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THE SOUTHERN CHEYENNE

INTRODUCTION

THE material in this section was prepared to supplement, so far as possible, that which appears in Volume VI of the work.

The data for that volume were collected from the Northern Cheyenne in Montana, while the accompanying account is the result of studies conducted among the Southern Cheyenne in Oklahoma.

No attempt has been made herein to include the history of the Cheyenne tribe, for to do so would be but to repeat facts and figures already given. The story of the strife between the Cheyenne and the whites is a tragic one of disaster alike to both sides, and anything but creditable to our own race; in fact it records one of the darkest pages in the history of our dealings with the Indians.

It is customary to refer to these people as Northern Cheyenne and Southern Cheyenne, but ethnologically they are the same. Indeed the tribal separation came about so recently that no marked difference in their culture has resulted. Societies existing in one group were maintained in the other. The one exception in connection with societies and ceremonies is the institution of the sacred arrows. This tribal palladium, the bundle of the arrows, is in possession of the Southern Cheyenne; consequently, if a member of the northern group desires to give the Arrow rite, he must journey to the land of his southern brothers and enlist their cooperation in holding the ceremony.

The Cheyenne, Blackfeet, and Arapaho compose that substantial part of the great Algonquian stock which at some prehistoric time commenced a westward migratory movement that ultimately took them to the Great Plains. Whether this group started as a unit which later became segregated, each part composed of many bands or subdivisions, or whether the migration was made separately by many units and covering a long period of time, is a question on which the genesis legends of the three tribes throw scant light. Myths, legends, folktales, and basic ceremonial precept indicate that at least the Cheyenne and the Blackfeet were separate groups ere their westward movement was begun.

According to their own traditions, verified by Mandan and Hidatsa accounts, the Cheyenne reached the plains and Black Hills country

some generations ahead of the Sioux. It has been determined[1] that their earlier known habitat was northwestern Minnesota, the Minnesota river seemingly being the southern limit of their hunting territory. From this general region the migration was a westward trend to the Black Hills country, hence the movement was far south of that followed by the Blackfeet, who moved westward through the forest country of Canada.

Cheyenne tradition makes the first mention of a homeland as a "Land of Lakes and Marshes," pointing in all probability to the lake country of Minnesota. Next they dwelt in a "Land of Red Bunch-grass"; later in a "Land of Burnt Stumps," and the next important advance in their migration was the crossing of the Missouri river.

If their own traditions may be relied on, the Cheyenne were still growers of crops at least up to the time they reached the Black Hills of South Dakota. The explorers Lewis and Clark stated that they were not engaged in raising crops in the Black Hills, yet native legends tell of cultivated fields there. It is evident that the Black Hills country was the central homeland of the Cheyenne for some time; and it is possible that they changed from a semi-agricultural people and became wholly hunters after they reached that region in their migration. There game was plentiful, but crop-growing conditions were not of the best.

Cheyenne and Sútai traditions of today are so blended that it is difficult to differentiate them, but it is evident that the Sútai group formed the advance guard in the westward movement and were at the sacred Cedar mountain in the Black Hills in advance of the Cheyenne proper. The two groups were intermittently friends and enemies until the final alliance at Cedar mountain.

In 1804 the Lewis and Clark party saw the Cheyenne in the Black Hills region. Their own traditions tell of the visit of that party of explorers and speak of it as their first meeting with white people. It was, of course, the first considerable body of white men to visit that region, for which reason the event is traditionally recorded as an important one. It is evident, however, that the Cheyenne must have seen small parties of trappers long before that time. Here in the Cedar Mountain country, as related in the story of the Sacred Arrows and legend of the

1 Handbook of American Indians, part 1, page 251, Washington, 1907.

Prophet, they received their divine instructions how to worship and to live.

The Cheyenne of the present generation have only the vaguest tradition of a homeland before the tribe reached the Black Hills, where, at Nuwáwus, the sacred mountain, all divine instruction was received. The fact that this prolonged stop was to them a period of comparative tranquillity afforded opportunity for culture development, hence naturally they have grown to regard that era as the time when they received all knowledge.

Mandan, Arikara, and Hidatsa traditions tell of intermittent conflict between the Cheyenne and the Mandan, as well as with the Hidatsa; but on the whole they maintained peaceful relations with the Arikara. From the Mandan they learned the art of making glass objects by fusing glass. The "sky disc" used in the Arrow ceremony is made in this way. From the Arikara they borrowed certain of their ceremonies. Many of the features of the Cheyenne Buffalo ceremony and Animal dance are copied from the important summer ceremony of the Arikara.

It was while they were living at Cedar mountain that the Cheyenne established the system of forty-four chiefs. According to tradition the forty-four sticks representing these chiefs were brought to them by a Cheyenne woman who had been held captive by an enemy tribe "which lived by a large lake which they worshipped, and they often killed persons and threw them into the water in sacrifice to the spirits." It is also evident from their traditions that the tribe was then composed of forty-four bands, represented by a like number of sticks. The definite organization of forty-four chiefs was doubtless a strong factor in their intertribal warfare. It was a tangible organization of four head-chiefs, an executive chief, and forty councillors. When a decision was reached there were forty men of authority to lead their respective units. The author has had the privilege of observing the Cheyenne chiefs of this generation in council. Although the number of chiefs has dwindled, and the status of the tribe has changed from a great dominating people to that of pseudo-civilized wards of the Government, yet the chiefs still maintain the authority. What might have eventuated from such a definite organization had the Cheyenne been left to their own devices for a few generations longer is an interesting question.

Inherently warriors, fearless in battle, the Cheyenne were in constant conflict with neighboring tribes. After the alliance with their old-

time enemy, the Sioux, a favorite field for their raiding was the region to the south where horses were more plentiful; and it was in the same direction that their migratory drift from the Cedar Mountain country was made. In 1825 they made their first treaty with the Government, by the provisions of which they relinquished their claims to the Black Hills region. From that time began their real difficulties which extended over a long period and were characterized by broken covenants and unkept promises.

During these troublous years there grew within the ranks of the tribe two factions: one desiring to remain in the north, the other preferring the southern country. The outcome of this tribal difference was a division into the two groups which came to be known as the Northern and the Southern Cheyenne.

The Southern Cheyenne were ultimately given lands in Oklahoma, which in 1901 were allotted in severalty. From the point of view of tillage, their lands are good, and their living comes from agriculture. No oil has yet been developed in their part of the state, hence the Cheyenne are still poor. They retain much of the old ceremonial life. During the summer of 1926 the writer was in attendance during the rendering of the Arrow ceremony, the Sun dance, and the Animal dance, and was in several of their encampments where minor rites were performed and where the spirit of primitive times was maintained to some extent.

ORIGIN OF THE FORTY-FOUR CHIEF-STICKS AND THE ELECTION OF CHIEFS

Cheyenne tradition relates. that once a Cheyenne woman was a prisoner of another tribe. These people lived by a large lake which they worshipped, often killing their captives and casting them into the water as sacrifices. The woman had made a friend of a young man whom she called Son.

One day Son informed her that she was to be killed and sacrificed. He told her to make several pairs of moccasins, then to flee and not to stop anywhere, because the tribe had a dog trained for trailing which would surely overtake her if she did not make all haste.

The woman fled, and the tribe chose three youths, one of them being Son, to set the dog on her trail and pursue her. Two of them fell exhausted in the chase, but Son was still strong enough to continue.

Finally he overtook the woman, and after killing the dog, told her that it was now safe for her to proceed, but that he would return to his tribe and report that he had been unable to catch her.

The woman continued on her way. Soon she saw that some buffalo bulls were pursuing her, so she ran to a small pond, dived into it, and swam to safety. Hardly had she recovered her breath on the other shore, when a bear chased her. She ran and climbed a nearby tree, the bear close behind her. With her hatchet she severed the forepaws of the bear, so that he fell and limped away. She descended and resumed her journey.

It chanced that her husband and son were on a hilltop from which they saw the woman running toward them. As she came nearer, they recognized her and ran to meet her, happy that she was with them again, for she had long been given up as dead.

At the camp the woman told her story to the people, saying that she had brought back something to them, something very good and much needed to help them make peace with other tribes, but that before telling about it she had some work to do. She then gathered forty-four sticks and decorated them with porcupine-quills.

Meanwhile the other tribe was on the warpath, and came to fight the Cheyenne. The woman said that she would call to the warriors to learn if Son was among them; if so, he was not to be harmed, because he had been good to her. She called out, and he was there. At her hail, Son went to the camp of the Cheyenne, where he was kept safely throughout the battle which ensued.

After the Cheyenne had won, the woman brought forth her forty-four sticks, and said to the people: "These sticks represent chiefs. All other peoples have chiefs, while we have none. These chiefs must be good men; they must be able to make peace. That is why I have done this work. Let forty chiefs be selected and a tipi arranged for them in the middle of camp."

As they took the young man back to his people, he assured them that there would be peace between the two tribes, because his father was a chief and he himself had been well treated while with the Cheyenne. A messenger, sent in advance, returned with the chief, so they made peace and exchanged gifts.

At that time chiefs were elected every four years, and later every eight years. For the election a tipi is arranged in the centre of the camp.

The bands have dances in their own lodges. Four chiefs are elected from the bands in each of the four directions; one other chief is elected, and these five are the head-chiefs.

The remaining chiefs are elected regardless of band. The fifth head-chief may be chosen without regard to band or tribe. His position in the council lodge is by the door. All questions for consideration before the council are discussed, each man expressing his views; then the fifth head-chief is asked for his decision. He can decide for or against any matter, and according to tribal rule there is no appeal from his decision. But laws, rules, and questions of custom are always open to discussion, and should this chief render a decision unsatisfactory to the other chiefs and to the tribe, there would be at least a great deal of talk.

When new chiefs are elected, they go to the centre lodge where they give away horses to the bands electing them. They then gather inside the lodge, where they are instructed by the old chiefs in their duties. The head-chief has the lodge swept clean and the dirt piled. The swept ground, he informs them, represents the earth, while the dirt represents the people of the earth. He lays eight sticks in each of the four directions, and eight in the centre. These, he says, are the chief-sticks by which they are elected. The remaining four are to represent any other four chiefs with the Cheyenne chiefs.

CEREMONIES

THE SACRED ARROW CEREMONY

The sacred arrows of the Cheyenne are the central feature of their religious thought and teaching. According to the old men conversant with the Arrow rite and with tribal traditions, the Cheyenne received the four arrows and the instructions for their use from divine sources. These old men state that at the time they received the arrows and the accompanying teachings the people knew little of how to live; in fact, they were almost like animals.

Present informants — men close to ninety years of age — place the Cheyenne habitat at the time that divine instruction regarding the arrows was received, in the Cedar mountains in the Black Hills. The definite location was the sacred mountain known as Nuwáwus. The Cheyenne lived at the mountain and the Sútai near it. But the definite

naming of Nuwáwus as the place where they received the teachings is doubtless the result of an error that has crept in owing to the great lapse of time, for the Cheyenne did not reach the Black Hills until they were well advanced in culture.

A traditional story, related by one of the oldest Cheyenne, tells of a sacred mountain and a large spring far to the east, but after travelling westward, the people came to a "Land of Lakes and Swamps," where they lived for a time, then migrated to the "Land of the Red Bunchgrass." Later, after many years, they moved to the "Land of Stumps," and after a long stay at this place they came to the Missouri river and began to cross on the ice. The ice broke; some turned back and others crossed, ultimately reaching the Black Hills. This story regarding the passage of the "big river" is the only one obtained from the Southern Cheyenne which parallels the characteristic Algonquian legend of tribal division through crossing on broken ice. The legendary glimpse would indicate that they brought the holy-mountain teaching with them.

At this sacred mountain, wherever it may have been, Motseiyóïv, the Prophet, came to them. In a part of his teaching the origin of the ceremony of the four arrows is accounted for. The genetic legends do not make it clear that this Prophet brought the arrows, but rather that his spirit teacher gave them to him while he was instructing the people. However, the old men in speaking of them say, "The Prophet brought the arrows."

It is clear to all informants that the sacred arrows are a Cheyenne institution and that their acquisition preceded the final amalgamation with the Sútai. These arrows are guarded from the touch and sight of every one except those participating in the Arrow rite, and no woman ever can be allowed to see them. It is difficult for us fully to appreciate the awe with which they are regarded. The presence of these sacred objects in a large camp of Cheyenne brings a hush like the oppressive stillness before a great storm. Even the dogs seem to catch the spirit of devotional silence and subdue their customary howling.

The first keeper of the arrows was selected by Motseiyóïv, the Prophet. The bundle containing them is guarded in a tipi near the home of the arrow-keeper, who alone may enter it. The keeper must always remain at home to guard the sacred bundle; but in no circumstances may he open it, nor may he enter the tipi in which the Arrow

ceremony is performed, unless, before becoming the keeper, he has taken the vow to give the rite. The arrows are kept in a wolf-skin quiver, which with accompanying sacred objects is wrapped in a covering of buffalo-skin.

In olden times, when the tribe was moving from place to place in hunt or warfare, the arrow-keeper travelled on foot with the arrow bundle on his back, watchful outriders being constantly on guard. At the end of a day's march, the arrow tipi was erected quickly, and there he took his place in holy seclusion. The position of the arrow-keeper was one of great honor, but it involved what was equivalent to benevolent imprisonment.

The Cheyenne say that the life of the arrow-keeper is a hard one. An interesting incident is told in relation to the arrows. During a battle with a large war-party of Pawnee, two of the arrows were stolen. Later a party of Sioux in battle with the Pawnee captured one of the stolen arrows. The Cheyenne and Sioux at that time being allies, the latter returned the long-lost arrow. Later, when the Cheyenne and the Pawnee held a peace council, the other stolen arrow was returned as one of the conditions. In fact, from the viewpoint of the Cheyenne, the only object of the peace council was to secure the arrow, but being somewhat clever in intertribal negotiations, they did not reveal the real purpose of their overtures.[2] The Arrow ceremony is held only when necessity arises. For instance, if a Cheyenne should kill another Cheyenne, or commit suicide, then it would be necessary to conduct the rite in order to remove the evil which would envelop the tribe by reason of the crime, and to revive the arrows - remove the contamination. The murderer in the meantime would have been sentenced to banishment from the tribe for a period of four years. Sometimes the ceremony is performed because some man has dreamed that he made the vow. Apparently a man having such a dream feels obliged to make the vow and to give the ceremony. If the performance of the rite is in pursuance of a dream, the feathers on the arrows are not renewed; but if it is to remove the stigma of blood, new feathers are attached and

2 The information obtained from the Southern Cheyenne in regard to the stealing of the sacred arrows and their recovery does not wholly agree with that procured from the Northern Cheyenne some years ago. It is evident, however, that the statement here given is the correct one. See Volume VI.

the points purified. Only men of importance in the tribe presume to make arrow vows.

There are four arrow priests or teachers, who, like the keeper, hold the position for life. The four teachers are really the four high-priests of the tribe. When an occasion demanding the ceremony arises, a man or men make the necessary vows to give it. At the appointed time the tribe gathers, camping in the customary camp-circle with the opening to the north. As seen by the author, the camp-circle was about a mile in diameter. A short distance from the rear of the circle, at the south, on the inner side, was erected first the preparatory tipi in which takes place the first day's ritual, consisting largely of instructing the votary, who here offers his silent prayer for the welfare of all the people. The votary throughout the rite wears a buffalo-skin, painted red, with the hair side inward; and with great ritualistic formula his body also is painted with the same sacred red. After these preliminaries the teacher instructs the votary to sit by the incense fire and to spread the robe over his head, far out and around the fire, that there may be room within its folds for all the people. "Then you will inhale the smoke four times," he directs.

At the close of the silent prayer the teacher addresses the votary: "I thank you for what you have done; it means that you are going through this for the benefit of the whole tribe, blessing them and giving them long life."

The camp is instructed that these are four sacred days and that all must be quiet. No one may pass in front of the arrow lodge. No one may dance, nor in any way indulge in levity. On the morning of the second day the participants move to a larger tipi which has been erected near the centre of the circle. This is the real arrow lodge. The activities of the camp become more subdued, and members of the soldier societies constantly patrol the camp to see that even the children make no noise. People found wandering outside the camp-circle are driven to their homes by these guards, who are armed with willow whips. Those moving about inside the circle are treated in like manner. The whipping is severe. However, should a person be caught by the patrol and immediately crouch on the ground and cover his head, he would evade punishment. Similarly, a noted warrior, by recounting his valorous deeds, would also avoid this summary treatment.

Only one of the four priests is allowed to touch the arrows. Addi-

tional teachers from among those having previously given the vows are chosen. Only the four priests, the votary, and the chosen teachers may enter the sacred precincts of the arrow tipi. Having previously made the vows and participated in the rite does not give one the privilege to enter. However, those giving the ceremony have the right to invite any previous votary to assist. The entrance to the lodge is at the north; in the centre is the lodge fire; in the rear, on the south side of the lodge, is the incense fire, and to the east of the sacred fire are placed the four arrows with points directed toward the south.

Near the east side of the lodge is a series of circles, one set of circles for each votary. The first circle with a small fire in the middle symbolizes the earth. At the centre of the second circle is placed a fused glass disc representing the sky.[3] The third circle has at its centre a white shell representing day; while the fourth, with a small bucket at its centre, represents life.

Before each set of circles burns an incense fire. All incense fires and the ceremonial pipe are lighted from the central fire. Extreme care must be exercised to avoid any mistake in following the ritual precisely. Participants whose positions are at the right of the lodge must keep to the right side of the entrance; on going out they must keep close to the right, then circle the lodge to its southern arc. Those occupying positions at the left follow the corresponding rule of procedure. No one may cross the entrance or pass between it and the fire. To violate any rule of ritualistic procedure, it is believed, would bring death to the offender and evil upon the tribe.

At the end of the fourth day a smaller tipi is erected close to the large one. At the rear of this one is built a small bower where the high-priest takes his place, and at his side the other priests are stationed. Before the high-priest rest the arrows.

The simple ritual in this second lodge is only semi-secret. Men of the tribe may enter and reverently view the arrows; but this privilege does not extend to a tribesman of mixed-blood.

Information regarding the Arrow ceremony was obtained from

3 This disc is made in the same manner as that employed by the Mandan in making glass beads and ornaments. It may safely be assumed that the Cheyenne learned how to fuse glass from the Mandan.

two old men who had participated as votaries. Both became greatly depressed and worried before closing the interview. Howling Wolf, who told much in detail of his own ceremony, grew more anxious and uneasy with the telling of each step, and ceased before reaching the end. He went a short distance from camp, where he spent a full quarter of an hour in prayer, asking all the gods, Indian and Christian, to forgive him for revealing the secrets of the Divine Ones .[4]

Legend of the Sacred Arrows

The Prophet was reared by an old woman whom he called grandmother. He was a dirty, ugly boy, unnamed as yet, but called "Big Belly" by everybody. The old woman called him "grandson." No one ever knew who were his parents, nor whence he came. The tipi where the two lived stood apart from the main camp; it was old and worn, for they were very poor. Often lacking meat, they starved while the others had plenty.

The Mahiúhita, the old medicine people, were holding a dance one time, a sacred dance, in their lodge surrounded by a wall of cottonwoods. In those days the medicine people were great people. They were able to cut deep gashes in their arms, necks, and legs; to shake themselves and the cuts would be healed.

The Prophet asked his grandmother, "Grandmother, may I go and dance with the medicine people?"

"No, child, if you go over there, the medicine people will not like it."

"Yes, grandmother, I am going, anyway," he insisted. He painted his face, picked up a buffalo-calf hide, and tied a bow-string around his neck. His grandmother took him by the hand and led him to the medicine-lodge, saying, "My grandchild wants to dance with you, but I am afraid you may not like it."

4 In the Summer of 1926 the author was in the camp of the Cheyenne on the Canadian river during the performance of the Arrow rite. There were two votaries, both Northern Cheyenne. When it is necessary for the Northern Cheyenne to hold this ceremony, the votary must come to the Southern Cheyenne and enlist their coöperation. The rites in the sacred lodge were not witnessed, nor was it possible to record details of the ritual.

"That will be all right," they said. "Let him sit there." They told him: "We are going to sing and dance all the medicine-dances and all the ceremonial dances. After we have finished, we want you to give the last song and dance."

They finished their songs and dances, and asked the boy to give his. He danced around the cottonwoods, jumping like a buffalo calf. He had the buffalo-calf hide, which he held in his right hand. This he threw on the ground, once toward each cardinal point, and once in the centre. There stood a buffalo calf. He rubbed it four times with his hands and it was transformed into the robe, which he put about him. The others said: "Let us leave him. Let us go out, because none of us can do anything like he can."

He then went to the centre of the lodge, pulled on the bow-string around his neck in such a way as to pull his neck out, and fell down. The grandmother cried: " My poor grandchild; he has pulled his neck out, I wonder how we can put it back again!"

"Put my neck back in again; untie the buffalo-robe from my shoulders and cover me," he said.

She covered him, saying: "I do not know if he will come to life again; but let his name be Motseiyóïv ['Medicine Root']. Get up, grandchild, and dance as you did before."

He stood up, whole again, just as he was before. A long time afterward he grew up.

It was winter, and very cold, with much snow on the ground. There were no buffalo; the people were starving, for there was nothing to eat. All were very hungry. The Prophet said, "Grandmother, make me a little round wheel and braid it with rawhide." She made it and painted it red. Then he got two sticks, painted them red, and said to her: "Roll that wheel toward me and say that it is a four-year-old buffalo. I am going to shoot at it."

I do not want to do that," she protested.

"Just throw that wheel toward me," he ordered.

She threw the wheel, and he shot it with his sticks. It fell over, and a large buffalo was lying there. He then said, "Let us visit that great man who has such a fine daughter."

"No, we cannot; go. We are too poor for him. He will not like to have us," she objected.

"Yes, we are going. Let us go now," he insisted. The grandmother

put a fresh piece of fat in her shirt and they went to the lodge of the great man. The girl came to the door and welcomed them. The great man also greeted them, but he could offer them no real feast, since he had only some wild turnips. Soon the Prophet turned to his grandmother, and said, "Let us go."

"No, let us wait," objected the grandmother.

"No, we are going right now," insisted the Prophet. As they went out, the piece of fat dropped from her shirt. He picked it up, saying, "Why, look at that! That fat is mine!" After they returned home, he sent her back to the lodge of the great man to tell him to go over the mountain, for there were the buffalo from which he had obtained the fat.

It was very cold, with much snow on the ground. The great man sent a crier to spread great news that buffalo were over the mountain. All the people believed it. They prepared for a hunt and crossed the ridge where they saw many buffalo. The Prophet and two other boys were with the crowd when they surrounded the herd. He told the boys not to go too close until the animals were slaughtered. After most of them were killed, he went around pulling hair from carcasses, which he stuck inside his shirt. As they were returning, he saw a yearling. "Let us kill this one and I shall take the hide," said he. They skinned it and he took the hide and a hoof.

An old man came tip to them, saying: "You boys get away from here. I killed that yearling and I want the hide."

"No, that belongs to me," protested the Prophet; but the man tore it away from him. He felled the man with the hoof, then took the robe and ran with the boys back to camp. All the hunters returned, and there was plenty of meat in the lodges.

The Prophet went to his tipi and pulled from his shirt the buffalo-hair, which turned into good meat. The camp learned that he had knocked down an old man, so they surrounded his tipi, intending to give him a whipping. One boy ran ahead of the rest and told the old grandmother what was about to happen. She was cooking when the crowd came. The Prophet kicked the cooking-pot into the fire and went out with the steam through the smoke-hole. The people next saw him running over a ridge, so they gave chase, but when they arrived on the summit they saw him in the next valley. After pursuing him over four ridges, they gave up to return to the village, saying

amongst themselves, "Let him go; he must be a great prophet."

He came back to a river close to camp and was sitting there when some women came for water. They reported the news, and all the people came to surround him, but he was gone when they arrived. They saw a coyote running away, and that was he.

A second time he was found, but he flew away in the form of an eagle; the third time, he became transformed into a tree; and the fourth, he flew away with a flock of birds.

After four days the people saw the Prophet come over a ridge toward the camp. He had a crooked spear, decorated with otter-fur, after the fashion of the Hehmoiyói. Then he disappeared over the ridge, to return a second time with a spear decorated with feathers like the Mutsóinta[n]. At the third appearance he came out dressed as a Mahaóivas ("Red Shield"). A fourth time he had a spear with a feather at the end, and held a yellow bird and a whistle in his hand. He was dressed as an Ohihnúhkô ("Clown").

He did this to teach the people the dress of the four bands, because they did not have bands before that time. He did not return to the camp, but was absent four years.[5]

The Prophet went to the sacred mountain, Nuwáwus, and passed inside where the Medicine Spirits dwelt, the spirits of the rocks, trees, grass, animals, and all things. They told him that his friend Yellow Man (of the Arapaho) had just been sent out. The spirits were all around him to teach him. There was a log inside, decorated with many feathers and other ornaments, also a beautiful rock of all colors.

The spirits sat all about him, teaching and instructing. They asked him which one of them he liked best, and he pointed to the log. They said, "This is your medicine; from this will come your four arrows."

Some one coughed at the door, and there they saw a sickly-looking being, of whom the Medicine Spirit said, "That is the spirit of disease." This spirit declared, "You spirits are all great and wonderful, so I have come to smoke with you."

They bade him to enter, but he would not, saying, "You Medicine

5 The version of Howling Wolf gives the Mahaóivas and the Mutsóinta[n], as does that of Old Crow; but he gives two different bands: the Hotamitá[n]ye and the Himoyúhhis.

Spirits tried to leave me out, but I shall spread over the whole world." His name was Osananó"hish ("He Who Has No Care For Anybody").

The Medicine Spirit taught the Prophet the use of the four arrows, saying, "These you must take back to camp and teach the use of them."

The people had moved to the foot of the mountain, where they camped in a circle. The Prophet had now been in the mountain three years. One young man left camp and went up the mountain crying and wailing. Those inside heard him and sent out a spirit to see who was crying so. He returned and reported that a young man was outside, but that he was not prepared to come in. The spirits then said, "We shall bless this young man who is crying, so that he will have plenty as long as he lives and that he will be a good man."

A second young man went up the mountain, crying to be blessed, but he too was unprepared. A third who was unprepared was sent a message that he would be blessed so that in war he would have good luck, that he would become a great warrior.

A fourth young man went up the mountain, crying to be blessed. The spirits sent out one of their number to see who it was, and he reported that the young man was painted red and that he had a pipe and a worship stick. He was allowed to enter, because he was prepared. They told him: "We are glad that you are prepared to see us. You will have long life; your life will be good and you will be a great man among your people. Look at us closely; observe our paints and listen to our good words."

He went back to his people, who were poor and starving. A great wind arose and the people moved to other mountains.

The spirits said to the Prophet: "Look us over carefully and you will see that we are dressed in all the colors of the earth. You must choose one of us to help and instruct you; to aid you in worshipping."

The Prophet saw four arrows which he thought would be of help in worshipping, and he saw a spirit dressed in yellow, looking at him fixedly. He liked the paint and colors of this one, so he chose him. They said: "You have chosen. The color of this spirit is symbolic, meaning that all things in the world will in time become yellow and old. You have chosen the cause of old age and death. Had you another choice, you might have selected long life."

This was the fourth year of his instruction. This year he left the

sacred mountain with his four arrows. The people were starving, for there were no buffalo.

He went toward the camp, meeting some boys who were playing an archery game. He spoke to them: "I am the Prophet. Look about you; for some old buffalo-bones and bring, them to me."

He took the bones, worshipped them, and they turned into good buffalo meat. He took some buffalo-chips, which turned into buffalo-paunch; and he broke up the marrow-bones, which became grease. These he gave to the boys, and they ate. He instructed them: "Go to the camp and tell the people that the Prophet is coming. Tell them to put up a tipi in the centre of camp for me. Say that I shall be there soon, and tell them to get a crier to herald these things to the camp."

The people believed in him, so they built his tipi in the centre of camp as he had instructed. They saw him come from the east and enter the lodge, where he put down the four arrows. He called in all the people and told them to gather around, but not too close to the arrows. He said he was going to teach for four days; that in that time no one was to cross the open space of the camp, but to remain where they were and to be very still. He instructed them to listen carefully at sunset because much game was coming to camp, and in the morning they would see many buffalo.

At midnight they heard the noise of all kinds of game, at first far off, then nearer; and in the morning they saw the animals all around the camp. They killed many which stood still for them; and they gathered the tongues and ribs, which they brought to the centre tipi. They built a great fire for a feast. The Prophet taught them: "These are our arrows, representing all that is on the earth, the rocks beneath, and the birds above. Here are the marks on the arrows: the water mark, symbolic of all water on the earth, even the rain and the snow; the moon mark, which means that we shall live long, good lives while we are on this earth and that we shall increase; the cyclone mark, which represents the most powerful wind. These arrows mean that the world is standing here; that everything in the world is growing and increasing; that everything is useful and good; that all is wonderful and is to be worshipped."

The Prophet continued to live in the centre tipi, where he grew very old teaching his people and revealing the future. The people sat up nights with him, listening to his words.

The Sútai and the Cheyenne claim to have learned their ceremonies in the Cedar Grove when they were one people. The Sútai were from a mountain near the sacred mountain, Nuwáwus; the Cheyenne were from the sacred mountain.

The story is handed down to men only. When the old people tell the story, a pipe is filled and laid across the doorway. The storyteller says that if he makes any mistakes the others must check him, and make a cross on the ground. All cry a little in memory of the good old days of the Prophet. All touch the earth and rub their palms, arms, legs, body, and head to receive strength and long life, as in the other ceremonies.[6]

THE SUN DANCE[7]

In Volume VI of this work is given an observer's description of the Sun-dance camp and ceremony among the Northern Cheyenne in the autumn of 1909. On that occasion permission was obtained to witness the ceremony in its entirety and to photograph all important incidents of the rite; but it was not possible to record the ritual.

For that reason only a general description of the rite as witnessed was presented. On the occasion of the Sun dance with the Southern Cheyenne, occurring in the summer of 1926, it was not possible to obtain permission to witness the rite in all its details, but it became feasible to record a close description of the ceremony. In the present volume, therefore, attention will be devoted to the details of the ceremony rather than to a general description, hence the data may be regarded as supplementary to the material pertaining to the Northern Cheyenne, presented in Volume VI.

The Sun dance is given by some person who in time of illness or need has made a vow to the Spirit and has received an answer from

6 The legend was obtained from three informants, and as here given is the blending of the three into one.

7 The Cheyenne cannot procure official permission for rendering the Sun dance. To circumvent this arbitrary ruling, they have resorted to the simple expedient of renaming the rite, so with them the Sun dance is now known as the Willow ceremony.

that divine source.[8]

At the proper time, perhaps many months after making his vow, the votary has it announced that he will give the Sun dance, and he issues a call for all to assemble in the camp-circle. At this time he gives a feast to his own band, when he tells of his vow, imploring their aid in the ceremony, saying that he wishes all to be happy; that he is doing it as the result of a vow to the spirits, not only for himself, but for the whole tribe.

The location of the camp is decided on and the time set. Some days preceding the appointed time the people assemble at the selected ground. A day or two before the actual beginning of the rite, a preparatory lodge is erected at the western side of the camp-circle; also a sweat-lodge for the purification of the participants. The ritual in the preparatory lodge is in a measure secret; at least, none but those who participate in the rite are permitted to enter. In preparation, the votary goes to this lodge in company with his teachers, those who have given the dance before, and the medicine-man. The votary approaches one of these and offers him a pipe, thus signifying that he is to be *maháksi,* the head-teacher, the high-priest.

The second day of the four-day cycle is devoted to the ceremonial gathering of the materials to be used in building the Sun-dance lodge. A chief who has a notable war record is selected to scout for a fine tree to be used as a centre-pole. He should leave camp before day-light, and if possible return before the sunrise. While scouting, he finds a suitable tree, marks it, and offers a brief prayer. On his return to camp, he simulates the movements of a returned war scout, advances to the centre of the circle, and builds a small brush mound, at the completion of which he gives the scout wolf howl. He then proceeds to the preparatory lodge occupied by those who are to participate in the rite, where he delivers an allegorical oration, telling of his scouting in the enemy land; that he found and struck an enemy, the tree. He continues to speak, recounting his prowess as a warrior. The fertility of the rec-

8 When questioned as to his understanding of the Spirit, the informant stated that it was Motseiyóïv. From discussion with different groups of Plains Indians it is the writer's opinion that "Great Spirit," or "Great Mystery," before contact with Christian teaching, broadly encompassed all the Divine Ones. It was the Spirit Over All, yet not inclusive of all.

onnoitrer's imagination determines the length of this harangue.

In the early forenoon the four principal bands, those instituted by the Prophet, the Hotámitá ^{n}ye, Hivíhhnihpôih, Óvimana, and Ómish-ish, go the forests for the lodge timbers. Each band goes as a separate unit, and all are mounted. In leaving camp they assemble at a given point, and in riding away keep outside the camp-circle. While in the forest the men decorate themselves and their horses with willows. On returning they ride slowly until close to the camp, then all break into a mad race to the centre of the circle where is situated the brush mound made by the tree-scouting chief. This brush mound symbolizes an enemy, and the race is for the purpose of counting coup upon it. The rearmost horsemen of the band drag in the pole. Each of the four bands follows the same procedure. Óahanowin, Club Band, the women's band, also go to the forest for poles. They are the last to return, racing in on foot.

There is an interval between the return of the different bands. Each after its coup-counting race assembles at the eastern opening of the camp-circle to ride slowly round the camp. As they pass lodges of their bands,, they stop to sing songs and to receive gifts. Following this song-making, gift-collecting parade, the women of the several bands erect lodges around the site of the proposed Sun-dance lodge, while the men begin the digging of holes to receive the centre-pole and side-posts.

Meanwhile the chiefs assemble and go to the forest to bring in the selected centre-pole, led by the scout chief who found and marked the tree. On reaching the tree, they encircle it. One of the number who has struck down an enemy with a tomahawk recounts his deed of valor and fells the tree. A loud shout accompanies its crash — an enemy has fallen. The pole is then dragged to the camp, and into the camp-circle from the west. The chiefs riding abreast then parade round the camp, two of their number acting as flankers, riding back and forth in front of the line to keep it straight.

When the bands have completed the digging of the hole, the centre-pole is placed across it. The outer crotched poles have already been set up in a circle; also in place are the horizontal poles or cap timbers on which will rest the rafter poles. Each band has provided two slender poles for use in lifting the centre-pole in place. These are deposited close to the centre-pole.

The teacher, votary, and other participants emerge from the preparatory lodge and devoutly file to the centre of the Sun-dance lodge, where, after taking their seats close to the centre-pole, they recite a long prayer.

Certain of the participants now make a large bundle of willow brush, which is securely tied to the fork of the centre-pole. Through this is thrust an arrow, typifying the arrows from the sacred mountain, Nuwáwus, and signifying also the place of origin of the ceremony. Many persons now bring offerings to be tied to the pole — strips of cloth of many colors, deerskin clothing, all are brought as gifts to the spirits in return for blessings received or desired.

As the sun sinks, the head-chief of the tribe calls the bands together to raise the pole. As they assemble, they take positions in line on each side of it. The old people and certain of the ceremonial participants, including the chief teacher, chant the songs of pole-raising. The men of the bands raise and lower the pole three times. At the fourth movement of raising, it is lifted to its position in the hole. As it slips into place a great shout of accomplishment goes up from workers and spectators. The moment the pole is in place, the bands, acting as separate units, hurriedly place the first four rafter poles. Great rivalry is shown by the bands in an effort to have their pole first in place. The four rafters are painted: that from the south is black; that from the west, red; the one from the north, white; from the east, yellow. The centre-pole itself is painted red. Following the placing of the cardinal poles, the further needed roof-support members are put in place and the coverings of many lodges drawn over the frame.

With the completion of the lodge, the votary and his wife approach and enter. This approach and the entrance of the votary's wife follow exact ritualistic formula. Awed silence holds the assembly. Constant halts are made when the pipe is offered to Mother Earth and to the spirits. The buffalo-skull which will later form a part of the altar is borne ahead of the votary's wife, and at each halt is placed upon the ground before the devotee.

Day has now advanced to night, and the band members and spectators go to their lodges to dress and prepare for the ceremony which follows during the early part of the night.

In the meantime, the teachers and assistants prepare the bower and altar at the western side of the lodge. An important part of the

altar is a mound of dirt representing the earth. By it is placed the buffalo-skull, and at each side there is planted a row of sticks covered with rabbit-skin and decorated with down. It is not essential that these sticks be of the "wild-tomato vine."

At night those who are to join the dance assemble, taking their places on the north and south sides of the lodge. They are naked, except for the breech-cloth, and each carries his eagle-bone whistle. The votary and his teacher sit at the western side, near the altar. The teacher causes all the dancers to stand while he sings. During the singing they all stretch first their right hand to the pole, then the left hand. During this alternating movement of extending the hands to the centre-pole, they continuously blow their whistles. At the end of this song they join hands, and swing their arms and hands while the teacher chants four prayer songs. All then sit and smoke. Then follows a period of what may be termed non-ritualistic dancing. Many chiefs, singly or in groups, dance and recount war deeds. Gaily bedecked horses are ridden into the lodge. The chorus of drummers and singers grow wildly enthusiastic in this part of the ceremony.

On the morning of the third day, the dancers, who have already commenced to fast, enter the lodge and fill a pipe which they offer to men who have participated in the Sun dance four times, asking that they show them the paints they have used.

The old warriors sit by the dancers and begin the ceremonial painting.[9] The color scheme for the first painting is yellow. The votary with his teacher is at his post at the west of the altar. He still bears the red paint, and continues to do so throughout the rite. The votary's wife, also painted red, maintains a position in the bower back of the altar. During the entire ceremony the votary's wife wears only a wrapping about the loins. At the time of this first painting of the dancers, any one of their number who desires to show exceptional devotion may announce his determination to go beyond the customary four paintings and four dances and call for a fifth painting. This one is distinctive, the face being black and the body spotted, and is preserved throughout

9 It may be said that ceremonially the Sun dance is a cycle of four ritualistic paintings. It is the opinion of the writer that, in its undebauched form, each painting covered a day of the rite.

the rite. Thus the spectators know that the wearer is a man of great courage. He is supposed to dance a fifth dance after the others have finished, either until the completion of the cycle or he ceases from sheer exhaustion.

Following the painting, food is brought in to be blessed and as an offering to the spirits. The teachers take morsels of all the food and give them to the dancers, instructing them to proceed to the centre-pole, offer the food to the spirits, and then to place it on the ground at the foot of the pole. In so placing it, strict observance of the four cardinal points must be followed.

The votary is then instructed to take a buffalo-hide to the singers and present it to them. In this presentation he makes three movements of giving it, and on the fourth the singers take it from his hands. Immediately they begin to drum upon it, and give a great shout of joy. This act is symbolic of the spirits giving them the buffalo.

Now begins the actual dancing of the fasting devotees. The drummers begin their singing, the dancers rise. The teachers give each one a bunch of sage to hold in his right hand, and four branches are placed in the belt; also they must stand upon sage. A feather wand is held in the left hand and the eagle-bone whistle in the mouth.

The teachers take the dancers by their right hands and lift them four times to the centre-pole, doing the same in turn with the left. This stretching of the hands is done four times. The teachers then dance with their pupils, showing them the step, finally releasing them to dance by themselves. While they are dancing, they keep their gaze fixed on the centre-pole. The movement of the dance is to lift the body on the balls of the feet, at the same time exhausting the air from the lungs in a blast of the whistle. In each case the dancing is a cycle of four songs by the drummers.

At the end of the fourth song the devotees take their seats, and after a short interval of rest they again take position for another cycle of four songs. This continues until late in the day, when at the close of a dance the votary fills a pipe and takes it to the singers. One of them accepts, rises to his feet, tells a story of his war deeds, dancing meanwhile and showing in pantomime some act of great valor. At the finish of his pantomime war-dance he fills the pipe and all smoke.

Following this, the teachers wash the paint from the devotees. and repaint and redecorate them. Black is the color for this painting, but

various designs may be employed. Some paint a sun on the breast and a crescent moon on the back, with stripes of black extending from these devices to the shoulders and down the arms. These are termed the "moon roads" and "sun roads." Willow takes the place of sage this time: some is placed in the belt; a complete head-dress is made of it, as well as wristlets and anklets. The procedure of dancing is the same as for the first painting, except that the teachers do not give instructions.

Shortly after midnight the dancing for the night ceases. The fasters now wrap themselves in blankets for a period of sleep, but they must be repainted and redecorated ready to start the final day's dance as the sun rises.

To the sun and moon symbols are added representations of bison tracks, and of the June-bug signifying the whirlwind. Willow decorations are again used. By this time some of the dancers begin to show fatigue, making it necessary for the teachers to assist them to their feet. The procedure of the dance is but a repetition of the preceding one. In the early afternoon the final painting is begun. The dance then commenced should continue until sunrise of the next day.

All dancers, however, may not possess the endurance to continue to the end. At the beginning of this dance many may not be able to rise to their feet unaided. The teachers assist them. Even when standing, they may lack the strength to raise their arms to the required position. The teachers stand behind them, steadying their swaying bodies and holding their hands toward the centre-pole. Once started, they are supposed to gain strength and to continue unaided. They maintain the dance throughout the night, but long intervals of rest are necessary. As sunrise approaches, the exhausted devotees are for the last time helped to their feet. Singers, dancers, and teachers throw themselves into the closing dance with all possible vigor. The dancers bravely simulate strength.

At the conclusion of this final dance the devotees are led, each in turn by his teacher, around the centre-pole to the altar, where, with his foot, the dancer pushes over one of the rabbit-skin covered sticks. He then is laden with gifts from relations and friends. When all the dancers have gone through this procedure, those who are still able to stay on their feet follow, at a trot, the head-teacher and votary through the eastern entrance a few rods outside, where they turn, reënter the lodge, and run once around the centre-pole. In like manner they run

out of the north, south, and west entrances, always to return and encircle the centre-pole once.

Now the votary, the head-priest, and assistants chant the final sacred songs, and there remains only the sweat-lodge purification to close the rite.

It is evident that much flexibility of procedure is permissible in this ceremony. Certain units of order are vital and necessary, but the time and manner of incorporating the separate units depend on the leader. It is not necessarily a four-day ceremony. The preliminary rite might be prolonged until five days are consumed, or circumstances might require that it be given in three days.

There are certain minor points of the Southern Cheyenne rite which seemingly differ from that of the Northern Cheyenne. But it must be borne in mind that seventeen years have elapsed since the ceremony was witnessed among the northern group, and many slight changes in a ceremony can be made in that time. In the writer's opinion, no two men of the tribe would adhere precisely to the same formula for the rite.

THE BUFFALO CEREMONY

The Buffalo ceremony of the Cheyenne is the dramatization of two separate Sútai legends — the Buffalo legend and the "Coming of the Animals," which are here included. The locality of the teaching of these stories is placed at the sacred mountain, Nuwáwus. Like most Indian ceremonies, it is a dramatized prayer, and, as given now, is a prayer for the reanimation of all living things, with special stress on the curing of the physically afflicted. Yet it is evident that in the beginning it was basically an animal propagation rite. The units of ceremonial participants at this time are the buffalo, the otter, and the deer; formerly other animal groups were represented. Certain features of the public ceremony suggest borrowings from the Mandan *Okípe,* with lesser borrowings from the summer ceremonies of the Arikara.

The rite is initiated on the vow of some tribesman who may have dreamed that he should make it; or perhaps some member of his family was ill and he made it as part of his invocation to the spirits for recovery. The vow is made months before the ceremony is held; in fact a year or more might elapse before the votary would be in a position to give the ceremony, for it can be held only during the mid-summer

months. It is of four days' duration, the first three days being devoted to the semi-secret ritual. On the afternoon of the fourth day occurs the public ceremony, a dramatized performance loosely termed a dance.

The esoteric rites are the usual extended series of ritualistic prayers and songs, begging the favor of the spirits of the four winds, of the sky and the earth, of the animals, and of all growing things. The participants are members of the different animal societies who are chosen to assist.

The tribe camps in the usual circle, with the opening at the east. The ceremonial tipi is in the centre of the camp, facing the west. In erecting the tipi, a cottonwood tree with its topmost branches intact is planted. On the back of the lodge is painted the moon, over its entrance the sun, and on its side, grasshoppers. In fact, the tipi is referred to as the grasshopper lodge. The significance of the grass-hopper was not learned; as they do not eat this insect, it is not conceivable that they would pray for a superabundance of the pest.

On the morning of the fourth day, lodges are erected at separate points within the camp-circle for the use of the participating animal societies; also a lodge for the clowns.

In the instance under observation, two Buffalo societies participated, each having a separate tipi. At midday the ceremonial lodge was opened and extended until it formed a broad canopy, facing the west. Here sat the teachers and votaries, also the men who personated the wolf and the coyote. In their respective lodges the Buffalo and other participants dressed and awaited their cue. Coyote, yellow-painted, face striped, a coyote-skin down his back, and an eagle-bone whistle in his mouth, took his position some distance to the west and began his ceaseless trotting back and forth. Other participants worked intermittently, but Coyote never stopped his trotting. With each step he played a plaintive pipe upon his whistle. His task seemed to be an endurance test.

Now one band of the Buffalo, which wore buffalo head-dresses and had faces and arms painted black, emerged from their lodge and started to encircle the camp, their line of march being close inside the line of tipis. The group was composed of bulls, cows, and calves, with a large cow at the head of the line. Obesity was seemingly a factor in the leader's selection. Bringing up the rear of this single-file parade were two master bulls. All about the camp the sick and afflicted, the

lame and the blind, were brought out and placed on the ground in front of their tents.

As the Buffalo reached one of the ailing, they circled around him and the cow leader performed her healing incantations over the body. As the band started to file away, the bull closed the shamanistic performance by crouching down and sucking the evil from the body of the patient. Thus they continued around the circle. As the afflicted were numerous, progress was necessarily slow.

Next the Otter society members emerged from their lodge and in like manner circled the camp, treating the ailing. This party was similarly composed of mother otters and their babies, and the males. The color painting of the Otters was red; the two master males wore feather headdresses. Then came the members of the Deer society, their exposed bodies painted yellow. Like the Otters, each carried a willow wand, and as with the other groups the mother deer was of ample proportions. The last group was the second society of Buffalo.

From the time Coyote started his melancholy, whistling trot, the clowns began their spirited and amusing antics. These fun-makers were each dressed in a scant loin-cloth and a coat of white paint; their hair was painted white and tied at the forehead in a knot decorated with a single eagle-feather. They carried miniature bows and arrows. Their clowning consisted largely of acting the part of a crazy person and in doing everything contrary to ceremonial order. In their fun-making there is a tendency to perform antics such as this basically propagation ceremony would suggest.

When the first Buffalo society completed its circle of the camp, it filed to the centre lodge, dancing in a circle before the singers. Coyote joined it, but wound his whistling way in and out the dancing line, paying no attention to the line or its formation. Wolf, dressed with a wolf-skin down his back, its head forming a head-dress, paraded slowly around the dance circle. He simulated walking on all four feet by the use of short canes in his hands. The clowns were constantly performing their fun-making antics, the direction of their movements being invariably the reverse of those of the dancers. At the conclusion of the Buffalo society's dance, the members all filed to the society lodge.

The Otters, on completing their circle, came likewise to the ceremonial lodge, where they danced and were joined by the first Buffalo society. When the Deer reached the ceremonial lodge, they were aug-

mented by both the Buffalo and the Otter, all returning after the dance to their respective society lodges until the second group of Buffalo had completed its round, when all joined in the dance. A cycle of four dances with all participants then ensued.

Following this came the distribution of the sacramental meat by the votary and teachers, now dried beef in lieu of buffalo. Spectators as well as participants scrambled for a morsel of this sacred food.

The closing act of the ceremony must be held at a body of water. In this instance it was a picturesque pool about a quarter of a mile to the west of the ceremonial grounds. Toward this pool the participating societies, led by Coyote, advanced, making four halts and singing a song at each stop. At the close of the fourth song, Coyote sprang from the group and started a race for the water, followed by participants and spectators in a mad rush, the object being to see who could reach the water first, but no one would presume to outrun Coyote. At the pool they dashed some of the water on head and face, by this presumably receiving personal benefit from the ceremony.

Following the race to the water, all participants formed in ceremonial order and sang their way back to the ceremonial lodge in the manner in which they had advanced from it, that is, by four halts and songs, except that now the clowns shot various animals with their toy weapons. These animals pretended to be sorely stricken, staggering as though mortally wounded. Then fellow members of their society rushed to aid them, supporting them on each side and rubbing the pretended hurt, whereupon the injured recovered. This by-play was of course another bit of symbolism in the drama of reanimation. After once more reaching the ceremonial lodge, all dispersed.

Buffalo-dance Legend

At one time buffalo were very scarce and all the people were starving. One day, while all were playing the wheel game a warrior spirit, with mouth and eyes painted black, with a blank circle around his face, a feather in his hair, black paint on wrists and ankles, a painted design on his breast, and a crescent moon on his back, came up and watched them.

Another warrior spirit, similarly dressed, came up, and said, "You must have seen me and have gone home to dress as I am dressed."

"No," replied the first, "I got my dress from Big Spring on the

mountain."

"That is where I got mine."

"Let us go into the spring and visit grandmother. Then let us bless the starving people."

The headman of the tribe, who had been looking at them and listening to their talk, said: "You are both dressed alike, and you come from the spring. If you know something that we do not know, will you bless these starving people and get them something to eat?"

One warrior spirit told him to assemble the people to watch them enter the spring: that if the grandmother there told them anything, or gave them anything, they would come out at once, but if they were kept in the spring until morning, the people should go to bed.

One of the spirits asked the other, "Where did you learn about the spring?"

"My grandmother taught me when I was a small boy. Where did you learn?"

"I learned of it about the same time. You have been blessed by her; you lead the way."

Both were wearing buffalo-robes exactly alike. They went into the spring, where they saw an old woman sitting by the fire. She

spoke: "I have sent for both of you. The people in the world are suffering. I am going to bless you both, and if you need anything, I shall get it. Come closer."

She took off their feathers, threw them into the fire, and washed off their paints. She said, "I am going to give you something to take out to the people, then you must come back here."

She painted them as before, took their feathers out of the fire, and put them back on again. She gave them meat and fat to take to the people. They went out and fed the people with the meat and fat. The last person, an orphan boy, finished it. They told the people to watch again, because they were going to drive out the buffalo.

They went back into the spring and were instructed by the old woman to drive out the buffalo. The people saw great herds come from the spring, but they waited for the warrior spirits.

The woman, who was the Old Buffalo Medicine-woman, addressed the two warrior spirits: "You must not forget me. I shall send for you again. You will be called the 'Two Boys.' You must tell the people that when they kill a calf, they must never say, 'I have killed a

poor calf.' If they do, the buffalo will become scarce again."

After embracing her, the warriors came out where the people were waiting, to tell them to hunt the buffalo and get plenty of meat. They told them of the forbidden words, and said that Old Buffalo Medicine-woman had given them these animals and that the people would now increase. From that time the people increased and there were plenty of buffalo.

To teach the tribe, the two spirits had a tipi set up in the centre of the camp, where they instructed the people. They had an altar built inside. They said: "Come and sit by the altar four times, once from each direction. Now sweep up the altar and pile the refuse inside the door, on each side. Next make a fireplace in the centre and build a fire, first placing four sticks in each direction. You must go outside, offer a prayer to the Spirit, and return. Get four gourds, and sing three songs. Let your relatives cook food and bring it in; this you must divide in four parts and place them in the four directions by the fire. The votary must sit down and open his right hand. We are going to put five pieces of food in his hand — one piece in the centre of the palm and the other four toward each direction. These we shall take from the meat we laid down before. Now the food must be changed to the other hand. You must take each piece in turn and hold it up to the south, west, north, and east, asking for the spirits to come. The last piece hold up to Spirit Above, then return it to the altar. Now you are to rub your hands, arms, body, legs, and head."

"In the morning let more food be brought in and do with it as you did before. When the sun rises, hold a pipe in each direction and point it to the sun. This pipe is to be handed the votary, who will puff four times, afterward knocking the ashes out, putting the bowl on the ground, and rubbing the stem upward twice with the right hand and twice with the left. This is the way the Spirit will bless you."

Food was brought in again. The teachers gave their share to the votary, who in turn gave his to the teachers. A pipe was smoked after being pointed to the cardinal points and to the earth.

Animal-dance Legend

Big Ghost, who was very tall and had big feet which left huge tracks, had a tipi far across the river. He used to prowl around the camps at night, and when he heard a child crying outside a lodge, he would

snatch it up and take it to his tipi, where he ate it.

One night a girl was crying, and would not stop. Her mother put her outside, saying, to frighten her, "Big Ghost, come and take away this child!"

Just then Big Ghost came up, snatched away the girl, and put her in a cradle which he carried on his back. The mother heard the girl's cries become fainter and fainter. She rushed out, but could not find her child. They trailed Big Ghost to the water, but knew that it was of no use to attempt to go farther.

Big Ghost carried the girl to his camp, where she saw the skeletons of children he had eaten and the ashes of the fires where he had roasted them. He began to abuse her, sending her out for firewood. Each time she brought some, he would scold, because it was not the right kind. Finally she brought some roots which satisfied him.

She walked down to the water, crying. A bird flew down, warning her, "You had better get away before Big Ghost eats you!"

She went to some Cranes and asked them to carry her across the water to her camp, but they refused. She asked an Eagle, and he agreed to take her. "Get on my back and hold me tight," he ordered.

When Big Ghost saw that the girl was gone, he trailed her to the water's edge, but there the trail ended. "Who took my bait [food]?" he howled.

Eagle carried the girl close to her camp, and said: " I have carried you home now. Tell your parents to get me some fat, because I like fat."

As the girl went home, she saw on a ridge two people who proved to be her father and mother. They were very happy to see her, for they had given her up for lost. After she told her story and asked her father to provide fat for the eagle, he called together the people, for he was a chief, and had much fat collected. When she took it to the ridge outside of camp, four Eagles flew down, thanked her, and said: "You must not forget what we did for you. We like fat, which you must bring to us sometimes. Now tell your father to move camp, for Big Ghost might come again. Always put some fat on a ridge near camp, and we shall come and get it."

They moved to where the buffalo were numerous, and the girl did not forget to put out plenty of fat for the Eagles. They flew down again, saying, "That is fine! We shall visit you four times and we shall

watch for Big Ghost. When he is coming, we shall let you know."

They came four times as promised. The fifth time they said: "We shall fly to the water and watch for Big Ghost. When he crosses, we shall come back and tell you how to kill him."

One night the people heard a whistling overhead. The girl went out and saw the Eagles. "Big Ghost is coming again!" said they. "Tell two brave men to get their bows ready. Have them take four arrows apiece; let the point of one be blunt; let another be sharp; let the third be softened by chewing at the point; and let the last be a hardened rawhide point. Now we are going away to watch Big Ghost."

They flew away, but returned soon, asking if all had been done as they had instructed. "Now tell the people to have their axes ready, and give this medicine to the two men to rub on their arrows."

They flew away a third time to watch Big Ghost, and all the people made ready as they had been commanded.

The Eagles returned once more, this time saying: "Big Ghost is trailing this camp now. We want all the people to form in two lines; the two men with the bows and arrows at the head of each line. We are the Thunderbirds."

A fourth time they winged away and came back, ordering: "Get some little child; take her a little way off and make her cry. That will attract the Ghost. These two men must not be afraid, but must go up and shoot Big Ghost."

Big Ghost, cradle on his back, sparks shooting from his eyes, gradually and slowly approached the crying child, for he was very wary. Suddenly he swooped, but the two men shot him with their arrows. He ran to the timber, and there the two men shot him down. Then all the people came around with clubs and axes and chopped him into small pieces. They built a big fire and threw him on it. When sparks and fire flew out from him in every direction, they caught them and threw them back on him. Big Ghost was at last dead, lying very still. The people went back to camp.

The Eagles flew down again to the girl, saying: "We are the Thunderbirds. We have taught you the use of the medicine from the swamp to put on the arrows which killed Big Ghost. This medicine can kill anything, even a powerful ghost. We are going to bless you and teach

you, and you will be great among your people.[10]

The Thunderbirds flew down again to the girl, saying: "We are the power birds, for we have supernatural power. We are going to teach you our medicine. Back in the mountains is a big spring, where your people must camp. There a wonderful dance will be begun. There all the birds and animals will be created. You are to be the teacher of this dance."

The camp was moved over to the spring in the mountain. When the girl went and looked down into it, she saw a hawk and all kinds of other birds fly out and then fly back again.

She sent for four young men, to whom she said: "I am going to teach you a wonderful dance which comes from this spring. You must paint yourselves and tie your hair in a knot on your foreheads. Two of you must have small bows with four arrows, one of them blunt, one chewed soft at the end, one sharp, and one with a hardened rawhide point. The other two must paint with black stripes on arms and legs to represent the lightning."

Just then the buffalo, elk, deer, antelope, and all other animals came out of the spring and danced around. She ordered: "Now shoot at the animals. When one is hit, it will stagger and bleed, but the others will come up and rub it so that it will be well again."

The four young men returned to the camp and all the animals went back into the spring.

She heard the rain coming, and thunder from above. Thunderbird flew down, saying: "My girl, I have blessed you. This is the way the dance must be held in the future."

Back in camp, she said to her father, "Now we can scatter and go where the buffalo are, and be happy."

This was the only teaching at that time, because before then the people were very ignorant. The spring whence all the animals came is in Cedar Grove.

10 The Thunderbird's medicine, said the informant, is on the lightning, which can kill anything. The teaching of the Thunderbirds is that of the Animal or Crazy dance. The name of the Thunderbirds is *Nunúma,* and the name of the dancers is *Hóhnuhka.* The dancers have their teachers in the ceremony, which is given by some one who has previously made a vow. It is a part of the Buffalo dance, brought in by the Sútai.

BAND AND SOCIETY LEGENDS

ÍSIOMÉTA^{N}YE, THE RIDGE HILL BAND

The name of this band is indicative of the fact that it lived in the hills, whereas other bands lived in level country.

Once they were a very poor people. Game, and buffalo especially, was so scarce that they were forced to live on wild fruits. They wandered northward, in search of food, until they came to a large mountain with a deep open spring, where they camped facing the spring. The old people used to sit in the centre of the camp, studying and thinking how they were going to live.

One night, as some of the people were playing the wheel game, two warrior spirits standing together, dressed and painted alike, came to visit them. One said to the other, "My friend, where did you get your paint and clothing which are like mine?"

"I got mine from this spring on the mountain," he answered.

The old people meanwhile were standing around these spirits, listening to the conversation.

The second spirit said, "If you know what I know and if you want to help these starving people, let us march into the spring and bless them.

"Very well, let us go in," responded the first.

While all the people watched, the two spirits walked to the spring, covered their heads, and dived in. Once inside and in the mountain they met an old woman, who greeted them: "My grandchildren, I am glad you came in. I shall call one of you Feather In The Head, the other, Noisy One."

She fed them corn and meat, telling them to eat all they could. When they had finished, she instructed, "Hold out your hands, and then touch the earth."

In the hands of the one she put buffalo meat, and in those of the other, corn, opening and closing their fingers four times. Then she bade them return to the people.

The spirits came out of the spring to the people, who gathered around. They ordered, "Put up a double tipi; get a horn spoon and a large wooden bowl."

All the people entered the tipi, where the spirits placed the meat

and corn, which increased until the bowl was filled. The people were told to eat their fill, then to leave after circling around once inside in a clock-wise direction. The last one to depart ate the remaining food, so that nothing was left.

Then the spirits commanded: "Tonight you must all be in your tipis. You must be very quiet, and you must listen. We are going to sing four songs, and then you will hear something."

After the fourth song, they heard a noise and thought that an enemy tribe had slipped up on them; but after listening more carefully, they knew that it was the sound of many buffalo in movement. In the morning they looked out and saw a great herd. They looked again and saw a large cornfield.

The tribe killed and butchered many buffalo, and gathered and stored much corn. The spirits instructed them to move away and to find a level camping-place and field for corn; then to find a hill and plant a tree on top of it as a lookout for buffalo. Next they were told to plant the corn, and when it had grown fairly high, to go out in search of buffalo and wild fruits. After the hunt they were to return and find the corn tall and ready for the harvest. They were also to grow sacred tobacco.

All these things the people did.

Once they went on a long hunt, for buffalo were becoming scarce again; but several years passed with scant success. At last they came back to the camp looking for the corn and the meat stored away, but they had disappeared. Then the people moved on until they came to the Country of Lakes and Swamps. After a stay here, they migrated once more until they came to the Land of the Red Bunch-grass. Here they abided a while only to wander again to the Land of Stumps. After a sojourn in the Land of Stumps, the people moved to the Big Missouri. It was winter, and ice was on the river, so they started to cross. When part way across, the ice began to crack. Some went ahead, and others, becoming frightened, ran back. Those who continued are those who are here today.

The tribe lived beside a big sharp mountain for a time, but kept on in an ever-westward movement until they reached the Cedar mountains in the Black Hills. While there they never saw any other people but themselves — the Cheyenne and the Arapaho. The Arapaho chief said to them, "Let us all be friends and brothers." So from that time

they have been friends and brothers.

HIMATÁ^{N}NOHISH, BEAR BOW-STRING SOCIETY

Once there was a man called Big Owl, a member of the Héfata society, who started off to visit another tribe. While on his way he was overtaken by a snowstorm. He struggled on and on, and finally saw what seemed to be a fire ahead of him, but as he approached to warm himself, he observed that there was no fire, but only a bunch of red grass. He pushed on until exhausted, then sat down against a bank to rest. As he reclined, he heard some one approaching, and voices asking if the man were still alive and the answer that he was. Four times he heard the question and answer. As he felt the blood within him freezing, he had the sensation of being lifted and borne away. Then consciousness left.

When he awoke, he was inside of a mountain and quite thawed. He heard people talking, and on looking around he saw them making lances, rattles, bows and arrows, and giving the song of the Bow-string dance. One of them asked if he were hungry, and what he preferred to eat. He answered that he liked buffalo meat, so buffalo meat, entrails, and kidneys were brought to him.

He was unable to recognize any of them, but one of their number told him to look around and become acquainted, because they were his friends. While there he went on a buffalo-hunt with them, and during the course of the hunt saw an arrow feathered with an eagle-feather. He picked it up, but the people told him to put it down again.

He remained in the mountain with them four days, and then danced outside. All had whistles in their mouths, rattles and spears in their hands; some were decorated with feathers and others with otter-skin, but they had taken off their moccasins. The drummer was a Bear. A pipe lay before the Bear, and cedar was put on the fire, so that Bear and drum were wreathed in smoke. While Bear was thumping the drum four times, all were blowing their whistles, shaking rattles, chewing the medicine-root, and dancing on the fire until it was extinguished.

He was informed that all this was a method of instruction; that he was to go back and teach his people what he had learned; that he would have good luck on the warpath, but that if a war-party started off unluckily, he was to return home. They told him to cover his head

and start home to his camp, but after proceeding a way, to uncover and look behind him. He did as directed, and on looking back saw that they were Wolves. One of them howled, and called out names such as Sleeping Wolf, Wolf, and Brave Wolf, as he howled. These he told Big Owl to distribute among his people.

When Big Owl returned to the camp, he had a tipi put up in the centre. He announced that he had been taught the ways of the Bowstring Society; that if any one wanted to join, he could, but he himself could not elect men to it — they must come of their own free will. Then he howled like a wolf four times, and a herald spread his word around the camp.

Those who entered Big Owl's tipi he taught to decorate their spears with feathers and to prepare gourd rattles. He dressed one man in the skin of a bear; he chose eight chiefs and dressed them in war clothing with scalps along the fringes; he taught the songs and the dances. Four days he devoted to the new teaching. At the end of that time he had a fire built outside the lodge, where the chiefs rubbed medicine-root on themselves, and danced on the fire until it was out. Big Owl then howled four times like a wolf. He sent some young men to make a pile of stones a little way off, telling them to race to it and return after he had finished howling.

Big Owl knew that if he ever slept after the sun rose he would not live long; but one day the sun caught him in bed, and he died. He had told the people to have his body carried to the creek and placed upon the bank. Then in four days they were to return and see him, for there would be a heavy rain, and the drops, when they struck him, would make him come to life.

On each of the gourds used, there is an image of the sun on the top and a star on the bottom. If the dance is in the daytime, the sun is uppermost; if at night, the star. Gourds are carried and shaken in battle, for when this is done, the carrier can not become alarmed nor suffer harm. He either is killed or is uninjured.

WITCHCRAFT

Witchcraft, or the taking of life through exorcism, was apparently not so prevalent among the Southern Cheyenne as with some tribes, yet there were those who were known to carry on such death-dealing practices. Great care was taken by members of the tribe to avoid locks

of hair falling into the hands of those belonging to the lethal brotherhood. Whether the group was organized as a society is open to question, but from information gained it is evident that it was a definite organization of medicine-men who operated secretly.

Those who participated in the "short life" rites wore concealed upon their persons dried fingers or tongues that had been cut from their victims. If a man met accidental death, and a necklace of these sinister trophies, or even a single one, was found upon his body, then the people knew he had been one of the "death bringers." The death-dealing medicine objects were kept in a bag made of the dried skin of a bullfrog, which was kept in an outer wrapping of the usual medicine-bundle type. When participating in these fatal rites, the bundle was opened and its contents spread out. The participants crouched about the gruesome paraphernalia, with blankets over their heads and only the eyes showing. Prayers were uttered in absolute silence. This inviolate rule is shown by a related incident:

An important man of the tribe noticed that something of a secret nature was going on in the lodge of one of the medicine-men. This man gathered about him a few close friends, and they decided to investigate. In the darkness they crept up to the tipi, peeked through a hole in its buffalo-skin wall, and saw all the men in a circle about the frog medicine. After consultation they decided to destroy the frog bundle by shooting through a hole in the lodge. While pushing the barrel of a gun through the hole and trying to sight it at the frog, one of the participating wizards saw the gun-barrel, but owing to the rule of silence, he did not dare warn his companions. The one shot completely demolished the frog and its accompanying fetishes.

An incident, illustrating the practice of sorcery, was related by an old man. The daughter of an important man was awakened by a stealthy hand stealing a lock of her hair. A slit had been cut in the lodge covering. The marauder escaped in the darkness. The father was certain that it was an act of a wizard, and the family wailed loudly because they knew that their daughter was doomed. The girl sickened and died. The father grieved, but his heart was filled with revenge. As was the custom, the girl's body was given sepulture in a tree; but the father, with purpose in his heart, placed it high in the branches. Knowing the habit of "frog-men" of stealing fingers and tongues of victims, the bereaved parent spent his nights in concealment near the body. On the

third night he saw a man stealthily approach the tree, climb up, and begin to cut open the bundle. As he was thus engaged the watcher shot him. The "frog-man" fell to the ground with a thud like a dead bear. On looking at him, the father of the dead girl found that it was one of the greatest medicine-men of the tribe. He cut off the head; then butchered, skinned, and cut up the body as though for cooking. Taking the flesh home, he told his wife what he had done and what he had in his heart. "You will cook this meat and we shall give a feast to all those whom we think are frogmen." When the meat was cooked, the father went about the camp to all the suspected ones, all the friends of the slain man, and invited them to the great repast.

As is the custom at Indian feasts generally, the host never eats with his guests; so the father sat at the head of the hungry crowd, urging them to eat liberally of the fine meat and to take plenty of the soup. Before sitting down, he had placed the wrapped head of his victim behind him. When all the guests had gorged themselves, their host talked to them, saying how pleased he was to have them at his feast and how glad that they had liked the meat. The guests grunted their appreciation. "That was fine meat," they said. "Now, before you go, I want to show you the head of the animal that gave the fine meat." Then he quickly slipped the cover from the bundle and held before them the gory head of their leader.

The frog and toad seemingly form a part of death incantations among many of the American tribes. As noted in Volume X of this work, which treats of the Kwakiutl, who carried "short-life" practice to an extreme, the toad was invariably used, the procedure being to place hair of the victim in the mouth of a live toad, then fasten it between split sticks to die and wither. As the toad dried, so was the victim supposed to wither and perish.

THE SWEAT-LODGE

In making a sweat-lodge, fifteen willows are cut, with a prayer to the willow: "We have come after you with good intentions. We ask a good life and we ask a long life; for this we come to you."

Five motions, one in each direction and toward the ground, are made; then the willows are stuck in the earth and bent over, the one at the west reaching entirely across the others, forming a ridge-pole. Next the centre hole is dug, after putting the digging implement in the ground four times. The earth is piled outside the door and a buffalo-skull is placed on top of it.

The willow frame was formerly covered with four buffalo-hides, each laid on in the direction of one of the four cardinal points, beginning with the south. The opening is at the east. The whole is then covered with a tipi-cover, tightly fastened down. The round form of the sweat-lodge is symbolic of the earth, while the ridge from east to west represents the path of the sun. Sage is taken inside and spread around to sit on.

The fire is ceremonially built in a pit outside. Four sticks are laid toward the cardinal points, and one is placed in the centre. About twenty-five stones are used; but first, four are laid on the fire-sticks, one in each direction, and one is placed in the centre; then the rest may be piled on. Live coals are brought, and after the customary motions, the fire is lighted. All now enter the lodge. The leader takes a pipe, and, standing in the doorway, points it in each direction, toward the sky, and downward to the earth.

Next he makes a simple design, to symbolize an enemy, outside the door, and lights his pipe after going through the usual motions to the cardinal points. All participants smoke in turn, and after the pipe is returned to the leader, he knocks the ashes out on the enemy mark. The leader now takes up the pipe, rubs it twice with the right hand and twice with the left, and finally presses it to his breast, which means that it will make him strong and give him long life. He then makes a rotary movement with his hand over the hole in the floor, presses his hand to the earth, rubs his hands, legs, heart, arms, and body, to indicate that he desires his life to be strengthened. After all smoke four times, the pipe is refilled and placed with the medicine-bag beside the centre hole.

The leader calls to the fire-tender, who has remained outside, and asks if all is in readiness. The fire-tender has two forked sticks with which to carry the heated stones. He first goes over and sits beside the door. With his open hand he touches the earth in the same manner as did the leader. The leader places a small piece of dirt in his own mouth

and blows four times in the palm of the fire-tender, who again touches the earth, and rubs his legs, heart, chest, arms, and body. The fire-tender is asked if he sees the mark on the floor. On his positive reply, he is instructed to strike it with one of his forked sticks, an act symbolic of a coup against an enemy and signifying good luck on the warpath.

The leader now takes five heated stones from the fire-tender and places them beside the centre hole in the four cardinal positions and the centre. He then places cedar on each hot stone, creating dense smoke. All inhale the smoke and rub the body. The fire-tender passes in the remaining stones.

The leader takes up the pipe, makes the usual motions, and passes it to the fire-tender, who places it on the mound outside. The medicine-bag is passed out also, and placed on top of the lodge. Then the firetender closes the lodge tightly. The leader offers a prayer and sings four songs. At the close of each, a woman pours water on the stones, causing steam to fill the lodge. All drink water and rinse themselves. Those who have illness or sores, fan themselves toward the seat of illness or the sores to cause them to disappear.

The fire-tender is ordered to lift one side of the lodge-cover on the east and again on the west, letting out the steam. Songs, steam, and the lifting of the cover take place four times.

The leader orders the fire-tender to sit by the opening, where he gives him a cup, saying: "Hold this cup while I give a talk for you. I am glad that you are helping us. I am going to give you this sacred water so that when you go on the warpath you will have nothing but good fortune. If you are married, you will be blessed with good children. Your help has been noted by the Spirit who is watching from above."

The woman with the water chews some medicine-root, spits on the stones and toward the water, saying that the water will give the fire-tender long life; that the stones are solid and long-lasting; that his life may be as long as that of the stones. The fire-tender drinks, and takes the medicine-bag from the ridge to place beside the pipe on the mound.

Then he opens the lodge again to let out the steam. He closes it tightly, while all within drink water and rinse themselves. The water-woman pours water on the stones, after making the usual motions to the cardinal points. Then the lodge-cover is lifted on all sides. The young people leave the lodge at the western side (they had entered

from the east), thus following the sun's path, but the older people leave from any convenient point.

Outside all line up facing the direction whence comes the wind, while the leader tells them to inhale it, saying that it is the breath of the spirits. All breathe deeply four times. They sit in a line by the fire, while the leader lights the pipe, making the customary motions, and all smoke. He then spreads his hand on the ground, knocks the ashes from the pipe, holds the bowl on the ground, and with his right hand rubs the stem four times. He then places it on his right arm, his left arm, chest, and finally clasps it to his breast. The stem is taken out and blown through four times, after which it is reassembled. He touches the ground again and rubs himself; then all disperse.

MYTHOLOGY

SEVEN STAR STORY

In a large camp some children were playing, pretending that they were animals. They dug a hole and covered it with brush to represent a den, and told one girl to creep into it. Then they punched into the hole with sticks, and the girl would growl, so that they could guess what kind of animals he was. "You can call me any animal you like, but do not call me 'Bear-hair,'" she said.

She crawled under the brush and they poked into it with sticks. She growled, and they guessed that she was skunk-hair. "That is not right. Guess again," she said.

Then they guessed that she was coyote-hair. "That is not right," she growled.

The third time they called out that she was raccoon-hair. "Again you are wrong."

"She is so hard to please that we shall call her 'Bear-hair.'" With that they ran away. When she heard them call her the forbidden name, she rushed out of the hole in great anger, telling her younger sister to go and crawl into the dog hut; then she turned into a bear and chased the children, killing several.

The people in the camp saw the Bear. They ran for their weapons and shot at it, but it killed many in the camp. Bear then went over to the dog hut, where she abused her sister, threatening to scratch and

bite her, but finally went to sleep and slept until the next morning.

Her sister, while Bear was sleeping, ran away. Bear awoke, found that Sister had escaped, and started to trail her. Sister looked back and saw Bear coming up fast behind her. She said, "Wherever I am playing, there are prickly-pear spines."

Immediately the prairie became covered with prickly-pear spines. Bear came up, but got her feet full of the spines, so that she was obliged to go far around. Sister went on, having a good start, but soon she heard Bear puffing and blowing behind her. She said, "Wherever I am playing, I always get sand-burrs stuck in my feet and I can not pick them out."

Then the plain filled with sand-burrs, and Bear's feet became stuck with them, so that again she had to go out of her way. After a long while, Sister, who was running, again heard Bear panting along behind her. This time she said: "Wherever I am playing, there is a river. Water does not show tracks."

A great river sprang up behind her, but Bear was able to swim across. After hunting up and down the farther bank, Bear found Sister's tracks and hotly pursued. Again Sister had to say, "Wherever I am playing, there is always a rock bank I can not climb."

The rocky bank piled up behind her, and Bear had a very hard time scrambling over it. Sister saw seven boys on horseback, all brothers. "Look!" cried one, "There is a young girl running up to us."

"What is the trouble, little sister?" asked another, when she had come up.

"There is a great bear behind me who has killed many people in our camp. I am afraid it will get me."

They told her to get behind the younger brother and ride ahead to the big mountain while they stayed there to fight the bear. Soon Bear lumbered up to the brothers, saying, "I saw Sister's tracks coming up to you. Give me my sister."

The brothers answered, "No, you can not have Sister."

Four times Bear commanded that they give up Sister, and four times they refused. Bear stood on her hind-legs, growling to the four points of the compass. Then she pawed the dirt and started for the brothers. The youths scattered, and rode around her, shooting arrows into her; but when she shook herself, the shafts fell out. Finally their arrows became exhausted, so they retreated to where the remaining

brother and Sister were waiting. Sister said, "Wherever I am playing, there is a rough mountain to climb."

A great mountain grew up [Bear butte], which they climbed. As soon as they reached the top, Sister said, "After I reach the top, the rough mountain always becomes smooth and slippery."

Bear tried to climb it, but each time she got up a little way she slid back, tearing deep scratches in the Mountainside with her claws. Bear went to the river and painted her face with red clay. Then she came back and called up: "Give me my little sister! If you do not, I shall hug this mountain, throw it down, and eat you all!"

"Go ahead and hug the mountain! We shall not give up Sister!" they answered.

Four times Bear called up, and each time the brothers refused to yield Sister. Bear rose up on her hind-legs and reached her fore-paws around the mountain. She hugged hard, twisting and pushing, so that it began to lean.

The youngest brother sharpened an arrow, held it to the sun, then aimed it down at Bear and shot her through the forehead. After that no one ever saw the seven brothers or Sister, because they had gone up into the skies where they remain together today [the Pleiades]. The leaning mountain with bear scratches on its side may be seen today in Cedar Grove.

FEATHER IN THE HEAD WINS A WIFE

Once a man, with his wife and daughter, lived apart from the tribe in a land of buffalo and plenty. They had a fine tipi, a deep spring, and two swings down by the spring. But the rest of the tribe was starving.

One day some young men rode up to his lodge, and he fed them, saying that buffalo were plentiful, and to inform the whole tribe about his country. After the camp had moved, he had some young men line up, because he wanted to select a husband for his daughter. He picked out one and invited him to his lodge. After eating, he said, "You are to marry my daughter, but before you do that I want to have you go down to the spring with me and swing."

They started to swing, and when they were going well, the father, just as the other was about to swing past him, kicked him in the abdomen, so that he fell into the spring and was drowned. He killed three young men that way. The fourth man had a feather on his head. The

daughter liked him, and instructed him secretly, "Father has chosen you for a son-in-law, and I shall take you to our lodge; but be careful to do your best, because he has drowned three others already."

The father heard her talking, and called out, "What are you telling him, daughter?"

"I told him that you had selected him for a son-in-law, because he is such a good young man."

The father invited him to swing, trying the same trick, but the young man was transformed into a bird and flew away. Father gave him the name of Feather In The Head and let him marry his daughter.

All night the father watched the young couple. They were unable to move without his, calling out: "Are you moving? Lie still there!"

In the morning they went for a swing, when again the father tried his trick; but the young man was watching and turned into a bird at just the right moment. Then the father told him he wanted some arrow-shafts. The boy went to all kinds of trees looking for good shafts. Every kind of wood said that it was good, but he chose some slough grass.

The second night the couple was unable to move, and in the morning Feather In The Head had to go after feathers for the arrows. He found an old eagle-feather, which he brought back, and the father grumbled.

The third day he was sent for some sinew, and gathered cotton-wood-bark.

The fourth morning he went after arrow-heads, and returned with some sandhill weeds, which were so brittle that they broke easily. The father grumbled at their quality, but the old people said they would do. He also brought back a weed for a bow, at which the father complained more than ever, but he accepted it.

The next morning, after keeping the young man from moving in bed all night, the father said: "Get me a four-year-old buffalo bull. I want to test my bow and four new arrows."

Feather In The Head found seven bulls, which said, "We shall show you what we shall do to that father-in-law of yours when he tries to shoot us."

Each one went a little way off, turned, and ran full-speed toward a huge rock to horn it; but six of them broke their horns. The seventh tossed the rock in air from all four directions and split it in small pieces, so he was chosen.

Feather In The Head drove the bull up to the door four times, but each time the bull pretended to be frightened away, acting as though winded. The father appeared, and said: "You will have to do better than that. You are just running the bull down for me. I shall show you what I can do with my arrows."

The bull ran at the father, who stood still and shot an arrow. It crumpled up. When all four arrows were thus shattered, the father tried to flee into his lodge, but the bull caught him, tossing him into the air and goring him when he came down.

Feather In The Head gathered up the pieces, threw them into the lodge, and set it on fire. When the ashes had cooled, he found that the bones had turned into many-colored beads. This event occurred in Cedar Grove. The buffalo bull turned into a rock, which is there yet.

MAD BULL STORY

Once there were seven youths, all unmarried, who lived by themselves on a great mountain. The people heard about them, but never saw them. A girl in the camp was so very curious about them that she decided to go to see them. She took her shinny-ball and -stick, made seven pairs of moccasins and started out one morning without telling any one where she was going, not even her father and mother. She said to herself: "Now I am going to visit the seven boys on the mountain. If they wish to marry me, it will be all right; but if they do not want to, I shall live with them as their sister."

She put the shinny-ball on the ground, hit it with the club, closed her eyes, and when the ball fell on a mountain, she landed beside it. She passed over three mountains in this way. On her fourth journey through the air, she came down on the mountain where the young men lived. As she landed, the boys who were inside heard her and sent out the youngest to see who it was. He said to her, "My sister, where did you come from, and what are you doing here?"

"My brother, I came to see you, and I brought along some moccasins for you and your brothers."

He led the girl inside, where were the other brothers, and said, "My brothers, this is our sister who has come to see us and who has brought moccasins for us."

They all exclaimed: "What a fine-looking girl! Our youngest brother calls her Sister, so she must be sister to all of us. That will be

all right."

Next day they told the youngest brother to stay with their sister while they hunted buffalo. She asked them to bring in seven hides and some porcupine-quills, so that she could make robes for them. She told the youngest brother to get some dogwood sticks to use for pins in staking out the hides. Next she asked him to find a smooth stone and attach to it a wooden handle for use as a hammer in pounding stakes and meat.

After the brothers brought what she had asked for, she roasted a quantity of meat, broke up the marrow-bones, and punched out the marrow with a stick. They all ate heartily and were glad to have such a sister.

Then she made her a stone hammer and staked out the hides to dry. Out of one she cut a large circular piece. She gathered several forked sticks, stuck them in the ground in a circle, hung the circular piece of hide over them, thus making a buffalo-hide pot. Water was poured in the pot, and the crushed bones were put in too. Next she placed some stones in the fire, and when they were hot, dropped them in the pot by means of forked sticks. This made the water boil, but when the stones lost their heat, she took them out. When all the grease was cooked out, she took a buffalo-paunch and peeled it so that it made a bag into which the grease was poured. She hung this up to cool and to become solid. The brothers were glad to have such a wise and industrious sister.

Next Sister asked the brothers to find some chokecherries, and when they were brought, she dried and pounded them. Her pounded meat she mixed with the chokecherries and made it all up into seven balls, which she gave to the brothers.

She used the shoulder and knee bones to make scrapers, and scraped the hides until they were well dried.

The brothers said to the youngest: "We are going on a buffalo-hunt now, and we want you to stay with Sister. If any yellow or blue bird flies near, do not shoot at it, but watch over Sister, because some medicine-man may turn into a bird and try to court her. Then we might lose Sister. Always stay close beside her."

She asked them to bring back the brains and livers of the animals they killed. The youngest brother she told to get soapweed-roots. These she pounded up, mixed with the livers and brains, rubbed the

compound into the hides, and staked them out in the sun. This mixture, under the sun's rays, would soak into the hides and make them soft. Thus were hides tanned.

Next she took the tail of a porcupine and put a stick inside of it for a comb. The rest of the quills were put in a bag ready for use in decorating. She said: "I am going inside with these hides and the quills to make a robe for each of you. I must be alone, but I shall come out for meals. If you do come inside, be sure to pass behind me, because this work is sacred, and if you pass in front of me, you will get hurt when you hunt buffalo."

She gave the finished robes to the seven brothers.

The brothers went hunting again, bringing in otter- and panther-hides to be made into bow-cases and arrow-quivers, but they made their own bows and arrows.

She had them gather all kinds of fruit, which she dried, pounded, bagged, and put away. She also made rawhide receptacles for the meat and stored it away. Thus they had plenty of everything.

The brothers hunted once more, telling the youngest to remain with and protect the sister, but to watch out for any yellow or blue bird. After they had been gone some time, and the youngest brother and Sister were sitting by the fire, a blue bird flew near them. The youth reached for his bow and shot at the bird, but missed it. The bird flew a little way off and came down again. He started to shoot another arrow, but Sister warned, "Remember what your brothers said about shooting the birds."

"Oh, no harm can come of it. I can have some fun shooting at it."

Each time he shot, the bird flew a little farther off, he following, until they were soon out of sight. Then a young man ran up and carried off Sister. When the youngest brother came back, he found her gone. He studied the tracks, which were those of a buffalo, saying to himself, "That is Crazy Mad Bull who has run off with Sister."

When the brothers returned and found Sister gone, they were very angry, but the youngest told them to build four high walls; in the meanwhile he would hunt for her. He shot an arrow into the air, closed his eyes, and went along with it, turning into a Black Eagle.

Soon he saw a group of boys playing. He asked them who lived there, and they replied that old grandmother lived there. He asked her, "Grandmother, did you hear any news lately?"

"Grandchild, I heard that Mad Bull has stolen a fine-looking girl from the seven brothers."

He shot another arrow and flew along, alighting amongst a flock of Eagles. They had not heard any news, but told him to see the old woman in the tipi. The old woman informed him that Mad Bull had a pretty girl and was abusing her. She fed the boy, and warned him against talking too loud, because Mad Bull might hear.

After leaving her and shooting his arrow, he lit amongst some more Eagles, from whom he learned the same news as before. Next he came to some Crows, but they could tell him no more than he already knew.

Shooting his fifth arrow, he ended on a ridge, and there, on the other side, was a big herd of Buffalo with Mad Bull in their midst and Sister sitting in his shadow. The youngest brother called a flock of Blackbirds to him. He said: "Brothers, Mad Bull has stolen my sister. Will you fly over and see if you can rescue her for me?"

They obliged him by flying over. Mad Bull roared: "Fly away! I know you are sent by the youngest brother. Fly away, or I shall kill you!"

Next some Coyotes tried to rescue her, but Mad Bull quickly frightened them away. The Foxes were a little braver than the Coyotes, and went a little nearer, but they too were afraid, and were easily scared off. Finally, Gopher said he could rescue Sister, so he burrowed over to where Mad Bull was standing. Then he punched Sister until she looked down and saw him. She crawled in the hole after Gopher, leaving her blanket covering the entrance. When she reached the youngest brother, they went back to the mountain in four arrow-shots, landing among the Crows, Eagles, Black Eagles, and the boys, and finally home. The other brothers had the breastworks finished, for they knew that Mad Bull would probably attack them.

Meanwhile, toward noon, Mad Bull said, "Wife, get up and bring some water."

There was no answer, and he repeated his command four times. Then, without looking, he made a sweep with his hoof to strike her, but of course he hit only the air. When he looked down and saw only her blanket, he bellowed and pawed. All the herd came up and pawed out the gopher-hole until they came to the tracks of the youngest brother and Sister. Then they all went on the warpath against the seven brothers.

Mad Bull sent a calf to them, demanding that the girl be returned, but the young men shot at the calf, and it died by the fore-hoofs of Mad Bull. A cow and a bull were sent as messengers, but they too died at his very feet. The bulls all charged together with their horns, and after much fighting broke down three of the breastworks. The brothers and Sister were behind the last wall. Sister wanted to give herself up, so the others would not be killed, but they would not agree to this. Youngest brother said, "Do not be afraid; watch me and I shall save you."

He shot an arrow up at the sun, and a great tree sprang up. All climbed, Sister first and then the brothers. Most of the Buffalo now gave up, but Mad Bull only became angrier. As he rolled and stamped, a big rock appeared. Three times he backed away, rushed at the rock, and gored it with his horns. The fourth time the rock split. Mad Bull thought he could do the same with the tree and fell it. Four times he charged the tree, and each time there was a great rending and splitting of wood. Then he rested. Sister became afraid again, offering to surrender and thus save the brothers, but the youngest said: "No, we shall save you. Just watch us."

He took an arrow, pointed it at the sun, then downward at the bull, and loosed the shaft. It pierced the eye and brain of Mad Bull. The Buffalo scattered in all directions, moaning because their leader was dead. The seven brothers and Sister went up in the sky, but from there the people do not know where they went.[11]

In those old times, buffalo ate human beings and were very powerful. It was a great risk to go against them. Sister one day was carried off by a buffalo bull, and the youngest brother started on the trail to rescue her. After travelling four days, he saw that instead of the two tracks there were three, the last those of a young calf, Sister's child. After a long while he reached the herd, but hardly dared to go amongst them because he knew they ate human beings.

A big bull chased him, but as he came close, he swerved to one side; this was the father of the bull who had stolen Sister. A younger bull gave chase, but he too swerved to one side as he came up; this was

11 The story to this point was told by Howling Wolf, the continuation by Old Crow.

the brother of the bull who had stolen Sister. A cow and a younger cow in turn pursued; these were the mother and sister of the bull who had carried away Sister.

A calf ran up to the youngest brother, and asked, "Is that you, my uncle?"

"Yes," he answered.

"Uncle, I am Sister's son. These Buffalo will put you to a test. If you win, the whole herd will go back with you, but if you lose, your life is forfeit. You will be asked to pick us out from the herd, and I shall tell you how to do it. I shall put some weeds in grandfather's hair. He will be in the first rank. In the second line will be my father; I shall put weeds in his hair. In the third will be the heifers, and in my aunt's hair I shall put some weeds. In the next rank will be some calves — one of them will shake his left ear; I am that one. In the last will be the cows, and I shall put weeds in mother's hair. Watch for a bag with weeds on it. You must say that it is Sister's. If you recognize all these things, you will be safe, and we shall go back together."

The Buffalo assembled in ranks and put him to the test of picking them out, successfully following the directions given him. The whole herd then started back with him. Some of the Buffalo still conspired against his life, and one bull suggested to the youngest brother that they have a wheel game. He said, "I shall roll the wheel, and we shall run to that bank yonder and see who can throw his stick through it."

When they ran to the bank, instead of throwing his stick, the bull tried to butt the youngest brother over the edge; but he saw through the trick, and stopped suddenly, so that the bull missed him and tumbled over himself, breaking his neck. The bulls picked another for the game, saying, "If we do not win this game, the youth will get the better of us." Four times they tried the trick, but each time the brother saw through it and each time a bull broke his neck.

The Buffalo decided that they would beat him in a race, so they called to all the animals and birds and went out to the race-track at Cedar Grove, which is still there. The animals all painted themselves. The Buffalo were painted black. The Chicken-hawk, Sparrow-hawk, and Mudhen were among the birds.

Omíh (Thunder Spirit) blessed the young man and gave him a sharp spear decorated with crow- and magpie-feathers to help him, because, while Magpie is slow, he is long-winded. He also had a stick

decorated with sage. He knew that if he lost the race, people would always be eaten by buffalo and other animals. All lined up for the race, which was from a given point to the sacred mountain and back, four times. All started, but the youngest brother was soon far behind. He sent his thoughts ahead and made many of the animals lame, so that they fell out of the race. He did that at each lap, so that at the end only a few were running, and he overtook them. On the last lap he ran around the mountain, and all the others abandoned the race. Youngest brother won the race because of the medicine given by Thunder Spirit. Magpie is slow, but long-winded.

Because of his winning, people now can eat and use all game, but the buffalo can no longer eat people.

The youngest brother went up to a tree, knocked on it, and called out, "I want all you women folk to come out of that tree!"

They came out and he gave them buffalo fat. They had never eaten any before. They cried: "This is good. Now we know what to subsist on."

Women and men came out of the tree and sat around. The youth taught the men to make weapons and to use them, while Sister showed the women how to make tipis and to prepare food and clothing. Both taught the people to live on the prairie and to scatter to hunt game, because, after the race, all the game animals scattered out on the plains. The people had lived in caves up to this time, but now they learned to live on the prairie.

"The Southern Cheyenne"
From
The North American Indian: Volume 19
by Edwards S. Curtis
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