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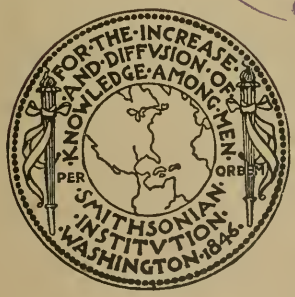

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The following narrative was obtained for me by Mack Haag near Calumet, Okla., in the summer of 1931. I have corrected the English slightly, but otherwise the narrative is given as written out by Haag. I hereby express my warmest thanks.

A few ethnological notes, appearing as footnotes, are added as an aid to the comprehension of the text. These are not exhaustive and are confined for the most part to published Cheyenne sources. Incidentally they bear witness to the authenticity of the narrative.

NARRATIVE

My mother is 80 years old and is still living in apparently good health. If my father were living he would be about 85 years old. I do not remember in what year he died. My father's sister is also dead. She died when she was 102 years old. This aunt of mine was the person who instructed me in all the ways of courtship.[1]

I want to mention an incident that was later told me by my mother. She said that I was taught to ride horseback alone when I was 4 years old. Of course, I do not remember this.

Whenever they moved camp I was tied onto the saddle. One day, they say, I, or rather the pony, was lagging behind. My saddle girth became loose, and I and the saddle were under the horse's belly. Luckily the pony was very gentle.

When I became an older girl I was rather expert in riding horseback. This was my greatest sport. I even rode untamed ponies. Of course, sometimes I was thrown off by ponies who bucked very badly.

Ever since I can remember I had a bed of my own in my parents' tipi.[2] This bed consisted of willow head and foot uprights.[3] My own bags were placed against the wall of the tipi. The wall of the bed also included buffalo hides.[4] My pillows were decorated with porcupine

[1] I do not know whether or not instruction in courtship, etc., given by a paternal aunt to her niece is institutional.

[2] The beds ranged around the walls of a Cheyenne tipi: see Grinnell, George Bird. The Cheyenne Indians, vol. 1, p. 225. New Haven, 1923.

[3] Compare Grinnell, loc. cit., vol. 1, pp. 242, 243, vol. 2, p. 365.

[4] See Grinnell, loc. cit., vol. 1, p. 225.

quills.[1] My bed was always placed farthest from the door of the tipi, a place of honor.[2]

My mother taught me everything connected with the tipi, such as cooking and tanning hides for different purposes. The first pair of moccasins I made were for my father. "You are very good in making moccasins," he said with a smile, "they are very nice." This encouraged me greatly.

My mother would show me how to twist the sinews, and how to cut the soles and uppers of the moccasins for different sizes. I became very competent in this work at an early age. I used to make moccasins for other children, beaded as well as plain ones. I was always well rewarded for my work by the parents of the children.

Whenever we moved camp I always managed to catch my own riding pony, and to pack my personal belongings on another pony which was used for that purpose only.

My mother would always tell me that the main purpose of her teaching me, as well as the object of my owning my own bed, was to keep me at home, and to keep me from being away to spend my nights with my girl chum. This was done so that there would be no chance for gossip by other people.

My parents were very proud of me. In fact they treated me as if I were a male member of the family. They took the greatest pains to have me well dressed. Even my saddle was decorated. I also owned an elk-tooth dress.[3] This was afforded by only a very few. And it was by no means considered obtained by luck, but by years of hard hunting.

One day when we were moving, my mother taught me how to put a pack on the pony. This was a new pony unaccustomed to being packed. I noticed it would not stand still. When we turned it loose with the other pack animals it ran away and caused much excitement.

Apart from the regular training my mother gave me, she made for me the paraphernalia of the deer-hoof bone game, which are strung and looped at the end of a string.[4] The game is played by girls; and after maturity young men and young women participate in the game, sitting in alternate places. I was rather an expert in this game. I was always placed near the door. This was because I was a good player. In the alternate positions the young men were recognized as sweethearts whether they actually were or not.

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[1] For pillows decorated with porcupine quills see Grinnell, loc. cit., vol. 2, p. 186.

[2] See Grinnell, loc. cit., vol. 1, p. 73.

[3] See Grinnell, loc. cit., vol. 1, p. 224.

[4] See Culin, Stewart, Games of the North American Indians, 24th Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethnol., pp. 527 et seq., and 529-533, 1907.

In my girlhood days we girls played what we called "tiny play." This play imitated the customs and ways of the grown-up people. Our mothers made rag dolls of women, men, boys, girls, and babies. We used forked sticks to represent ponies, and we mounted the tiny people on the fork of the sticks, pretending to move camp. Sometimes a baby would be born; or, a marriage would take place—in fact anything that we knew about older people. In this play we did not allow any boys to play with us girls. We had rag dolls to represent boys.

After a time as I became a little older we played what we called "large play."[1] This play consisted of real people, namely, boys and girls. The boys would go out hunting (really, go to their tipis) and bring meat and other food. We girls would pitch our tipis and make ready everything as if it were a real camp life. Some of the boys would go on the warpath, and always came home victorious. They would relate their war experiences, telling how successful they were, especially with the Pawnee (Wolf Men). We girls would sing war songs to acknowledge the bravery of our heroes. Of course, we would have marriage feasts, dances, etc. Sometimes we had the Sun Dance.[2] In this play we did not use real food, but baked mud bread and used leaves for dishes. The pledger and the woman were there. We would have our children's ears pierced[3] and gave away horses. Some of the boys would have their breasts pierced with cactus thorns, others dragged buffalo skulls (which were really chunks of dead wood). Sometimes the older boys would come. When we saw them we always stopped and scattered. My aunt told me not to play with young men.

At one time—I remember the incident well—while we were playing with boys some young men came upon us. One of them took after me and seized the sleeve of my dress and tore it off. I surely was frightened, not that I feared bodily injury, but because I thought, "Here is a young man trying to bestow his manly attentions on me." It all seemed so strange and bewildering to me. Eventually this young man would come and see me, to court me.[4] At first I was very much

[1] For a similar game among the Crow see Lowie, R., The material culture of the Crow Indians, Anthrop. Papers Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., vol. 21, pt. 3, p. 249, 1922.

[2] On the Cheyenne Sun Dance see Dorsey, G. A., The Cheyenne, II. The Sun Dance, Field Columbian Mus. Pub. 103, Anthrop. Ser., vol. 9, no. 2, 1905; Grinnell, loc. cit., vol. 2, pp. 211 et seq.; Petter, R., English-Cheyenne Dictionary, article "Sun Dance," pp. 1028-1030, Kettle Falls, Wash., 1913-1915.

[3] For ear-piercing see Grinnell, loc. cit., vol. 1, pp. 61, 62, 105-107, 149; vol. 2, p. 276; Petter, loc. cit., p. 181 (article "bred").

[4] According to Grinnell the modern Cheyenne courtship is like that of the Sioux; see loc. cit., vol. 1, pp. 131 et seq.

afraid to venture outside after dark. I would always ask my mother to accompany me before I would go out. My mother furnished me rawhide twine and a piece of hide to use as a diaper which was securely tied around my hips and pudendum. This was done to preserve my virtue against the attacks of an overanxious young man.[1]

My aunt (father's sister) had heard that a certain young man had begun to look upon me seriously. She came over and began to tell me what to say and how to act in the presence of this young man. She said:

I hear you are beginning to have admirers. Your father and mother have reared you with great care. Your father especially has seen to it that you have had good things to wear such as other girls of your age do not have. And your mother has taught you with great patience the art of things that each woman is supposed to know so that she might make a good and successful wife. As you go through life all these things and what I am now telling you will be of great benefit to you. You will be in a position to teach your children if you have any. It is silly to exchange too many glances and smiles with this young man, especially in the presence of people. He will think you are too easy and immoral. When he comes to see you at night you must never run away from him. If you do so this indicates that you are silly and not sufficiently taught and educated to respect the attentions of a suitor. You must never consent to marry your suitor the first time he asks you to marry him, no matter how good looking he may be. Tell him you would like to associate with him for some time yet to come. And if he really thinks anything of you he will not be discouraged, but will continue his visits and come to see you. When he comes at night do not let him stay too long, but ask him please to go. If you let him stay till he is ready to go he will think you are in love with him and will surely think less of you. You must always be sure to take great care to tie the hide under your dress, covering your pudendum, with strong raw hide string. You must remem-

[1] Compare Grinnell, loc. cit., vol. 1, p. 131. Though not exploited by modern ethnologists "roping" was common enough among Indians of the Great Plains; for the Sioux see Beckwith, M. W., Journ. Amer. Folk-Lore, 43, p. 361, footnote 2; for the Assiniboin see Denig, 46th Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethnol., p. 590; for the Arapaho, cf. Vestal, S., Kit Carson, p. 122; for the Cheyenne and Arapaho see also Dodge, Col. R. I., Our Wild Indians, pp. 195, 196, 203, 212, 213. For the benefit of those who are not specialists I am constrained to say that Colonel Dodge's book can be used only with discrimination. I pass over such absurdities as the statement (p. 204) that an unmarried girl is never sent out to cut and bring wood, etc., for these are easily controlled by general factual knowledge as well as numerous documentary sources of information. Much more subtle than this are various statements regarding sex mores which are scattered throughout the book. The trained ethnologist will see that they are incompatible (see for example, pp. 195, 196, 203, 208, 211, 213 as opposed to pp. 210, 213); the casual reader will not. It is largely owing to the uncritical use of such sources that the main thesis of Briffault's The Mothers cannot be sustained. I lay stress on this because zoologists will pounce upon this work to bolster their own theories regarding human social origins (see now Miller, G. S., jr., The primate basis of human behavior, Quart. Rev. Biol., vol. 6, pp. 379-410).

ber that when a man touches your breasts and vulva he considers that you belong to him.[1] And in the event that he does not care to marry you he will not hide what he has done to you, and you will be considered immoral. And you will not have a chance to marry into a good family. In short, you will not be purchased, which is surely the ambition of all young women.[2] What I mean by marrying into a good family is that the young man's people are not liars, thieves, or lazy, nor have they committed any offensive crime. If you allow the young man to take advantage of you willingly he will make jokes and sing songs with words about you. The people will know and we will be embarrassed and ashamed, especially since you have been brought up and taught in a good way. You must also bear in mind that there will be other young men who will come to see you. They will want to find out if you will succomb easily. If they are serious and approach the subject of marriage, turn them off by saying something nice about the young man who had been seeing you previously. In any case, you must never say anything bad or call any one names, nor remark on their looks or on the poverty of their people. The old saying is, "The birds of the air fly up above but are caught some day."[3] If you say bad things or call one bad names, the one insulted will crawl into the tipi and fondle you while you are asleep;[4] and he will boast of knowing you. It will also be considered that the man is then your husband. Your denial will not help you. You will be placed at the mercy of gossipers.

After I had reached the age of young womanhood, I was not single very much longer. One afternoon I was visiting my girl chum. When I came home that evening there were a number of old men in my father's tipi; I also noticed much fresh meat. I asked my mother

[1] For touching the breasts compare for the Crow, Lowie, R., The Sun Dance of the Crow Indians, Anthrop. Papers Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., vol. 16, p. 42, 1915; for the Thompson Indians, Teit, J., The Thompson Indians of British Columbia, Mem. Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., Anthrop., vol. 1, Jesup N. Pac. Exp., vol. 1, pt. 4, pp. 323, 324, 1900; for the Lillooet, Teit, J., The Lillooet Indians, Mem. Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., Anthrop., vol. 3, Jesup N. Pac. Exp., vol. 2, pt. 5, p. 268, 1906; for the Shuswap, Teit, J., ibid., pt. 7, p. 591, 1909; for the feeling of ownership after touching the vulva, I have abundant confirmatory statements from various Cheyenne informants; see also Beckwith, loc. cit.; cf. also Czaplicka, M. A., Aboriginal Siberia, Oxford, pp. 84, 87, 1914.

[2] Compare also Lowie, R., Primitive society, New York, 1920; Dorsey, J. O., Siouan sociology, 15th Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethnol., p. 242, 1897, quotes Matthew to the effect that among the Hidatsa the woman is not merely sold to the highest bidder. Among the Fox Indians of today the exchange of goods is the important point; it is not purchase.

[3] As is known, proverbs, charades, the story within the story, the riddle, animal tales of the type of "The Fox and the Crow" are either unknown or very rare in aboriginal America.

[4] A similar trick was done among the Crow Indians; but the guilty man thereby was automatically barred from leadership in the white clay expedition of the Sun Dance. See Lowie, R., Social life of the Crow Indians, Anthrop. Papers Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., vol. 9, pt. 2, p. 221, 1912; The Sun Dance of the Crow Indians, ibid., p. 42. For the same trick among the Sioux, See Beckwith, loc. cit.

what it was all about, and what those old men were here for. She said, " My daughter, these men are here to deliver a message, asking the consent of your father that you marry a male of their family.' And I want to tell you that your father has consented. However, he will speak to you later." My father said to me, " My daughter, these men have come here to ask my consent to your marriage. Five horses and other things will be sent over in the morning. I have consented. Now I myself want to hear what you think." I made no reply. I was frightened. But at any rate the horses were brought over the next morning. My male relatives were called to select their horses, but before doing that they called me in and asked me what I thought. My paternal uncle started to talk to me saying how well my parents had brought me up, and stated that marriage by purchase was considered one of the greatest and happiest events in one's life.[2] He said, " I know that this is your father's desire. As you can see, he is getting on in years. His eyesight is not very good. This young man will look after the necessary work for your father. However, we do not wish to do anything against your will. Now, let us hear from you." I then said to them, " Since my father has consented to the offer of marriage by purchase, I also agree to the proposed marriage. I love my father, and whatever he deems best for me, that I will do. I cannot refuse my father's wishes for those reasons." [3] They were all glad to hear me, showing it by their sincere approval.

They then proceeded to select their own horses, one at a time. They were all good saddle horses. They in turn gave their own horses. My people saddled one of the horses on which I rode over to my future husband's people, leading the four other horses. My future husband's women folk met me near their camps and I dismounted. They carried me on the blanket the rest of the way, and let me down at the entrance of my future husband's tipi. I walked in and sat beside him. This young man was no sweetheart of mine; he was a stranger to me: he never had come to see me when I was still single. I wondered if I would learn to love him in the future. After some little time the women brought in many shawls, dresses, rings, bracelets, leggings, and moccasins. They then had me change clothes. They braided my hair [4] and painted my face with red dots on my cheeks. When I was completely arrayed in my marriage clothes I was told

[1] On Cheyenne marriage see Grinnell, loc. cit., vol. 1, pp. 137 et seq.

[2] See footnote 2, on page 5.

[3] If Grinnell is right, this reply is not institutional but personal. From my own field-work among the Plains Cree, I can vouch that there at least the girl has the final say.

[4] For the braiding of the hair of Cheyenne females see Grinnell, loc. cit., vol. 1, pp. 59, 60.

to return to my people. My husband's women folk carried the balance of my clothing to my tipi. In the meantime my mother and aunt had prepared a large feast. Towards evening my own tipi was erected. The cryer called in a loud voice inviting all my husband's relatives, naming my husband as the host. My husband came over with his male relatives. While there they told jokes, and some related their war exploits; still others narrated funny things that had happened to them in the earlier days.

After I was married I thought I would have more freedom in going around with my girl friends, but my mother watched me more closely and kept me near my husband, day and night. This was done to prevent any gossip from my husband's people.

A year or so before I married we played games. In the fall of the year we played "kick ball."[1] This is played by kicking and counting the number of times the ball is kicked with one foot with the ball not touching the ground. Some girls could keep the ball in the air with a tally of 50 or 60. We had tally sticks to keep count, 150 of them. The side that won took the ball. The losers ran away from the winners who chased the losers all about the camp, pounding them on the back with the ball. This created merriment and excitement. Even those who did not participate in the "kick ball" game were tagged and became "it." A person tagged before could not become "it." The losers were supposed to give food to the winners, and so the game ended.

There was another game played by us young women on the frozen lake or river. We had dart sticks 10 or 12 feet long, smooth and straight. In one end of the dart sticks was the tip of a buffalo horn, about 4 inches long. The dart stick was thrown with great force on the ice and it slid a great distance.[2] This was a sort of gambling game. We bet our ear rings, finger rings, bracelets, hair-braid ties, and other things.

In the spring of the year we played shinny, using clubs to drive the ball. There were 20 to 40 players on each side.[3]

With the approach of summer our attention was directed to horseback riding. Even after I was married my husband and I would travel on horseback. It was a long time before we had a wagon.

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[1] See Culin, loc. cit., p. 706; Grinnell, loc. cit., vol. 1, pp. 330 et seq.; Petter, loc. cit., p. 831.

[2] See Culin, loc. cit., pp. 399, 400, 401; Grinnell, loc. cit., vol. 1, pp. 334. 335; Petter, loc. cit., p. 830.

[3] See Culin, loc. cit., p. 620; Petter, loc. cit., p. 828.

My parents continued to care for us.[1] My mother did all the cooking,[2] but my husband's meals were always taken to our own tipi. This was for me to do. My mother and my husband were not allowed in the same tipi at the same time.[3] My mother took especial care that my husband received the best portion of food. My husband's duty was to look after the horses and do all the work that was required of a man.

We had our first child after we had been married a year. It was at this time that I began really to love my husband. He always treated me with respect and kindness. We had eight children before he died. The first decorated tipi I made was after I had had my fourth child.[4] Of course when I was a girl my mother permitted me to look on when

[1] Matrilocal residence is attested for the Cheyenne by both Grinnell (loc. cit., vol. 1, p. 91) and Mooney (with the qualification "not always"; see his The Cheyenne Indians, Mem. Amer. Anthrop. Assoc., vol. 1, pt. 6, pp. 410, 411, 1907). It is confirmed by my own field-work. Matrilocal residence is a very different thing from exogamy with female descent. This last is claimed for the Cheyenne by Grinnell: see his Social Organization of the Cheyennes, Proc. Internat. Cong. Americanists for 1902, pp. 135-146, New York, 1905; The Cheyenne Indians, vol. 1, pp. 90 et seq., New Haven, 1923: per contra see Clark, W. P., The Indian sign language, p. 229, Philadelphia, 1885 [Mooney's reference to p. 235 also, is due to some error]; Mooney, J., The Ghost Dance religion, 14th Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethnol., p. 956, 1896; Mooney, J., Kiowa calendar, 17th Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethnol., p. 227, 1898; Mooney, J., The Cheyenne Indians, Mem. Amer. Anthrop. Assoc., vol. 1, pt. 6, pp. 408-410, 1907. I do not think it can be said that Grinnell has successfully contested Mooney's strictures. My own field-work among the Cheyenne (beginning in 1911) confirms Mooney's position by statements of informants and genealogies. I wonder if Grinnell's informants may not have had Crow blood and thus given a wrong impression, for the Crow are organized in exogamic groups with female descent. In justice to Grinnell it should be noted that he expressly states that "evidence of a clan system is not conclusive."

[2] For other courtesies shown by a Cheyenne mother-in-law to her son-in-law, see Grinnell, The Cheyenne Indians, vol. 1, pp. 146, 147, New Haven, 1923.

[3] Though this particular avoidance is only implied by Grinnell, loc. cit. vol. 1, p. 147, there is no doubt that it was institutional among the Cheyenne: the same thing occurs among the Assiniboin, Blackfoot, Gros Ventre, and probably elsewhere: see E. T. Denig, Indian Tribes of the Upper Missouri, 46th Ann., Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethnol., p. 511, 1930; Kroeber, A., Ethnology of the Gros Ventre, Anthrop. Papers Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., vol. 1, pt. 4, p. 180, 1908; Wissler, C., The social life of the Blackfoot Indians, Anthrop. Papers Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., vol. 7, pt. 1, pp. 12, 13, 1911.

[4] Four is the "holy" number among the Cheyenne. See Dorsey, G. A., The Cheyenne, I, Ceremonial organization, Field Columbian Mus. Publ. 99, Anthrop. Ser., vol. 9, no. 1, pp. 1, 3, 5, 7, 10, 11, 12, 16, 19, 20, 23, 28, 32, 33, 1905; II, The Sun Dance, Field Columbian Mus. Publ. 103, Anthrop. Ser., vol. 9, no. 2, pp. 60, 63, 91, 96, 99, 100, 144, 159, etc., 1905; Grinnell, loc. cit., vol. 2, pp. 197, 205, 214, 227, 228, 229, 236, 237, 245, 251, 257, 288, 289, 291, 292, 297, 321, etc.; Mooney,

she made decorated tipis. There is a rather long ceremony in connection with the making of tipis. I became a member of the "Tipi Decorators," which is composed of women only.[1] I was very carefully instructed never to disclose the ceremony in the presence of males. So I shall be obliged to discontinue the subject.

My husband's health became broken. We summoned many Indian doctors, and gave away much personal wearing apparel, and also some ponies. One day when we were alone he pledged a Sacrifice Offering. This ceremony is a sacred ritual which is regarded as a prayer to the spirits for strength and health. When he made the pledge this included me, for the rule requires that a wife must be included. But sad to say, he passed away before we could carry out the pledge.

Four of my younger children also died later. It was a good thing for me that my father and mother were still living. I did not really have a hard time to support my children.

I surely loved my husband. His death made me very lonely, and it was a terrible event in my life. Apparently I missed him more than I did my children who died afterward. My hair was cut off just below my ears.[2] This was done by an old woman who had obtained the authority by participating in one or more sacred ritualistic ceremonies previously. Before cutting off my braids she first raised both her hands towards the sky, touched the earth with the palms of her hands, laid her hands on my head, and made a downward motion, repeating the motion four times. Thus my braids were cut off in accordance with the belief that the spirits would be pleased and extend blessings and sympathy to the bereaved. The old woman who cut my hair was given a blanket and a dress.

The death of my husband marked the passing of our tipi, including all the contents. If people do not come and carry away something, the whole tipi is destroyed by fire.[3]

J., The Cheyenne Indians, Mem. Amer. Anthrop. Assoc., vol. 1, pt. 6, p. 411, 1907. It is extremely common among North American Indians, but Mooney's generalization is too sweeping; see for example, Lowie, R., Primitive religion, p. 284, New York, 1924.

This note applies to all the references to the number four in the following pages.

[1] See Grinnell, loc. cit., vol. 1, pp. 159 et seq., for female societies among the Cheyenne; also Petter, loc. cit., article "bead," pp. 97, 98.

[2] Compare Grinnell, loc. cit., vol. 2, p. 161. The same thing occurs elsewhere, *e. g.*, among the Arapaho, Gros Ventre, and Blackfoot: see Kroeber, A., The Arapaho, Bull. Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., vol. 18, pt. 1, p. 16, 1902; Kroeber A., Ethnology of the Gros Ventre, Anthrop. Papers Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., vol. 1, pt. 4, p. 181, 1908; Wissler, C., The social life of the Blackfoot Indians, Anthrop. Papers Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., vol. 7, pt. 1, p. 31, 1912.

[3] See also Grinnell, loc. cit., vol. 2, p. 162.

After two years I heard that a man had pledged a Sacrifice Offering.[1] My father and mother immediately advised me to go and see this man in order to be permitted to fulfill my deceased husband's pledge. My father said the pledge could not be set aside and neglected any longer, in spite of what had happened in the past.[2] So I went to see this man and his wife. They readily agreed to my request. They told me to be ready soon thereafter. They said they had everything that was needed in connection with the ceremony and that I need not worry about these things. They also said he had taken the sacred pipe to the priest to teach and lead them. This pleased me greatly as I had nothing to do now, and only waited to be notified when all was ready. The day before the ceremony proper green timbers were brought from the forest in order to have them in readiness for the following day. The day the timber is brought in the tipi is erected, that is, in the evening.

The ritualistic ceremony itself begins early the next day. The pledgers are required to dress in their best clothing. The clothing thus worn becomes the property of the painters. The first thing the priest does is to prepare the Sacrifice Offering cloth. Though other things can be used, such as black, white, red solid-colored or striped cloth—and gray eagle also—we used a striped cloth which the priest tied to a long stick. This is, of course, inside of the tipi. After this the priest smokes the medicine pipe and points the mouthpiece of the pipe to the four directions of the earth and towards the skies. The pipe is then passed to the left. The first person on the left of the priest smokes it, and so on, down to the doorway. The pipe is then passed backward without being smoked and is passed to the right of the priest until it reaches the last person near the doorway. This person smokes it, then the next person on his left, and so on until the pipe again reaches the priest. He then empties the bowl of the pipe. The pipe is then put away. The priest instructs the pledgers how to raise and point the stick to the proper directions when they go out. They then go outside. The person in the lead takes the stick and cloth. The priest begins to pray, and then sings medicine songs. At the end of each song he tells those outside to point the stick southeast, then southwest, then northwest, then northeast, and then straight

[1] Though this particular ceremony apparently is absent from published works on the Cheyenne, it is abundantly clear that the elements which compose it are simply old Cheyenne material recombined in slightly varying ways. The annotations will bring this out more clearly. Years ago I demonstrated the same thing for Fox gens festivals.

[2] The nonfulfillment of a pledge was fraught with supernatural disaster; compare Grinnell, loc. cit., vol. 2, p. 195.

towards the sky. Anyone may then take the cloth and touch one's body all over with it, thereby receiving a blessing from the spirits.

They then reenter the tipi. The ground is then broken by making dents in the earth four times, in the same manner as the pointing previously. The ground is made very smooth, and a hole is made for a fireplace in the center. Clean white sand is then laid on this clearing, representing the sky.[1] The coals of fire are scattered here and there, representing stars. There are four holy places on the sand, the home of the spirits; and the holes are made in the same sequence of directions as given above. The path from the entrance into the tipi is marked with powdered coals towards the fireplace. A full moon[2] is between the fireplace and the entrance. Beyond the fireplace is the crescent moon.[3] These moons are made of black powdered coals. There are four buffalo chips[4] placed in front of the priest. The medicine bags are placed on top of the buffalo chips before they are untied and opened. Before they are opened the priest spits medicine on one's hands four times, and passing motions are made, first using the right hand by making a drawing motion on the right leg, then the left hand on the right arm, next the right hand on the left arm, then the left hand on the right leg; and both hands backwards over the head.[5] This is required for old people. Young women are required to make a downward motion in front of their bodies, indicating an easy child-birth.

The pledgers are stripped of their clothing. The painters paint their bodies red; but in the case of women their arms and legs are painted, but not their bodies, and their faces are painted red with black circles all over; others have the paint represent the ground, namely, four black specks on the face and middle of the nose. When the painting is done, coals of fire are taken from the fireplace. Pinches of medicine are placed on fire which is in front of each person. Motion is made with both hands towards the smoke, and inhalation takes place. During the performance the priest sings medicine songs, one song for each performance. When all is done the pipe is pointed[6] to the four directions without being lit, and after it

[1] For the ceremonial use of sand compare Dorsey, G. A., loc. cit., vol. 2, p. 65; Grinnell, loc. cit., vol. 2, p. 261.

[2] For the ceremonial use of a full moon compare Grinnell, loc. cit., vol. 1, p. 196.

[3] For the ceremonial use of the crescent moon compare Grinnell, loc. cit., vol. 1, p. 193; vol. 2, pp. 24, 270.

[4] For the ceremonial use of buffalo chips compare Grinnell, loc. cit., vol. 1, pp. 87, 121; vol. 2, pp. 18, 32, 37, 57, 245; etc.

[5] The ceremonial motions described by Grinnell, loc. cit., vol. 1, p. 160, are nearly the same.

[6] For pointing the pipe, compare Grinnell, loc. cit., vol. 2, p. 270.

is lit it is again pointed to the four directions. After the pipe is emptied the priest calls the pledger to come before him. The priest holds the pipe in his right hand; he spits on the outstretched right hand. The pledger then grasps the stem of the pipe held by the priest with the bowl towards the ground. The pledger clasps the hand of the priest, and both hold the stem of the pipe. The pledger gently pulls the pipe towards himself four times. The fourth time the priest lets go. The pledger takes the pipe, first placing it on his right breast, then on the left, then right, then left; he hands the pipe back to the priest. He makes drawing motions over his limbs as before, and then proceeds to touch the holy ground exactly as with the drawing motions. After this, all may touch the holy ground. This terminates the ceremony in the tipi.

All this time the Sacrifice Offering cloth and the stick leaned against the breast of the tipi, and green timbers leaned against the back of the tipi. The women now take charge of the timbers, and proceed to build a sweat lodge.[1] The first two timbers are planted on the east and the two on the west; these sets are about 2 feet apart. Then the remaining timbers, about 13, are put in the ground, forming a circle about 8 feet in circumference. This will accommodate about 15 persons. A round hole is made in the center of the sweat lodge. This is a place for hot stones; it is about 2 feet in circumference and 1 foot deep. The dirt taken from the excavation is placed about 20 feet towards the east of the entrance, and is made into a small mound.[2] This mound and the sweat lodge are connected by a trail. Then a young cottonwood tree[3] is placed in the ground in an upright position near, but east of, the mound. A buffalo skull[4] is then placed against the mound; it is on the west slope[5] and faces the sweat lodge. The skull is painted with black and red paint: the horns are blackened, and the region around the nose is painted red; a black streak runs from the back of the head to the tip of the nose.[6]

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[1] See especially Petter, loc. cit., article "sweat lodge"; for the use of sweat lodges in religious ceremonies see also Lowie, Primitive religion, p. 195, New York, 1924.

[2] Compare Grinnell, loc cit., vol. 2, p. 103.

[3] For the ceremonial use of cottonwood trees, see Grinnell, loc. cit., vol. 1, p. 95; vol. 2, pp. 229-232, 259, 287.

[4] For the use of a buffalo skull in combination with a sweat lodge, see Grinnell, loc. cit., vol. 2, p. 103.

[5] For the localization of the buffalo skull on the west slope, compare Grinnell, loc. cit., vol. 2, p. 294.

[6] The buffalo skull is painted nearly as in the Sun Dance; compare Dorsey, G. A., loc. cit., vol. 2, pp. 96, 97; in part compare Grinnell, loc. cit., vol. 2, p. 33.

The wife of the pledger carries the skull from the tipi to the mound.[1] She carries it in a stooping position, very carefully and slowly. Five stones are then selected. Two are painted black, a third is not painted, the last two are also painted black. After this they are not handled with the hands, but are put in place with forked sticks between the mound and the sweat lodge, a little to the south of the trail. Motions are made with the hands four times towards the stones before the stones are forked. These stones are placed in the same manner as the holy places within the tipi but are closer together, the fifth stone being in the center. The dried wood and other stones are then placed without any ceremony. However, before fire is added to the heap, the heap is touched four times with a fork in the same manner as the stones. In the meanwhile the women cover the hut with heavy canvas. Blankets, fine clothing, and other things are placed on top of the canvas. These become the property of the priest and his helpers (who are the painters). The property is divided according to what the priest and his helpers gave when they were pledgers. If one or more horses are given away, the ceremony is conducted in the daytime. If not, it is conducted at night.

The priest and pledger enter the sweat lodge with the paint still on them and go over the ceremony as in the tipi, except that they remove the paints put on by the painters, using sage[2]; water is drunk, and their bodies are washed. When the hot stones are brought in, two are brought in first, then one, then two. They then are placed in the same order as they were before they were heated. The remaining stones are then brought in. The sweat bath now begins. The priest utters a prayer and sings songs. The doorflap is raised; also the rear is raised, thus airing the bather. This is done four times, and each period lasts about 20 minutes. When this is over we all go back into the tipi, when our relatives bring in all kinds of food for us to eat. Before we eat, bits of food are placed on the holy ground and drawing motions on the body are performed. We then proceed to eat. The sacred medicine bag is in a crescent shape[3]; it is made out of raw hide. The inner bag is an entire prairie dog skin which contains the sacred herbs.

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[1] For the pledger's wife carrying the buffalo skull, see Dorsey, G. A., loc. cit., vol. 2, pp. 107, 108; Grinnell, loc. cit., vol. 2, p. 291.

[2] The use of sage for ceremonial purposes is common enough. See Dorsey, G. A., loc. cit., vol. 2, p. 159; Grinnell, loc. cit., vol. 2, p. 423.

[3] See footnote 3, on page 11.