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The Wind River Shoshone Sun Dance

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PREFACE

The purposes of this study of the Wind River Shoshone Sun Dance are to broaden existing knowledge of the past and present forms of the ceremony among these people, to trace its history, and to outline the social and psychological factors affecting the development of the institution or, conversely, stemming from it. Despite inevitable omissions and possible errors, these goals have, I believe, been substantially achieved.

The most important previous work on the Wind River Shoshone Sun Dance is Lowie's "The Sun Dance of the Wind River Shoshone and Ute" (Lowie, 1919). Previous publications on Wind River Shoshone history are my "Shoshone-Comanche Origins and Migrations" (Shimkin, 1941) and "Dynamics of Recent Wind River Shoshone History" (Shimkin, 1942). The latter paper and two other reports, "Wind River Shoshone Literary Forms" (Shimkin, 1947a) and "Childhood and Development among the Wind River Shoshone" (Shimkin, 1947c) present additional information on personality-culture interrelationships among these people. My sketch of linguistic structure (Shimkin, 1949 a, b) will be of help in analyzing the texts presented.

I am indebted to the Board of Research of the University of California for financing the necessary field work in Wyoming in 1937 and 1938; to Forrest R. Stone, superintendent, and his staff at Wind River Indian Reservation for invaluable direct assistance and free access to all needed records; to my Shoshone informants and interpreters for aiding and guiding my field work; to Prof. H. E. Jones, of the Institute for Child Welfare of the University of California, for instruction and facilities needed for the psychological aspects of this study; to the Bureau of American Ethnology for permission to publish their manuscript materials; and to Mrs. Eleanor Garcia and Arthur Ferreira for clerical assistance. Professors R. H. Lowie, A. L. Kroeber, and Egon Brunswick, of the University of California; Dr. Philip Drucker, of the Bureau of American Ethnology; and my wife, Edith M. Shimkin, have made valuable criticisms of this report.

D. B. Shimkin.

Princeton, N. J., July 1947.

THE WIND RIVER SHOSHONE SUN DANCE

By D. B. Shimkin

THE OLD SUN DANCE

THE SUN DANCE COMPLEX

In the middle of the nineteenth century, the Sun Dance was the greatest, most spectacular, and most sacred tribal ceremony throughout a region stretching from the Blackfoot of Alberta to the Comanche of central Texas, from the Wind River Shoshone of Wyoming to the Santee-Dakota of Minnesota (Spier, 1921 b, pp. 459, 495). But, by the end of the nineteeth century, the Sun Dance had been suppressed or had died out in most of the Great Plains. (Dorsey, 1903, pp. 1–2; Lowie, 1915 a, p. 5; Marriott, 1945, pp. 304–305.) Yet, at the same time, it acquired new vigor on its western periphery. From the central point of the Wind River Shoshone, a Christianized modification of the ceremony has spread since 1890 to the Shoshone and Ute of Idaho, Utah, and Nevada, reaching the last area in 1933 (Hoebel, 1935, pp. 578–579). In 1941, the Sun Dance began to spread eastward. The Crow Indians, assisted by a Wind River and later a Lemhi Shoshone shaman, have revived the ritual with great vigor.

The Sun Dance appears also to have survived on its northwestern and northern margins, among the Kutenai, who have danced a profoundly modified but non-Christianized version at least as recently as the late 1930's, and among the Plains Cree (Turney-High, 1941, p. 178; Mandelbaum, 1940, p. 269).

The basic pattern of the Sun Dance is highly uniform. Although tribal differences are often noteworthy, particularly in regard to the social organization, motivations, and mythological connotations associated with the dance, many elements are recurrent throughout the area of distribution.

In generalized form, the dance, as performed around 1850, would consist of the following:[1]

It would be initiated during the winter months by some man or woman who had made a vow to do so or who had received a visionary command to initiate the dance. At a suitable moment in late spring

[1] Adapted from Spier, 1921 a and 1921 b.

or early summer, the scattered bands of the tribe would gather; often they would approach the rendezvous in a ceremonial manner, making four stops en route.

Once the bands of the tribe had assembled in a camp circle, the first phase of the rites would begin. A tipi would be pitched in the center of the camp circle. Here the pledger and his sponsor, an old man with esoteric knowledge of the ritual, who guarded the Sun Dance fetich or who otherwise had great supernatural power, would together perform the secret preliminaries, purifying themselves, uncovering the fetich, and learning sacred songs or ritual paint designs. At this time also, a distinguished warrior or group of warriors went to hunt a buffalo bull, which had to be killed by a single shot, generally so that the animal's head fell east. The bull's hide was removed for later placement on the center pole. To find the center pole, scouts would be sent out to locate a suitable forked tree, which would then be "killed" and chopped down by a distinguished man, a virtuous woman, or a captive.

In the meantime, a larger number of men would erect a circle of 10 to 20 posts, possibly 20 yards in diameter, with an entrance to the east. The center pole would be brought in, and a bundle of brush, the buffalo skin, and possibly other objects such as a Sun Dance doll or offerings of cloth would be affixed. Then the pole would be raised in place with great formality. Once the center pole had been raised, rafters would be strung between the vertical posts, and brush piled up against the outer rafters to form a wall. In the lodge an altar comprising a painted buffalo skull, smudges of sweet-smelling grass, and a screen of branches would be built up on the west side, facing the center pole.

The second phase of the dance would begin with the formal procession of the barefooted, kilt-clad, white-painted dancers into the lodge. They would take their places on both sides of the altar. Gazing constantly at the center pole or the sun, they would raise and lower their heels, bending their knees, blowing their eagle-humerus whistles at every beat of the drum. They would keep on dancing, fasting, and thirsting for several days and nights, hoping in this way to get a vision or at least to arouse the pity of a supernatural being.

In both phases of the dance, many associated themes would interwork. The first phase, prior to the dance proper, was generally a time for initiation into societies and for lesser rites, as well as for general merriment. In the second phase, shamanistic performances including curing of the sick and exhibitions of supernatural power would often take place. War prestige and wealth would also gain outlets, with distinguished warriors recounting their deeds and giving away property at various moments during the ceremony. Finally, among many

tribes, those who had vowed to do so would have themselves pierced through the pectoral muscles by skewers by means of which they would be tethered to the center pole. They would dance back and forth, attempting to tear themselves free, gaining supernatural aid through their ecstasy of pain.

Generally, the gaining of visions, usually by the pledger, would be the religious climax of the Sun Dance. The rite often ended abruptly after the passage of a prescribed period of dancing. Among some groups, minor ceremonies such as hanging children's clothing on the center pole ended the Sun Dance.

The history of the Sun Dance remains obscure. Spier's comparative study has been made partly obsolete by the acquisition of new data, although some of his most important conclusions still appear to be well founded (Spier, 1921 b). Clements' (1931) and Driver and Kroeber's (1932) statistical studies simply represent reworkings of Spier's data. Ray has made an important contribution to the problem by showing the impressive resemblances between the Sun Dance and the Spirit Dance of the Plateau (Ray, 1939, pp. 123-131). Ray's study, coupled with new information on the Sun Dances of the Kutenai and Kiowa, provides a line of departure for a new attack on this historical problem. [2] For it is now clear that important resemblances exist between those far-removed peripheral Sun Dances, resemblances which are found but sporadically in the intermediate areas.

The striking parallels between the Kutenai and Kiowa Sun Dances are the following:

(1) The Sun Dance leader is the keeper of a Sun Dance doll, which is the central source of supernatural power in the dance.

(2) The leader fasts prior to the beginning of the dance. Among the Kutenai, he contemplates the doll, possibly for several months prior to the dance, during which time he eats and sleeps as little as possible. Among the Kiowa, the sponsor of the dance hangs the sacred doll on his back, and rides out as a messenger to the various bands. During this ride, he is obliged to fast and thirst.

(3) The center pole is associated with a tabu against touching the ground. Among the Kutenai, the cut center-pole tree must not be permitted to hit the ground, lest the Sun Dance leader die. Among the Kiowa, a shaman treads four times along the length of the cut center-pole tree. Should he lose his balance and touch the ground, disaster would come to the tribe.

(4) Once the center pole has been erected, a man climbs up it. This appears to reflect the Bird-Man concept so strikingly developed in the Crow Sun Dance. As among the Crow, the Kiowa pole-mount-

[2] For the Kutenai, see Ray (1939) and Turney-High (1941); for the Kiowa, see Hunt (1934), particularly for references to center-pole ritual, and Scott (1911) and Spier (1921 a).

er has ritual functions, for he prays from the top of the pole. Among the Kutenai, his functions appear to be mundane, yet it should be noted that the Bluejay dancer in the Spirit Dance of Plateau tribes closely related to the Kutenai performs rites comparable to the Crow Bird-Man.

(5) Within the Sun Dance lodge, a screen of branches and a number of incense smudges form part of the ritual paraphernalia.

(6) The Sun Dancers fast and thirst, but torture is avoided.

(7) The climax of the Sun Dance is reached when supernatural power transmitted through a feather "kills" the dancers. Among the Kiowa, the Sun Dance leader, with a road-runner fan held in his hands, chases the dancers and "kills" them. Among the Kutenai, the shamans stroke the center pole with a feather to brush away the concentrated ailments of the tribe. This act causes the dancers to fall helpless to the ground, so that they must be revived by smudging.

(8) In both groups, the name for the Sun Dance probably refers to the structure in which the dance is held. This fact has been specifically established for the Kiowa, and is inferential for the Kutenai although unrecorded up to this time. (The Spirit Dance of the Flathead, which greatly resembles the Kutenai Sun Dance, is called by a name referring to the lodge.) (Ray, 1939, p. 130.)

These comparisons provide a tentative basis for reconstructing the early form of the Sun Dance. This early form may also have included a number of other elements, the antiquity of which is testified to by their wide distribution not only in the Plains but also in the Plateau Spirit Dance (as cited by Ray, 1939, pp. 128–131). Such elements are the division of the dance into a preparatory phase, usually secret, and a final, public phase, each 4 days in duration. Ceremonial sweating prior to the dance is another such association; still others are brush or uncut branches on the center pole (with "nest" symbolism), offerings to the center pole, and dancers being provided with whistles and painted with white and yellow. Ritualistic elements connected with the buffalo, such as the buffalo hide on the center pole and the buffalo skull on the altar, may also be ancient, but the evidence is by no means certain.

The reconstruction developed above may now be collated with other evidence. Both Spier and Kroeber have advanced powerful arguments for the view that the original center of the Sun Dance rests with the Plains Algonquians, especially the Arapaho and Cheyenne (Spier, 1921 b, p. 498; Driver and Kroeber, 1932, p. 235). Since no contrary evidence exists, these arguments may be accepted. Furthermore, Spier has given presumptive evidence that the Sun Dance had its origin among a nomadic people, for the village tribes built a special structure for the Sun Dance, whereas their other important ceremonies were al-

most always held in the permanent medicine lodges. While the history of the Arapaho is not known, the Cheyenne were village people until 1750, and became full-fledged nomads only toward the end of the eighteenth century (Strong, 1940, pp. 370–376). This fact reinforces Kroeber's view concerning the relative recency of the Sun Dance complex (Kroeber, 1939, pp. 77–78).

Nevertheless, by 1750 to 1765 the Kiowa appear to have borrowed the Sun Dance doll and probably other basic elements of the ceremony from the Crow (Scott, 1911, pp. 369–370; Mooney, 1898, p. 155). The deep infiltration and readjustment to Sun Dance elements on the Plateau likewise argues for a respectable antiquity in that area. Consequently, if the Sun Dance did originate as late as 1700, it must have been diffused with great rapidity.

Subsequent to this initial rapid diffusion, great elaboration of the original ritual appears to have developed in at least three centers—the Arapaho-Cheyenne, the Blackfoot, and the Dakota. The first center, possibly affected by eastern and southern influences, may have contributed the concept of a vow as the basis of the Sun Dance, a complex mythology and symbolism; sand painting, lodge-pole painting, and varied series of face and body paintings; fraternity control of the ceremony, with adoption and wife exchange; as well as other details such as the sunrise ceremony. In the second center might have grown up a great enrichment of ties with the buffalo—especially the tongue ritual; elaboration of outlets for war prestige and wealth through ostentatious property disposal; and lesser items such as plumes suspended from the dancers' little fingers. Spier has demonstrated the likelihood of a Dakota origin for the torture elements.

Beyond and above these three centers, every tribe invented refinements of its own, which exercised a greater or less influence on its neighbors. The Sun Dance was inherently unstable.[3] In the first place, the great migrations of Plains tribes, such as those of the Kiowa and the Comanche, exposed them to varied cultural influences.[4] Furthermore, individual travels greatly widened the range of contacts and the possibilities of far-reaching loans. Thus, Kiowa and Comanche visited the Mandan villages in 1802, Crow raided central Colorado in 1821, and early travelers met the Wyoming Shoshone on the Colorado River south of the San Juan in 1826. (Parsley *in* Coues, 1895, vol. 2, p. 757; Coues, 1898, pp. 51 ff.; Pattie, 1906, pp. 138–139.) Secondly, the Sun Dance is at present, and appears to have been in the past, a vehicle of intertribal participation. Dorsey has noted the long-

[3] Note Kroeber (1939, pp. 77–78) for the instability of the age-grade societies.

[4] For a discussion of Kiowa migrations, see Kroeber (1939, p. 80), where he cites the primary sources. For the Comanche, see Shimkin (1941).

continued participation of Arapahoes and Cheyennes in each other's Sun Dances (Dorsey, 1903, p. 23; also 1905, pp. 155 ff.). Thirdly, the vision component in the Sun Dance among many tribes provides an unusual opportunity for variability. Finally, this variability is increased by the fact that, among many tribes, the Sun Dance is performed at irregular instances, often years apart.[5] Thus such instability as Spier (1921 b, pp. 493–494) noted among the Dakota has unquestionably been widespread. This fact makes the tracing of the detailed relations between the Sun Dances of various tribes exceedingly difficult. It appears to be reasonably well established that the Sun Dances of the following tribes share significant resemblances: Arapaho, Northern Cheyenne, and Southern Cheyenne; Blackfoot and Sarsi; Ponca and Oglala; Assiniboine, Plains Cree, and Plains Ojibway; Canadian Dakota and Sisseton Dakota; Wind River Shoshone, Ute, and Hekandika Shoshone; Wind River Shoshone and Kiowa. The historical significance of these resemblances is by no means clear; in each instance, it is essential to weigh known historical facts and tribal traditions as well as resemblances and differences in the forms of the Sun Dance.

In brief, the Sun Dance complex extended throughout the Plains in the middle of the nineteenth century. At present, it survives on the northern and western peripheries, and has diffused recently into the Basin, as well as reviving among the Crow. The typical form of the Sun Dance in the mid-nineteenth century, as known from the Arapaho, Dakota, and other centrally located tribes, appears to be considerably changed from its earlier form as reconstructed through comparison of two far-removed peripheral Sun Dances, the Kiowa and Kutenai.

The Sun Dance appears to have originated among the Algonquian Plains tribes, most probably the Arapaho and Cheyenne, possibly no earlier than the first half of the eighteenth century. It diffused very rapidly, its spread being aided by the movements of tribes away from the Northern Plains (Kiowa) and into them (Dakota, Plains Cree, etc.). Subsequent to initial crystallization and diffusion, secondary centers of elaboration and diffusion arose, especially among the Arapaho, Blackfoot, and Dakota. These secondary diffusions and the inherent instability of Plains culture, especially the Sun Dance, make detailed reconstruction of the spread of the institution extremely difficult. For instance, it has been believed that the Wind River Shoshone borrowed the Sun Dance from the Arapaho. In fact, it appears that the Shoshone derived their Sun Dance from the Kiowa via the Comanche, with subsequent strong influence from the Arapaho and lesser influences from the Blackfoot or Crow.

[5] For example, among the Crow, cf. Lowie (1915 a, p. 10); and among the Comanche, cf. Linton (1935, p, 420).

ORIGINS OF THE WIND RIVER SHOSHONE SUN DANCE

Within the framework of the history of the Sun Dance complex, as reconstructed in broad terms above, the origins of the Wind River Shoshone Sun Dance may be delineated to some degree, although the earliest direct reference to the ceremony among the Shoshone dates only to 1880.[6] Through examination of Wind River Shoshone traditions, of the known historical geography of the Plains and of comparisons between Shoshone and other Sun Dances, it is possible to arrive at a number of tentative conclusions.

Wind River Shoshone traditions concerning the origin of the Sun Dance are unusually explicit and uniform. They ascribe the first Sun Dance to a renowned chief and shaman named Yellow Hand (Ohamagwaya), the father, grandfather, and great-grandfather of two deceased and one living (1938) Sun Dance leaders. He is reputed by one informant to have been a Comanche, although another claimed that he was a Crow Indian. The first Wind River Shoshone Sun Dance supposedly took place either in the Green River country or in the Big Horn Mountains. Its inspiration was the vision of an old *white* man. Traditions regarding the Sun Dance were given by informants as follows:

JM[7] born ca. 1872:

The main Sun Dance originated here, long ago. My great-grandfather Ohamagwaya said: "I am going to look for *bɔx* [Power]." He had a buffalo robe, and he painted this grey with white clay. Then, in the evening he went to a butte near Rawlins [Wyoming] and slept there overnight. There were no pictographs[8] there, but a man came from heaven and told him: "You are looking for great power. I'll tell you what to do. Get a center, forked cottonwood tree and twelve poles; build them like a tipi. Get willows and lean them against the poles. The center pole will represent God; the twelve posts, God's friends.

"Get a two-year-old buffalo; face it west. Get an eagle; face it east. If anyone sick goes in, the buffalo will help him, with good power from the Sun. So will the eagle. Keep the buffalo's hide in shape with a bundle of willows. The cross-sticks will represent the Cross.

"The first time we're going to dance, only five men will dance."

This agrees well with the account given to Lowie (1919, pp. 396–397), although Andy Bresil's (Bazil's) great-grandfather would have been JM's great-great-grandfather. He writes:

According to Wawanabidi the Sun Dance is the oldest and foremost of Shoshone ceremonies. It was first performed by Andy's great-grandfather before there were any white men in the country. He found a picture of a white man, looked at it and kept it, putting it away. He began to dream of the picture which bade him have a Sun Dance and described the ceremony to him. His son kept the picture

[6] Hebard (1930, p. 295); Clark (1885, p. 363) also mentions this ceremony among the Shoshone.

[7] For the identifications of informants and data concerning them, see Appendix 2.

[8] The commonest way of gaining visionary power among the Wind River Shoshone was to sleep overnight by pictographs.

but since his death it is not known what happened to it . . . Washakie, the old Shoshone chief, told Wawanabidi the foregoing facts. The founder omitted the dance the second summer, but the picture insisted on his celebrating it every year as a sacred ceremony. At times it changed from a darker to a lighter shade. At first the owner could not understand it but he concluded that it was supernatural and that if he obeyed it he should live well and happy while otherwise he should not live long. Whenever an Indian wanted to see it, several would sit round with Sun Dance whistles and blow them, then the owner would take it out from its wrappings. In the old days the dance was held when the high water went down. The founder himself conducted the ceremony every year, but after him they took turns.

Lowie also states:

Barney ascribed the origin of the ceremony to a Shoshone who dreamt about it and was ordered to arrange it so as to attain happiness and longevity. [Lowie, 1919, p. 400.]

MT, born ca. 1852:

Old Man Barney's mother once said that Ohamagwaya was the first man she knew to put up a Sun Dance, around the Green River country. But she had heard that the Sun Dance came from way back, even before his time. MT's father told him that the Sun Dance came with the Shoshone when they were created. It was their way of worship.

QQ, born ca. 1861:

The first man to dance the Sun Dance was Ohamagwaya. A buffalo bull told him to have it. Then an old, white-haired man came to him and told him the same. From then on it has been continued. He painted the first Sun Dance doll. Because he did that they also kept that up.

PT, born ca. 1860:

A gray-headed white man said that people should dance the Sun Dance. That's why they do it now.

PP, born ca. 1855:

The ʒa:šošoni ("Good Shoshone") came from the Comanches long ago. About five or six families of them, Bazil [Pa:si] (Sacajawea's son), Witchie, Sarigant, Ohamagwaya . . . they had horses. The Shoshone first Sun Danced in the Big Horn mountains.

CW, born in 1873:

Ohamagwaya adopted Washakie. He was a chief and a medicine man. He was the first man ever to start the Sun Dance.

Voget writes:[8a]

[John Truhujo] also claimed that his variant [of the Sun Dance] had been originated by his great-great-grandfather, Yellow-Hand, a Crow Indian who had introduced the Sun Dance to the Shoshone.

Hebard's informant gave her rather curious, somewhat garbled, information, partially in agreement with other sources, and partially at variance. She quotes Andy Bazil (Bresil):

[8a] Dr. Fred Voget, personal communication.

My grandmother [allegedly Sacajawea] introduced the Sun Dance among this tribe when she came back [from the Comanche], and my father Bazil [Pa:si] was made leader of that dance by my grandmother. I am today considered the leader of that dance because my grandmother originated the dance here. [Hebard, 1933, pp. 259–260.]

Elsewhere, Hebard states that Sacajawea was the aunt and foster-mother of Bazil (Pa:si), the son of her eldest sister; and that Bazil was born about 1802. (Hebard, 1930, pp. 64–67, 169–170.) Furthermore she claims that Bazil officiated at the first Sun Dance given by the Shoshone Indians of the Bridger Basin, where Washakie was chief. (Op. cit., p. 291.)

Hebard does not reconcile these reports with the statement which she obtained from DW:

From old tradition that has been handed down about two centuries to the present time I have learned that the Sun Dance was first introduced to the tribe of Shoshone Indians about two hundred years ago, or about the year 1726. [Hebard, 1930, p. 292.]

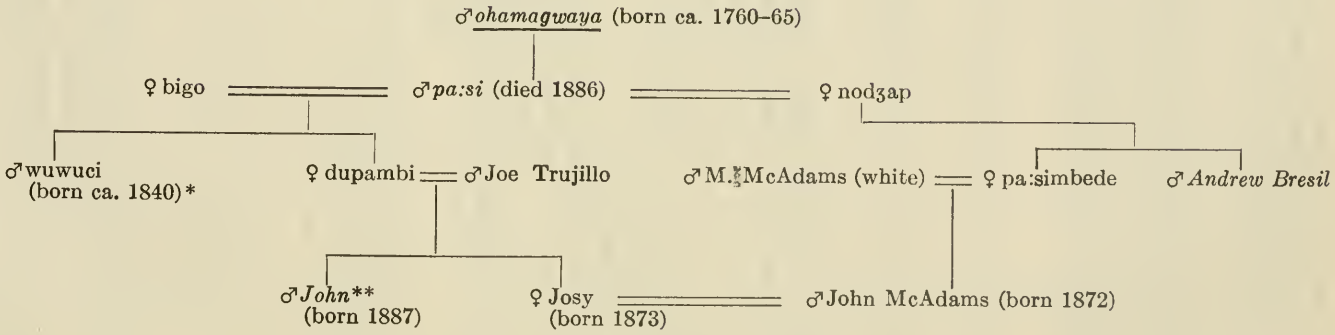
Do these traditions have a historical basis? Genealogical information received from PS, and checked with other informants, indicates that Yellow Hand was in fact the common ancestor of Pa:si or Bazil, Andrew Bresil, John McAdams (JM), and John Truhujo (fig. 20). Yellow Hand's son Pa:si was first mentioned in historical records in 1856, and frequently thereafter.[9] In 1856 he was already a mature man, with several wives:

Baziel [Pa:si], one of the Snakes who had lived in the fort with us during the last year, has raised about thirty bushels of wheat and some vegetables. He and his squaws have harvested it clean and neat. . . . [Hebard, 1930, p. 80.]

Yellow Hand appears to be mentioned in two early records. Ross, in relating his travels in Idaho and northwestern Wyoming in 1818–20, states:

[McKenzie] fell in with the main body of the great Snake Nation, headed by the two principal chiefs, Pee-eye-em and Ama-qui-em. . . . The whole of this assemblage of camps was governed by the voice of two great chiefs, Pee-eye-em and Ama-qui-em, who were brothers, and both fine-looking, middle-aged men; the former was six feet two inches high, the latter above six feet, and both stout in proportion. . . . Trade was no sooner over, than Ama-qui-em mounted one of his horses and rode round and round the camp—which of itself was almost the work of a day—now and then making a halt to harangue the Indians respecting the peace, and their behavior towards the whites, and telling them to prepare for raising camp. Three days successively this duty was performed by the chief, and in the morning of the fourth all the Shirry-dikas decamped in a body, and returned in the direction whence they came. . . . The Shirry-dikas are the real Sho-sho-nes, and live in the plains, hunting the buffalo. They are generally slender, but tall, well-made, rich in horses, good warriors, well-dressed, clean in their camps, and in their personal appearance bold and independent. [Ross, 1855, vol. 1, pp. 248, 249, 253, 259.]

[9] See references cited in Hebard (1930 and 1933).



*Married to and older than PS, born 1845.
**Also known as Trehero and Truhujo.

Figure 20.—The lineage of Ohamagwaya or Yellow Hand. (Sun Dance leaders are in italics.)

The linguistic identification of Ross' "Ama-qui-em" and Ohamagwaya or Yellow Hand seems extremely probable, especially since the time and area coincide.

The other record is Anza's report of a conference with Comanche leaders to sign a treaty against the Apache on February 28, 1786, at Santa Fe (Thomas, 1929). Anza lists the names of all the important personages, including "Oxamaguea," the son of the chief of the Kučandīka, and an interpreter or go-between. The Kučandīka band of Comanche at that time frequented the country between the Arkansas and Red Rivers, and numbered 157 tents. North of them were the Yamparīka, who lived between present northern Colorado and the Arkansas River, and the Yupë, who extended as far as the southern part of present Wyoming. Representatives of the two latter bands were also present at the meeting with Anza.

Does Anza's report actually refer to the Ohamagwaya of Shoshone tradition? The linguistic identification is unquestionable. The circumstance of age shows no discrepancy: if Yellow Hand was born, say in 1760–65, he would have been a young man in 1786 and in late middle age by 1820, the date of Ross' account. Yellow Hand's son Pa:si, born presumably about 1810, would have been a child of maturity but not of improbable senescence. Russel's account of 1842 lists chiefs other than Yellow Hand, so he had probably died prior to that date, having lived to his late 60's or early 70's (Russel, 1921, pp. 114–115.) New Mexico and Idaho are far removed, it is true, yet such travels have been made repeatedly by Shoshone and other Plains Indians. And certainly a chief's son from among the Comanche, fresh from Spanish contacts, would be in a position to rise to high rank among his more remote Shoshone kinsmen.

In short, it appears that Wind River Shoshone traditions have a substantial historical foundation. Yellow Hand did apparently come from the Comanches, presumably about 1800, and did rise to be a great Shoshone chief by 1820. But did he actually introduce the Sun Dance?

The historical geography of the Plains provides some evidence on the probability of this event. The pertinent facts are the following: The Shoshone and Comanche, a single people up to about 1800, were fully established on the Plains by the early eighteenth century. The Shoshone were fighting with the Blackfeet in Saskatchewan as early as 1730 (Shimkin, 1941). Thus opportunities for an early transmittal of the Sun Dance from the Algonquians to the Shoshone existed; no proof is available, however, that such a transmittal ever took place. Deriving the Shoshone Sun Dance from the Comanche presents difficulties, since the Sun Dance was never deeply embedded in Comanche culture. Moreover, as will be shown below, the Comanche

Sun Dance lacked important traits such as the Sun Dance doll, which typified the early Shoshone rite. On the other hand, both Shoshone and Comanche Sun Dances clearly resemble the Kiowa ceremony, which is the most likely origin, especially since the Kiowa were the firm allies and constant companions of the Comanche from 1790 on (Mooney, 1898, pp. 161–165). Consequently, it would have been possible for Yellow Hand to have acquainted himself with the Kiowa ritual and transmitted it to the Shoshone, especially if the latter already had some prior acquaintance with the Sun Dance. This derivation of the Shoshone Sun Dance is strengthened by the curious association of both the Shoshone and Comanche rites with a white man, a feature almost certainly of Christian and probably Spanish origin. (For the Comanche, see Linton, 1935.)

These conclusions collide sharply with those of Spier, which are based only on comparisons of Sun Dance forms, and of Clements (1931), and Driver and Kroeber (1932), which are based upon statistical reworking of Spier's data. Spier is torn between the Gros Ventre and the Arapaho as the originators of the Shoshone Sun Dance, finally deciding in favor of the Gros Ventre. Clements derives the Wind River ceremony from the Arapaho, but also notes a relatively high Shoshone-Kiowa correlation. Driver and Kroeber come out flatly for an Arapaho origin.

But it must be recognized that Spier did not have available any data on the Kutenai or Comanche, or full data on the Wind River Shoshone, Kiowa, or Plains Cree. Furthermore, his element list did not sum up his data completely; his interpretation was qualitative in character and stressed resemblances, with insufficient attention to differences.

A more balanced trait list with fuller information included is presented below.[10] The statistical results differ fundamentally from those of Clements, and Driver and Kroeber; this illustrates the extreme unreliability of the statistical analysis of small element lists (i.e., where the number of elements listed is less than 500),[11] and the imperative necessity of examining the composition of each correlation (i.e., whether based upon a large number of mutual presences or of mutual absences, etc.) and hence the inferences that may be derived therefrom. At best, the statistical presentation and quantitative analysis of small element lists simply represent the numerical expressions of the historical and ethnographic judgment of the author.

[10] This list is based upon Shimkin's field work, St. Clair (Appendix 1), Lowie (1915 a, 1919, 1935), Hunt (1934), Scott (1911), Spier (1921 a and b), Linton (1935), Dorsey (1903), Kroeber (1902–1904), Walker (1917), Wissler (1918), Mandelbaum (1940), Turney-High (1941), and Ray (1939).

[11] See Chretien (1945) for an outstanding critique of quantitative methods in ethnography.

This is frankly and solely the purpose of the statistical analysis in the present instance.

TABLE 1.—*Comparison of the Wind River Shoshone and other Sun Dances* [1]

Elements	Wind River Shoshone (Old form)	Kiowa	Comanche	Arapaho	Oglala Dakota	Crow	Blackfoot	Plains Cree	Kutenai
1. Name: Sacrifice lodge	—	×	0	×	—	×	0	—	(×)
2. Sun-gazing dance	—	—	0	—	×	—	0	—	—
3. Thirsting dance	×	—	0	—	—	—	0	—	—
4. Vision needed to give dance	×	×	×	(×)	(—)	×	—	—	×
5. Vow is basis for dance	×	×	(—)	×	—	×	×	×	×
6. Medicine bundle essential	×	×	(—)	×	—	×	×	×	×
7. Includes Sun Dance doll	×	×	(—)	×	—	×	×	×	×
8. Bundle transfer to sponsor	—	×	(—)	×	—	×	×	×	×
9. Sun Dance sponsor fasts prior to dance	0	×	0	(—)	(—)	×	×	0	—
10. Band makes 4 ritual stops en route to Sun Dance.	—	×	×	0	(×)	×	×	0	—
11. Preliminary tipi	×	×	0	×	×	×	×	×	—
12. Women assist in ritual	—	—	0	×	(—)	×	×	—	—
13. Altar	—	—	0	×	×	×	×	—	—
14. Drumming on hide	—	×	0	×	(—)	×	×	—	—
15. Buffalo tongues accumulated	×	—	(—)	—	×	(—)	×	—	(×)
16. Tongue feast	×	—	(—)	—	×	×	×	(—)	—
17. Avowal of virtue	—	—	(—) [sic]	—	×	×	×	×	—
18. Ritual buffalo hunt	×	—	×	×	—	×	×	—	—
19. Whole skin taken	—	—	0	×	—	×	×	—	—
20. Back strip only taken	×	×	0	×	—	×	×	—	—
21. Thongs cut	—	×	0	×	—	×	×	—	—
Center-pole cutting:									
22. Returning scouts met	×	—	0	×	—	—	—	×	—
23. Sham battle	×	×	0	×	—	×	—	—	—
24. Virtuous woman tree feller	—	—	×	(×)	—	×	—	—	0
25. Captive tree feller	—	×	×	(—)	—	×	—	—	—
26. Coup counted on tree	×	—	0	×	—	×	—	—	—
27. Stripping twigs	×	—	0	×	—	×	—	—	—
28. Riding double	×	×	0	—	×	×	—	×	—
Center pole decorated with:									
29. Brush bundle	×	×	×	×	—	×	×	—	—
30. Buffalo skin	×	×	×	×	—	×	×	—	—
31. Sun Dance doll	×	×	×	×	(×)	×	×	—	—
32. Cloth	×	×	0	×	×	×	×	—	—
33. Digging stick	×	×	0	×	×	×	×	—	—
34. Paint	×	0	0	×	×	×	×	—	—
35. Feints in raising center pole	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	—	—
36. Center pole raised by magic	×	×	(—)	×	×	×	×	—	—
37. Center pole mounted	×	×	0	×	×	×	×	—	—
38. Center pole tabu on touching ground	(—)	×	0	×	0	×	×	—	—
39. Dance lodge: roofed enclosure	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	—	—
40. Tipi	—	×	×	×	×	×	×	—	—
41. Altar: Buffalo skull	—	×	(—)	×	×	×	×	—	—
42. Smudge piles	(—)	×	0	(—)	(—)	(×)	×	—	—
43. Excavation	—	×	(—)	×	×	×	×	—	(×)
44. Screen	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	—	—
45. Preliminary dance	—	×	×	×	×	×	×	—	—
46. Sun Dancers' fraternity	—	×	×	×	×	×	×	—	—
47. Dancers: Sage adornment	×	×	0	×	×	×	×	—	—
48. Finger plumes	×	×	(—)	×	×	×	×	—	(—)
49. White paint	×	×	0	×	×	×	×	—	—
50. Successive paints	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	—	—
51. Incoming procession and blessing	×	×	0	×	×	×	×	—	—
52. Dancers' footsteps brushed away	×	(—)	(—)	(—)	(—)	0	0	0	—
53. Sunrise dance	×	—	(—)	×	×	×	×	—	×
Shamanistic performances:									
54. Water from center pole	×	—	(—)	×	(—)	—	—	—	—
55. Weather control	×	(—)	(—)	(—)	(—)	×	(—)	(×)	×
56. Clairvoyance	—	(—)	(—)	(—)	(—)	×	(—)	—	—
57. Supernatural power via feather "kills" dancers	(×)	×	(×)	×	×	×	(—)	×	×
58. Torture	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
59. Flesh sacrifices	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
60. Warrior's fire	×	—	(—)	×	×	×	×	×	×
61. Ears pierced	—	—	(—)	×	×	×	×	×	×
62. Sexual license	—	—	(×)	×	×	×	×	×	×

See footnote at end of table.

TABLE 1.—*Comparison of the Wind River Shoshone and other Sun Dances* [1]—Continued

Elements	Wind River Shoshone (Old form)	Kiowa	Comanche	Arapaho	Oglala Dakota	Crow	Blackfoot	Plains Cree	Kutenai
63. Children's clothing offered	×	×	×	×	(−)	−	(−)	−	−
64. Spectators blessed	×	−	(−)	(−)	(−)	(−)	×	×	−
65. Dancers drink prepared drink	×	×	0	×	−	−	−	−	−
Correlation with Wind River Shoshone [2]	−	+.42	+.24	+.04	−.32	−.40	−.14	+.09	+.24
Total similarities:									
Mutual presences (××)	−	21	9	25	15	15	20	15	13
Mutual absences (−−)	−	17	12	9	11	10	9	16	19
Total	−	38	21	34	26	25	29	31	32
Total differences:									
Absence-presence (×−)	−	16	13	13	23	22	16	22	25
Presence-absence (−×)	−	9	5	16	14	16	15	9	6
Total	−	25	18	29	37	38	31	31	31

[1] Symbols: ×, present; −, absent; (×), presumed present, occasionally present; (−), presumed absent; 0, no information, or information is contradictory.

[2] $Q2=\frac{ad-bc}{ad\times bc}$ where a, b, c, d, are respectively the sums of mutual presences, presences and absences, absences and presences, and mutual absences for the two groups correlated.

In other words, I believe that the Wind River Shoshone Sun Dance is highly differentiated, but shows closest resemblance to the Kiowa, whence it was largely derived. The common derivation from the Kiowa explains resemblances to the Comanche, resemblances which would probably be greater with fuller information. In regard to the Kutenai, the bulk of the similarities are mutual absences, which originate largely from the conservative, peripheral character of both ceremonies. Nevertheless, some Kutenai-Shoshone contacts are possible (especially via the Flathead) and may account for the sharing of such specialized traits as sweeping away the dancers' tracks. Much of the resemblance between the dances of the Plains Cree and their neighbors can also be explained on the basis of the marginal character of their Sun Dances. But here evidence of contact, and particularly very recent contact, is stronger, as Spier has pointed out. In my opinion, however, common features such as the name "Thirsting Dance" and the prayer for the spectators represent Shoshone influences on the north rather than the reverse. On the other hand, northern influences from the Blackfoot or Crow do appear to be represented by such elements as counting coup on the center-post tree, the buffalo-tongue feast, the warrior's fire, and finger plumes. Finally, while the Arapaho and Shoshone exhibit many profound differences especially ascribable to the richer development of the Arapaho ceremony, Arapaho influence on the Wind River Shoshone Sun Dance has been strong: stripping

twigs from the center-pole tree; the procession and blessing at the beginning of the Sun Dance proper; the sunrise ceremony; and the concept of drawing water from the center pole—these probably represent loans from Arapaho to Shoshone.

The traditional, historical, and comparative data discussed above can now be summarized into a reconstructed history of the Wind River Shoshone Sun Dance:

(1) During the eighteenth century, Shoshone contacts with Algonquian Plains tribes probably gave the former an acquaintance with the Sun Dance, and prepared the ground for diffusion.

(2) Around 1790, a prominent young Comanche, Yellow Hand, became thoroughly acquainted with the Kiowa Sun Dance and gained some knowledge of Christian concepts from the Spaniards.

(3) Some time later, possibly by 1800, Yellow Hand moved north to the Eastern Shoshone (who became the Wind River Shoshone under Washakie in the nineteenth century). Yellow Hand introduced the new ceremony—or possibly a new and dominant variant of an already known ceremony—to the Eastern Shoshone.

(4) During his lifetime, Yellow Hand was the usual leader of the Sun Dance. After his death, leadership of the Sun Dance concentrated largely in his lineage, with his son Pa:si and his grandson, Andrew Bresil, being the customary Sun Dance leaders.

(5) During the nineteenth century, up to the end of Shoshone nomadism in 1880–85, other influences in addition to the original Kiowa via Comanche impulse modified the Wind River Sun Dance. The most important of these came from the Arapaho and Crow or Blackfoot. The Shoshone, in their turn were the major sources of the Bannock and Ute Sun Dances, and may have influenced the Plains Cree of the far northern Plains.

(6) During the nineteenth century, the Shoshone developed a number of features in the Sun Dance peculiar to themselves, such as the preliminary hole-digging ceremony. They also adapted elements from other tribes. Thus the Shoshone Magpie ceremony is simply a secular, mischievous children's diversion among the Crow. Among the Shoshone, furthermore, the order of many details has been transposed. For example, the feast on tongues is generally after the dance, rather than before or during the dance, as among the Blackfoot and Crow.

THE EARLY SHOSHONE SUN DANCE: RECONSTRUCTION

As the result of the series of loans and developments described above, the Shoshone evolved a reasonably stable ceremony, probably by 1820 or 1830. This continued without major changes until about 1880. The main features of the ceremony were the following:

The Sun Dance or, literally, "Standing in Thirst" (*taguwënër*) was directed by a shaman (or one of a small group of shamans) who had gained this right partly through paternal inheritance, partly through repeated participation, and partly through recognition of his supernatural powers. Each winter or somewhat less frequently, this shaman would announce that he had seen a vision, usually of an old man, in which he had been commanded to give a Sun Dance on pain of illness or death, the usual sanctions for the disobedience of supernatural orders. The shaman was to supplicate for success in war, relief from illness, long life, and good luck.

As summer approached, messengers who were required neither to have special qualification nor to fast or perform ritual acts were sent out to all the bands of the Wind River Shoshone and to friendly related groups such as the Doyahin or Mountain Shoshone.[12] Sometime in June these bands would gather (without any set number of stops en route, or any other rites), probably at Wind River, on the way to the summer rendezvous with the trappers at Bridger Basin or Pierre's Hole. (Shimkin, 1938, 1942.)

At an undetermined time before the Sun Dance, the leader commissioned a special carver known for his ability (such a one was Paixwaci) to prepare the Sun Dance doll. The carver prayed to Our Father (*damë'ap:ë*) and then prepared the image, a wooden head painted red, with a feather stuck in back. MT did not know more about this head or its significance, which is suggested by TC to be the "Spirit of the Sun Dance" (MT, TC, JM, GR). PT adds that it was a woman's head and picture, about 8 inches high. A single informant described a doll of Crow style. PS said the doll was of buckskin, painted yellow or white, and had no feathers on it. And QQ remarked that the doll was left on the Sun Dance center pole when the lodge was abandoned, so that a new doll had to be prepared each year.

Once the tribe was together and camped in a rough, unordered circle, the prospective Sun Dance leader pitched his tipi in its center. A few days later, he went east of the leader's tipi a hundred yards and more with a number of old warriors who had repeatedly counted coup. One of the old men had a digging stick. They alined themselves exactly east of the leader's tipi by the sun, for it was then early in the morning.

At this time the old man with the digging stick prayed: [13]

us ɳ̣:di'βiž tīmp dɔ'tīwīkhɛndë' ʒa:ŋk
That is / the-great / rock / (that which) dug out-will be / well /

pëŋkhaint gë'arɔ marīgëarɔ
(this) place-from / go out-will // (That) those visible here will go out

ʒa:ŋk pë'ŋkhaind nánišundheŋgën us šuβega
well / (this) place-from / (I am) praying // That is / ended

[12] According to PT, a Doya.

[13] According to QQ, GR interpreting.

More freely, "That is the great rock to be well dug out, to go out from (its) place. That the people here will go out well from this place, for that (I) am praying. That is ended."

After this, the old man arranged the excavated rocks in a neat pile into which he stuck the digging stick. (The pit symbolized the trench dug by warriors during battle, according to TC.) The digging stick was left in the pit.

Probably the same night, the Sun Dance leader and a few companions begin practicing Sun Dance songs, some of which had been dreamed—not necessarily by the Sun Dance leader—during the past winter. Dancing also would be practiced, but there is no evidence that complex preparatory rituals like those of the Arapaho, Cheyenne, or Crow took place (Lowie, 1915 a; Dorsey, 1903 and 1905). The preparatory singing and dancing lasted for either 3 or 4 nights, the duration possibly depending on the leader's vision.[14]

A day or two later, but not more than 2 days before the start of the dance proper, the ceremonial buffalo hunt took place. This was entirely apart from the one necessary for the collection of buffalo tongues for the feast, which seems to have been purely informal. Rather, its purpose was to secure the head and attached strip of skin from the back which adorned the center pole.

A number of hunters went out, but only one was allowed to kill the desired animal.[15] This privilege was, in fact, a great honor for a noted warrior, and memory of that distinction was long cherished. Thus in 1938, Quitan Quay remembered that Guy Robertson's grandfather, Waʒinamp, had twice killed the bull for the tribe.

Nevertheless, the hunt was simple. No ill omen was implied if the hunter needed more than one shot to dispatch the beast. There was no prayer before skinning. The meat was left untouched. There was no ceremony on the men's return comparable to that among the Kiowa or Arapaho (Hunt, 1934; Dorsey, 1903). In fact, the only ritual consisted of a prayer spoken by the principal hunter when the party sighted the buffalo.

He prayed:[16]

nīr i'kĭža mbe'kahandĕ' ĕna'nišundheŋgɛn
I / right now / for that which killed-will be / to you-(I am)-praying/

mbe'kahandɔ'ⁱ ta'guwënërux ën wī'
for that which killed-will be / Sun Dancing // You / now'

marĭšu'ndhaindĕ pa:'ndai us su:βega
these visible here-bless-will / down from above // That is / ended

[14] Lowie (1919, p. 393) reports 3 nights; St. Clair (Appendix 1) reports 4 nights.
[15] Lowie (1919, p. 397) reports that four hunters went out.
[16] According to QQ, GR interpreting.

In other words, "I, at this moment indeed, am praying to you for that which will be killed, for that which will be killed Sun Dancing. You will bless from above those who are here. That is ended."

The next important event was the cutting of a center pole. The full circumstances of this act are somewhat obscure. Lowie has given a detailed account:

One company of men went to locate the trees to be cut down, leaning poles against them for identification. Some stayed by these trees and sat around playing the hand-game and pretending to be enemies of the Shoshone. The remainder went back to the distance of about half a mile. Two men were detailed to scout for the enemy. They went off and came back hallooing and singing. The people said, "Those scouts have seen something." They gathered piles of buffalo chips, making a big heap. All formed a circle round the chips, getting close together and leaving only a narrow gap for the entrance. The scouts entered the ring and moved all the way round, then the circle was closed. The chief shouted at them to announce quickly what they had discovered. "The enemy is at such and such a place," they would say. Then the people got horses and rushed over there. When they got near, the enemy tried to get away through the timber. Then there was shooting and hallooing as in a real fight. The Shoshone rushed in and struck each of the marked trees. Three brave warriors were to cut the center pole. After all the trees had been struck, another party came from behind to chop the trees down. When a tree fell, the Shoshone rushed in and broke off the limbs. Since there were no wagons in those days, the felled trees were dragged by a group of horsemen on either side of the logs, ropes being tied to these at one end, and the other end to the saddle or held in the hand. While the poles were dragged along there was no more of the sham battle, though nowadays it is held there. [Lowie, 1919, pp. 397–398.]

According to St. Clair,

. . . [the Sun Dance leader] leads the people into the mountains and they have a sham battle, the trees representing the enemy, at which they shoot. Then the men pick out the straightest of the trees that were hit and the women chop them down, and the men load them up. The [party with the center pole] goes ahead and the other party drops back, and they have a sham-battle over the poles till they reach the camp. Then the sham-battle is turned into a parade around the camp. [St. Clair, Appendix 1.]

According to my informants, a chief first prayed to the center pole, then killed it, counting coup. Young men broke off the branches. Young women went along, riding double with the youths. [17]

TC says:

In the early days, boys of 6 to 15, as well as little girls (?), were taken along when the center pole was being procured. The children would wait for the tree to fall, then each would run up and try to break off a limb. They would keep the limbs they got—a large limb meant good fortune, a small one not much luck in the future. The tree was not further trimmed, though nowadays it is trimmed with an ax.

[17] There was now the sexual freedom occurring generally during Shoshone social events, but no such formal license as among the Arapaho and other tribes (Spier, 1921 b, p. 473).

The other posts were just hauled or dragged by men on horseback. Smaller wood was gathered by the women and carried on their backs, or rarely on horseback.

When the party reached the Sun Dance field, they staged a sham battle in which two warriors hit the center pole. Soon after the center pole had been dragged to the field, the Sun Dance leader lashed a bundle of willows to the top fork of the tree. Around the tree itself brave warriors painted broad bands of black—one for each coup counted, but not more than four in all (QQ; also Lowie, 1919, p. 398). Rags adorned the ends of the forking branches.

Now the center pole was lifted into place by means of pairs of joined tipi poles. The lifters made three feints, each preceded by successively louder singing, accompanied by the rhythm of the tipi poles hitting together. The fourth try was successful. [18]

After this, the workers put up the side posts. [19] The rafters were now put in place, the "back-bone" (JM) running due west to east being laid down first, followed by the rafter running from north to south, then the one running from south to north; the others following in irregular fashion. Then the side posts were connected by cross rafters, against which the people leaned brush, leaving a wide opening on the east side.

Inside the lodge, several additions remained. A man climbed up the center pole to place in position the buffalo bull's head with attached backstrip and tail which was handed to him. This head had been painted with yellow clay and decorated with eagle tail feathers; sage had been stuffed in the nose.[20] The head and backstrip were placed in the fork so that the head faced west, the backstrip covered the willow bundle, and the tail hung down the east side of the fork. The Sun Dance doll was attached to the center pole possibly at this time; [21] ritualistic details are lacking. At this time also, an eagle was hung with its head to the east, from the very tip of the "backbone" nearest the center pole. (TC, JM).

JM's account of a Sun Dance altar, however, seems erroneous, and probably confused with the Arapaho structure.

Formerly, a willow about 4 feet high, with many branches, decorated with eagle down, was placed in the Sun Dance lodge.[22] It stood underneath the "backbone"

[18] The fifth try, according to St. Clair (Appendix 1).

[19] According to my informants, the number of posts was invariably 12, and the lodge illustrated in Lowie (1919, p. 396) which dates to 1911 or 1912 also has 12 posts. This pattern, however, does not appear to be old, since Clark (1885, p. 363) mentions 10 outer posts.

[20] St. Clair (Appendix 1). MT and PS insisted that the buffalo head was painted yellow rather than white, as stated by St. Clair.

[21] Among the Ute, however, the Sun Dance doll is affixed on the afternoon of the second day (Opler, 1941, p. 563).

[22] The existence of an altar screen is also suggested by its presence among the Ute (Opler, 1941, p. 563), but I could get no other confirmation for JM's statement.

10 feet west of the center pole. Just south of this, on a tripod, was a pipe covered with buffalo robe, with feathers lying on top.

This pipe had the following history. It had been sent by the Great Father, inherited by Ohamagwaya, later buried with him. It was called *doiwičimo* [a compound I could not analyze; "pipe" is *do*]. It was a long straight pipe, painted with different animals—eagle, otter, etc. Normally, it stayed on a tripod in back of his tent, in a special fringed case. If an enemy were to go under this tripod and pray to the pipe, we couldn't kill him.

Only Ohamagwaya might take this pipe out of its case, which he did without ceremony, but only for the Sun Dance. His wife, who had passed the menopause, would carry the pipe in traveling.[23]

This pipe was prayed to for a long life, never smoked. It was also revered by the Fort Hall people. The Arapaho still have one like ours was.

MT gave a vague confirmation of this account: he had heard that at one time there was an old man who had a tribal pipe for the Shoshone. He gave it away (?).

As this day neared its end, the prospective dancers prepared themselves. Their number was few—5 the time of the very first dance (JM), maybe up to 12 (MT) or, rarely, 20 (QQ)—for people were afraid of the hardships involved. Although they never tortured themselves by putting skewers through their flesh and dragging skulls from the thongs attached to the skewers, they still had to fast, thirst, and dance for 4 days (DW, MT). One informant (DW) claimed that in those days the young men would participate in a Sun Dance only once in their lives, though nowadays some do it nearly every summer, but actually it appears that repeated participation is an old trait. Women did not dance.

Those who wished to dance, bathed or sweated now (TC). They gathered after that in the Sun Dance leader's tipi, where they painted each other with white clay from the waist up.[24] This was done without ritual, although some might first purify themselves with cedar (wa:pi, *Juniperus californica*) (DW, TC). Then they hung unadorned, single-holed whistles of eagle humerus (no other bone may be used) from their necks, and tied an eagle down feather (*pį'ɔyip*) to each little finger; some held a prayer-horn.[25] They were naked except for breechclouts and aprons of antelope skin. Their hair was not specially dressed (TC), but around the head and waist they often put "water sage" (pa:'wɔhɔ', *Gnaphalium*), which contributed its aromatic smell but no supernatural power (DW).

Sometimes the people would lay those seriously ill on the dancing ground inside the lodge so that they might get well in that holy place (QQ).

[23] Blood, especially menstrual blood, is extremely polluting and very dangerous in contact with any bearer of supernatural power, according to Shoshone theory.

[24] They also painted white their hair and the buffalo robes which they wore, according to St Clair.

[25] Hebard (1930, figure opp. p. 286) shows such a horn; this trait still persists among the Ute (Opler, 1941, p. 564).

When dusk had come, the singers took their places around a large drum on the southeast corner of the lodge. One of them had a buffalo scrotum rattle. Women helped in the singing, although not in the drumming. Rather, they waved fronds of sagebrush rythmically up and down.

Soon the dancers were ready. In single file, blowing their whistles, they shuffled from the leader's tipi to the west end of the outside of the lodge. Then they circled it clockwise either two (QQ) or four (JM) times before entering. Once inside, each took whatever place in the western half of the lodge he might desire, except for the position directly under the "backbone," which was always occupied by the leader. At this moment the Sun Dance leader stepped up to the center pole for prayer. This was directed toward Our Father, and besought long life, safety in battle, the avoidance of illness.[26] The prayer over, the singers began their song, while the dancers jogged up and down in place to the beat of the drum and the blasts of their whistles, gazing constantly at the Sun Dance doll or the buffalo head.[27]

Once or twice a day, they would cease dancing in place, and would dance up to the center pole. JM says that if it was the Sun Dance leader who did so, his wife would come up on the dance floor, barefooted, with a leafy branch in her hand, and sweep away his tracks. But MT says that the dusting of the floor was done by an old man who came every morning furnished with an eagle feather for this purpose.

Furthermore, in MT's younger days, an old man would pick up a feather dropped by a dancer, tell why he had picked it up, and how he had once counted coup in a similar manner. Then the old man's relatives would present a visitor with something valuable—a stick representing a horse, or they might actually lead a horse in to the center pole (TC, MT).

Of this, JM says that if anyone lost a feather or the like, the war chief would come up and pick it up. He would tell how he had struck coup. For every coup that was counted, the drum would be hit once.[28] And for every coup counted, he would have to give away a different valuable, a blanket, or a stick representing a horse.

An old woman would then dance forward with a kind of trotting

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[26] It seems probable that the concept of a High Deity among the Shoshone was originally Christian, since they had earlier contacts with Christianity via the Comanche. Furthermore, Christian proselyting directly among the Shoshone dates back at least to 1834 (cf. Irving, 1848, p. 266, and De Smet, 1906, p. 138) the latter dealing with De Smet's teachings in 1841. Yet the wide distribution of the concept of a High God among primitive peoples calls for caution in such a derivation (Lowie, 1924, pp. 115–133).

[27] St. Clair mentions a blanket-shaking ritual immediately prior to the beginning of the dance proper, but this cannot be confirmed. Blanket shaking is an integral element of the Ghost Dance, whence it may occasionally be transferred to the Sun Dance.

[28] Also a common Crow custom (Dr. R. H. Lowie, personal communication).

step, singing happily a special war song: *ke: de de* (meaningless). Then she would pick up the gift and say, "*ahɔ* (thanks!)[29] I am glad you have given this to me." If two old women started out at once, one would have to go back, but in case several articles were being given away, then they would dance up together.

This ceremony was also performed in the *piabɔŋgonëkar*[1], or Big Horse Dance.[30]

Formerly, each dancer had a regular sponsor, an old man who was given no special name, and who was nominated informally. He would urge on the young man, "Keep on dancing. Everybody's watching you; the women are watching you. If you drop, you might get a dream and Medicine." The old man blessed the young one at the end, but received no gift in exchange (MT, JM, DW, TC).

At times, one or two old women used to shuffle along, dancing with the help of their canes, singing a war song, urging the young fellows to be brave, not to give up. The song ended when the old women reached the limits of the secular part of the lodge.

As the night grew dark, a fire was started just east of the center pole by some noted warrior, who recited his war experiences while doing so. As it grew later, the dancers gradually quit, one by one, and rested, wrapped up in blankets furnished by their relatives. Only the plodding of some stout soul and the croaking of the tired singers kept active the course of the dance.

With the first rays of light, the dancers began to awake. More and more joined in until the whole ceremony was once more in full swing. Just before dawn, all lined up in a column of fours or fives, facing the east. The first tiny rim of the sun above the horizon was greeted by the stretching of arms toward it and long blasts on the whistles.[31] After that, the dancers sat around the fire and sang four sacred songs in low voices, blowing their whistles at the end of each song. Everyone else was silent at this time.

Following this ritual, the spectators and singers left the lodge for breakfast, while the dancers attended to their physiological wants, rested, and slept. Their fasting and thirsting continued unbroken.

In an hour, the dancers removed their old paint with the help of some damp skin, and repainted themselves, this time in any way they

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[29] Also the Crow ceremonial thanks. These two tribes share many phrases of etiquette, for example, "Where are you going?" (Shoshone: *hagan mi'a'ᵛᵘ*) as a formal greeting even though the person addressed may be sitting still (Dr. R. H. Lowie, personal communication).

[30] Lowie (1915 b, pp. 815–816) gives a brief description of the Big Horse Dance.

[31] The ritual of chest patting, called *naβaβukwi* by Hoebel (1935, p. 572) and found in the Hekandika Shoshone sunrise ceremony, is specifically denied by TW. Nor did I see it, although St. Clair mentions it. Probably this ritual is a feature occasionally borrowed from the *narayar*, or Ghost Dance, of which it is an integral part.

wished, usually following the directions of their visionary guardians.[32] Soon after, the dance was resumed, events repeating themselves identically up to the resumption of dancing on the second morning.

At that time the parents, wives, and other relatives of the dancers busied themselves in planting saplings in the ground within the sacred dancing ground (which they could enter if they removed their moccasins) (TC) parallel to the outer wall, then hanging skins from these to form little sheds, which were lined with armfuls of cooling grasses, sage, and fragrant peppermint through which a little water had been sprinkled. These skins were often painted with records of visions of war experiences, much like the back drop of elk or antelope hide inside a man's own tipi. War equipment was also hung up now. The dancers purified their bodies with cedar smoke (MT).

Some of the symbolism involved here is given by Hebard, after DW.

> Each dancer has a certain place in the dance hall which he must keep throughout the duration of the dance when he enters it. Two small poles or young saplings may be peeled off or not, whichever the dancer may wish. If the dancer is a medicine man or has been wounded in battle sometime, he should show this on the poles or saplings by painting them red, which signified his blood was lost in battle. [Hebard, 1930, p. 293.]

The third day was the most important one ritually. It was believed that one's fate in battle could be divined at this time (TC). Thus, if a man fainted, the Sun Dance chief would ask him, when he had recovered, whether he had had a vision. He might say: "I saw a fight. The Great Spirit told me that five or six men got killed; two or three of us. Our horses were stolen." This would come true (JM).

MT saw a man faint in the Dance. The sponsor came to the dancer and put his mouth to the latter's palms, throat, and soles of both feet. (Presumably to suck out the excess of supernatural power which had knocked out the dancer.) The sponsor took his buffalo robe and covered him carefully, with the head of the robe toward the dancer's head. (MT has never seen or heard of anyone dying in the Sun Dance; rather they would be cured.)

On the third day, spectators would also be prayed for, or have their illness brushed away by an eagle wing in the hands of the Sun Dance leader. He, or another, might also transfer Power to someone else during the day. The technique was not described, but probably corresponded to the one ordinarily used by the Shoshone, with the donor coughing up a supernatural object and blowing it through his hand into the recipient.

A man might also steal the supernatural Power of another, as Pohguritsie Taylor is reputed to have stolen Pivo Brown's. Then he

[32] Lowie (1919, pp. 403–404) describes some designs of this sort.

would exhibit his acquisition by knocking someone over with a feather during the Sun Dance (PP).[33]

Other shamanizing also took place. An exhausted dancer might hug the center pole, magically sucking water from it through his whistle (Lowie, 1919, pp. 395, 402). A man might send a feather in the air to the center pole (JM). (The supernatural balancing of a feather was used normally in shamanizing to predict the course of a patient's disease. If the feather insisted upon falling down, the prognosis would be very unfavorable (MT).) Further tricks were played. Thus Ohamagwaya, during his second Sun Dance, blew a whistle like an eagle. An eagle came down to the lodge, then flew up into the skies again. Following this, he struck his chest. Eagle claws came out of his mouth, then went in again. He vomited a bullfrog, then swallowed him again. He alone was able to exhibit animals like that (JM).

The dance ended in the afternoon of the fourth day; thus the dancers actually suffered but for 3 nights and 2½ days. The old man sponsoring the Sun Dance leader gave him his blessing at this time. The other sponsors followed suit with their protégés. Old men then brought water in which clay had been placed. Having done this, the old men recited their brave deeds.[34] Then the Sun Dance leader blessed the water, and only the dancers drank it. Some vomited.

The dance was now over, except for the feast on the buffalo tongues which had previously been collected. According to Lowie (1919, p. 397), before the dance "They began to hunt buffalo and get all the tongues they could. The tongues were coupled so that each member of a pair could hang over one side of a stick and several men would carry one end of a stick thus laden with tongues all around the camp till they got back to the pledger and piled up the tongues there." These tongues were, in the first Sun Dance MT remembers, boiled by two middle-aged women who painted their hands with charcoal, but stirred the tongues with an ordinary stick, not a scalp stick.[35] The Sun Dance chief asked for a blessing for the tongues piled in the hall by the fire. This was on the third day.

Quitan Quay insisted, however, that old women who had been in a war, up to four in number, cooked the meat just after the dance. They painted their hands and faces black, and used a broken stick to

[33] Compare the ceremonial killing in the Kiowa Sun Dance (Scott, 1911, pp. 366–367). Such ritual shamanistic competitions are widespread, being found, for example, among the Kwakiutl and the Maidu. (See Drucker, 1940, p. 215 ff; Loeb, 1933, p. 160 ff.)

[34] Lowie (1919, pp. 399–400), states that the dancers gave presents to the old men blessing them, but later adds that this was a feature introduced by Rev. John Roberts, according to one informant. I also believe that this feature is recent; most likely, the old men counting coups now gave away property, as they did at other times in the ceremony. Payment to a sponsor would probably have taken place only when a transfer of supernatural power or a curing rite had taken place during the Sun Dance.

[35] Lowie (1919, pp. 398–399,) states that renowned old men also helped to stir the boiling tongues.

stir the boiling tongues.[36] PS said that the feast was on the last day, and that all ate outside.

When the tongues were ready, a large group of boys, called Magpies (*kwïdaβɔi*) and painted with black and white in imitation of these birds, descended upon the old women and attempted to steal the tongues. The details of this ceremony are obscure, for informants' accounts differ.

For example, MT was a Magpie once. The other boys and he were led by three old men, who had gone through battles, and wanted the boys to follow in their path. Behind the youngsters were other men with switches. There were no prayers.

The spectators were now fed and told to hurry. "The Magpies are coming!" Then the Magpies were notified and came ahead. Since the people had not finished eating, the Magpies were driven back by guards also armed with switches. But the Magpies rushed in, trampling their own smaller and less aggressive members, and tried to grab all the tongues they could. Having done that, they ran back to the place from which they had started and piled up the tongues in front of the old men, who asked them to take a bath, and then fed them.

This ceremony was a symbol asking for a blessing that the boys be like Magpies, who are known to be fearless, going where other birds dare not go (MT).

Polly Shoyo says of this rite that the best parts were eaten by the adults, while the Magpies rushed for the less desirable tips of the tongues, which were piled to one side for them. (They were led by two old men, who counted coup on the pot, telling the people how they had hit the enemy.) "That's the reason the boys are with us: so they may do likewise." TC adds that the future luck of each Magpie was divined by his success in grabbing tongues.

CW described the Magpies as having been painted white on the forehead and shoulders. The two old men who led had drums, and sang. Two others with switches brought up the rear. These four men were the same from year to year. This suggestion of semipermanency is strengthened by JM's assertion that the Magpies were camp robbers, who stole food at public dances generally, and were almost equivalent to the two warrior societies.

Finally, QQ claimed that no one had ceremonial charge of the Magpies—they just tried to steal and eat food.

According to Lowie:

> The tongues were issued to all the spectators, but primarily to the musicians. The drummers told the dancers they were going to eat, then the dancers would

[36] The stick, like all Shoshone food stirrers, could not be sharp-pointed, lest it pierce the meat, an extremely bad omen for any warrior eating this meat. Black is the color denoting victory in combat.

rest, while the drummers sang and themselves danced in their places before partaking of the food. [Lowie, 1919, p. 399.]

After all the eating was over, and the people had left, the dancers went to the river, drank, washed, went home, and ate there.

Meanwhile, sickly people brought in their old clothes and tied them to the center pole, so that they could be relieved as the dancers had been. These clothes were left untouched until they rotted away. Next morning all moved away from the site (Lowie, 1919, p. 399).

SOCIAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS

What evidence is available on the interrelations of the early Wind River Shoshone Sun Dance with other social and psychological factors? Can the introduction of the Sun Dance be ascribed to a peculiarly fortuitous time or an outstanding personality, or both? Did the dominant attitudes of the Shoshone, their pattern of culture (to use Benedict's term), promote, inhibit, or otherwise affect the acceptance and development of the Sun Dance? What tensions did the ceremony help to relieve? How close was the integration of the ceremony with the social structure and the system of values of the tribe? What factors were responsible for the adaptability of the Sun Dance to later profound changes, when many other cultural traits vanished? Let us examine these problems one by one.

Both a cultural crisis and a powerful personality may have aided the introduction of the Sun Dance. The period from approximately 1781 to 1820 was an extremely difficult one for the Shoshone (Shimkin, 1941). Prior to this period, their early acquisition of the horse had given them a temporary domination of much of the northern Plains. Beginning in 1781, however, smallpox, the mounting of other tribes, and especially the acquisition of guns by their enemies, placed the Shoshone at a military disadvantage. The Shoshone were forced from the Plains, and pursued by the Blackfoot even into central Idaho. A new ceremony designed to promote military success might well have received an especial welcome under such circumstances. Nevertheless, though the correlation is possible, it is unproven.

On the other hand, the prestige of the introducer, Yellow Hand or Ohamagwaya, is unquestionable. Traditionally, he far overshadows any other Shoshone, including Washakie. His abilities as a shaman are the subject of countless anecdotes. His dignity and his kindness to young men whom he pitied because of their lack of supernatural power are also renowned. Finally, if the Ama-qui-em mentioned by Ross is really he, then direct historical evidence confirms his importance and his outstanding personality (Ross, 1855).

The heterogeneity of the Wind River Shoshone unquestionably led to a wide variety of psychological outlooks. The differences between

the old Plains families who formed Washakie's original band and the ex-rabbit-hunters who flocked in to share in the gains of the treaty of 1863 were enormous. Yet it is clear from informants' biographies, philosophical statements, and comments on others, that four dominant attitudes—egalitarianism, individualism, skepticism, and restraint—can be ascribed to the Wind River Shoshone.

The sentiment of egalitarianism was pervasive throughout Shoshone thought and culture. While individual qualities, particularly those of outstanding shamans, were admired, frank admission of leadership or control was begrudged. For example, jealousy of Washakie was marked, and many informants ascribed his rise solely to White aid, although, in fact, he was becoming prominent as early as 1843 (Russel, 1921, pp. 114–115). Chieftainship existed, but the chief's authority depended on his personality and his hold over his personal followers. The leaders of the two military societies and the shamans directing the Sun Dance and Father Dance were also persons with prestige, but here the list ended. Heredity, wealth, association, and age were factors in leadership in fact, but were stubbornly denied in Shoshone theory.[37]

Even stronger was the feeling of individualism. Beyond a man's immediate family, blood-brotherhood and the two military societies (these largely in Washakie's band) were the sole permanently organized groupings. Larger kin groupings lacked sentimental ties, special associations of age mates or of shamans were absent, and band affiliation was a matter of free and shifting choice. Legal control over individual actions extended only to the rules of the buffalo hunt; otherwise, reprisal through force or sorcery was the deterrent to wrongdoing. Religious life was basically an individual matter. The Sun Dance, the Father Dance, and other ceremonies, as well as the transfer of supernatural power, provided social links. But more fundamental were the solitary vision quest and, above all, the medicine dream life that could scarcely be separated from reality. The quintessence of Shoshone individuality was reached in the individual tabus, which crystallized and sanctified idiosyncracy with supernatural power.

Closely related to extreme individualism was critical skepticism of the pretensions or dogmatic assertions of others. Guy Robertson's rejection of an abstract God and Charley Nipwater's disbelief in the hereafter are modern illustrations of this attitude.[38] This skepticism did not, of course, mean the absence of religious or philosophical formulations or abstractions: most people held to beliefs in a Heavenly Father, in vistas opening out at death, in pervasive Supernatural Power—but acceptance of these beliefs and their reconciliation with

[37] Compare Comanche attitudes, cf. Hoebel (1940, pp. 6, 11–12).

[38] Shimkin (1942); also compare Shimkin (1947 c).

other, contradictory, beliefs were matters of individual choice guided by personal experience.

Another characteristic Wind River Shoshone attitude was restraint, which contrasted sharply with the emotional extremes found, say, among the neighboring Crow or the Dakota. (Lowie, 1935, esp. pp. 327–334; Mekeel, 1936, pp. 11–12; Marriott, 1945, pp. 101–111.) Sexual behavior was quite free, and marriage often unstable, but oscillation between organized wife stealing on one extreme and public demonstrations of chastity on the other did not exist. Renowned men were expected to recite their deeds, then give away a horse or other valuable on various occasions. But for them to strip themselves of everything they owned in celebrating their renown, would have been ridiculous, not praiseworthy, in Shoshone eyes. Among the Shoshone, as among other Plains tribes, men would voluntarily doom themselves to death through reckless folly against the enemy. Men who had lost a brother to the foe might dedicate themselves in this manner. But doctrines of the praiseworthiness of early death in battle, involuntary selection of "Those Doomed to Die," and similar elaborations did not exist. Foppery also was to be found among the Shoshone, but the institutionalized narcissism of the "Favorite Child" was not. Finally, the Wind River Shoshone had the vision quest, yet it involved only sleeping by pictographs or near a shaman's grave for a few nights. Piteous self-mutilation and fasting almost to the point of death were equally foreign to their practice.

What was the effect of these attitudes upon the development of the Sun Dance? Direct proof is not available, but it seems most probable that these attitudes greatly inhibited the acceptance of many traits from the Sun Dances of neighboring tribes. Shoshone egalitarianism goes far in explaining the absence of formal heredity in Sun Dance leadership or of payment for the privilege of giving the ceremony, and the nonparticipation of the military societies in the rite. Individualism and skepticism help comprehension of the absence of a shamanistic fraternity despite the repeated participation of a few and also of the absence of complex esoteric doctrines. The Sun Dance may well have reflected Shoshone restraint not only in its lack of torture but also in its absence of a single, all-pervading purpose and of an intense emotional peak in the ritual.

The Sun Dance had only a loose formal connection with the social structure of the Wind River Shoshone. The bands, the band chief, and the military societies lacked prescribed functions. Kin had no obligatory duties toward each other in the ceremony. On the other hand, all age groupings, children, adults, and the aged, were represented, while shamans dominated the rite.

Informally, ties with the social structure were generally closer, although much depended upon personal attributes and attachments. Thus, while Andrew Bresil was apparently a person of no consequence except for his position in the Sun Dance, his father Pa:si was an extremely important shaman and one of Washakie's subchiefs, although not a leader in either of the military societies. Yellow Hand, of course, combined religious and secular dominance since he was one of the two principal chiefs of his day. Similarly, the strength of various personal ties could be proclaimed discreetly within the context of the Sun Dance. Sweethearts might ride double on a horse from the tree-felling ceremony. A man's wife or an old male friend or relative might perform tasks of aid to a dancer, such as building his shed, or sweeping the dance ground with a feather for him. An old man might transfer supernatural power to his younger intimate. Father and son, brothers or blood-brothers, often danced together.

The most important social value brought out in the Sun Dance was individual prestige, either as a warrior or as a shaman. Prominent warriors performed essential rites and recited their deeds at countless points of the ceremony: when the hole for the center post was dug, in killing the buffalo, painting the center pole, lighting the warrior's fire, picking up dropped articles from the dance floor, and leading the Magpies. Individual ability and prestige as a shaman were established by the performances of rival supernatural feats, curing, and the transfer of Power.

War anxieties, however, demonstrated their strength beyond the rubric of individual prestige. The sham battles, the hanging of war equipment in the lodge, war divination, tongue cooking by black-painted old women who had been in battle, and the Magpie ceremony showed the ubiquitous character of this preoccupation with war.

Concern for health was also prominent. Threatened illness forced the leader to give the Dance. The sick were often laid in the lodge, and curing took place during the ceremony.

The acquisition of supernatural power, good luck, and long life were also promoted by the Sun Dance. Beyond this, other values expressed in the rite are not so easy to establish. A great variety of them is suggested by the simple fact that this occasion, and a few weeks that followed, were the sole times that the entire Wind River Shoshone people habitually came together. Thus a whole set of cohesive influences would now begin operating: gossip, and the identification of wrongdoers, flirtations and marriages, gambling (most of that later, at the rendezvous with the trappers), racing, initiation into the military societies, etc. There were the relaxations of joyous company, sufficient food, and, generally, safety from the enemy, which contrasted strongly with the painful days of winter. Visiting Dɔyahin enlarged the

gathering, and often proved a source of profit to Shoshone businessmen who bought their furs for later resale to white traders.

How important were the values revealed in the Sun Dance in the totality of Wind River Shoshone culture? What other mechanisms were available to accentuate these values? What major values and anxieties were unrepresented in the rite?

The overwhelming importance of individual prestige has been stressed in the discussion on dominant Shoshone attitudes. In addition to the Sun Dance, many other social patterns advertised personal achievement. The dances of the military societies, young men's songs, distinctions of face and body paint, and of dress; tipi decorations and medicine-bundle stands outside tipis—these marked the prominent warrior. Individual curing and leadership in the Father Dance or Ghost Dance marked the shaman. Yet none of these mechanisms had the effectiveness of the Sun Dance as a vehicle for prestige.

Military prowess was at all times vital. All the witnesses from Lewis and Clark to E. N. Wilson have stressed the extreme pressure often exerted upon the Wind River Shoshone by their enemies (Thwaites, 1905, vol. 2, p. 434; Wilson, 1926, p. 92 ff.). Yet only one of many old warriors' accounts claims the exhibition of great courage, and that, on occasion only. Most of my informants admitted frank fright in combat, and distaste for war. Consequently, devices for raising and maintaining the morale of the tribe were highly necessary for its very existence.

In general, war and prestige shared many of the same devices. The two military societies gave dances, and adorned themselves in striking special ways. Even a man's tipi—inside and out—would give visible testimony of his prowess in performing standardized acts of bravery or "coups." The women honored a successful warrior by dancing with the scalps he had taken. And a youth—unless he were a handsome fop—needed deeds of war to gain himself a wife. Little boys played at war by slinging gobs of mud from the ends of sticks at each other.

The anxiety about the outcome of battle was often acute. As Polly Shoyo, or Pɔpɔˇi, says, "There was more respect and affection in the old days than now, for we never knew when would be the last time we would see each other—what with enemies, hunger, and other dangers." And her accounts bring out the pathos and emotional intensity often observable in those days.

> Once, we fought with the enemy, and the enemy killed a young Shoshone, the grandson of an old woman. Then we followed them, and met them, killing one of their number. This man's body was taken back home to camp, as the enemy fled.
>
> Because the old woman was still crying, the warriors gave the body to her. Still mad with grief, she took a knife, slashed the body, butchered it like a buffalo. She took the slabs of meat, and dried them on a frame. But the meat was left untouched.

When we moved camp, it remained behind. It may still be there, for all I know.

The means of lessening tension were many, but unorganized save in the Sun Dance. Relatives—such as the father of the warrior in the tale of "The Weakling and the Female Bear"—would attempt to dissuade their loved ones from foolish war raids. Men would try to gain the Power of such animals as Turtle, which would grant invulnerability.[39] Or they would brave the deadly *dɔ'yaratuwara* plant, overcoming it to gain power in battle and in sorcery.[40] While warriors would be on the warpath, the old men at home would help them supernaturally by singing war songs to the beat of a drum.

Illness was a drive of great importance in the lives of the Wind River Shoshone. Even in ordinary times, some women lost 9 out of 10 children born to them, while men describe the deaths of 4 and 5 wives. In addition, severe epidemics, principally of smallpox, ravaged them at times, as, for example, in 1781 and 1837 (Tyrrell, 1916, pp. 335-337, 344, footnote 1; Farnham, 1906, p. 266, footnote).

The Sun Dance was in those days a comparatively minor curing device. Much more constantly used were the services of shamans and their assistants. And during severe epidemics the Shoshone held the *a'p:ënëkar*, or "Father Dance"—a close relative of the Ghost Dance of later days.[41]

Exhibitions of shamanistic power took place on irregular informal occasions outside of the Sun Dance. They were very rarely competitive. The settling of grudges was usually recognized ex post facto.

The extent of social cohesion among the Shoshone differed widely. Some families stayed by themselves, fishing, hunting, and berrying in isolated spots. Others were much more sociable, staying regularly in one of four large bands (Shimkin, 1938 and 1947 b). But members

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[39] For example, see Olden (1923, p. 92 ff.).

[40] The plant is unidentified, but is a mountain species; *dɔya* (mountain)—*datu* (?)—*bada* (or *wada*, seed plant); it has red, yellow and blue flowers; the leaves turn brown; the root is used. The Gosiute *to:-ya-da-ti-bu-da* is "?*Primula parryi* Gray. Primrose? *Polygenum viviparum* L. *Gnaphalium sprengeli* Hook and Am. Cudweed." (See Chamberlin, 1911, p. 400.)

The beliefs concerning this plant resemble those about Peyote to a surprising degree. Prominent features are its location by an exceptionally high will-o'-the-wisp, prayer to it, and counting coup on it; visions in which it comes as a person; use to kill animals by placing it in their tracks; use to kill persons by mixing their hair with it, then burying this mixture.

[41] The Father Dance and the Ghost or Round Dance (*narayar*, literally shuffling) are basically the same ceremony. It is initiated by a shaman who possesses mystical songs of a fixed melodic structure, which refer to his dream experiences. A cedar is placed upright in an open plot of ground, and a brush enclosure is built around it. The shaman stands by the center pole, and the dancers form a circle in which men and women alternate. They clasp hands and shuffle sideways. At the end of each dance, they shake their blankets to shake away illness.

This ceremony may be undertaken primarily as a social dance or as a religious one. The special features and the specific purposes of the religious dance vary greatly according to the supernatural power and instructions of the shaman. Some had power over food, others over smallpox, etc. In the religious form of the dance, Our Father was addressed in prayer by the shaman, whence the name.

The Ghost Dance of 1890 among the Wind River Shoshone was thus a minor variant of this well-established pattern. The concept of the return of the dead was the sole special feature. (See also Lowie, 1915 b.)

even of these groups might leave on excursions lasting 2 years or more, ending hundreds of miles away. In the summer time, after 1825, however, the Shoshone would gather to meet the trappers and several other Indian tribes. Outside of this and the Sun Dance, there were no regular unifying mechanisms except the personalities of chiefs, the military societies, the summer buffalo hunt, and the danger of annihilation in battle.

Games of hand, hoop-and-pole, races, shinny, and many other diversions existed among the Shoshone, but none of these, except occasionally the hand games, competed with the Sun Dance in terms of size, activity, and color as public attractions. The social dances served to enhance the prestige of warriors, or to afford pleasure, or to shake away illness. Most served as a prelude to sexual intercourse, quite openly in the case of the *na'ʒomǝyǝg*.[42]

This finally brings up the values in the kinship structure implied in the Sun Dance. Interestingly enough, almost no formal ceremonial relations between kindred comparable to those among other Plains tribes existed among the Wind River Shoshone. At most, a wife, unless menstruating, would carry her husband's medicine bundle in travel. Or a father would bequeath supernatural power to his son. Consequently, the few emphases on kinship ties existing in the Sun Dance were relatively important.

Thus the Sun Dance had significant social and psychological functions. Yet it was far from being a fully effective integrating device. Concern about food and about general welfare were not brought out as they were in the Father Dance, a ceremony which had much more emotional appeal to many of my informants (especially PP). Neither grief nor worry about the hereafter were relieved by the Sun Dance. Even the values emphasized were not developed to the maximum degree. Certainly, the warlike features of the Wind River Shoshone ceremony were but pallid contrasts to the grim purposefulness of the Crow ceremony (Lowie, 1915 a). The few participants striving to gain supernatural power through mild hardships among the Shoshone were but half-hearted equivalents to the echelons of novices enduring torture among the Dakota (Walker, 1917).

If the Sun Dance was inhibited in its development of social and religious elaboration, if it expressed Wind River Shoshone values and social structure but incompletely, why was it able to withstand profound change with the advent of reservation days? Why did this instrument succeed in integrating the group far more closely after the shock of acculturation than in nomadic times?

No categorical answers can be given, but one set of facts stands

[42] Lowie, 1915 b. A more refined name is *na'ʒonĕkor*.

out. In the crisis of 1890, tribes with well-integrated Sun Dances such as the Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Dakota seized upon an alien rite, the Ghost Dance of the much-despised Paiute, as the agency for crystallizing their anxieties. As Mooney writes, "The Ghost Dance practically superseded all other dances among the Cheyenne and Arapaho. . . ." (Mooney, 1896, p. 901). On the other hand, the Ute, who had other functionally well-adapted ceremonies (the Deer Hoof Rattle and Round Dances), slighted these to take up the Sun Dance at this very time (Opler, 1941, pp. 570–571). The Wind River Shoshone took up the Ghost Dance—long familiar to them—for a brief period, lost enthusiasm, and then concentrated their energies on the Sun Dance, Peyote cult, and Wolf Dance. In all cases, there appears to be a correlation between the prior, close functional integration of a ceremony and its psychological rejection at a time of overwhelming crisis. Thus it appears probable that the very feebleness and lack of cohesion of the Wind River Shoshone Sun Dance were important influences in its survival and further adaptation after 1890.

THE MODERN SUN DANCE

THE LATER HISTORY OF THE SHOSHONE SUN DANCE

By 1880, or thereabout, the Wind River Shoshone Sun Dance had begun a period of change which culminated in essentially the modern form of the dance by 1905. The principal modifications at this time consisted of a marked growth of Christian or pseudo-Christian ideology within the dance, the diminution of war-centered elements, the great development of connections with social (ultimately, curing and social) functions, and the increasing use of White goods—shawls, wagons, etc. Concurrently, however, the repressive efforts of the Indian Service led to disguise and subterfuge in regard to the entire institution. For example, the Indians, forbidden to hold religious ceremonies, dubbed this the "Sand-dance" or "Half-dance," and claimed that it had only a social or recreational value (Le Sieur, 1911).

This state lasted until approximately 1920, when the relaxing of restraint allowed the shaman Morgan Moon—an enterprising man who had experimented with the Peyote cult at one time—to revive the dance openly. Since then, the dance has been maintained by the entire Shoshone community, and has been given annually.

The modifications since 1920 have been minor and largely connected with the increasing influence of the tribal council upon the Sun Dance. In fact, the tribe has stubbornly rejected some innovations. Thus, in 1920, Morgan Moon wanted to dance 4 days. The others insisted upon their habitual 3 days and 2 nights. Again, the same man claimed in 1936 that a visionary power had told him

to have the center pole bare of the willow bundle and buffalo head, and to reorient the entrance to the lodge from the east to the west side (TC). So, although he was not allowed to change the entrance, he put on the Sun Dance with the pole bare. But public distrust of the efficacy of his performance was so great that the informal ceremonial committee meeting at the gambling games induced the medicine man Natopo White, despite the fact that he had had no vision, to give a second Sun Dance a few weeks later. They paid him $10 and gave groceries to his family in the meantime. As a result, he took Tom Compton as his assistant, and held a fairly successful dance, with 46 participants.

The history of changes in particular elements of the dance is reconstructable to a good degree. Thus, it is probable that the old style of dancing-in-place and its accompanying ceremonial sweeping of the ground disappeared by 1880, as it is unknown to my younger informants and both St. Clair in 1902 and Lowie in 1912 reported the new style of dancing to the center pole and back (Lowie, 1919, p. 395; St. Clair, appendix 1). Since the last disturbances in the Wyoming-Idaho area were in 1878-79, among the Nez Percé and Bannock, it seems probable that the abandonment of war divining, of placing military equipment in the Sun Dance lodge, and of prayers for success in war came shortly thereafter (Report of the Secretary of War, 1879, p. 90). In 1884, the Shoshone killed a considerable number of buffalo for the last time.[43] Consequently, this dates the disappearance of the ceremonial buffalo hunt, the feast on tongues, and the Magpie ritual. The greatly increased concern over illness and communal unity in the Sun Dance probably goes back to the period of intense misery and dissension of the late 1890's (Shimkin, 1942).

The intensification of Christian influence, including the introduction of 12 outer posts identified as Christ's Apostles, with Christ Himself being represented by the center pole and with the entire ceremony being derived from His fast, can be assigned to the period 1885–90. Clark's description of 1885 mentions 10 outer posts, yet at the time of the diffusion of the dance to the Ute (ca. 1890) and to the Hekandika (ca. 1906) these concepts were obviously already firmly set among the Wind River Shoshone.[44] Furthermore, the founding of both the Episcopal and Catholic missions at Wind River took place in the 1880's. Direct influence from the Episcopal mission is indicated by Lowie's statement that the Reverend John Roberts introduced dancers' payments to their sponsors (Lowie, 1919, p. 400).

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[43] Five hundred bison robes procured in 1884, 10 in 1885. (See Report of the Commissioner for Indian Affairs, 1885, p. 183, and 1886, p. 211.)

[44] Clark, 1885, p. 363; Hoebel, 1935; Opler, 1941. The last two are sources for all references to the Hekandika and Ute, respectively.

According to my informants, the Sun Dance doll disappeared shortly after 1900 (GR, MT); this is confirmed by the presence of the doll among the Ute and its absence among the Hekandika. Dancing the *narayar* ("shuffling," or Ghost Dance) dates to at least this period, although it has been an irregular accompaniment (GR). Ute and Hekandika data again provide confirmation, since it is absent among the former and present among the latter.

A few changes may be ascribed to the period, roughly, of 1906–15. The elimination of clay from the water drunk at the end of the ceremony, and of the ritual vomiting may be dated from the facts that these elements are present among the Hekandika but appeared to have disappeared from Wind River at the time of Lowie's visit in 1912. The rise of the ceremonial number two—two leaders, two files of dancers circling the hall twice before entering, pairs dancing together—may be a loan from the Shoshone Peyote cult, in which the number two is also important (for example, one may eat two buttons rather than four).[45] The Peyote cult was introduced prior to 1900, but did not achieve a strong footing in the community until after 1915. This cult may also have had its effect on the Sun Dance by increasing emphasis upon prayer rather than the recitation of war deeds. Thus, since about 1915, the old man bringing in firewood has prayed rather than counted coup (TW, GR).

The recent history of the Sun Dance is but part of a period of far-reaching changes among the Wind River Shoshone (Shimkin, 1942). After a collapse of the old nomadic life in the 1880's, a small number of young men, Tassitsie, Bishop Wesaw, Wanabĭdi, and others, reworked the entire religious and social culture of these people, through numerous loans, inventions, and modifications. They revived the military societies and instituted new dances. They vigorously embraced the Episcopal church and the Peyote cult. They reworked the Sun Dance into a stable reintegration in the new life of the reservation. Unlike the extinct Father Dance, vision quest, medicine bundles, individual tabus, and menstrual hut, the Sun Dance had the vitality not only to survive modification but to gain increasing popular faith and support in recent times.

THE MODERN SUN DANCE—GENERALIZED VERSION

The inception of the modern annual Sun Dance is somewhat as follows: During the winter the Indians meet frequently to gamble at Stewart's store. A vaguely hereditary group interested in ceremonies (the *a:no* or "Horn-Packers") begins to formulate plans.[46] Somewhat

[45] Cf. Shimkin's element list in Stewart (1944, pp. 103–121).

[46] I could not get detailed information on the composition of this group, but it appears to correspond closely with the Wolf Dancers discussed in the Interpretative section of The Modern Sun Dance.

by their consent, somewhat by private initiative, one of the men who has participated in the Sun Dance many times and may have led it once or twice before, then announces his intention to lead it the coming summer. He picks out a friend, also a regular participant, as assistant Sun Dance leader.

A dream is the invariable sanction of the claim to leadership.[47] Thus, in 1938, TW saw, in his sleep, a really old man with gray hair, dressed in a buckskin suit, who told him: "You will put up the Sun Dance with Ben Perry. You will pray for the tribe and the sick ones in it. You will pray for Leslie Isis. If you don't mind me, you will sicken and die." He came thus twice. PT's dream in 1937 had an escape clause in it. A dead friend of his, whose Sun Dance whistle, feathers and eagle-wing fan Pohguritsie Taylor still possesses, came to him in the night, telling him to hold the dance. He stipulated, however, that if someone else gave the dance he would be released from his obligation! (JM.) Furthermore, even mere participation may be forced by a dream. In 1936, Toorey Roberts had a dead man come to him thus, telling him that he would die or have deaths in his family if he did not join the Sun Dance that year. Bob became the Sun Dance chief's partner then (TC).

Yet, curiously, rivals for leadership insist that their opponents have no such dreams as they claim for themselves. One claimant stated: "Tom Compton had no dream—he gave the dance just for the money—just for the fun of it." Tom Compton denied the validity of another Sun Dance leader's dream in similar fashion.

Once his claim to lead the ceremony has been publicly recognized, the Sun Dance leader appoints the head of the Sun Dance committee, the latter naming in turn three or four assistants and two special police. The group of men so formed, among whom are always several members of the tribal council, takes charge of the finances, public order, and other details of the dance. They haul logs for the lodge on Indian Service trucks, help in its construction, assign the soda-pop concessions and perform police duty.

They raise money for the Dance in a number of ways. Committee members station themselves on the road to the Sun Dance, and take 25 cents admission from each individual, White or Indian, in the automobiles that come in, as well as "donations"—varying from $1 to $5—from camera-carrying tourists. The number of the latter is usually not very great, despite announcement of the Dance over the radio. A

[47] Such dreams are equated to visions, and regarded as completely different from ordinary dreams. They are the results of long concentration on the subject and thus are absolutely clear, perfectly remembered, while dreams proper are generally confused, absurd, hazily retained (TC, TW, PT). This differentiation has some general interest (cf. Kroeber, 1940, p. 207).

last important source of money are the two soda-pop stands which are built north and south of the entrance to the Sun Dance hall. These do a roaring business. The total proceeds, which sometimes amount to $300 according to a highly optimistic statement, are used largely to defray the costs of the feast at the end of the dance. In addition, the committeemen pay themselves $2 a day, the policemen, $2.50. Where the rest of the sum—if any—goes, I do not know.

A week or more before the start of the dance in July, the prospective Sun Dance leader moves his tent out on the "Sun Dance field," a large open plain about 2 miles southwest of Fort Washakie. Its long-continued use for these ceremonies is attested by many old center poles which stand there.

Three or four days before the time scheduled for the start of the public part of the dance, the leader goes, in the morning, with one or two old men to dig the hole for the center pole. They align this hole 150 to 250 yards, due east, by the sun, of the Sun Dance leader's tent, but without regard to the position of that of his assistant, if any. Then, often without any preliminary prayer, they dig the hole, a crowbar generally serving in lieu of a digging stick. Once finished digging, they return home without further ado.

Usually on the same day, the Sun Dance leader, accompanied by eight or nine men, at least one of them an old warrior, drives a wagon to get the center pole. He normally selects one of the fine cottonwood trees on the river bank near the Agency. Then, before the men start chopping, all stand by the tree and take off their hats, while the leader prays (in TW's words): "The Creator has created this tree. I pray there may be no suspicion in this dance. We are humble and don't know anything. I ask you, Creator, to bless us so we may live until old age."

Quitan Quay gives a somewhat different version of this prayer:

ïgači	ëna'nišundheŋgën		në	ëwuka'handɔ		ïm	
Now	/ to you-(I)-am praying		// I	/ you-cut down-will		// By means of you	
në	na'nišundheŋgën	ʒaŋk	në	na'nišundheŋgën		tụ'iwičanë	
I	/ am praying	/ well	// I	/ am praying		/ (that) / youths	
ënšu'ndhaindë		nïwiča	në:'cigwa		ëŋkhaind	ʒana'han	
you-bless-will		// Person	/ sick		/ you-by-means-of	/ make well!	
		uš	mbeš				
		That is	/ the end /				

Freely, "Now I am praying to you. I will cut you down. By means of you I am praying, praying well: You will bless youths. Make a sick person well through yourself! It is the end."

The old warrior now hits the tree with a stick, killing it. The others chop down the tree without further ceremony.

A similar ritual is performed for the east-running pine rafter, dubbed "backbone" by JM, "chief" (*tegwahin*) by TW. The rest of the necessary timbers and brush occasion nothing of this sort, however, and may be brought to the Sun Dance field by Government trucks without ceremony.

During the next day or two many tents are set up on the Sun Dance field. Visitors come from afar: Arapahoes, Bannocks, Utes, Cheyennes, and members of other tribes. Finally, at the appointed time, all dress up in their best, preferably in native costumes, and mount their horses. As the morning continues, they take their posts for the sham battle. The young men gallop in the hills whooping and yelling. Some old women sit quietly in their old-fashioned saddles, waving sagebrush branches. A number of old men guard the lumber, which has already been piled on the field.

After some show, the Sun Dance leader's party attacks the guards; and either he or someone of his old warriors strikes the center pole. A picked herald—an old, distinguished warrior—announces the achievement of this to the spectators.

All now dismount and, with the help of wagons, move the logs close to the site of the Sun Dance lodge. This having been done, the Sun Dance leader prays by the side of the wood.

Shortly afterward, the construction of the lodge begins. A number of men measure the radius of the planned structure with a rope, then locate the holes for the 12 center posts. These posts are now lifted and tamped into place. Then the rafters are measured and marked, while their tips are lifted onto the forks topping the side posts by means of joined poles. The east-running rafter remains on the ground.

The center pole is now prepared. Previously, anyone who could, got the necessary buffalo skull, eagle, and willows without further ceremony. A skin is generally pulled over the skull to imitate a bison head. (In 1938, however, the dancers borrowed a large mounted head from the Government Day School.) Then this is painted with white clay, and eyes are inserted, with yellow paint adorning the eyes and nose. Sage (*Artemisia*) is stuffed up the nose; the sagebrush is supposed to be a strong, healthy plant, and its purpose is to bring a long, healthy life (TC).

The center pole has been brought into the center of the lodge, and now lies west of the excavation, with the fork pointing west. The Sun Dance leader obtains at this time a large bundle of leafy green saplings and lashes it underneath the center pole, at the fork. The buffalo head is placed on top of all this, and lashed on in turn. Meanwhile, one or more distinguished old men paint bands of black around the base of the pole with charcoal. A white rag is then tied to the fork on the left of the buffalo head, and a blue one on the fork to the right.

Now a herald assembles many men to lift up the center pole. Eight of them hold sets of poles joined by ropes, there being four such sets altogether—two long and two short ones. Then the men start singing a fixed sacred song without words in a low voice, those with the poles keeping time by hitting them together. When the leader has given the word, the pole is lifted, then lowered again. This happens twice more. The fourth time the song is much louder, and all strain now to lift the pole successfully into place. This is done, and the pole, having been raised upright, is rotated so that the bison head faces west. Then earth is tamped down around it, although the small pile of rocks and the digging stick (or crowbar qua digging stick) are left undisturbed by its base.

Following this, the east-running or chief rafter is put into place, but without singing or feinting. The raising of the west-running rafter comes next, then the south-running and north-running ones; others follow irregularly. The roof poles between the side posts are installed next in a counterclockwise series beginning on the east side. Then large tree branches are leaned against the side roof poles to form a thick wall with an opening only on the east. The lodge is complete.

The modern symbolism involved in the Sun Dance structure is as follows: The number of black charcoal bands painted on the center pole corresponds to the number of full days that the Dance lasts. Thus in 1937 there were two (JM, MT). In Tom Compton's words:

> The Sun Dance started with Christ's fast and stay in the mountains. It was carried on from then to today, and is nearly the same now as it was a hundred years ago. Christ's fast was for 12 days [sic], he had 12 disciples: today the Sun Dance has 12 poles symbolic of this. The buffalo head on the center pole represents the game furnished by God; the eagle, the game birds; the "willows" [leafy branches], Holy Water that Christ made in the mountains.

Quitan Quay believes that the center pole symbolizes the crucifixion of Jesus, the 12 poles standing for the Twelve Apostles. One hopes to get good luck from the eagle on the east-running rafter, which in itself is meaningless. TW agrees with him.

The prayer songs that are sung when the center pole is lifted into place ask for help from the Spirit that the Dance might be successful, that the participants might have long lives—just as the center pole has had one.[48] The raising of this pole must be done by hand, and without the use of iron (TC).

Of all this, DW says: in putting up the center pole, the Sun Dance chief prays up to the sky first. "Father, pity me, so that I'll live a long time." He does not know the deity prayed to. Other concepts of his are stated by Hebard:

> The center pole, which should always be a cottonwood, was chosen by the originators of the dance because of its superiority over all other trees as a dry-land

[48] The "Spirit of the Sun Dance" is Tom Compton's private concept, so far as I know.

tree growing with little water or no water. This tree represents God. The 12 long poles that are placed from the top of the center pole down to the circumference of the dance hall represent, according to our Indian beliefs, the 12 apostles of God, our Father.

The eagle feathers at the top of the poles above the center pole also represent the 12 apostles of our Father, or God, and also being a sacred bird of our race, we Indians naturally regard the eagle with the highest esteem. The buffalo head in the crotch in the center pole represents a gift from God, our Father above, to His Indian children for food and clothing. [Hebard, 1930, p. 293.]

During the late afternoon the prospective dancers begin their preparations. They bathe. Then, either at home or in the Sun Dance leader's tent, many paint themselves from the waist up with white clay, which may be got from anywhere, is not prayed over, but merely mixed with water and put on (TC, DW). This white clay is the main paint of the Dance, because it will dry the flesh quicker than any other. Any sickness will thus be dried out. Other paints won't do that (TC).

Each morning after the dance has started, the participants wipe off the paint with a damp cloth. Now they may put on any color of paint they wish, according to their visions (TC). Yellow is common. Some dancers, however, use no paint whatsoever.

From the neck of each Sun Dancer hangs a single-holed whistle of eagle humerus (no other bone may be used), with an eagle pinfeather attached beneath its further end (fig. 21). In recent days a section of inner tube often replaces the strip of leather tied around the mouth of the whistle to keep the lips from cracking. The whistle is kept from year to year, may be inherited, but acquires no supernatural power in this fashion. It serves merely to dry out the body, to dry out disease from the body. There are no prayers connected with its manufacture (TC).

To each little finger is tied an eagle down-feather, which has the same significance as the eagle on the east-running rafter (TC).

There is nothing held in the hands at the beginning of the Dance, but the dancers may have a tobacco pouch with them, a pipe and tobacco, or common cigarettes. Dreams or other supernatural sanctions give tobacco special meaning to particular individuals, though not invariably. Yet in the ceremony as a whole, tobacco has no special significance, nor does it have to be smoked in any ritual manner. The dancer merely sits down to smoke, or goes in another's stall to do this in company.

The dancers are naked except for an ankle-length skirt of light calico, furnished with a drawstring, and suspended from a beaded belt. From the same belt also hangs a fancy apron, covered with beads, ribbons, and the like. Neither skirt nor apron involve any symbol-

ism. The feet are bare. The hair is not especially dressed (TC), although those with long, braided hair often intertwine strips of ermine or other fur. Around the head and waist *Gnaphalium* is still often placed, contributing only its aroma, but no supernatural help (DW). Friends and relatives bring blankets in which the dancers wrap themselves when they rest.

When night has fallen the dancers who are ready gather by the Sun Dance leader's tent—in which no esoteric rites have taken place (TC, TW). They form one or two files facing west, the number being determined by the number of leaders, who head them. They then strip off their blankets and step forward gingerly, blowing lengthily on their whistles. They march to the west end of the lodge, then around it clockwise once, twice, or four times (according to different informants and observations) before entering. If there are two files, these split upon reaching the west end of the lodge, and pass each other on the east, as they keep circling it.

Some men, who have been working, or in the mountains, might not be ready on time. Such persons may join the dance up until the first midnight. No one is asked to join the dance (TC); everyone goes in solely on his own initiative.

The causes for entrance I will discuss fully in my interpretative section. Here, however, it is well to give some of the stated purposes. All stress the importance of the ceremony for the public good. "The dancers are suffering for everybody, for all human beings—just like Jesus" (TW). The gaining of supernatural Power is stressed by some, for Sun Dance visions are the most common means of getting it (PT). Many shamans use Sun Dance songs for curing. Others, particularly those whose primary religion is Peyote, underscore the difficulty of such an achievement. "We were not dancing for Power—they only got Power long ago" (TW). "They don't try to get Power in the Sun Dance—it's almost impossible—usually unnecessary. You should be humble. When they go in, it's for the good of everyone" (GD).[49] Still others wish to supplicate for good health and long life, or sometimes to cure specific diseases, rheumatism especially (TW, BP).

Once the dancer has joined, he is kept in the dance, and his conduct is guarded. Everyone, including the special police, watches that he does not eat or drink. Even if he were to sneak to the camp, the people would send him back hungry and thirsty. Unless he dives into the creek, he can get no water (TC).

When the dancers have entered, they go to the west half of the lodge and take whatever places they choose, except that the leader stands

[49] These arguments are in accordance with the general Peyotist religious attitude. Compare also La Barre (1938, esp. pp. 93–104).

directly under the east-running rafter, his assistant beside him. The leader now goes up to the center pole and prays. According to one informant (DW), he and the other dancers may first sit on their heels in their places and sing their four prayer songs.

The singing now starts. The performers occupy the southeast quarter of the building. They consist of 10 or more men seated around a single large drum, which they beat with padded sticks; helped by more than a dozen women who sit nearby, rythmically waving willow branches up and down. One man, sitting east of the drum, holds a rattle of rawhide (formerly, buffalo scrotum) with stones inside, a feather from an owl or other bird tied to its end, and a cloth-wrapped handle (fig. 21). Watching the dancers, the rattler regulates the tempo of the music. For, although all dance in the same cadence, their steps are of different length, and it is the rattler's job to see that the song continues until the last dancer has returned to his place.

There are no rites connected with the singers, who are merely those who know the Sun Dance songs. Their number is indefinite. The best of them leads. There is some singing all the time (except during the breaks after the morning rite), but one party releases another after an hour and a half or so. This is hard work, nearly as hard as dancing, for they must strain their voices continuously. (DW thought their work easy. He said that individuals might drink and eat, leave at any time they felt like doing so.) But, inasmuch as fine singers such as Logan Brown are well recognized, considerable prestige may accrue. Consequently, singers often visit from afar. Thus, one orchestra in 1937 consisted of two Shoshone and eight Bannock and Ute; on the other hand, Logan Brown went over to Fort Hall to sing in the dance there.

The music is started softly by one man, not the rattler, accompanied by four or five others, as well as by the gentle beating of the drum. The melody is invariably sung in a strongly nasalized voice. The melodic structure seems essentially simple, a constant lowering of pitch from the shrill beginning to the low and heavily glottalized end of a measure. After several preliminary measures, five slow, ponderous drumbeats are given. The song now issues forth in full volume, and somewhat faster than before, with about 160 beats to the minute. The women now have joined in, but their song goes its own way, being merely the continuation of a single high-pitched note, broken by occasional trills, grace notes, and accidental quavers. Simultaneously, and with every step and beat of the drum, the dancers blow their whistles. For several minutes this continues; then, sharply, comes

silence. Suddenly ponderous drumbeats break out once more, 10 this time; and now a fleeting return of the dancing melody—finally, only the women's voices continue to trill the last long-drawn-out note. Soon it starts all over again.

The dancing takes some time to get under way. At first, many sit, smoking. Some stand in their places, shrugging their shoulders, holding their forearms horizontally, their wrists limp; flexing their knees, lifting their heels slightly, whistling at every movement. After a while, one clears a path to the center pole with his feet, and soon begins dancing to it and back again. He may run or hop forward, then hop away backward; or use some slightly differing style. Others follow suit. Some dance in pairs, moving backward and forward, elbow to elbow.

During the course of the evening, stragglers join the dance. About midnight, a fire is lit in a ceremonial manner, just east of the center pole. An old-time warrior brings in an armful of wood. As he stands at the entrance, the singers start a slow beat of the drum. Then the warrior sings a special prayer song, a blessing, to the Great Spirit, from whom it is a gift. It has no words, but only a distinctive tune.

When he has ended, he puts down the wood and lights the fire. He may use matches. Fresh wood is secured by the same or a different warrior: a number of them get several armfuls of wood apiece, just before bedtime. Each time they bring in the wood, they sing the prayer song. Having done this, they leave. Afterward, anybody may put a stick of wood on the fire.

For the next few hours, the dancing is perfunctory, most of the dancers resting and sleeping. Shortly before dawn, however, all resume dancing actively. Then the police clear the entranceway, while the dancers line up in a column of fours. As the sun is about to rise, the singers start a special song softly and slowly, while the dancers blow gentle blasts upon their whistles. When the sun rises, the singing becomes more vigorous, the whistling loud, and even more prolonged. Several dancers greet the sun by extending either the right arm or both arms level with the shoulder.

The dancers then come forward and, wrapped in their blankets, sit around the fire. The leader and a few others then sing a special song, muffling their voices by placing one hand close to the mouth. The last notes of the song are followed by a blast from the dancers' whistles which lasts as long as their breath holds out. Three more songs are similarly sung.

The leader now rises, strips off his blanket, and goes in front of the center pole, where he stands praying. TW gives a sample text:

hą: mekʷ nëma'p:ë në'waga' pu'ixwɛnīš [50]
Yes / all right / My Father / me-toward / looking-immediately /

në'mē [51] ëšu'nthait ik' wī'
us / you-blessing-are // Here is / now /

nëmi ëšu'nthaip mekʷ nīm' ï'waix
that with which you bless us // All right / People / out here /

sɔgɔβaix ʒa:ŋkʷ hi'yimukʷ yī'nkhain us
out on Earth / well / progress! / forever // That is /

sunt nëmi ëšu'nthaip nu:nʒa wī'
that way / that with which you bless us // Maybe indeed / now /

ha'gait në':cigʷa ma'gup ha'nixɛnt ʒana'hanu
who(m)soever / ill / here inside / is-remaining / (you) well-make-may /

wī suni'hac nuhi'n te:'nam wai'p:a dīre:'përë
now // furthermore / whatever / men-of / women-of / children-of /

cu'cugu'ë hi'hiβiǯɔ ʒa:ŋkʷ ɔyɔt' ʒa:ŋkʷ nayïg'ʷï
old men-(of) / old women-(of) / good / all / good / become !

ë'gëtiǯa dë''ɔyip ke''ïmp i'yunkumankʷ
from now on-exactly / sickness / not-thence / thus bothered /

ma'sɔrain šu'waix mekʷ nëma'p:e dëąs
living // that way / all right / My-Father / and /

nëmba:'βi në'mi ešu'ndhait šu'we'ïmp
My-Elder Brother / us / you-blessing-are // Thenceforth /

mak'hait këa'nuhwac nīm' dë''ɔyβit
here-from / departed-having / people / sickness /

nasuwa'ʒina us wī' su:'βegaš
forget // That is / now / ended

Freely translated: "Yes, all right, My Father, as you look toward me immediately, you are blessing us. Here is now that with which you bless us: 'All right, People out here, out on Earth, progress well forever!' That is the way we are blessed by you. Maybe indeed, whomsoever remains ill inside here you will make well now. Furthermore, may whatever men, women, children, old men, old women there may be become well, from now on exactly, not bothered thus by sickness! That way, all right, My Father and My Elder Brother, you are blessing us: 'Thenceforth, having departed from here, let people forget sickness!' It is ended."

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[50] Literally, "being in a condition of looking immediately," from pui (to look),—xwan (immediate future), and -iš (participial suffix).

[51] It should be noted that the Peyotist Sun Dance leaders Tom Wesaw and Ben Perry deviate from normal Shoshone practice by using in their prayers the exclusive pronouns nëmë (we or ours, only) rather than inclusive damë (you and we, or your and our).

Dick Washakie, a nonparticipant, has formulated another concept of the prayer, which, although somewhat parallel in style to the one above, differs in content, being more self-centered. Thus:

cu:'mek^{w} ï'gači në'šundheŋgën ëna^{i}'nišundheŋgën
Verily / now / I-(am)-blessing-causing / to you-praying /

nëmi'agwa' na'nïč ë:''$^{in\epsilon}$ mi'agwai
as I keep going / (you be) a helper / protractedly / going-indefinitely //

meyi'gwït šukani ëna^{i}'nišundheŋgën dë'as
To him (I am) a sayer // That is it / to you-praying / also

nanarëre:'pɛrëzi can' mi'agwa' meyi'gwït
parents and children-little / well / going-indefinitely // To him (I am) a sayer //

nëšu'βegant ëna^{i}'nišundheŋgën cu:'mek^{w} nëma'p:ë
To me-enough // To you-praying / verily / My Father

nëna'ŋgašundha uš mbeš šu'begant
me-hear-blessing-may (you be) // That is / already / enough //

na'ru'ϵŋgëma:n
Relating-finished-have /

In other words, "Verily now, I am supplicating, praying to you, as I keep living, that you help me live long. To Him I am a sayer of this: 'That is it, I pray to you also: that parents and little children will keep going well!' To Him I am a sayer of this: 'That is enough for me. I pray to you, verily, My Father, may you pity me! That is the end, enough.' I have finished relating."

The prayer finished, the dancers go back to their old places and strip off their clothes under cover of their blankets, which they wrap around themselves. Then they walk around idly outside the lodge. Some attend to nature, others chat, still others take a nap. At the same time the spectators and the singers leave for breakfast, the latter first placing the drum in the heat of the sun in order to tighten it.

The ashes of the fire are removed from the lodge after the morning ceremony, and fresh earth is put in to keep the ashes from burning the spectators' feet. (In 1937, the ashes were piled around the foot of the center pole.)

After all is ready, the singers come in, and the dance starts. The singers change for meals, but there is music continually until an hour before sundown. At this time all rest until nightfall. The dancers then may go outside a little way and lie around, but may not drink.

Thus the day continues. The dancers, now beginning to feel a little tired, alternate periods of rest and activity. From now on, anyone of them might suddenly faint. If this happens, he is covered by a blanket where he falls—he might be gaining supernatural power. If a vision is incipient, especially when the dancer is very thirsty, the buffalo on the center pole begins to look real. "He's going to fight you" (TW).

Further details vary according to individual experience. The most common features are hallucinations of drinking water, and then of seeing, often in a symbolic way, dead people in the mountains. Opinions also vary as to the source of the power gained. Some (EA, PP, TC) give credit to the ministrations of the Sun Dance leader. But Tom Compton has furthermore his belief in a "Spirit of the Sun Dance." Others, like TW, give the credit to God, while QQ attributes visions to the power of suffering and prayer in themselves.

After the dancer has recovered consciousness, he gets up. He feels well, neither hungry nor thirsty (DW, TC).

In the afternoon, curing of the ill often takes place. Several sick people may stand on the edge of the sacred dancing ground, facing the west, while the Sun Dance leader brushes away the illness from them with an eagle feather. Or both the leader and his assistant may stand facing the center pole, while their ill friend stands facing them. The leader then raises his right arm to shoulder level and prays. Tom Wesaw's version, given for the benefit of Leslie Isis, follows:

mek	nëma'p:ë	nï'wagant	ba:'na	pu'igwīnīš
all right /	My-Father /	me-toward /	above-from /	looking-immediately /

ïm	në	na'niʒawai	në	naŋgašundheŋ^{k}	ik
you-by /	I /	help-draw down //	I /	hear-blessing-cause //	Here is

wï'	te':nap:ë	në:'cig'wa	ʒa:'mana'hanu
now /	man /	sick /	well-him-make-(you)-may //

në	ëna'ŋgašundhak	ënëndë'as	nëmaba':βi	ǯi'zas
my	supplication to you /	you-also /	Our Elder Brother /	Jesus /

ma'g^{w}iǯɔnai	nï^{w}	ëšu'ndhait	pënt
him-save-will ndefinitely! //	Person	(whom)-you blessing /	for whom

ëšu'ndhaik	dïβiʒi	mek^{w}	nï	na'ŋgašundhain
your blessing (is) /	great //	All right /	I /	hear-blessing-am //

uš	suβe
That is /	all /

Freely, "All right, My Father, as you look immediately down at me from above, I draw a benediction through you. I supplicate. Here is a sick man, may you make him well! My supplication to you also, Our Elder Brother Jesus: save him! The person whom you bless, his blessing is great. All right, I supplicate. That is all."

After that, the leader brushes his illness away with an eagle feather. Although the leader repeats this act on the third day, on the second it is the assistant who prays for the ill man. In Ben Perry's words, paraphrasing his prayer for Leslie Isis:

hą:	mek^{w}	nëma'p:ë	gɔ:d	pa:'na	në'wagant
Yes /	all right /	My-Father /	God /	from above /	me-toward

pu'ihwanīš	ik	wï'	në':cig^{w}a	ʒa:'mana'ac
begin to look /	here is /	now /	a sick one //	Well-him-having-made /

ʒa:ŋk sik sɔ'gɔwaix ʒa:ŋk mi'agwai
well / this one / Earth-out on / well / walking-will keep on //

ik wī' nëx në hanǯ'wap nena'N'īwp
Here are / now / we too / I-friend-with / my-like -relative-made /

ha'nīŋgeɸuindë' wī' në'wagant pu'ixwanīš ik
make-cause-keep on-will be // Now / me-toward / begin to look / this

te':napa në:'cigwai su:'ndë'ⁱ wī' su'ni''ac dë'as
man (obj.) / sick / will bless! // Now / furthermore / also /

mandī'rep manawai'pa manacu'gupa dë'as sundë
his children here / his own woman here / his own old man here / also / will bless! //

dëa's suniya'hac ɔyɔgus në:'cigʷa pën magu'phain
Also / furthermore / all / (the) sick / who / here-inside-are

në na'nišundhain ʒa:na'nha us su'βegaš
I pray / well may become // It is / ended /

Or, "Yes, all right, My Father God, as you begin looking down toward me from above—here is now one sick. (You) having made him well, he will continue walking on this Earth. Here are we two, my dear friend and I, my future adopted relative.[52] Now, as you keep looking toward me, (you) will bless this sick man! Now, furthermore, you will bless his children, his own woman, his own old man who are here! Also, further, that all the sick who are in this place may become well, I am praying. It is ended."

The second evening and the second morning repeat the first exactly.

After the second sunrise rite, friends and relatives of the dancers build enclosures for them. Carrying saplings, branches, and cloths, they step on the dance floor without removing their shoes. They build a shed for each dancer by planting 7-foot-long saplings vertically several feet apart, about 6 feet away from the west wall. Cross bars a yard off the ground connect them with a railing of similar height previously built along the west wall. Against these bars are placed long, leafy branches. The front of the shed is screened by a hanging cloth, often spiritedly painted with mounted men and buffaloes. On the floor lie branches of willow and sagebrush on which some water has been sprinkled.

Various incidental activities take place on this day. Many dancers change paint, or substitute sagebrush branches for eagle hand-ornaments. Shamanizing occurs. Numbers of old men, seated by the rail on the south side of the lodge, take it upon themselves to harangue the dancers.

The thirst of the dancers, as well as their fatigue, is now very considerable, and occasionally they try to get relief through magical means. Thus, in 1929, ʒari (Charley Nagoramie, I believe) got up in front of the center pole on the third day. He had an eagle feather

[52] This appears to be an isolated instance of ceremonial adoption in the Wind River Shoshone Sun Dance. Compare ceremonial adoption in the transfer of society privileges among the Arapaho (Kroeber, 1902–1904, p. 155) and Hidatsa (Lowie, 1913, p. 225 ff.).

in his hand. He turned toward the west and motioned, beckoning. A little later it started raining on the whole camp. The old fellow at the drum, Dɔ'šabɔŋgoci (or Little White Horse), an old Sun Dance leader, took the feather from his hat band, and started making scattering motions with it. Right away the clouds broke up and floated away. Many saw this happen (MT, LS).[53]

The third evening and third morning repeat the routine of the first and second days. About noon, the dance ends. The leader and the other dancers are blessed by prominent visitors or local old men to whom they give presents. The manner in which they give these gifts I have not elucidated satisfactorily: it seems that some make previous, informal arrangements; others place shawls and other finery by the center pole, which the old people gather up, blessing the dancers in return. None of the gifts exceeds $5, for the Agency frowns upon larger ones.

When this time comes, the dancer steps forward, and the old man faces him, holding up his right arm, and prays, in Quitan Quay's words:

nu:'ma	ʒaŋkʷ	mi'agwai	ë:'ine	ʒaŋkʷ
May-he here /	well (be) /	going-indefinitely /	protractedly /	well /

mi'agwai	dĭkapa	ʒa:ŋkʷ	dĭ'kamiagwai
going indefinitely /	food (obj.) /	good /	eating-going-indefinitely /

pa:'i	yi'wikai	us	ma	ʒaŋk'
water (obj.) /	drinking-indefinitely //	That is /	he here /	good /

në'wikandë'	ë'ine	miagaʷaɸuindë'	ʒa:ŋkʷ
feeling-will /	protractedly /	going-indefinitely-keep on will /	well /

na'nišundheŋgɛn	si'βa	sɔ'gɔβa	ʒaŋkʷ
(I am) praying //	This on /	Earth (obj.) /	well /

manë'widuiɸuindɔi	na'nišundheŋgɛn	us	suwaix
his-feeling-will-keep on-will /	(I) am praying /	That is /	all

Freely, this says: "May this one here go well, protractedly go well, eating food go well, drinking go well! That he here will protractedly be feeling well, indefinitely keep on going well, I pray. That on this Earth he will keep on feeling well, I pray. That is all."

After this, water is brought to each end of the line of dancers by old men who have no special title but who have lived a long time, so that the dancers, too, might live long. The Sun Dance chief or some prominent spectator offers a prayer for the water, a bucket of which is now passed from both ends at once, so that each may drink twice. Only the dancers may drink, and they do so in order to wash away illness, to get well in drinking. They rinse their mouths, but only vomit occasionally, for the water today is pure, without clay (TW). When

[53] Compare Akwa'ala rain-chasing. Cf. Gifford (1928, pp. 347-348).

finished, they change into ordinary clothes, pack up and leave. Outsiders may come in now.

The dancers rest, bathe, and drink during the afternoon following the dance, then go to the public feast in the evening, which is generally on a beef. Social dances, such as the *narayar*, or Ghost Dance, and the *waip:ĕnĕkar*, or Women's Dance, may follow.[54]

For days afterward, sickly people bring in their old clothes and tie them to the center pole, so that they may be relieved like the dancers. Formerly, the Sun Dance lodge was left alone until it rotted and fell. Now, nothing is touched for a month or two, except possibly by children, after which the Sun Dance committee sells all the wood in the lodge other than the center pole. The proceeds go into the treasury for the next year's Sun Dance.

THE MODERN SUN DANCE—1937 VERSION

In 1937, a middle-aged shaman named Tom Compton let it become known on Decoration Day that he had received supernatural orders to give the Sun Dance.[55] (See pl. 30, upper.) Lynn St. Clair became the head of the Committee, while Lehi Aoah, Gilbert Day, and Logan Brown were members. A little later, it was decided to hold the Dance from the 3d to the 6th of July. So, toward the end of June, Compton and his family moved out of their log cabin into a tent which they set up on the Sun Dance field.

On the morning of July 1, Compton walked out of his tent, and was joined by an old man mounted on a horse, who held a digging-stick in his hand. The two of them came some 130 yards away from the tent. Then the old man dismounted, and aligned himself just due east of the entrance of Compton's tent. At the place so located he dug a shallow hole with his stick, and placed in it a small pile of rocks. Compton stood by, merely watching. The old man, having finished, remounted his horse, and left. Compton departed also. (See pl. 30, lower.)

Toward the evening of the 1st a few tents—here and there a tipi—were pitched as visitors began arriving. More kept coming all day the 2d and on the morning of the 3d, reaching a total of 50 or more by that time.

On the 2d, the desired trees (cottonwoods forked at the top, for the vertical posts, and pines, for the rafters) were selected, chopped down, trimmed, and hauled prosaically in Indian Service trucks to a single spot some 600 yards south of the Sun Dance field. But the Indians

[54] For descriptions of Shoshone dances see Lowie (1915 b), especially pp. 821–822.

[55] Decoration Day has long been an important event among the Wind River Shoshone. In preparation for it many families make artificial flowers of paper to adorn the graves of the soldiers and their own deceased in Fort Washakie Cemetery.

did not move this lumber to its ultimate place of use until the morning of the 3d.

I came on the scene at 10:30 a. m., when events were already under way (fig. 21). Six or eight old men, mounted, with few exceptions un-

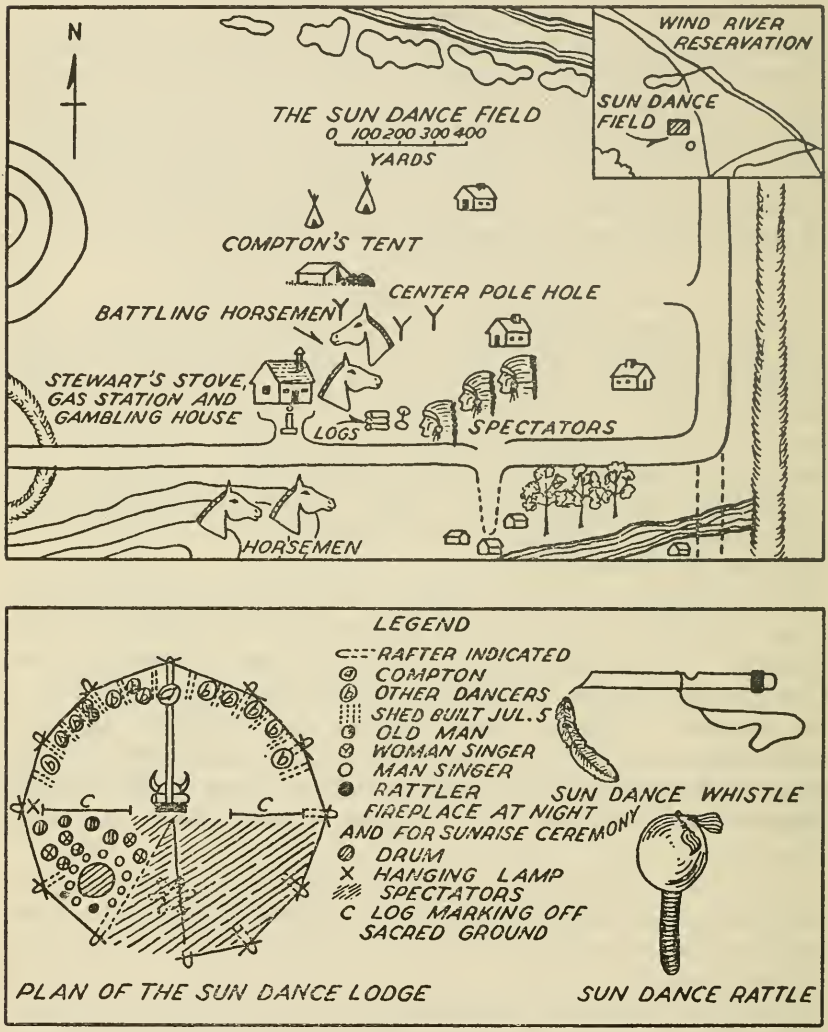

FIGURE 21.—Sun Dance layout and paraphernalia.

armed, dressed as usual but for a few strangely clean and gaudy shirts, guarded the lumber and several pairs of wagon wheels nearby. Other horsemen were everywhere. Far away, up on the hills to the south, young men galloped furiously hither and yon. On the plain to the north was a large body of riders, among whom I could recognize Tom

Compton. On his head was a red kerchief; on his face were vertical streaks of white paint, and dark glasses; around his waist was a fancy beaded belt. Close by him was Quitan Quay, conspicuous in a fringed buckskin costume.

To one side two middle-aged women dressed in blue-and-red imitation elk-tooth dresses, were quietly sitting on horses gaily decked out in beads, using old-style saddles with very high pommels and cantles. The women's faces I could not see, but in their hands they held willow branches. Also bearing willow branches were the five boys beside them, who were, however, plainly dressed.

Suddenly, Compton's group began to gallop toward the pile of lumber. I could not see what happened in the confusion of the moment at which they reached it, but, soon after, Quitan Quay left the group and started to ride back and around. He was shouting, apparently, that Compton had shot the center pole.

Then all dismounted and joined together in the jobs of putting the logs on wagon wheels and harnessing the horses to haul them to the Sun Dance field. Once the group had arrived there, the timber was unloaded close to the spot at which the old man had dug a hole on the 1st of July. After this, all rested for a while, except for Quay, who rode around again, urging everyone to hurry over for the prayer that was to follow. Compton was sitting on the future center pole, nonchalantly smoking a cigarette.

In a few minutes, about 11:15 a. m., when a fairly large crowd had gathered, Compton got up, faced to the east with head bowed, and started to pray in a scarcely audible, monotonous voice. The heads of the others who were lined up on both sides of the future center pole were also bowed, and their attitude seemed serious. Farther away, however, the behavior of the spectators was scarcely affected. Some kept on walking, others talking; Logan Brown, for example, was laughing most of the time.

When the prayer had ended, Quitan Quay announced that all the activities were over for the time being, and would be resumed when the sun would be—he pointed—at its position of 3 or 4 o'clock. So, with most of the others, I then left.

But a few men stayed on, and started work under Compton's direction. They measured the radius of the planned lodge with a rope, located the holes for the 12 outer posts, dug the holes with steel crowbars and shovels, put in the posts, and tamped the earth around them. (See pl. 31, upper.) By 2 p. m., when I returned, one or two of the posts were up.

In an hour, the men had finished erecting the side posts, and begun measuring and notching the rafters, the tips of which they placed in the forks of their proper posts with the help of paired poles tied to-

gether with rope. Only the "backbone," or east-running rafter, was left on the ground.

At the same time, Compton was preparing the center pole. He tied the willow bundle underneath the center pole, just at the fork. Then someone brought in a good buffalo bull's head—a poor one had been rejected first—which Compton now stuffed with sagebrush and furnished with eyes of clay. Then he lashed it firmly to the pole and bundle. (See pl. 31, lower.)

Meanwhile, Moses Tassitsie, who seemed to be supervising the work, painted two bands of black around the center pole. (See pl. 31, lower.) They were each about a foot wide, and a foot apart. The lower edge of the bottom band was some five feet from the butt of the pole. The pigment was charcoal, which Tom Compton took from the fireplace of his own tent in a metal pan, mixed with water, and ground. At last, after the painting had been completed, Compton tied a white rag around the fork to the right of the buffalo head, a blue one on the fork to the left.

About 4 p. m., when all this had been done, a different herald shouted an announcement to get all the available men together. About 20 of them then lined up on either side of the center pole. Eight others, among them Compton and myself, were farther back, holding the sets of lifting poles, one short and one long set on each side of the center pole.

When all were alined, seven or eight of the men just by the pole started singing in a low voice. The men with the lifting poles kept time by hitting their poles together. When the song had been ended, Compton said, "me:k^{w}!" (ready!), and they lifted the center pole waist-high off the ground, then let it down again. This was repeated twice more. The fourth time, they sang much more loudly. Then they placed the center pole in its hole and, with much effort (the lifting poles coming into play toward the end) raised it upright. Now they rotated it until the buffalo head faced exactly west; then they filled the hole with dirt and tamped it down. Following this, the rafters were put into place according to the regular routine mentioned previously. (See pl. 32.)

Among the spectators I saw Dick Washakie sitting on his horse, interested but inactive.

It was now 6:50 p. m., and I left, being gone until 7:30. At that time the last of the large tree branches that formed the wall of the lodge were being placed against the rafters: the lodge was complete. Compton, still in his ordinary dress, was shouldering a shovel, hurrying from his final work. (See pl. 33.)

As darkness fell, activity gradually increased about the Sun Dance field. Here and there could be heard the testing of drums and occa-

sionally the single shrill note of a Sun Dance whistle. Several times a herald yelled for the dancers to get ready to assemble. About Compton's tent were many people and much activity, and from it, at about 9 p. m., six men and youths wrapped in blankets stepped out. Naked but for their scanty Sun Dancers' garb, blowing their whistles in long-drawn-out blasts, they shuffled forward gingerly. They went straight to the west wall of the lodge, then to the north, circling it completely once, and in.

What happened then, I could not see, because of the press of the crowd, but I caught a glimpse of Compton coming up to the center pole, and heard him praying. Then the singing started.

The orchestra began singing softly, led by Logan Brown—not the rattler—who was accompanied by four or five of the others, as well as the gentle beating of the drum, about 130 beats to the minute. The melody, sung in a high-pitched, strongly nasalized voice, was complicated by individual trills and even whoops, but seemed to revolve around the meaningless syllables: "ya . . . he", which rose in pitch, and then dropped to a long lower note, to be followed by a variant, "ya: . . . a . . . he!", with the "ya" now being trilled and lengthened.[56]

For 12 or 16 beats of the drum this continued. Then came a pause, and 5 slow, ponderous beats.

Now a full dancing rhythm was taken up. All joined in a pleasing blend of men's and women's voices, short, shrill blasts of Sun Dance whistles, and simultaneous beats of the drum—now about 160 a minute. The melody was a little different, insofar as I could grasp it out of its complicated choral arrangement. It started with a descending "he: . . . ha",[57] and continued the final "a," rippled by several trills, for a number of beats; and then did the same for "he: e: ha."[58] For several minutes this continued. A sudden silence, 10 solemn drum-beats, a momentary return of the dancing melody, and the continued trilled note of the women's song marked the finale.

The dancing started slowly. At first, most of the dancers merely stood in their places and blew their whistles. One also shrugged his shoulders, flexed his knees slightly and lifted his heels a little off the ground. Others yet sat, smoking and chatting. After half an hour of this, Compton came forward from his place due west of the center pole. He shuffled his feet carefully, picking up stray rocks and weeds, which he threw toward the center pole. When he arrived within 4 or 5 feet of it, he turned his back and walked casually to his place. His example was soon followed. A little later, Compton danced forward

[56] Low pitch on the first syllable; low, rising pitch on the second.
[57] High, falling pitch on the first syllable; low pitch on the second.
[58] High, falling pitch on the first two syllables; low pitch on the last.

within 4 or 5 feet of the center pole, using a short running shuffle that barely took his feet off the ground; shaking his torso with every step, elbows bent, forearms horizontal, and wrists limp, he blew his whistle loudly with every step. Then he retreated to his place by a series of rhythmical, short hops with his feet together. Others followed suit, although some shuffled their feet going backward as well as forward. Some good friends danced in pairs, elbow to elbow. Never did anyone turn his eyes away from the center pole. But the number dancing thus was never great at any one time. Most kept dancing in place, or continued to sit and smoke.

While this was going on, the spectators milled around in the space open to them, and children played even on the border of the dance ground without being chased away. Several times men came into the sacred area without removing their shoes. They were bringing blankets for the Sun Dancers.

During the course of the night a number of latecomers joined the dance, straggling in singly, so that by the next morning there were 38 in all. This number included 4 Idaho Shoshone; 2 Bannock; 1 Shoshone from Washakie, Utah; 1 Ute; 3 Wyoming Arapaho; and 1 Arapaho from Oklahoma. The local contingent was almost as heterogeneous, ranging in age, for example, from Sequiel Hurtado, Jr., who was 19, to Louis Enos in his late 70's. I left about 11 p. m.

I returned at 3:50 a. m. There was now a fire just east of the center pole, around which most of the spectators were huddled. The singers were a different group from that of the evening before. They were doing rather poorly. They were obviously tired, their timing was off, and their notes went sour quite often. Most of the dancers were sitting or lying down, wrapped tightly in their blankets against the cold. A few danced desultorily. The picture of apathy was completed by a pair of Indian cowboys, much the worse for liquor, who staggered in across the dance floor to give one dancer a package of cigarettes. (See pl. 34, *upper*.)

As it became lighter, however, the singing became stronger, and more and more dancers joined in, dancing energetically, for it was rather chilly. Then a couple of middle-aged men quite unceremoniously cleared all the spectators out of the entranceway. At 4:40 a. m., the dancers lined up just west of the center pole, their blankets at their feet, four abreast in the first line, an irregular number in the ones behind it. The sun was just about to rise. The singers now started to sing softly and slowly a special song, while the dancers blew continued gentle blasts upon their whistles.

The sun rose, and the singing became more vigorous, the whistling loud, and even more prolonged. Several dancers greeted the sun by

raising either the right or both arms to shoulder level. (See pls. 34, *lower*; pl. 35.)

When the song had ended, the dancers filed forward and seated themselves, huddled in their blankets, in a circle around the fire. (See pl. 36, *upper*.) Compton was next to the center pole, and facing east. Softly, his voice muffled by a hand held partly over his mouth, Compton began to sing, joined only by a few of the other dancers. The rest merely bowed their heads. The last notes of the song were followed by a blast from their whistles that lasted as long as did the dancers' breath.

Three more songs were similarly sung.

Then Compton got up, stripped off his blanket, and stood by the center pole, facing the rising sun. His appearance was ghastly, his exhaustion emphasized by the white paint around his eyes. His head was bowed a little, one hand rubbed against the other from time to time; he swayed erratically from side to side. All were quiet—even the drunken cowboys; nearly all bowed their heads. In a low, barely audible voice, Compton started to pray, almost to chant. I could catch words:". . . good life—indefinitely . . . much food . . . may be . . . I pray."

(ʒa:ŋk' mi'agwai . . . so:dï'kapa . . . na'nha . . . nëšu'ndheŋgën . . .)

These 5 minutes of prayer marked the emotional climax of the Sun Dance.

At the conclusion of the prayer, the dancers went back to their old places where, under cover of their blankets, they stripped off their regalia, leaving one blanket tied around the waist. Then they went in to sleep a little, and I left, at 5:55 a. m.

I noticed no changes in the procedure of the dance until my visit at 9:45 a. m. on July 5. About 25 poles some 7 feet high had been planted in the ground, about 6 feet away from the farther wall, to which they were connected by cross bars raised 3 feet off the ground, and spaced 3 or 4 feet apart. On the cross bars were leaned branches; cloth screens hung down between the vertical poles. The sheds so formed were lined with branches and with sage. (See pl. 37.)

The dancers were painted differently now, some having their bodies covered entirely with yellow. Most of them danced in pairs. Instead of eagle down-feathers, one had a long frond of sage in his hand.

When I returned at 3:30 in the afternoon, only one or two were dancing, the others lying in their sheds. Then a number of women and one girl alined themselves directly south of the center pole, all facing the west. Compton, with an eagle wing in his right hand, now danced up from his stall to the center pole. From there he walked behind the nearest of the women, and brushed down her back from shoulder to foot with his eagle wing. He did this to the others also.

An hour later, during a lull in the singing, one of the old men seated by the south barrier to the dance floor fanning themselves with eagle feathers, started to harangue the dancers in what I later learned was Arapaho.

On the 6th it started to rain heavily, and as an unfortunate result the end of the dance came earlier than expected. So, when I arrived at noon, all was over. The dancers were in their stalls, changing to ordinary dress, and emptying rapidly the several cases of Coca Cola which were on the dance floor. Among those who brought in their clothes I saw Marshall Washakie.

By the center pole was a large pile of clothes, most of which were soon taken away by old men and women. I saw one dancer pay an old man a dollar, presumably for a blessing he had received.

Soon the dancers were walking out of the lodge and about, looking lean but far from exhausted, and seeming rather proud of themselves.

That evening, I learned later, there was a feast, among the ingredients of which were coffee and cookies. I did not attend because of the heavy rain. Incidentally, I also learned that a number of Bannock had put on a Ghost Dance for an hour or so one night of the Sun Dance.

Toward the end of July, I happened one morning to look into the Sun Dance lodge. Inside, a number of youths were practicing the whistling and dancing of Sun Dancers. On the center pole, about 4 feet off the ground, were tied very many old clothes. Otherwise, the lodge was untouched.

The leader of the Sun Dance in 1937, Tom Compton, is an interesting person. He is a half-blood and was about 50 at that time. Two half-brothers and a maternal uncle on his mother's side were shamans; the background of his white, paternal lineage is not known to me.

Compton was born at Lemhi, Idaho, and came to Wind River only in 1923. He was accompanied by several relatives, among them his brother James, now (i. e., 1937) an Agency policeman. For the last 12 years Compton has been practicing shamanism actively. Economically he has not been extremely successful, and has had to eke out a living with WPA work.

Although his house is poorer than the average, his wife is energetic in maintaining the household. His children are bright and leaders at school. No serious family trouble has occurred in his home.

Compton's education is clearly better than average, yet he is close enough to the old habits to abandon his house for a tent at the death of his mother. He is not antagonistic toward the hospital and physician, and has been interested in the new trachoma treatments, and willing to take advantage of them. But he holds his own Medicine as something apart, incommensurable.

White opinion of him is not high: he is reputed to be an alcoholic. Indian opinion varies. Thus Millie Guina, a young Sage Creek woman quite representative of people of her age, is sympathetic to him and believes he is trying to help them all. But one of the main figures in the Peyote cult told me that Compton was shiftless, neither liked nor respected by the other Indians. A half-blood, influential as a one-time leader of the Wolf Dance and Indian judge, was very uncomplimentary to Compton. He stated that the latter had had neither visions nor supernatural power, and was really giving a pseudo-Sun Dance that would help no one. "He was doing it just for the money he might get out of it."

I was strongly impressed by Compton the first time I met him. Without persuasion on my part, he started to talk of his Sun Dance experiences and visions. He talked rapidly and continuously in a soft monotonous voice. His manner was deadly serious, his facial muscles were tense, and his eyes shone noticeably. When he talked, nothing seemed more obvious, understandable, and true than his visionary experiences. He seemed permeated with great love and pity for the world, a desire to relieve its suffering.

Contrasting strongly with this was the sight of his dog, tied up, allegedly for egg sucking, and nearly dead from starvation. He taunted it with food. I tossed it a few scraps, and it cringed violently when I did so. (It is noteworthy that many Shoshone, particularly Tassitsie, show remarkable gentleness with animals.) Compton's ill mother, her eyes suppurating from trachoma, did not appear well cared for either.

Compton took peculiar pride in her. "You wouldn't be doing very well if you were as old as she. She's 114!" To my eyes she didn't appear older than 75.

I saw him again on July 1, when he had already moved out on the Sun Dance field. There was a marked change: house, children, even —to some degree—his mother, were spick and span. His dog was no longer tethered and looked merely very emaciated. He asked me to photograph his children in Indian dress. He was relaxed, pleasant, and smiling when he led me over to see the digging of the hole for the center pole. (However, I learned that he had just been released from jail for driving an automobile while drunk.)

Following the first morning ceremony, a few minutes after his dramatic prayer, I talked to him again. I noticed no emotional tension in him. He was jocularly commenting to me that, while the Sun Dancers were as yet chatting and walking around very spryly this morning, it would be very different two mornings later.

I saw him another time just after the Sun Dance, while he was guzzling Coca Cola. He seemed relieved and rather proud of his physical

ability. "We have just passed through a great desert." He was glad that the rain had come. And, despite the fact that no one had fainted or had had visions, he seemed satisfied and thought the Sun Dance had been very successful.

His own account of his visions and supernatural experiences gives particularly good insight both into the norms of such affairs and his deviations therefrom. Almost verbatim, it is as follows:

The first Sun Dance I attended was at Fort Hall in 1908. I knew nothing about it then. I had just returned from school, where I had got hurt playing football. The doctors pronounced it heart disease; they did not expect me to live. I was sent home, very sick. The old-timers told me to try the Sun Dance . . . I was going to die anyway.

It lasted 4 days; by the second, I felt very bad; better the third, and by the night of the third day, normal.

After that I took notice of the dance, and went into three others, nearly every year. My heart never bothered me. I saw several other cures.

On the fifth time, I fainted. I didn't feel weak—something just batted me on the head. I did not know whether or not I had fainted.

Some kind of a human—it floated about a foot and a half above the earth—drew my attention. It floated like a fog. Then I tried to run it out of the dance hall. Then it made a dive at me, hitting me with its shoulder and head. It knocked me head over heels, and went on beyond, leaving me lying there.

After I hit the ground I knew nothing for an hour or an hour and a half. They carried me to my stall.

Then I noticed I was not in the dance hall. I found myself on a high mountain, one half of it white lava [sic]. It was a ridge running to the west. The lower half was green with grass, sprinkled with flowers. Looking the country over, I saw it was strange to me, country that I had never seen before.

Even with me was a little stream, with tall weeds growing by it. It was a running stream, with clear water. I knelt down to drink. I was going to drink. But, just as my mouth was nearing the water, something—inside of me?—said, "Wait." Again I bent down, and again it happened. The third time, just as my mouth touched the water, I looked up.

It had been the Buffalo that spoke, the Buffalo of the center pole. It kind of circled around me. Then it turned into a human being. I looked at it, wondering. Why was it staring at me? I knew then that it was the same man who had knocked me over.

He took three or four steps toward me, then he stopped. He seemed afraid of me. He said to me, "The first drink you take: don't hold it down. If you do, it will kill you. The next time the water will be purer. The first drink will be poisoned in your body. If you drink it, you won't live long.

"The second time it will bring up diseases and blood. The third time it will be pure water, with just a little blood in it. The fourth time, drink all the water you want. That is why I stopped you." He circled around me again, and left.

I put my hands into the water—that far [Compton gestured to points halfway up to his elbows]. And I drank and drank. I was bloated worse than a toad when I got through finally.

It was well along in the afternoon then, 3 o'clock or so. I sat down and looked around. Way out to the north-east, in a sort of desert, I saw a Sun Dance hall. It was 2 or 3 miles away, out on the flats.

It seemed as though I had been on a long journey from the west. It seemed as though I had been dry and thirsty, tired. I rested for an hour by the spring.

When I got up, I was perfectly satisfied. And I got up. I noticed I took two or three steps. Then I knew nothing of the other steps until I was 15 or 20 feet away from the hall—I just seemed to float.

Now I walked around the south side of the hall, to the door facing the east. I could see the people looking through the bushes of the walls, watching the dance. They did not see me. They were jammed together. I squeezed through and slipped to the front.

I looked around and, in the north of the hall, I saw a vacant place. There was a nice shade there, where a body was lying, asleep. I made up my mind to go there and rest, and watch the dancers. I started, and walked right across the hall. I sat down right at the body's feet. I looked at the dancers. Pretty soon, I began to lie down. It seemed as though I had begun to wake up.

I didn't know whether I had slept or not. Now I heard the drum and the singers, heard the old men urging the dancers on. I was puzzled. How had I first come in? I tried to figure out how it was: it seemed so true that I had gotten this drink. Right there I tried to figure it out.

I finally thought: "I had started to run him out. He hit me." I traced myself from there to the mountain, drinking. But I was as dry as before. I had seemed stuffed with water when I had left the spring. I seemed dry when I awoke. It seemed just like a dream.

I pushed the cover off my head. Then the Dance chief and another fellow came over—somebody had told him I had awakened. He asked me, "Have you awakened? Have you seen anything? Have you had your drink?"

"Yes," I said, "but I am as dry as I was before."

"What did this to you?"

"I don't know. It was some kind of a spirit that knocked me out."

"From now on you won't have to suffer," they said. They asked me if I had seen anything more. I told them of the Spirit's orders.

They said, "In time you may get so that you may know something of the Dance. Some day you may handle it yourself."

After the leader asked me, he seemed to be glad that I had been helped. At that time I didn't understand. It seemed that the leader was more pleased than I. He was Woodpecker (A'ʒaba), a medicine man.

I didn't realize the meaning of this. I didn't care. I was young. I believed in the Sun Dance because I had been cured by it of heart disease.

I just went on, got along the best I could until I married and started a family. Two or three years after the first vision the same spirit knocked me out again. It told me to go into another Sun Dance. Nothing happened that time, but I could see different things: spirits of the Sun Dance. Then I got a greater belief in the Sun Dance, began to study it over, took more notice of it. I got a good line-up on it and its meaning from the old-timers. I traced it back. It gave me more interest after I learned of Christ and His fast. I got some meaning from it. . .

Up to now I have been in 13 Sun Dances. This will be my fourteenth, and the third one I have run. The others were in 1929 and 1932.

I am not a medicine man or anything like that. But I began to have a strong belief in it. I began to think it over—and having this Spirit knock me over . . . It began to talk to me and to come to me at night. If any of my relatives was sick, the Spirit would come to me at night, tell me what to do, what kind of prayer to use for the sick person.

From then on I began to believe in the Spirit. I got success on several occasions.

Since then, I have helped many sick people. I am not a doctor, I just use words and prayer, the name of God, and the Spirit of the Sun Dance.

Since then, I have seen other spirits in the Sun Dance that came and gave orders, to which I paid no attention because my first Spirit was my main one. And it told me not to heed them. In the long run they would do more harm than good to me and those I tried to help.

This one Spirit told me that the others are descendants of the Devil. In the long run they would kill you. Evil spirits exist as well as good ones, and they tempt you to do wrong. The main Spirit has kept me from following the others.

Seeing spirits is not like a dream. They'll come to you—you can talk to them during the night. You'll be asleep but you'll never forget what was told to you. In dreaming, you forget next morning what you have dreamt. When a spirit comes to you, you don't forget nothing. And another thing in the spirit line: the spirit will direct you to the God above, and give you a certain way to call for help, to help the sick on earth. The spirit will tell you to do these things to help the sick.

You read in the paper of an Indian doctor hollering and dancing. My part is not like that. My power in order to help people is a spiritual power. What help I get is from God Almighty. Whenever I call on Our Father, I see that the person I am helping gets relief. Not by dancing, nor by any medicine, but just by a few words I relieve them of their sickness, help them. I have been doing this for 12 years. I have always been successful because I knew what to do before I went in.

If I did not help the first time, the Spirit comes to me the next night. It tells me whether or not I can help the sick person. If not, there's no use. Then it is his time to go; God has him already in his power. I'll go just so far. But if a more powerful spirit than mine has him, I would just not try.

I don't know if they'll call me an Indian doctor, or what. I'm different from the others. They will use songs. All I use are the four prayer songs of the Sun Dance. I still use them. I use no medicine, I just use this power, the Spirit of the Sun Dance. It directs me to the Great Spirit above; through that I can help people on earth.

When my Spirit first knocked me over, it was just a blur, though I saw a human form in the blur. After 2 or 3 years it became more clear; I could see it more. It began to give me ideas and ways to help the sick, and how to handle things in the spirit line. Then he came out clearly: he is a Spirit, not of God, but of the Sun Dance. Still, he may be in touch with the Great Spirit above. If not, I don't think I could help people. Other spirits—whenever you see them, you can tell them: they are altogether different. They'll come to you as an animal, an elk, a lion, a wolf, or a bear. They'll keep changing from one to the other, drawing your attention. That's not a helping spirit. The Devil is sending him to do wrong, harm the sick. I've always been glad I learned the main Spirit and got so I could protect myself from the others.

Today, I don't have to suffer in a Sun Dance. I can go for 7 days without eating or drinking. I have the Power behind me to do it. Green hands, the beginners, are the ones that need help. You've got to help them. They've got no Power of any kind; there's no spirit behind them.

A person with Power is there to help them. In order to help them you've got to call on the Spirit to relieve them. For 5 or 10 minutes after that the boys or men find relief; they then are as fresh as when they went in. But it won't last; it will wear off, for they'll go too fast and wear themselves out. They'll suffer as much as before. Usually you've got to help them two or three times before the dance is over. Otherwise, they'll suffer greatly.

In the old days they used to go through this suffering until they were knocked out. Nowadays, it's not that way unless a spirit comes and lays you out No-

body urges you to keep on going until you fall. The old men used to urge the young to keep on going until they saw things.

It's [the Sun Dance] the same as a church, only it's held once a year. It's put on in the same form as any church. The songs are just tunes, but they mean the same. They're from way back; they've never been changed. In the Sun Dance there is no worship of the Sun. It is through the Sun.

Compton's account is exceptionally detailed and vivid, particularly in regard to motor sensations. It is almost poetic in its imagery. Yet in a highly symbolic fashion, it clings rigidly to the tribal pattern. The ceremonial number four, the butting by a visionary power, the buffalo, its transformation into a person, and the sensation of drinking water are obviously stereotyped.[59] Even further, the scenery he describes approaches that of the land of the dead if we note with Brackett that . . . "When an old man is dying he finds himself near the top of a high hill on the Wind River Mountains [which is the locale of Compton's description], and, as the breath leaves his body, he reaches the top of it, and there, in front of him, the whole magnificent landscape of eternity is spread out, and the Sun-Father is there to receive him and to do everything in his power to make him happy" (Brackett, 1880, p. 330). This also clears up Compton's mysterious allusion to worship *through* the Sun, for we may note that "they believe in Tamapah (damë a'p:ë, Our [incl. pl.] Father, or Sun-Father, who is the Father of the Day and Father of us all, and lives in the sun" (Brackett, 1880, p. 330; Russel, 1921, p. 144).

Stylistically too, a few features are patterned in his account. An example is the directions given him by his Power. The initial negative, the final antithetical positive are typical of the tribal literature (Shimkin, 1947 c).

It is clear that Compton is an intelligent man, introspective and highly imaginative, who sensitively elaborates new permutations—like his "Spirit of the Sun Dance"—of a rigid pattern. I believe he is unquestionably sincere, moved by drives, fantasies, and traditions largely outside his control. But a certain amount of sophistication and an inherently good sense of humor inhibit exaggerated mysticism.

At the same time, his personality is not completely adjusted. Possibly his relation toward his white father and certainly his difficulties in being accepted in a strange community, in fighting the established interests of the Peyotists, have contributed to this. In any case, the transparently hysterical character of his early illnesses, the ambivalence of his dreams with their good and evil spirits, and his occasional drunkenness and cruelty are symptomatic of emotional strain. Nevertheless, Compton is one of the most gifted and sanest Wind River

[59] Compare the Crow Indians (Lowie, 1922, p. 324 ff.); in the typical Dakota vision, on the contrary, a person turns into an animal. (Cf. Wissler, 1916, p. 81.)

Shoshone I know. He is not inhibited to the point of dead pragmatism. He does not alternate between jovial expansiveness and sharp suspicion. He is not a dreamer so preoccupied with his fantasies that all else is of little moment.

Thus the leader of the Sun Dance in 1937 had an outstanding personality, a type of personality the little-formalized, fluid character of Wind River society tends to place in positions of prominence.

SOCIAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS

In what ways have the changes in the culture of the Wind River Shoshone since the nomadic days of the midnineteenth century modified the attitudes influencing the Sun Dance or altered the social and psychological functions of the ceremony?

Shoshone attitudes appear largely to have remained constant. Egalitarianism is still strong. Individual restraint and psychological inhibition generally appear to have increased since the Shoshone have become more aware of their poverty and social isolation from their white neighbors.[60] On the other hand, schooling, the Episcopal and Catholic churches and the Peyote Cult seem to have reduced habits of extreme individualism, and to have increased receptivity toward a common religious dogma. It is noteworthy that many individualistic elements of old Shoshone culture, such as the vision quest, medicine bundle, personal tabus, and individual curing shamanism have vanished or been greatly weakened since the turn of the century, while elements involving group participation have survived more successfully. Thus, Wind River Shoshone world outlook, while basically unchanged, may have become less disinclined to formalism and stereotypy than before.

What is the relation between the Sun Dance and the social structure of the modern Wind River community? As in the old Sun Dance, formal ties are lacking, but actual informal correlations are significant. This problem is worth examination in detail, with reference to the dancers, leaders, Sun Dance committeemen, and old men and warriors, respectively.

The dancers represent nearly every male group in the community; their principal difference from nonparticipants appears to be psychological. Geographically, the distribution of the dancers is uniform, with only the marginal Burris and Ethete districts showing markedly low numbers of dancers (figs. 22 and 24). The degree of blood admixture is but a little toward the full-blooded side of the mean of the community profile, with a mean of 0.75 Indian blood, a range of 0.25 to 1.00. Economically, there is a corresponding picture. The mean

[60] Based upon 185 Rohrschach tests and other psychological data (cf. Shimkin, 1947 a and n. d.).

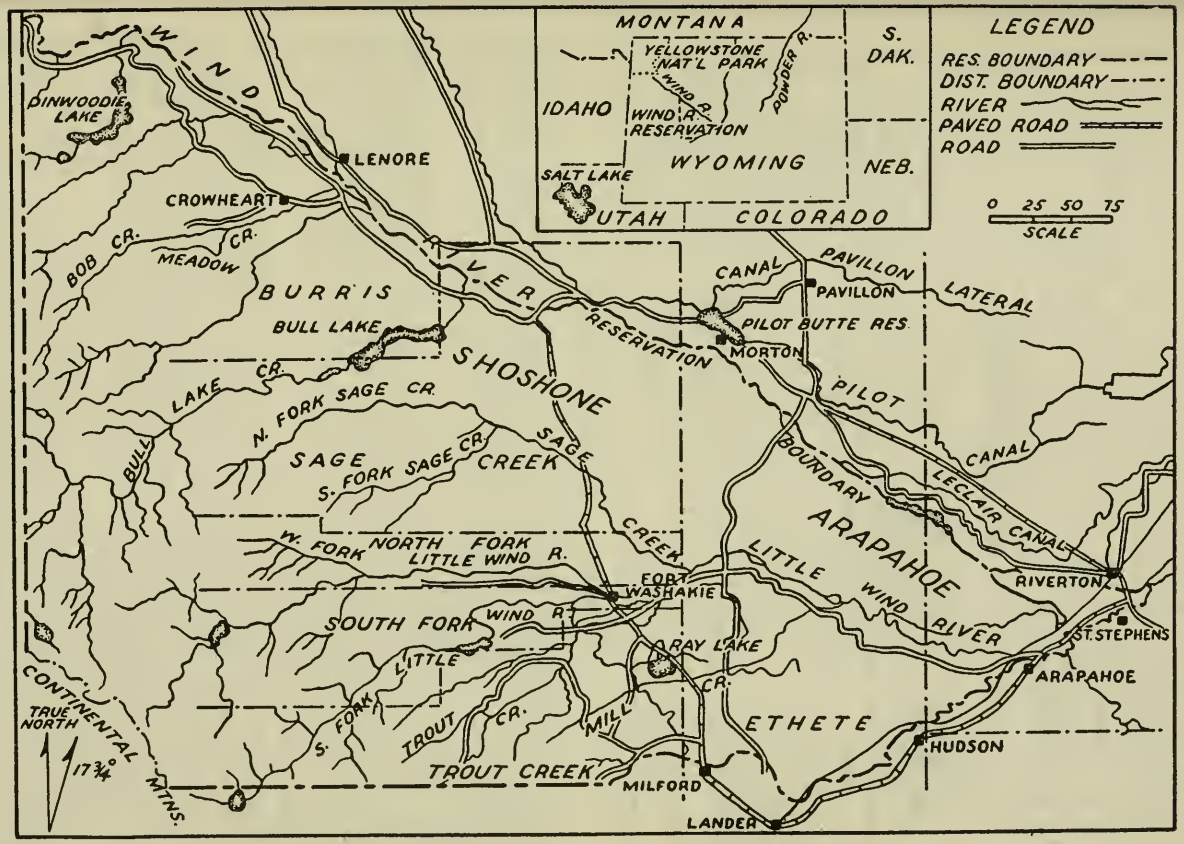

FIGURE 22.—Wind River Shoshone Reservation.

DISTRICT		TROUT CREEK	SOUTH FORK	ETHETE	NORTH FORK	SAGE CREEK	BURRIS	TOTAL or AVERAGE
MEAN RATING OF ENTIRE HOUSE		1.9	2	2.3	1.8	2.2	2.3	2.
PERCENT OF HOUSEHOLDS	BELOW RESPECTIVE MEAN	53	33	33	64	66	50	50
	WITH UNSAFE WATER (BELOW 2)	74	71	34	77	84	17	70

SCALE FOR RATING

RATING	1.	2.	3.
WINDOWS AND DOORS	NONE OR MAKESHIFT	BROKEN POOR	GOOD, FACTORY
WALLS	TENT OR UNCHINKED LOG	CHINKED LOG	PAPERED
ROOF	TENT OR DIRT	TIN, TAR PAPER LEAKING	SHINGLE, TAR PAPER SOUND
FLOOR	DIRT	POOR PINE	GOOD PINE HARDWOOD
BEDDING	MATTRESSES ON FLOOR	BEDS, NO LINEN	BEDS WITH LINEN FOR CHANGE
CROWDING	LESS THAN 50 SQ. FT. PER PERSON	50 TO 100 SQ. FT. PER PERSON	100 SQ. FT. OR MORE PER PERSON
WATER	STREAM, CANAL, ETC.	HAULED FROM PIPE LINE	PIPED, RUNNING
TOILET	NONE	MAKESHIFT	GOOD OUTDOOR TOILET

FIGURE 23.—Economic differences.

is 1.9, a little below that of the reservation generally; the range, 0.5 to 2.6 (cf. fig. 23). In short, the Sun Dancers represent all but the geographically most remote, most mixed-blooded, and wealthiest parts of the reservation.

In contrast, age is a selective factor among the dancers. The mean age is 37 years, with a range from 16 to 80. The distribution, however, is very peculiar, consisting of a low plateau with two important, nearly equal peaks in the ages of 17 to 25 and 50 to 58. Almost no men in their 30's dance.

Correlated with age is another mechanism, that of kinship. In all, in 1937 and 1938, four pairs of fathers and sons danced together, as well as six sets of brothers (two of them numbering three apiece), and one set of cross-cousins. The importance of kin ties in joining the dance—especially the father-son relationship—explains part of the peculiar age distribution.

Sun Dancing is also correlated with participation in other socio-religious organizations. Out of 336 men above the age of 16, only 167 belong to any organization whatsoever; 89 belong to 1, 57 to 2, 17 to 3, and 5 to 4. The extreme limit of duplicating participation is illustrated by a 46-year-old man who belongs to five groups at once.

MEASURE \ DISTRICT		TROUT CREEK	SOUTH FORK	ETHETE	NORTH FORK	SAGE CREEK	BURRIS	TOTAL or AVERAGE
POPULATION		330	365	88	165	66	220	1150
PERCENT OF HOUSEHOLDS WITH	NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS	60	90	16	30	12	40	228
	PEYOTISTS	50	29	18	30	41	2	29
	EPISCOPALIANS	45	24	12	40	33	13	29
	CATHOLICS	5	14	31	7	8	5	10
	SUN DANCERS 1937–38*	33	20	6	30	33	5	22
	TRIBAL COUNCILORS 1926–40*	26	11	18	3	25	7	15
	FULL BLOOD INDIAN	53	31	19	53	83	17	35
	LESS THAN HALF INDIAN BLOOD	16	38	62	23	17	78	33

*REPETITION WITHIN HOUSEHOLD COUNTED ONLY WHEN IN DIFFERENT YEARS

FIGURE 24.—Local differences on the Wind River Reservation.

In short, there appears to be a central participating core opposed to the major nonparticipating division of the community.

Examining this core in detail, we see that the Episcopal Church, the Peyote Cult, the Wolf Dance, and the Tribal Council form a solid block. (See fig. 25.) The Sun Dance has a rather peculiar position, which is more apparent than real, inasmuch as the Tribal Council is represented on the Sun Dance committee rather than among the dancers themselves. The Catholics, on the other hand, are dissociated from all other groups except the Tribal Council. The completely negative correlations between the Ghost Dance and Peyote Cult, and the Ghost Dance and Catholicism are functionally real, not merely statistical.

Multiple participation exists despite a paucity of obvious functional ties between different ceremonies. As an explanation, there is only the historical fact that a small group of men originally experimented with all these, and integrated them slightly. This would lead one to suspect that some sort of attachment to these leaders has been the genuine unifying factor. Yet such attachment can hold only for a few families, among whom heredity, particularly patrilineal, has maintained participation in the same cults. For other families, whose affiliations have varied greatly over late generations, the problem is much more difficult. In fact, the existence of any personal ties, social or friendly, seems to be of little weight in most instances.

INSTITUTION	EPISCOPAL CHURCH	PEYOTE	WOLF DANCE	TRIBAL COUNCIL	SUN DANCE	GHOST DANCE	CATHOLIC	NUMBER
EPISCOPAL CHURCH								104
PEYOTE	79							68
WOLF DANCE	73	72						11
TRIBAL COUNCIL	34	51	68					15
SUN DANCE	33	35	85	-3				54
GHOST DANCE	16	-100	64	52	59			8
CATHOLIC	-43	-10	-100	48	-17	-100		19
UNIVERSE 336. TOTAL NO. OF PARTICIPANTS 167								

FIGURE 25.—Correlations (Yule Q_2) between institutions.

For example, the Sun Dance in 1937 was run by an individualistic shaman, while the Sun Dance committee was composed of people with various affiliations, led by an Episcopalian who had retired from active membership in the Peyote Cult. In 1938, two Peyotists led the dance, while the committee was entirely Peyotist. Only 9 persons out of a total of 84 danced in both years. Yet the profile of participation remained perfectly constant, with the Peyotists actually dropping a little in percentage the second year.

TABLE 2.—*Percentage of Sun Dancers* [1]

Date	Episcopalians	Peyotists	Wolf Dancers	Tribal Councilors	Ghost Dancers	Catholic
In 1937	48	39	17	10	10	5
In 1938	52	35	18	6	6	3

[1] The sum is greater than 100 percent because of duplicate participation; only Wind River Shoshone have been included in the percentages.

It appears most likely, therefore, that participation in rites at the present time is generally a matter of individual preference and individual psychology rather than one of definite social compulsion. The ties are emotional rather than legal or customary.

Analysis of the Rohrschach tests of a small but carefully matched series of Sun Dancers and nonparticipants permits tentative definition of the psychological differences between them. (See Appendix 3.) The former manifest considerably higher energy levels than the latter. Emotionally, they appear more sensual and sensitive, but basically no

more extroverted. Greater mental rigidity, with almost no inner life and little originality, but less negativism and concern with minutiae than among the nonparticipants, are other characteristics.

The Sun Dance leaders represent the width and breadth of the community to a lesser degree than the ordinary dancers. Data on five leaders active from 1936 to 1938 show a wide range in home locality, degree of blood admixture (half to full-blood), and extent of social participation (two were Sun Dancers only; three, Episcopalians also, of whom two were Peyotists in addition. One man participated in these three organizations and the Wolf Dance as well.) None were members of the Tribal Council. All were poor, older men, from 50 to 77 years of age, who had danced from 10 to 15 times previously.

Constant participation has not, however, been enough to warrant leadership, which most dancers never achieve. The critical factor appears to be acknowledged supernatural power. For instance, Natopo White or Little White Horse had control over lightning. When his wife ran away with another to Utah, he caused the lightning to strike and kill the latter. He also had control over the weather. Pohguritsie Taylor is reported to be a dangerous shaman who once exhibited his Power by stealing away Pivo Brown's.

Does this recognition of special power imply a difference of personality between the leaders and ordinary dancers? I believe it does, although this conclusion is impressionistic. Such men as Tom Compton and Tom Wesaw share elements of ambivalence and of marked cyclicity in adaptive behavior, in overt personality, with the ordinary dancers. On the other hand, they appear to be much more intelligent, imaginative, and expressive than their followers. In these regards the leaders may be closer to the norms of the nonparticipants than to the other dancers.

In contrast to the dancers and Sun Dance leaders, the Committee members show definite social rather than psychological selection. Data are available on nine members of 1937 and 1938, of whom three were participants both years. Excluding one 77-year-old man, the mean age of the Committee members in 1938 was 35, with a range of 25 to 44. (This distribution fits the gap in the Sun Dancers' age curve, and provides an explanation additional to kinship for its peculiarities.) Blood admixture among the Committee members is low, with a mean of 0.83 Indian blood and a range of 1.00 to 0.37; in contrast, their economic status is high, with a mean of 2.3 and a range of 1.6 to 2.9. They are active participants in socioreligious organizations, belonging to an average of 2.5 each. While all but one are Peyotists and four are members of the Tribal Council, no Ghost Dancers or Catholics are represented, and only one has been a Sun Dancer.

Geographically, the selection is also marked, since six come from Trout Creek and two from South Fork, while North Fork, Sage Creek, and Burris are completely unrepresented.

Evidently, the Sun Dance Committee is the instrument through which the effective social leadership of the Wind River Shoshone maintains its control over the Sun Dance.

The old warriors and other persons who act as heralds, or who light the fire in the Sun Dance lodge, bless the water at the end of the ceremony, or bless the dancers, comprise a heterogeneous group. Some have had genuine war records; Quitan Quay, for example. Others such as Tassitsie and Charley Washakie have also played a major role in the creation of modern Shoshone ceremonialism. Still others, such as Marshall Washakie, the president of the Peyotists, have current claims to prominence. And some, finally, are visitors such as Ben Buffalo, a Cheyenne who blessed Tom Wesaw at the conclusion of the 1938 Sun Dance. The only common denominators appear to be middle or old age and some basis of public or personal esteem.

In summary, the modern Sun Dance is fully representative of all the Wind River Shoshone—more so, probably, than was the old Sun Dance. In addition, it is closely tied in to the social leadership of the community by means of the Sun Dance Committee. Finally, the Sun Dance today acts as an agency of cohesion not only for the Wind River Shoshone, but also for neighboring tribes. In 1936, out of 46 dancers, 6 were Arapahoes and 3 were Utes; in 1937, out of 38 dancers, 4 Idaho Shoshone; 2 Bannock; 1 Shoshone from Washakie, Utah; 3 Wyoming Arapaho; and 1 Oklahoma Arapaho participated. In 1938, the 46 dancers included 1 Crow and 1 Ute. Comparably, the Wind River Shoshone today participate in Idaho Shoshone, Ute, and Crow Sun Dances.

The aggregate social and psychological functions of the Sun Dance have increased greatly, although the importance of some has declined. The geographical unity of the modern Wind River Shoshone has reduced the importance of any physical gathering in promoting cohesion. Gossip, trade, and social gatherings are no longer coterminous with the tribal assembly for the Sun Dance, the rendezvous with the trappers, and the summer buffalo hunt. The roles of women and children are even less significant than in the old Sun Dance. Anxiety about war is no longer a factor, although war-centered traits have an important sentimental role. (This is written from the standpoint of 1937–38. It is clear that World War II and the postwar period reawakened war anxieties and revived such features as war prophecies.) Friendship has retained much of its ceremonial flavor, with blood-brothers exchanging gifts, for example. Practically, however, its significance in quarrels and war has declined, although the marital functions remain.

Finally, the ceremonial and religious life of the Shoshone has become richer with the introduction of the Episcopal and Catholic churches, the Peyote Cult, and the Wolf Dance; social foci competing with the Sun Dance appear to have been created. The Fourth of July Parade at Lander is another new disruptive element.

In other ways, the functions of the Sun Dance have increased. Illness has become the most important theme of the ceremony, one which is reiterated in all prayers. Although relief from illness is emphasized in other Shoshone institutions, such as the Peyote Cult, Ghost Dance, and Wolf Dance, to say nothing of the Agency hospital and field nurse, it has become the most frequently cited reason, in recent years, for participating in the Sun Dance. Thus Tom Compton first joined the Sun Dance hoping to recover from an injury received in football. Tom Wesaw, in addition to his other reasons, was prompted to lead in 1938 because he had previously been suffering from trachoma and in poor health generally. Lowie cites Pivo Brown's causes for entry:

> I was bloated up and had no appetite. I went into the sun dance. My fellow-dancers pressed down on my stomach and I felt as if I were to have a movement of my bowels. My excrements looked bloody and I was terrified, but I felt well thereafter and think the fasting burns out the disease. [Lowie, 1919, p. 399.]

Visionary power is still prized among the Shoshone, and the Sun Dance today is the principal mechanism for its achievement. The vision quest is no longer followed, although supernatural bequests may still come in ordinary dreams, as did Logan Brown's new Sun Dance song. The Peyotists do not use their drug for the gaining of visions, but merely to achieve a feeling of deep tranquillity and unity with God.

Participation in the Sun Dance, as leader, dancer, Committeeman or herald, is one of the few avenues to prestige open in the community today. (Other positions of honor are those of tribal councilor, Indian judge, president of the Peyotists, principal Ghost Dancer, and Wolf Dance leader.) Tribal and band chieftainship, war honors, and foppery have vanished. Economic success is extremely difficult to achieve; furthermore, the continuation of customs such as the abandonment of houses in which an adult has died tend to break down property accumulation.

Finally, new values have entered the Sun Dance. Concern for food is now expressed in the dance. Emphasis upon the welfare of the entire community including the allaying of internal suspicion and hostilities has also become manifest, as has an increasing feeling of the unity of all Indians. The monetary proceeds of the ceremony are other new incentives. In 1937–38, the average breadwinner of a family of five to seven souls earned but $300 a year, between his

farming, stock raising, WPA, and odd jobs. Under such circumstances, honorable and easy positions paying $2 or $2.50 a day were lucrative prizes indeed.

An assessment of the social and psychological functions of the modern Sun Dance shows that its integration with the social structure and the value system expressed by it have increased greatly. At the same time disruptive elements have increased. Definite jealousy exists between Sun Dance leaders; the pay devolving upon Sun Dance Committeemen is a source of envy. But these are minor tensions. The Christianized, deeply modified Sun Dance of today is a vital cultural force, an active part of the social and emotional life of the Wind River Shoshone and their neighbors.

CONCLUSIONS

Historical conclusions.—(1) The Sun Dance complex developed among the Algonquian Plains tribes, possibly after 1700, and diffused rapidly through the Plains and into the Plateau. Its early form can be reconstructed through comparison of the peripheral, widely separated Kiowa and Kutenai Sun Dances. Later modifications (particularly by the Algonquians and Dakota), secondary diffusions, and tribal migrations make detailed tracing of the subsequent history of the ceremony extremely difficult.

(2) The Wind River Shoshone may have been influenced by the initial wave of diffusion of the Sun Dance complex, but it appears almost certain that the major factor in the introduction of the Sun Dance was a Comanche, Ohamagwaya Yellow Hand, who subsequently became a major Shoshone chief. Historical and comparative evidence indicates that he borrowed the ritual from the Kiowa and transmitted it to the Shoshone about 1800.

(3) Between 1800 and 1880, the Wind River Shoshone received elaborating Sun Dance elements from the Arapaho and the Crow or Blackfoot, although the ceremony remained fundamentally stable.

(4) Between 1880 and 1905, approximately, the Wind River Shoshone Sun Dance went through a period of profound change, probably induced by the insecurity of early reservation life, and guided by a small number of active cultural leaders. Christian elements were deeply integrated into the rite at that time.

(5) This new form of the Sun Dance spread rapidly into the Basin, being adopted by the Bannock and Ute about 1890, and the Hekandika Shoshone about 1906. Wind River Shoshone proselyting was an element in the diffusion.

(6) After 1905, and certainly by 1920, the new form of the Sun Dance crystallized among the Wind River Shoshone, and they resisted a number of attempted modifications. Nevertheless, the expansive

vigor of the ceremony has remained; in 1933 it diffused to the Nevada Shoshone, and in 1941 it diffused to the Crow, among whom it had previously died out.

(7) Further diffusion of the Sun Dance among the Plains tribes is likely, particularly in view of the psychological stimulus of World War II. The mechanism of intertribal participation in Sun Dances would promote such diffusion.

Sociological and psychological conclusions.—(1) Probably, the introduction of the Sun Dance about 1800 and, certainly, its modification in 1880–1905, were associated with periods of intense cultural crisis. Introduction and modification alike seem also to have been achieved by a few strong personalities among the Wind River Shoshone.

(2) The dominant Shoshone attitudes of egalitarianism, individualism, skepticism, and restraint may have been partly instrumental in inhibiting the early development of the Sun Dance. They provide explanations for the rejection of such features as formal hereditary control of the Sun Dance secret rites, and a priesthood, a Sun Dancers' fraternity, and self-torture. Physical consolidation on the reservation and the effects of White schooling, Christianity, and the Peyote Cult appear to have reduced Shoshone individualism and promoted acceptance of a common theory of the Sun Dance, as well as larger-scale and more-representative participation than formerly. Egalitarianism and individualism are still strong enough, however, to build up resentment against minority control of the Sun Dance, to lead to marked jealousy between Sun Dance leaders, and to result in appreciable variations in Sun Dance performances and interpretations.

(3) The early Sun Dance was but loosely integrated with the social and psychological values of the tribes, although it had important functions in relation to individual prestige, war, the acquisition and exhibition of supernatural power, and as a general social focus. Actually, the Father Dance was more important than the Sun Dance in promoting general welfare and as a crisis ritual. Furthermore, dreams, individual quests, and transfers were more common means of gaining supernatural power than the Sun Dance. The number of dancers was small. Finally, although coup counting took place in many phases of the Sun Dance, neither band chiefs nor the military societies had any role in the ceremony.

This loose integration with social and psychological values may have reinforced dominant Shoshone attitudes in inhibiting the elaboration of the Sun Dance. But it also appears probable that, with the advent of a major cultural crisis, the Sun Dance was sufficiently dissociated from deprived or rejected values to be a ready instrument for cultural reintegration.

(4) In contrast to the loose integration of the early ceremony, the

modern Sun Dance is the decisive binding element of present-day Wind River Shoshone. It expresses the major concerns of the community: cohesion, illness, food, and acquisition of supernatural power. It achieves a satisfying balance between defiant, sentimental nativism and dominant, white Christianity. All elements of the community, even those mutually hostile, participate in it. About a third of all the men above 16 have danced in a span of but 2 years; the others, the nondancers, apparently refrain from individual reasons based on psychological differences, rather than organized withdrawal. Members of other tribes dance or sing regularly in the Wind River Shoshone Sun Dance.

Consequently, the Sun Dance today is a vital emotional and cultural force affecting not only the Shoshone but also their neighbors. Elements of disintegration do exist within the ceremony: rivalries between religious leaders, jealousy of the Sun Dance Committee, and the threat of commercialization. Yet these appear minor, and it appears virtually certain that the Sun Dance will retain its vitality and exercise profound influence on Shoshone life for some time to come.

Further problems.—Analysis of the Wind River Shoshone Sun Dance has led to a number of conclusions concerning the cultural dynamics of that specific group and that institution. How representative in space, in time, in aspect of culture are these conclusions?

(1) How rapidly can major cultural changes (not mere disintegrations) take place, and under what conditions?

(2) To what extent can a single individual or a few dominate the introduction or modification of institutions?

(3) Is a condition of crisis necessary for major changes in institutions deeply charged with emotion, such as religion?

(4) How consistently and to what degree do the dominant attitudes of a group affect the growth of its culture?

(5) How stable are such dominant attitudes or patterns of culture?

(6) How does the degree of functional integration between an institution and the value systems of a society affect the survival, stability, or potential florescence of that institution in times of crisis?

To my knowledge, answers to these questions, answers based on the thorough documentation and full analysis of several discrete instances, do not yet exist.

APPENDIX 1

MANUSCRIPT NOTES ON THE WIND RIVER SHOSHONE SUN DANCE (1902) BY H. H. ST. CLAIR

The manuscript field notes made in 1902 by H. H. St. Clair [61] contain a succinct account of the older form of the Shoshone Sun Dance which

[61] Notebook IV, mss. 892, Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, D. C., used by permission of Dr. M. W. Stirling, Director of the Bureau.

mentions a number of features unnoticed either by Lowie or myself. Below I quote him verbatim. I have italicized the most significant passages.

Some medicine man has a dream that he has led a Sun Dance, and tells the people when it shall take place. *He then composes songs which he teaches to the people during the four days preceding the dance.* On the fourth day he leads the people into the mountains and they have a sham-battle, the trees representing the enemy, at which they shoot. *Then the men pick out the straightest of the trees that were hit and the women chop them down,* and the men load them up. Then they split up into two parties, the Sun-dance leader going with the trees. The wagon goes ahead and the other party drops back, and they have a sham-battle over the poles till they reach the camp. *Then the sham-battle is turned into a parade around the camp.* They then all procure willow branches with leaves to shade the Sun-dance lodge. Holes are dug and poles set up. The centre pole is forked; while raising it, they pray and sing.

Two lodge-poles are connected at the tops with a rope, and each pole is held by one man . . . [unclear] . . . at the end of a song, raise the pole up. *This is done four times; the fifth time* they raise the pole as high as they can, and the two with the lodge poles run under it, catch it, raise it up, and set it solid. All the outside posts are also forked. Long ridge-poles are placed from outside posts [toward the] centre-pole. *A buffalo-head painted with white clay and decorated with eagle-tail-feathers is handed up to a man who goes up the centre pole.* This head he puts up on the fork of the pole. The small brush that has been collected is placed against two rails (one at the centre of the outside posts and one at the top.) The lodge is then complete. By this time it is usually dark and the *dancers begin to eat and drink,* fill . . . [unclear] . . . the four days' fast. All paint up with white clay, *hair as well as body. The buffalo-robes put on are also painted white.* Their whistles are hung on a string around the neck. All then gather in one place outside the medicine man's lodge. The singers and drummers are ordered to be ready. They all start out in single file from the medicine-man's lodge, with the medicine-man in the lead, and go around the Sun-dance hall four times in *single file to the right. After entering, the medicine man leads them with a praying song during which they are seated. At the end of the song they blow their whistles four times.* Then the medicine man, taking his place in the centre of the hall, prays for them all to the Great Father. *All shake their blankets then, to shake away their sickness.* The drummers come in and the dance begins. Dancing continues till midnight, when they pick out one of the men outside who has been in some fight to go and get wood with which to build a fire. The fire built, he tells of his brave deeds in past fights. Then the dance continues till morning. The singers take turns. The dancers dance up to the pole and back.

In the morning at peep of dawn they sing a certain song and the dancers form in one line, sometimes two, across the hall and all raise their hands to the sun, *all the time hopping up and down in one place till the sun is up.* Then the medicine man prays to the Sun. That is the end of the first night. The singers then go home for about an hour to get breakfast, and while they are gone, the dancers change paint. They paint yellow all over and leave their robes white. The singers are then notified and the dance begins again, lasting all day. The leader's place is right opposite the entrance. In the night the fire is placed inside the door again. They pray again the second morning, and while the singers are at breakfast, the dancers paint with various colors whatever may be their medicine, bear, etc., generally on the center of the breast.

APPENDIX 2

PRINCIPAL INFORMANTS

1. BP, Ben Perry, b. '92, good on modern religious practices.
2. CW, Charles Washakie, b. '73, highly intelligent, important social innovator, well-informed; not much used. Speaks little English.
3. DW, Dick Washakie, b. ca. '59, intelligent, good on material culture, poor on religion, mythology; out of contact with his people. Speaks little English.
4. EA, Emma Aragon, b. ca. '69, representing Fort Bridger—Ghost Dance adherents; opinionated, valuable for gossip; irregular but authentic information. Good interpreter.
5. GD, Gilbert Day, b. '09, valuable Peyote and contemporary informant.
6. GR, Guy Robertson, b. '75, fair biographical and general informant, good for linguistics. Conscientious but not brilliant. Good interpreter.
7. JM, John McAdams, b. ca. '72, very good general informant, volunteering much, but sometimes in error: must be checked by others. Has been to New Mexico.
8. JQ, Jack Quin or George Guina, b. '00, excellent mythological informant, knows old culture (non-Plains) better than any other young man, somewhat impatient; not sufficiently used, as wife was poor interpreter. Speaks no English.
9. LB, Logan Brown, b. '93, illuminating on "noncrystallized" aspects of culture, Peyote, etc. Fair interpreter.
10. LS, Lynn St. Clair, b. '03, earnest student of his own people, has both the handicaps and virtues of self-education; helps all he can, very pleasant, fairly well informed. Excellent interpreter, but usually not available.
11. MT, (Moses) Tassitsie, b. ca. '52, extremely well informed, historically important himself, influential. Must be treated gently and considerately, as is very proud. My best informant. Speaks no English.
12. MW, Marshal Washakie, b. '87, knows a good deal about his culture, very much about Peyote, but is highly erratic, alternately confiding and close-mouthed, suspicious. Can be magnificent, intelligent interpreter, but is very unreliable in arranging work, etc.
13. PB, Pivo Brown, b. ca. '50 (deceased). Excellent narrator of mythology, interesting life history, well informed. Spoke no English.
14. PP, Pandora Pogue, b. ca '55, pretty well informed, was midwife, very good on household and material culture. Not very intelligent and must be forced along a little. Speaks no English.
15. PS, Polly Shoyo, b. ca '45 (deceased). Excellent informant, great knowledge of culture, sensitive, detailed, accurate. Very close to Tassitsie in quality. Was among Crow. Spoke no English.
16. PT, Pohguritsie Taylor, b. ca. '60, a Doya or Mountain Shoshone, well informed about them, and about shamanism; not very willing, must constantly be urged on. Speaks no English.
17. QQ, Quitan Quay, b. ca. '61, good knowledge of culture, but overshadowed by MT, PB. Born near Lemhi. Speaks little English.
18. TC, Tom Compton, b. ca. '85, excellent on shamanism, used for little else, but probably knows much more. Friendly.
19. TW, Tom Wesaw, b. '86, intelligent, well-informed man, not always in good health. Taciturn at first, improves greatly on acquaintance, but always a little suspicious. Good interpreter.

APPENDIX 3

ROHRSCHACH TEST DATA ON SUN DANCERS AND NONPARTICIPANTS

In 1938, a series of 185 Rohrschach tests was taken by me among the Wind River Shoshone. Detailed discussion of the results of these and associated tests is beyond the scope of this paper (Shimkin, 1947 a and n. d.). Nevertheless, certain points must be developed in order to clarify the selection of the individuals, the scoring, and the interpretation.

The samples of Sun Dancers and of men who were almost completely nonparticipants were chosen as careful matches to eliminate the effects of differing ages, economic statuses, and degrees of blood admixture. Since these variables have in effect been partialled out by this method, the residue of consistent differences between the two groups represents "individual" differences, i.e., those which cannot be ascribed to immediate environmental conditions but derive in all likelihood from differences in early development or heredity.

The fundamental basis of the scoring and interpretation of these tests is Bruno Klopfer's modification of the original Rohrschach test, as described by Klopfer and his associates in various issues of the Rohrschach Research Exchange. The peculiarities of Wind River Shoshone norms have required me to deviate in a few regards:

(1) Popular responses are based upon frequency analyses of Shoshone responses. The following have been grouped out as "P."

Frequency *Percent*	Response	Plate	Location
65. 3	A	V	W.
24. 8	A obj (hide, etc.)	VI	W (cut off).
75. 8	A	VIII	D (lateral red details).
26. 8	A d	X	D (bottom green detail).

(2) I would give the following interpretations to the total number of responses (R) among the Shoshone:

Less than 10 R	Mental inactivity (psychic or organic inhibition).
10 to 25 R	Normal mental activity.
26 to 50 R	Mental exuberance (a sign of intelligence, a "manic" temperament, or slight perseveration).
51 to 100 R	Perseveration (compulsive tendencies).
100 R and over	Severe perseveration (suspicion of compulsive neurosis).

(3) I believe that average reaction time for each response (T/R) is primarily a function of the physical energy and activeness of the indi-

vidual, significant at all levels. This would be my estimate of the meaning of the factor among the Wind River Shoshone:

Less than 0.5 minute	Excessive energy, restlessness, "manic" tendencies.
0.6 to 0.9 minute	High energy level.
1.0 to 1.3 minutes	Normal energy level.
1.4 to 2.6 minutes	Low energy level—slight physiological or psychological inhibition.
2.7 minutes and over	Minimal energy level—severe physiological or psychological inhibition.

The bases for the interpretation of general differences between the Sun Dancers and nonparticipants given in the section on the Modern Sun Dance under the heading "Social and Psychological Factors" (pp. 468–469), are appreciable differences between their means in the following factors:

T/R (energy levels);

$\frac{FM+m}{Fc+c+C'}$, Fc, C, $\frac{VIII, IX, XRG}{R}$ (extroversion/introversion indications);

O/R (originalty);

$\frac{Dd+S}{R}$, (particularism and negativism).

TABLE 3—*Differences between Sun Dance participants and nonparticipants as based on the Rohrschach test*

Factors	Sun Dance participants								Nonparticipants									Mean difference
	Designation							Mean	Designation								Mean	
	A	*B*	*C*	*D*	*E*	*F*	*G*		*a*	*b*	*c*	*d*	*e*	*f*	*g*	*h*		
Age	19	27	29	36	46	57	58	38.8	17	31	35	36	40	40	41	64	38.0	+0.8
Blood admixture (percent)	12	37	25	0	25	0	0	14	25	0	0	25	0	0	0	50	12	+2
Participation:																		
Sun Dance	×	×	×	×	×	×	×											
Peyote		×			×													
Wolf Dance					×													
Ghost Dance						×	×											
Tribal Council					×													
Episcopal Church	×	×	×		×		×		×			×		×	×			
Catholic Church																		
Total	2	3	2	1	5	2	3	2.6	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0.6	+2.0
Economic status	2.0	2.0	2.1	1.0	1.4	1.8	2.1	1.77	2.0	1.7	1.7	1.8			1.8	1.8	1.80	−0.03
Rohrschach test score:																		
R	27	13	29	5	8	11	25	16.9	19	27	8	5	5	14	14	14	13.2	+3.7
T/R (min.)	.70	1.08	1.31	1.20	1.12	1.18	.88	1.07	.90	.70	2.12	3.80	1.80	.71	1.07	1.00	1.51	−0.44
F/R	.70	.46	.72	.60	.75	.45	.52	.60	.63	.40	.62	.60	.40	.43	.64	.36	.51	+0.09
$\frac{FK+F+Fc}{R}$	.96	.61	.82	.80	.87	.82	.72	.80	.68	.77	.87	1.00	.66	.50	.70	.50	.75	+0.05
H+A	6	4	18	4	4	6	11	7.6	13	12	4	2	1.00	4	9	4	6.2	+1.4
Hd+Ad	8	0	9	0	3	1	3	3.4	0	6	2	2	2	1	0	1	1.6	+1.8
$\frac{A+Ad}{R}$	.40	.31	.79	.60	.50	.54	.44	.51	.52	.40	.37	.80	1	.29	.50	.29	.45	+0.06
P/R	.11	.23	.10	.40	.37	.27	.12	.23	.16	.21	.12	.80	.20	.14	.15	.21	.25	−0.02
O/R	.15	0	0	0	0	.09	.16	.06	.05	.22	.12	0	.20	.29	.07	.07	.13	−0.07
$\frac{FM+m}{Fc+c+C'}$	0	0	0.5	0	0	.75	1.5	0.4	0.5	0.5	1.0	1.0	0	0	2.0	3.0	1.0	−0.6
ΣC	1.0	1.5	1.5	0.5	1.0	2.0	8.0	2.2	3.0	3.0	0	0	0	4.5	3.5	2.5	2.1	+0.1
$\frac{\Sigma C}{M}$	0	0	0	0	0	0	.12	.02	.67	.33	∞	0	0	0	0	.40	(−)	(−)
$\frac{W}{M}$	∞	∞	∞	∞	∞	∞	15		3.0	16	5.0	∞	∞	∞	∞	5.0		
$\frac{VIII, IX, X}{R}$	.44	.38	.33	.40	.62	.27	.32	.39	.58	.29	.12	.40	.20	.50	.28	.36	.37	+0.05

TABLE 3—*Differences between Sun Dance participants and nonparticipants as based on the Rohrschach test*—Continued

Factors	Sun Dance participants								Nonparticipants									Mean difference
	Designation								Designation									
	A	*B*	*C*	*D*	*E*	*F*	*G*	Mean	*a*	*b*	*c*	*d*	*e*	*f*	*g*	*h*	Mean	
Rohrschach test score—Continued																		
W/R	0.19	0.54	0.10	0.60	0.37	0.82	0.60	0.46	0.31	0.59	0.62	0.60	0.40	0.36	0.36	0.36	0.45	+0.01
D/R	.52	.46	.83	.40	.63	.18	.36	.48	.64	.30	.25	.40	.40	.57	.50	.50	.44	+0.04
d/R	.19	0	.07	0	0	0	.04	.04	.05	.03	0	0	0	0	.07	.14	.04	0
$\frac{Dd+S}{R}$	.10	0	0	0	0	0	0	.01	0	.08	.12	0	.20	.07	.07	0	.07	−0.06
m	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	--------	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	--------	0
M	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	--------	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	.6	−0.5
FM	0	0	2	0	0	3	5	1.4	1	4	1	1	0	0	2	2	1.4	0
k	0	2	1	0	0	1	4	1.1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	3	.7	+0.4
K	1	1	0	0	0	1	3	0.9	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	.6	+0.2
FK	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0.6	0	5	1	1	2	0	0	1	1.2	−0.6
F	19	6	21	3	6	5	13	10.4	12	11	5	3	2	6	9	5	6.6	+3.8
Fc	7	2	3	1	1	4	1	2.7	1	5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1.8	+1.2
FC	0	1	3	1	0	0	1	0.9	4	2	0	0	0	3	2	0	1.3	−0.4
CF	1	1	0	0	1	2	3	1.1	1	2	0	0	0	3	1	1	1.0	+0.1
C	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0.4	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0.2	+0.2
c	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.1	−0.1
C'	2	0	1	0	0	2	0	.7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	+0.7

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Upper: Tom Compton, May 1937. *Lower:* The Sun Dance field, July 1, 1937. Note the two old center poles, with the side posts of one lodge still standing. Compton's tent is in the center behind the brush screen. To the lower right is the hole excavated that morning.

Upper: Measuring radii to locate side-post holes from the center pole. July 3, 1937. *Lower:* Compton, stooped over, fixing the buffalo head onto the center pole. Tassitsie, right, is painting it. Note the Indian Service truck used to haul branches.

Upper: How the rafters are raised. Only one set of joined poles is being used here. *Lower:* Getting ready to lift the center pole. The tips of the rafters have been placed in the forks of the side posts; the east-running rafter is lying in the foregound.

Upper: Men putting up the side roof poles, July 3, 1937, 6:50 p. m. *Lower:* The brush wall being finished, July 3, 1937, 7:30 p. m.

Upper: Before dawn, July 4, 1937, 4:00 a. m. The orchestra at left and women singers, huddled in blankets, in center, in front of the log separating the secular from the sacred ground. Resting dancers dimly visible in the right rear. *Lower:* The dancers greet the rising sun. Details of the center pole are also visible here: the tying of the willow bundles, the pile of rocks, the digging stick, and the two black bands.

Upper: Another view of the dancers greeting the rising sun. Their blankets are at their feet. Compton, the man with the white-painted eyes, is second from the left in front. *Lower:* A third view of the sunrise ceremony, showing the spatial relations between the fire at the bottom right, the singers at the left, and the dancers.

Upper: The prayer songs around the fire. Compton is at the upper right, with face exposed. In prayer the dancers place their hands over their mouths, muffling their voices. The age of some of the dancers is evident from the white hair of the one at left center. *Lower:* Details of the orchestra and spectators. The singers are seated in a circle at the left. Just to the right of them may be seen the sagebrush branches in the hands of the women singers. Old men at right of center near the rope marking off the dancing ground. Most of the children at far right are preoccupied with things other than the Sun Dance. July 4, 1937, afternoon.

Upper: Dancing. Note the whistles in the dancers' mouths, the eagle plumes suspended from their little fingers. Most of them are resting in the sheds constructed that morning. The earth around the foot of the center pole is from the previous night's fire. July 5, early afternoon. *Lower:* Tired dancers. Compton at the left. Note that he is no longer painted and that he has changed his skirt. Observe the paintings on the cloth. July 5, 1937, early afternoon.