preceding volumes.

"The Arapaho"
From
The North American Indian: Volume 6
by Edwards S. Curtis
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