

ARIKARA CEREMONIES*

The intent is to give in the following pages as complete an account of the Arikara Ceremonies given in August 1921 as the notes taken will permit. In connection therewith, and for the better understanding of the ceremonials, various details of information secured at the time will be given as introductory to the account of the Ceremonials.

The Arikara Tribe consisted originally of twelve bands, each of which owned its own bundle. The tribe and bundle names seem to be connected with Village names. The bundle was in the custody of a certain family, being handed down from father to son. In case the owner had no son, he might give the bundle into the keeping of anyone he chose of his own band.

The custodian, however, had no right to open a bundle. This must be done by a priest or Medicine Man, who knew the special ritual belonging to the bundle. It could be opened only in the presence of five men of recognized standing belonging to the same band.

The bundle might be opened for anyone in the tribe, providing he paid the Priest with the ritual the proper fee.

One of the bundles must be opened preparatory to and during the giving of any of the great tribal ceremonies. So far as could be learned, any bundle could be used with any of the ceremonies.

At the present time, there are but eleven recognized bands. Long ago one of the bands started on a hunt. At a point, Young Man's Butte, near Richardson, North Dakota, the band decided to keep going westward to a new location. Two young men dissented from the band's decision and returned to the rest of the Tribe. The band itself has been lost ever since, though there have been frequent reports through the Blackfeet that the remnant lives in the mountains northwest of the Blackfeet in Canada. The two young men continued with the Tribe, but their descendants were never given a place at the great ceremonials because their bundle was with the rest of the band. There is now only one descendant of these two men surviving. His name is Ray Goff.

* Observed on Fort Berthold Reservation, North Dakota, August, 1921.

To the eleven bands still remaining, there are left only six bundles, the others having been lost. Bundles are now in the custody of Clare Everett, Alfred Bear, Pat Star, Marlow Gillette, Plenty-Fox and Mrs. Fighting-Bear. The rituals to only two of the bundles are preserved. Four-Rings knows the ritual of the bundle in charge of Marlow Gillette and Pat Star knows the ritual of his own bundle.

The bundle, of which Four-Rings knows the ritual, is that of the Far East, supposedly the oldest bundle and bundle of the first band.

Pat Star's bundle is that of the Awahu band, the last band. This band followed all the others in their migration. Hence, it was the band which had the right to pick up after the others. Members of this band can take any offerings that they find, not only of their own people but of the Mandan.

Alfred Bear's bundle is that of the Village-at-the-Foot-of-the-Hill Band, the third bundle in the order of bands.

It is very evident, from the information received, that the Medicine Men or Priests were the most important men of the Tribe, being both feared and honored by all. They formed a unit apart from the rest of the people, with their own organization and sub-divisions - the larger organization known as the "Medicine Lodge." Membership was usually passed on from father to son, though others might also be admitted. No matter who the candidate might be, he must buy his admission to the Medicine group of his choice and go through a very severe initiation.

The meetings and performances of the Medicine Societies centered in the Medicine or Holy Lodge, where also all great public ceremonials were held. This lodge occupied a place to one side of the center of the open plaza in each village and faced to the east. It was built in the same form as the other houses but was usually larger. It was built entirely by the members of the Medicine Societies, each man being assigned certain of the timbers to be cut and a definite part of the work in the actual construction. Before the lodge, is always placed a sacred stone or boulder to represent the "Standing Rock" now at Ft. Yates, North Dakota, and a sacred Cedar Tree.

The Medicine Lodge was divided into nine societies, each of which had its fixed place in the lodge. When a man had once become a member, he remained so until his death. The Societies, going

from left to right around the lodge were: The Ghosts, the Deer or Elk, the Buffalo, the Cranes, Bald Eagles or Cormorants and on the altar in the center the Beaver and Otter, next the Ducks, the Owls, the Rabbit or Sioux, and the Bears.

Each society had its special distinctive dress, and was especially efficient in curing special types of diseases. The Ghosts were painted white all over and specialized in curing diseases of the head. The Deer or Elk had their faces, forearms, and legs from the knees down, painted black, the rest of the body a yellowish brown. They wore anklets of Cottonwood leaves and a necklace of the same, as deer are usually seen with their heads looking out from among the cottonwood leaves. The Buffalo or Bulls were painted black, had buffalo horn head dresses, and two buffalo skulls before them, and carried bone whistles. They had strong medicine and specialized in broken bones and serious wounds. The Cranes, Bald Eagles, or Cormorants had the head and neck painted white, most of the rest of the body being dark.

The Beaver and Otter were painted blue with red stripes.

The Ducks were painted blue and white.

The Owls were painted with brown and white, spotted to represent the owl's feathers. This band at one time owned an Owl Coat, which was worn in sleight-of-hand performances. It was a Hudson Bay capote decorated with feathers.

The Sioux or Rabbits were dressed in Sioux costume, whence the name.

The Bears were painted black and blue. This band, at one time, had four bear skins. These were displayed on the top of the lodge before ceremonies, and lay in front of the members in the lodge during these ceremonies. They were worn when the band marched out of the lodge and danced in the plaza. The wearers chase members of the other bands and the general populace, and if they catch anyone tear up their clothes and generally manhandle them. There are only two of the skins left, both grizzlies. Alfred Bear stated, however, that originally there were skins of a black, a brown, a grizzly and a polar bear, representing the four quarters of the world. The Bear Medicine was especially efficacious in the treatment of serious wounds and fractures, such as the Buffalo treated, and for abdominal affections.

The Arikara Medicine Men have always been noted for their great Dexterity in magic and sleight

of hand performances, which of course added greatly to this prestige. They were undoubtedly clever, but the attitude of the people favored them much. Mr. Ed Hall who has lived on the reservation nearly fifty years states that he often attended the Medicine Lodge performances at old Ft. Berthold, where the men connected with the trading post referred to it as "the Opera." He says that conditions always favored the performer as the fire would rise and die down so that the lodge was often quite dark. In addition the people, fearful of the Medicine, hardly dared look directly at the performer and often held their hands before their faces to shield them from the power of the Medicine. Nevertheless, many of the tricks were performed outside of the lodge and in good light. No sleight of hand is performed now, though many of the present, older medicine men were at one time adept to it. It was stated that if the Owls had still had their Owl Coat they would have attempted some tricks at this time. The following account of sleight of hand tricks were all given by persons who claimed to have been eye witnesses of the performances. It should be noted that the tricks often had a connection with the special type of diseases for which the performer and his society were considered especially fitted to treat.

One member of the Bears used to dress in a bear skin and crawl around the lodge on all fours. Another man would take a rifle and shoot him, often several times. He would then fall down, roll around on the floor, and bleed profusely. The Medicine men would surround him, and he would soon stand up, cough, and spit the bullets out in his hand, when he would be as well as ever.

Another man would stick out his tongue, stick a skewer through it, draw it out and cut it off with his knife. The blood would pour out and he would be holding in his hand a buffalo tongue. He would then replace it, when it would resume its normal shape and grow on again.

Still another would withdraw behind the lodge, cut off his arm and throw it out in front of the lodge, where it would become the fore-leg of a buffalo. Upon replacing it, it would grow on again, resuming its natural shape. Another performed the same trick but his arm became a Bear's paw.

One performer would thrust a knife far down his throat, then turn back somersault and break off the hilt against the ground. The blood would gush out and he would writhe in agony. A fellow Medicine Man would rush up, insert the hilt in his mouth, the knife would grow together and he would withdraw it.

The performer was soon well again.

One man would stand up and beat his sides with his hands. Suddenly, a little Jack Rabbit would leap from his mouth into his hand. It was explained that those people who have these small Medicine Animals inside of them always enjoy the best health as the little animal would eat up all the diseases. Once this little animal sickened and died, however, the man was doomed.

Bear's-Belly, still active, used to mount the top of the Medicine lodge, beat his breast and throw out his abdomen, then sit with arms spread wide and abdomen extended. Another man would ascend and strike him a heavy blow with a tomahawk in the abdomen, and retire leaving the tomahawk fixed in the wound. Bear's-Belly would then groan and cry out and finally descend still carrying the tomahawk. A group of Medicine Men would surround him, withdraw the tomahawk, and he would soon be well.

Blue-Bird, recently dead, used to fasten a string to a slender splint, run it through his head, the splint going in one ear and coming out the other. Two men would take the string at each end and pull it back and forth through his head. He would groan and cry. The string would then be withdrawn and he would soon be as well as ever. His specialty was the treatment of earaches and pains in the head.

The Rabbit or Sioux Society used to dance on red hot stones, plunge their arms into boiling water and even jump bodily into large kettles of boiling water, all without any ill effect. Their specialty was the treatment of burns.

Ed Hall, formerly mentioned, tells of one occasion when it was given out that one of the Medicine Men had the fish medicine. On the morning of the following day the man in question emerged, naked, from the lodge and trotted through the village and down over the bank to the river. Followed by all the people, he arrived at the water, dove in, and soon reappeared holding up a large, living cat fish in his hand. Hall and another man later tried to perform the same trick, having previously picketed the fish to the bottom, but unfortunately the fish was dead when they brought it up.

As appears from what has been said, the Medicine Men were without doubt the most powerful organization in the tribe. They were feared for their supernatural powers and necessary for their medical ability. They alone held the key to all tribal ceremonials, the sacred songs, the bundle rituals etc. Even

the history of the tribe was in their keeping.

It was a fixed rule that their services must always be well rewarded, even if they were merely required to relate the tribal history and they were undoubtedly the wealthiest group in the tribe.

In theory at least, they were required to lead a blameless life, to refrain from strife and quarrels, treat all men justly, and reverence Nesanu Nacitakh, source of all their power.

The ceremonials on this occasion were held in the new Arikara community house at Armstrong, which was used to represent the ancient Medicine Lodge. It is built of logs in the old earth lodge form, with a fire-place in the center, four inside posts and a sky-light in place of a smoke hole in the center of the roof. The Medicine Lodge always faced east, while the community house faces south, necessitating some alterations in the orienting of the ceremonial. The sacred stone had already been placed before the lodge, at a distance of about fifty feet. The painting and wrapping of it was a part of the ceremonial to follow.

The first day of the performances was devoted to a general purification through the performance of the Sage Dance. In connection with this, all of the Medicine Men were required to fast during the day. An Arikara fast never endures longer than one full day. In old times, the Sage Dance was performed on three successive days prior to the opening of the Medicine lodge, but on this occasion it was given but once.

The performance takes place within the lodge where the Medicine Men were found seated in their accustomed places, each Society by itself. A small fire burns in the fireplace, and a large pile of wild sage of *Artemisia* (*A. gnaphaloides*) lies in front of and on the right side of the altar. At the beginning, each Medicine Man supplied himself with a small bunch of sage from the pile. The people are admitted and arrange themselves at the front of the lodge. In former times, they also were each supplied with a bunch of the sage.

Crow's-Ghost, who is the leader in the ceremonies attendant upon the opening of the medicine lodge, is seated upon the altar with the Otter and Beaver. He carries a small gourd rattle.

Each society has its own drum, that of the Bears being a very large affair. In addition, a drum

was prepared especially in the form of a hide of a recently killed steer. This was fleshed and the hair removed under our observation by Mrs. Four-Rings, and then rolled up. For the ceremonies, it was unrolled, spread flat between the altar and the fireplace, and beaten upon by twelve men, each fitted with a willow rod some five or six feet long.

After all were in their places, Crow's-Ghost opened with a short speech to the people and a prayer. He then sings accompanied by drum and rattle. Different ones then sing, apparently a song being sung for each of the Medicine Societies. Some of the songs were very striking and inspiring. At intervals, the Medicine Men all dance but the people do not join in as they did in former times. During the ceremony, a woman brings in a kettle of food carrying it around the south side of the lodge and placing it near the southwest post, then retires by the same route.

The time consumed is not over two hours. All then leave, with the exception of the Medicine Men who remain until night, completing their fast. For the Sage Dance, the members of the Medicine Societies had not been regularly dressed, as became their parts. For the second day, the opening of the lodge ceremonies, all were busy painting and dressing themselves. A trip was made to the river bank and cottonseed branches for the deer costume, together with a large bundle of sand bar willow switches, were brought back. A small bundle of these willows was carried by each performer.

In the meantime a well proportioned Cedar tree about twenty feet high had been cut on the land of James Young Magle, in the Bad Lands along the Missouri, and had been placed in the prairie about an eighth of a mile from the lodge. The first act of the day was the bringing in of this sacred tree.

At about ten o'clock, the Medicine Men assemble in the lodge. The party to bring in the tree is then selected by Crow's-Ghost, who leads them to the place where the tree waits. This party consists of eight persons. One of them, Mrs. Fighting-Bear, represents her dead husband and sits as one of the Bear Society. Meantime, the Medicine Men within the lodge are singing and making preparations to receive the holy tree. Just before word is brought that the tree approaches, the bands march out in order, dance around the sacred stone, each band singing its own song, and return into the lodge. This is repeated several times.

The party sent for the tree offer prayers when they reach it. The tree is then placed upright in a hole prepared for it, and Crow's-Ghost addresses it, then prays and sings. Red-Star follows and blesses it with smoke, which he blows to the four quarters, and then to the head, foot and center of the tree. Others sing, and then food is eaten.

After the repast, the tree is laid down again and then carried in slow and solemn procession to the plaza, with Crow's-Ghost leading. Upon arrival at the ground, with the butt pointing toward the door of the lodge, and about one hundred feet from the sacred stone, Crow's-Ghost then entered the lodge to direct the ceremonies there and another Medicine Man, Plenty-Fox, took his place in charge of the tree. The time is now here to receive the offerings of the tree. Women come, dragging long strips of calico and other presents, and little girls and boys bring gifts. All is piled upon the sacred tree, and to each bearer of a gift, Plenty-Fox gives the ceremonial blessing, brushing with the sacred sage, pressing the shoulders, stroking down the body and legs, pressing the ankles and the foot downward, and pressing downward on the top of the head.

Meantime, prayers and songs are heard from the lodge, and after the gifts are received, the societies march out, arrange themselves before the tree, and sing a song of welcome to it. They then return and again march out, each in turn singing their special songs. When all are out, except the Bears, members of the other bands scatter over the plaza, and then the two Bears in the bear skins rush out and try to catch anyone who seems to be within reach. Later, two Buffalo, with horn head dresses and robes, go through the same performance, and after that the Bears retire and rush out again several times. While in the lodge, both the Bears and Buffalo imitate the animals they represent with bellows and roars.

During the time before the tree is brought in, the Bears, who have been chosen by the assembled bands, paint the sacred stone with red paint. This stone was brought by the Arikara from their Ft. Clark village. In an interim of the Bears performance, Mrs. Fighting-Bear wraps the stone with calico.

An intermission follows during which the people eat.

After the intermission the people are admitted to the front of the lodge, in front of the two posts nearest the door. All the Medicine bands are in their places. Snowbird, of the Deer Society, acts as fire-

tender.

The tree is now carried into the lodge by four chosen men who place it with the butt near the altar, the top stretching back to the left of the fire. The offerings are brought in and piled beside it.

Gifts of food are then brought in by the women, who are blessed as before.

The buffalo head dresses lie on the two buffalo skulls, before the Buffalo Society, and the two bear skins are spread out before the Bears. The Buffalos have their bone whistles about their necks.

Crow's-Ghost now rises and opens with a prayer and chant. Then a song is sung for one of the other societies by Crow's-Ghost, as none of the members know it. Then, a woman who represents her dead husband, Blue-Bird, of the Ghost Society, comes forward, stands a moment holding a bunch of sage, the rattle, and bunch of sage from the leader, who sits down. Then she talks for a short time, returns the rattle and sage, and returns to her seat.

Red-Bear, of the Buffalo then sings, and brushes the sage over the tree.

Then Red-Star sings. After him Bear's-Belly, of the Bears, sings and runs around the tree imitating a bear, pretending to gnaw the tree and brushing it with the sage.

Apparently, each society is supposed to give its blessing to the tree in its own fashion.

After this, a large turkey feather (representing in this case an eagle feather) is tied at the top of the tree by the fire tender, Snowbird.

Four-Rings and Bear's-Belly, carrying a pan, now go out to the place where the tree is to be set. They soon return and move around the lodge singing.

The four bearers of the tree now paint the tree after a cup of water has been brought from each side by two men. The tree is painted by rubbing the moistened hands in the rod plant then rubbing them on the tree.

Red-Star and Running-Wolf now turn the tree and carry it to the other side of the fire. The tree is then carried out and firmly set in its place near the stone. The Medicine Societies do not go out.

After the bearers of the tree return and take their places in the lodge, the ceremony concludes.

Crow's-Ghost, the leader, then addressed the Medicine Men with regard to the offerings. He said

that, according to the rule, they were all his property, but that he gave them to the Medicine Men there assembled.

Red-Star then spoke, and suggested that first choice be given to the lodge tender, Buffalo-Spinning, who had kept the lodge in good order for the ceremony. All assented and Buffalo-Spinning made his selection. Then, Red-Star suggested others in turn, who also took their gifts. The money was handed to Crow's-Ghost who distributed it to others.

Red-Star called attention to Crow's-Ghost generously, and said that, although he had renounced all share in the gifts they must make him take a part. He then called upon Crow's-Ghost to choose. Crow's-Ghost answered, saying that his eyes were poor and that he could not see well what to take, asking them to choose for him. So Red-Star made a suitable selection for Crow's-Ghost, and the remaining Medicine Men decorously took their share until all was distributed.

Red-Star then offered from the food, gifts, by gesture, to the sky, earth, Mother Corn, all the bundles, the fire, the inner door, the two sides of the door, the sacred stone and the tree. Then all joined in the same song and the people withdrew, leaving the Medicine Men in the lodge to eat the food and sing.

After dark, in the moonlight, the Societies, each by themselves, marched about the camp, as they formerly did before the lodges in the village, each band singing its own song before the different tents. This lasted for an hour or more and finished the day.

The Holy Tree was later carefully fenced to protect it. The people are allowed to break off small twigs which are talismans of good fortune, but must not disturb it otherwise.

Here, the tree will remain until just after the Missouri breaks up in the Spring. At that time the people still all come to the tree bringing the worn out moccasins of children under five years old. These will all be tied to the tree, which will then be carried down to the river and placed in the current, so that it will drift down stream in the break-up, bearing a message back to the old village sites, all along the way, that the Arikara still live and hold their ancient ceremonies.

The third day was given up to the Mother Corn Ceremony.

So far as can be learned, the Arikara had three types of Mother Corn ceremonies. One was given in the spring, and has been partially described. One was given in June, and one at green corn time.

According to informants, the ceremony witnessed was the one usually given in June, but, from the use of a whole corn plant, and from one or two other items of the performance, it would seem to have been a somewhat of a combination.

The ceremony is given only when someone asks it and pays to have it done. It must be accompanied by the opening of a bundle with the attending ritual. Dr. Gilmore acted as the host in this case, three beavers being given, which were killed and cut up in the ceremonial manner by the Medicine Men.

The bundle used was the Awahu bundle, owned by Pat Star, who also has the ritual. This constituted him director of the performance.

A feature of the ceremony is the ceremonial corn mush. This was prepared from parched dried white flour corn. The preparation is supposed to start about ten o'clock on the night preceding the ceremony. The preparation consists of grinding on a stone mortar with a stone pestle, mortar and pestle being such as are used in the preparation of dried choke-cherry cakes.

The Arikara tribal rulers consist of one head chief, formerly Sitting-Bear and two sub-chiefs, Strikes-Two and Soldier, both old men. It was a part of Soldiers duties to harangue the camp, walking about before the tents, early in the morning and occasionally at other times, instructing the people as to their behavior.

Pat Star opened his bundle in the morning, himself, seated on the altar before him. The bundle was wrapped in the hide of a buffalo calf, with a stick along the top, to which five large gourd rattles are attached. The bundle is about three and a half feet long and a foot through, cylindrical in shape. The contents were: A quiver of buffalo calf skin, with an inner lining of fox skin. Within this were the sacred arrows enclosed in a piece of parchment from the large intestine of a buffalo. The arrows, which are used in the buffalo hunt feature of the ceremony, are of the usual length with wooden point hardened by fire. There are spiral lines around the shaft, and they are feathered with three feathers spaced at equal

distances.

There were nine birdskins, each with a skin wrapping. There were nine birds, mostly hawks, one being a Sparrow Hawk, one a Grebe, two Macaw or, more probably, Carolina Parakeets. Others not identified. Certainly, Carolina Parakeets.

Two sticks, about eighteen inches long, each with an ear of corn tied to the end.

The sacred pipe of pipestone or catlinite, which was placed in front of the altar supported on two sticks.

A Buffalo Tail Dried.

A stick, to which several scalps were attached.

A wooden bow, of the usual type, but very old, used with the sacred arrows.

Two very large halves of fresh water clam shells.

Two small skulls with flesh dried on them, hung in front, looked like beaver.

A meat hook, a wooden stick with a hawk claw on end.

Two small skins not identified, apparently rodents.

There was an ear of corn with each bird. All the corn in this bundle was the yellow flour variety.

There were also several fresh braids of sweet grass.

All wooden pieces are made from what is called "Mother Wood," not identified.

In addition, there was on the altar, three of the old style shoulder blade hoes which belong to the ceremony.

The first act, on the morning of the Mother Corn ceremony, is the bringing in of the trachea, heart and lungs of the steer offered. The host brings this in from the west, some ceremonial recital occurs as he takes up the offering, and he advances singing, enters the lodge, marches around to the east (north here) side of the altar, and drops the offering between the fire and the tassel of the corn plant which lies between the altar and the fire. Red-Star then cleanses the host, in the ceremonial way, with a bunch of sage. He then speaks in recognition of the offering before the sacred bundle and before Nesanu Nacitah. He tells the host that the people are thankful to him. They pray that his paths may be straight, that he may

have success in all undertakings, and enjoy a long and happy life until ready to die.

The lodge is now arranged for the ceremony, except that the women do not come in till afternoon. The following diagram shows arrangement.

1. The four posts of the lodge: There are four women in the tribe, each of whom has the hereditary right to sit at one of the posts with such of her women relatives as she may ask. "X"--This is the space reserved for spectators and the women who may not sit in back of a post are seated to the right of the door mostly.

2. The Fireplace.
3. The Altar.
4. The Sacred Corn Stalk.
5. The Four Criers or Heralds.
6. The Fire Chief.
7. Hosts Seat.
8. Dignitaries of the Tribe or Medicine Men
9. The Host with his offering.
10. An old man.

After the host comes in, there are sixteen (or more) sand bar willow switches, about six feet long, laid around the fire. At the base of each of these is tied a small offering of meat, presumably from different parts of the animal.

A number of boys now present themselves, and enough are chosen so that there is one for each willow. The boys now pick up the willows and stand in a circle holding them. Red-Star starts at the left and goes around the circle to each boy in turn, telling him a prayer to say, and telling him when the time comes to run out into the prairie and hide the offering wherever the spirits may direct and say his prayer.

Meantime, the host stands in position holding his offering. After the boys are all instructed, he marches out with Red-Star, a Medicine Man, and the boys march after them.

During all of this, Red-Star, who seems to be assisting Pat Star, carries the sacred pipe from the

bundle.

All kneel in a half circle facing the tree, between the tree and the lodge door. There is a prayer, then the word is given, and the boys scatter with their offerings. Meanwhile, the host offers and places the fiscera before the tree, after announcing it as an offering to the universe. It then belongs to the Awahu band.

There is then an intermission for the noon meal.

About two o'clock the preparations are all made. The four criers sit in their place. Red-Star and the four corn singers occupy the altar behind the spread out contents of the bundle. Some of the Medicine Men sit along to the right of the altar. The two representatives of the host are seated on a piece of canvas at the left of the fire. Before them, are laid out the pipes of all of the men, for none may smoke this day outside of the lodge, and the host keeps the pipes filled and passes them around.

The host now fills and passes around a number of the pipes. Then women begin to arrive, bearing offerings to Mother Corn, usually calico. These are placed under the corn stalk, the host blesses the giver in the ceremonially way, and the criers rise and trot out and clear around the outside of the lodge calling out the gift and the name of the giver. At the same time, they call for those who are not present to hurry and come. The gifts come fast and furious and the criers are kept on the trot continually to the great hilarity of the assembling crowd.

During this time the host brings in the sacred corn mush in a large wooden bowl.

After the crowd is fairly well settled the actual performance begins, and there is sufficient going on to keep the people interested and amused, as well during the rest of the ceremony. In fact, it is almost impossible for one observer to see all that takes place.

Formerly, there was another character to add to the amusement, a grotesquely dressed clown who circulated around the lodge sitting first with one group of women, then with another and amusing the crowd with his jokes and antics. This character was omitted from the performance as no one was judged suitable.

There is a kettle of most on the fire and it is the duty of the Fire Chief to look after it and to keep

the fire up. Each of the officials of the ceremony, including the Fire Chief, wears a feather from the bundle.

The four women who have places at the post now advance before the altar. They stand facing the fire, and the host then passes to them from behind, the three old time hoes and the bows and arrows from the bundle. Then another woman comes up and is given the quiver, and a scalp on the end of a stick is given to another. The women then dance, those having the hoes imitating the method of hoeing a garden, while the women with the scalp dances about the fire brandishing it and sweeping the floor with it. This portion of the dance, in this instance, is in celebration of our victory over the Germans.

After the initial dance, any other women may come up and take the various articles from the dancers, she in turn surrendering them when another woman claims them. The corn singers sing and drum for the dance.

The host, after the dance has proceeded for a while, takes the hoes and other articles from the women who then resume their seats.

During the intermission, Bear's-Belly, a Medicine Man, talks to the people, exhorting them to be joyful.

Then the women resume their dance and continue it at intervals during the rest of the ceremony.

At the same time, people begin to present themselves to receive a ceremonial name. Pat Star bestows the name, blessing and cleansing to the recipient, who kneels when the name is given. He then announces the name to the assembly, usually with the reason why the names are chosen. Among names given were: Chief Buffalo Woman; Cedar Woman (on account of dedication of the holy Cedar Tree.)

Soon after the third dance of the women, another feature of the performance starts. This continues for some time, while the other activities are going on. It is the drama of a buffalo hunt in which the sub-chief, Strikes-Two, takes the leading part. The principal part can only be taken by a man who has actually killed buffalo with a bow and arrow. In the performance, he uses the sacred bow and arrows from the bundle. The other actors are a number of women, who ever desires to take part may volunteer. They present themselves with a buffalo robe (often represented by some other sort of robe) completely

covering them, and form in a circle around the fireplace and within the four posts. They then dance around the fire, striving to imitate the action of buffalo, rubbing against the posts, pawing etc.

Strikes-Two is arrayed in his Chief's costume.

Red-Star puts bits of eagle down on the women representing the buffalo, calling on Mother Corn and the Cedar Tree to bless them.

Strikes-Two circles the buffalo shading his eyes with his hand and looking for game. When the herd is dimmed he gives the cry of a coyote. Then he sharpens his arrows on a piece of sandstone. He complains that the herd is small, and others join in when Red-Star calls for volunteers.

Strikes-Two is now up to the herd and sharpens his knife, the host selects buffalo that he wants, and Strikes-Two goes through the motion of shooting them, tucking an arrow under their arms. Some of the buffalo fall, and finally Strikes-Two pulls out the arrows in a realistic manner, concluding this portion of the ceremonial.

In the meantime, Red-Star, a Medicine Man helper of Pat Star, brings out the sacred bowl of mush and sets it before the altar. Mrs. George Wild who is the Corn Mother by hereditary right, now takes the bowl and the Fire Chief ceremonially blesses and cleanses her. An offering is made to the bowl and she marches around the lodge with it, setting it down in each of the four corners of the lodge. The women are first allowed to stroke the bowl, afterwards rubbing their hands together, stroking their arms, shoulders and heads, thus blessing themselves. Then the men are allowed to do the same.

Now the host passes the bowl around the lodge three times very rapidly and all women may grab for the contents. He starts at the right of the altar, going all the way around.

When a woman succeeded in getting some of the mush she usually presented it to one of the men. The man then gave her the ceremonial blessing and performed a dance if he could do it. If not he got someone else to dance for him. Four-Rings and Strikes-Two were both called upon to dance for others.

Meantime, the Corn Mother and some of the older women were moved to tears by the memories of old days which the ceremony called up. The Fire chief then comforted and stroked the women weeping, pretending to collect their tears, offering them to the altar, reaching his hands with the tears

towards the fire, then stretching them aloft to the heavens and lastly stopping and offering them to the earth.

Small portions of the mush were eaten by those who had obtained some. It was, evidently, the pounded parched corn boiled with no seasoning.

All the women now gather before the altar, and the four women who have the right to sit at the four posts and the Corn Mother, each receives an ear from the bundle. The four men singers and the leader then take each a short stick or rod from the bundle. The four men then sing while all the women dance. One of them has Dr. Gilmore come and dance with her until which she is later paid. The songs sung are said to be in an old language not now understood.

Several young children were brought in to be named at this point. Pat Star called out "Hear Ye! Stone! Tree! People! This child is named "Eagle-Woman" which was the name of her grandmother.

After the women are seated the singers sing another song. Pat Star then took one of the half mussel shells from the bundle and placed it between the fire and the northwest post. He then placed in it ovary capsules of *Nicotiana quadrivalvis*, the old tobacco.

Snowbird, as host, then takes the sacred pipe of the bundle and fills it with this tobacco after offering the tobacco to the heavens. He then lights it, offering the smoke in various ways as his spirit directs. He then offers the pipe to, and blows smoke on, the sacred corn stalk and the offerings. Then it is smoked by the four criers, probably typifying the four world quarters.

The pipe is then passed around to all the people being carried from the altar, around the east side to the door, and then returning to the altar and passing it around the west side. This is done by Snowbird. The people stroke the pipe toward themselves with both hands. Starting at the bowl, they then rub their arms, head and body as though anointing themselves with the essence of the pipe.

Snowbird then returns to the spot between the fire and the northwest post, empties out the ashes and presses them into the ground.

This concluded the public ceremony.

The sacred stalk of corn and the offerings were then turned over to the women to do as they chose

with them.

The corn stalk was wrapped in a piece of calico from the offerings, and, toward evening, taken down and cast into the river to bear tidings of the holding of the ceremony down to the old village sites.

The offerings were distributed by the women among the poor and needy.

The afternoon performance lasted about two hours.