

ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS  
OF  
THE AMERICAN MUSEUM  
OF NATURAL HISTORY

VOL. XXI, PART III

THE MATERIAL CULTURE OF THE CROW INDIANS

BY

ROBERT H. LOWIE

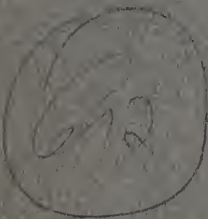


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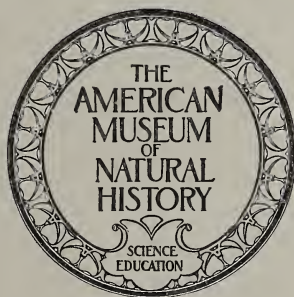
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### PREFACE.

During repeated visits to the Crow Reservation, beginning in 1907 and ending in 1916, my attention was directed almost wholly to the social and religious aspects of Crow culture. Incidentally, of course, a certain amount of information was secured as to industrial and economic activities. Since there is now little likelihood of my resuming work among the Crow, I offer my notes, together with data derived from earlier travelers and a study of museum material, as a quite unpretentious contribution to the comparative study of the material culture of the Plains area. I have added a number of data on miscellaneous topics, which could not be conveniently embodied in previous papers.

The drawings are the work of Mr. Rudolf Weber.

January 1, 1921.

ROBERT H. LOWIE.





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## ECONOMIC LIFE.

*General.* The Crow were a typical hunting tribe depending primarily on the chase of large game. They did not cultivate the ground at all except in connection with their Tobacco ceremony, which, together with the horticultural technique employed, has been described in a previous paper. The fairly frequent references to corn in the tales either



Fig. 1. Drying of Chokecherries.

occur in stories avowedly dealing with Hidatsa heroes or reflect the period of renewed contact with the Hidatsa, from whom of course corn, beans, and squashes were then obtained in trade or through gifts.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>In this respect the last sentences of a separation story may be taken as representing a typical practice.

But, while not tillers of the soil, the Crow women, like those of other tribes, supplied a certain amount of vegetable food, digging up roots with their digging-sticks (*batsipe*), gathering berries, and so forth. A partial enumeration of the plants used is given in one of the tales and there are fairly frequent references to the digging of the wild turnip (*ihé*) or other roots.<sup>1</sup> Wild rhubarb and various berries were collected jointly by parties of girls and their sweethearts.<sup>2</sup> Strawberries and sarvisberries also are mentioned in the tales, and of other fruit there were of course wild plums and chokecherries.<sup>3</sup> The latter are spread in a handful on a stone and pounded up with a stone maul, pits and all, then the mass is drawn out into elongated pastry forms left in the sun to dry. (Fig. 1.) These are called *barútskitùə* or *bàtsura'tsitùə*. Wild grapes (*naxpitsé ictáce*) were eaten from the bush but also made into a pudding.

One informant said the Crow never ate mice, moles, rats, snakes, water-snakes (*mā'katsk'*), frogs, turtles (*masáxe*), and muskrats. All the tribes to the west likewise abstained from turtle flesh. The Crow further did not eat owls. Skunks were eaten by men when on war parties. Badgers were eaten. "I have heard of some people who ate wolves, but have never done so myself." As stated elsewhere (p. 221), dogs were not eaten except ceremonially in a recently introduced dance, and only sparsely then. There is a reference in mythology to dogs being eaten by people at a time of starvation, but at this point the narrator explained that they were Hidatsa.<sup>4</sup>

*Hunting.* The individual method of stalking deer was evidently practised, since it is circumstantially described in a folk tale, in which the hero makes for himself a buckskin mask with horns, approaches deer in this guise at their watering-place, and dispatches two head. Economically of course the communal hunt was more significant. Of the four methods of hunting buffalo enumerated by Wissler as having been in vogue<sup>5</sup> the Crow practised three,—the surround, impounding, and driving over a cliff.

The surround was the most recent of these, being dependent on the use of horses. It was also used for capturing deer, as described in a previous paper.<sup>7</sup> There are several accounts in the older literature. I will quote a clipping in my possession, the reproduction in a Boston paper of a Montana Letter to the Philadelphia *Times*; the date is uncertain:

<sup>1</sup>Lowie, (f), 18, 53, 187, 224, 256, 259.

<sup>2</sup>Lowie, (b), 221; (f), 191.

<sup>3</sup>Lowie, (f), 43, 254, 268.

<sup>4</sup>Lowie, (f), 100.

<sup>5</sup>Lowie, (f), 131.

<sup>6</sup>Wissler, (a), 47.

<sup>7</sup>Lowie, (h), 357.

It was the great annual hunt of the Crows. The Indians had had their scouts out for weeks in the region north of the Yellowstone, massing the small scattered herds into one large body by a method similar to that used in rounding up cattle. Having got together a herd of perhaps five thousand, they began to push them forward slowly toward the Yellowstone Valley, not stampeding the animals, but forming a semi-circle of horsemen around nearly twenty miles of country, and showing themselves here and there to keep the animals from straying, and to move them forward in the desired direction. Couriers were sent to the Crow village, and soon the whole tribe was in motion for a small piece of bottom land on the river, half surrounded by an amphitheatre of hills. Beyond the hilltops the squaws, children, and old men were stationed with some of the ponies and with red blankets. The most skilful hunters posted themselves, mounted, by the riverside. About noon the great herd, urged on by the scouts, came thundering down the hills into the bottom. Then the people on the hills closed up their line behind them, and the hunters dashed into the herd and began the slaughter. Whenever the animals would stampede toward the hills they would be driven back by the squaws waving the red blankets. The hunters rode to and fro, with wonderful skill, evading the charges of wounded bulls, and carrying on the slaughter with little more trouble than they would have had in a drove of cattle. When their ponies were exhausted they rode up the hills and got fresh ones from the squaws. After two or three hours of this kind of work the chief gave a signal, the line on the hills opened a gap, and the survivors of the herd were allowed to escape. About five hundred animals were killed in all. The tepees were set up and the village feasted for a month, while the squaws skinned the dead beasts, tanned the hides, and dried the meat.

In the myths several hundred elk are represented as being driven down a cliff, and the same method is ascribed to Yellow-dog when leading a buffalo hunt. Antelope, deer, and buffalo are mentioned as being impounded. Old-Man-Coyote is made to show the Crow "a method of catching antelope by a sloping ridge leading to a corral. On each side people were posted and shook robes at the animals to frighten them in."<sup>1</sup>

Since the buffalo drive was generally associated with shamanistic practices, descriptions have been given in another place.<sup>2</sup> Here it suffices to call attention to a few points of comparative interest. The method was applied especially in the fall and varied according to circumstances. Where the cliffs were very high, the herd was merely driven between two converging lines of men and women so as to leap down the precipice and be killed. Where the bank was of moderate height—about eight feet in the instance described—the buffalo were made to leap into a corral in which a space was left open to permit the dragging forth of a buffalo for butchering. In the accounts of buffalo-charming nothing is said about converging rock piles, but they were explicitly mentioned by

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<sup>1</sup>Lowie, (f), 19, 104, 262, 283, 308.

<sup>2</sup>Lowie, (h), 359.

the oldest woman on the Reservation and also in a description of a deer drive. For catching deer a corral was erected on level ground.

The following summary of Crow methods of hunting is worth quoting:—

When their families are in want of provision, or desirous of having a hunt, one of the principal men, who might be called the *trumpeter*, will mount a horse and ride around through the encampment, village, or settlement, and publicly proclaim that on a stated day the whole tribe must be prepared for a general hunt, or *surround*. When the day arrives the village is alive betimes in the morning, and several hundred will sometimes mount their race-horses, repair to a certain designated section of country, which they are to surround. When the men have all had time to get to their allotted stations, they begin to close in, driving the game, principally buffalo, into a circle, and when they are pretty well confined in the circle they commence killing them—until which time no man dare attempt to take any of the game. In this manner they have sometimes caught several hundred buffalo, besides many other animals, at a single surround.

When they are in a country suitable, these people will destroy the buffalo by driving a herd of some hundreds to the edge of a convenient rocky precipice, when they are forced headlong down the craggy descent. This is more dangerous than the other method, as the buffalo, unless the Indians are very numerous, will sometimes rush in a solid column through their ranks, knocking down the horses and tramping the riders under their feet.

They have another method of taking the buffalo, which is in this way:—If they know of a place at the base of some mountain that is surrounded on three sides with inaccessible precipices, and a level valley leading into it, they manage to drive the whole gang of buffalo into this neck and force them up to its termination, when they erect a strong fence across the valley, or outlet, and then butcher their prisoners at leisure.

In a place of this kind I was shown by the chief Grizzly Bear, upwards of seven hundred buffalo skulls which he said had been caught at a single hunt, and which had taken place about four years previous.<sup>1</sup>

*Cooking.* Stone-boiling in rawhide containers was doubtless in vogue in the old days, as mentioned by Curtis,<sup>2</sup> but I failed to find any individual conversant with the process from personal experience. It was designated as *bir-áx-detá waritsítuá*, potless boiling. A rawhide jug for boiling is mentioned in the Grandson myth, while in another version a stone kettle is substituted by the narrator; in another tale a kettle is of soapstone and there are vaguer references to “jugs” or “kettles” or “buckets,” which I believe to be merely different renderings of the term *bir-áxe*, also used for a drum.<sup>3</sup> I can find no evidence for the former use of earthenware vessels.

<sup>1</sup>Leonard, 260 f.

<sup>2</sup>Curtis, vol. 4, 21.

<sup>3</sup>Lowie, (f), 54, 72, 32, 52, 219.



Of other methods, roasting is frequently mentioned, especially of ribs; cooking in the ashes occurs, and in a purely legendary cannibalistic

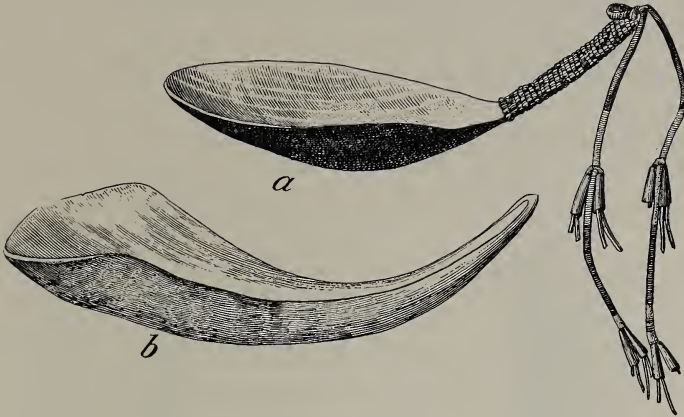


Fig. 2. *ab* (50.1-702, 4002). Horn Spoons.

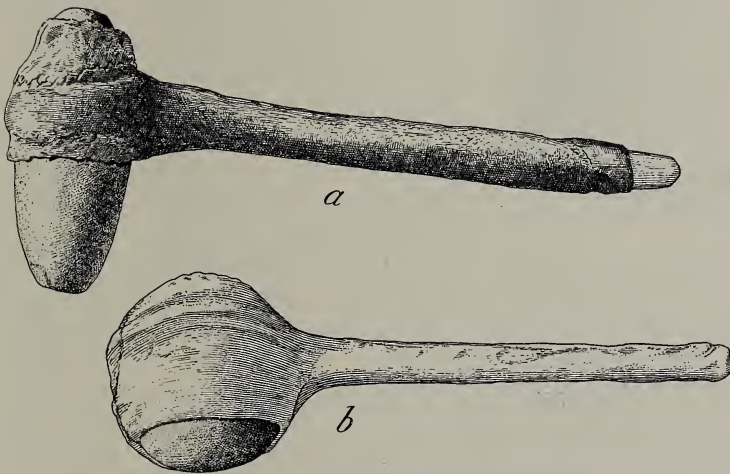


Fig. 3. *ab* (50.1-4004, 720). *a*, Stone Tool; *b*, Stone Maul.

tale there occurs a somewhat circumstantial description of the steaming process.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Lowie, (*f*), 75, 172, 218, 234, 134, 89.

## IMPLEMENTS AND UTENSILS.

Most of the aboriginal tools were supplanted so rapidly by metal equivalents introduced by white traders that very few specimens are nowadays obtainable. The tales refer to knives of chipped stone; stone or bone arrowheads; stone mauls; an awl of unspecified material; and a drill made from the heated prong of an elk antler and used to perforate wood.<sup>1</sup> An antler wedge struck with a stone hammer figured prominently in the Sun dance.<sup>2</sup> The use of flint for firemaking is referred to elsewhere. For sharpening knives the Crow are said to have used a white stone, *bi-réaxe*, which they carried in little bags secured to their belts.

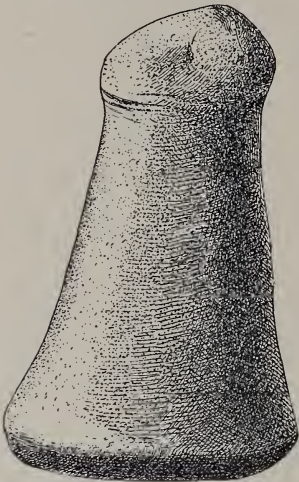


Fig. 4. (50.1-3990). Stone Cherry Pounder.

The implements used in fighting and for dressing skins will be described under the appropriate headings. Of other stone and bone tools the mauls used in breaking ones to obtain the marrow (Fig. 2b) closely resemble those of the Blackfoot in both shape and hafting.<sup>3</sup> A similarly hafted but quite differently formed, pointed stone tool, differs from the egg-shaped Blackfoot maul of Wissler's picture in the magnitude of the exposed stone surface. (Fig. 2a.) For pounding cherries the women used even in my time pestle-shaped stone hammers (Fig. 3) while the fruit was placed on an unworked flat stone anvil, though Curtis mentions mortars hollowed out of stone in this connection.<sup>4</sup>

There is no ordinary bone awl in the Museum's collections, but a steel awl mounted in an antler handle is shown in Fig. 5 and a tiny bone awl forming part of the Sun dance Doll bundle has been figured in a previous publication.<sup>5</sup>

The fire-drill passed out of use long ago. A rather poor model obtained from Sitting-elk (Fig. 5) is nevertheless remarkable in proving that a compound shaft after the Shoshoni fashion was at least sometimes used.<sup>6</sup> According to Three-wolves, the ancient Crow used a hearth of driftwood (*bar'axià*) and for the drill a sharpened stick of the kind of

<sup>1</sup>Lowie, (f), 18, 78, 189, 219, 295.  
<sup>2</sup>Lowie, (d), 32; Curtis, vol. 4, 69.  
<sup>3</sup>Wissler, (a), 21.  
<sup>4</sup>Curtis, vol. 4, 176.  
<sup>5</sup>Lowie, (d), 19.  
<sup>6</sup>Lowie, (a), 189.

wood employed in cleaning a pipe bowl, to wit, *iptsi'tsixaxe*. Buffalo-dung or rotten sagebrush bark was sprinkled for tinder. Another informant said the hearth was of cottonwood, the drill of wild-grape (*naxpitséc ictáciá*) or sagebrush (*ʔsask'axūwe*) wood. Drilling wood for



Fig. 5. (50.1-3934). Steel Awl.



Fig. 6. (50.1-3929a). Model of a Fire-drill.

fire-making was called *manūpaxūá*. Burning buffalo-chips were sometimes impaled on sticks to save the trouble of making fire anew.

Drilling fire is regarded as an invention of Old-Man-Coyote's and is mentioned several times in the folk tales, but the use of flint (*biritāre*) is also alluded to.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Lowie, (f), 18, 27, 28, 234.

Wooden bowls served as plates, as indicated in the folk tales.<sup>1</sup> I never saw any that were so used, but collected a bowl used in a dice game (Fig. 17o) and another made from an elder knot, in which Tobacco seeds had been mixed before the ceremonial planting.<sup>2</sup> In 1910 I ob-

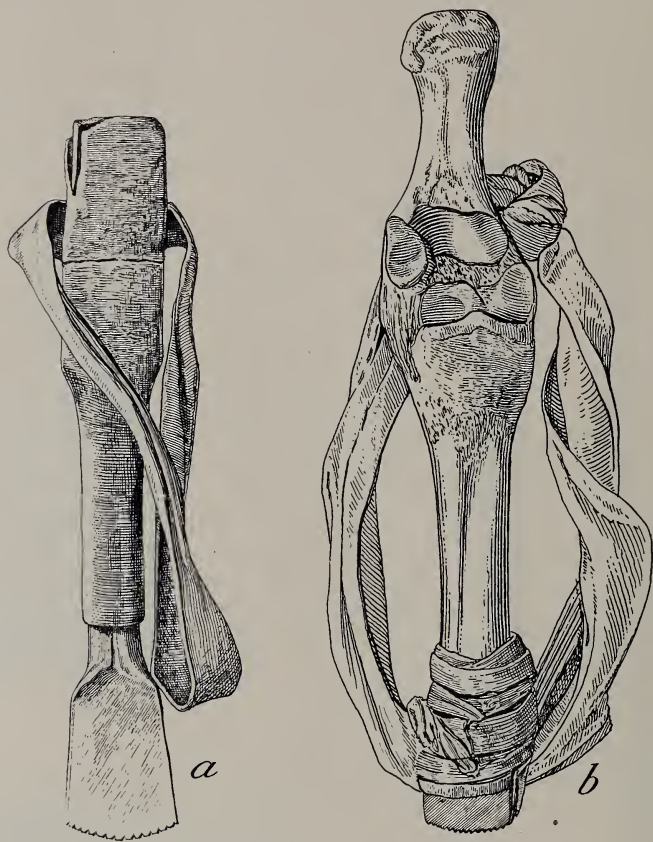


Fig. 7. *ab* (50.1-3904, 3998). Fleshers.

served a number of men who had each a wooden bowl attached to the belt. My interpreter explained that the bowl was their "medicine." I learned also that formerly wooden bowls or cups were carried in this fashion on war parties. When the enemy came, the Crow braves mixed yellow or red paint with water in these cups and painted their own and their horses' faces with the mixture.

<sup>1</sup>Lowie, (f), 110, 195.

<sup>2</sup>Lowie, (g), 162.

As Curtis states, the horns of the mountain sheep and buffalo were made into smaller dishes, cups and spoons (Fig. 2). A mountain-sheep horn spoon used in the mixing of Tobacco seed was purchased together with the bowl mentioned above. The use of a horn drinking cup is referred to in one of the folk tales.<sup>1</sup> I once heard of tinder being carried in a hollow buffalo horn.

According to Curtis, "a buffalo paunch was used for carrying water, while the pericardium served as a smaller water-bag." There are several references in the tales to the use of paunches as water bags.<sup>2</sup>

### SKIN DRESSING.

First the hide was stretched out and staked to the ground, where it was fleshed with the flesher (*taxuxpe*). It was dried and pounded with stones. The adze-shaped tool (*bik'ua*) served to thin down the flesh side. The worker prepared a mixture of buffalo brains and liver, *isé* root and sagebrush; this was rubbed into the hide, which was pounded all over and dried. Then hot water was thrown on it and the dresser pounded it again and rubbed it between her hands. Next the hairy side was made to face a fire and the water was struck out with a stick. The side to be tanned was scraped with stones. Next they stretched a sinew rope, and after sewing up any little holes in the skin they laid it over the sinew, rubbing it back and forth, then drying it. This was done three times. After each sinew rubbing the skin was scraped with stones. Then white paint was rubbed over the skin "to make it more dirt-proof," and it was again dried and rubbed against the sinew rope. A light stone scraper was used and finally a knife was taken to cut off the edges where the holes had been cut for staking the hide.

Buffalo hides were not smoked, but those of deer and elk might be. In this case a pit was made in the ground and rotten wood, e.g., of the willow, was used to build a fire in it. Over the hole a small sweatlodge sort of structure was erected and the sewed-up deerskin was laid over it and staked down so that the smoke could not escape. When one side was smoked, the skin was turned inside out. Finally the stitches were taken out and both sides were smoked. Such skins were used for shirts, leggings, and moccasins.

An assortment of the types of skin-dressing tools in the Museum is represented in Fig. 7. Both fleshers have a metal blade, one of them (Fig. 7a) being indeed all iron, while the other (Fig. 7b) has a leg-bone

<sup>1</sup>Curtis, vol. 4, 21. Lowie, (f), 203.

<sup>2</sup>Curtis, *loc. cit.*; Lowie, (f), 120, 145, 236.

handle. The adze tool (Fig. 9) and stone smoother (Fig. 11) do not present distinctive features, but the use of a beaming tool of the rib type (Fig. 8) merits mention. An iron scraper is shown in Fig. 10.

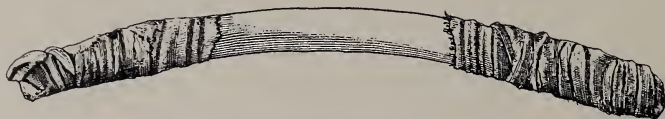


Fig. 8. (50.1-3999). Beaming Tool.

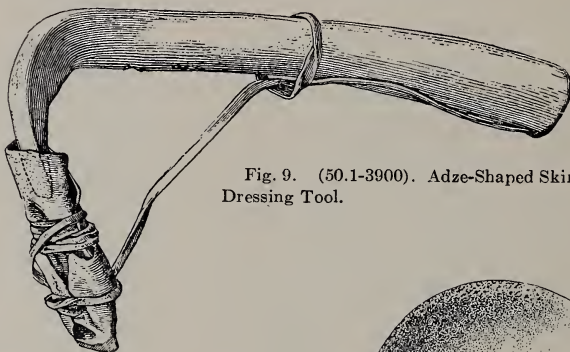


Fig. 9. (50.1-3900). Adze-Shaped Skin Dressing Tool.

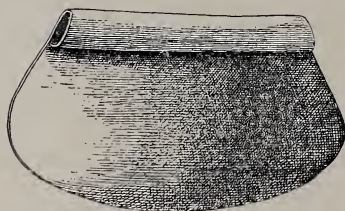


Fig. 10. (50.1-4000). Iron Scraper.

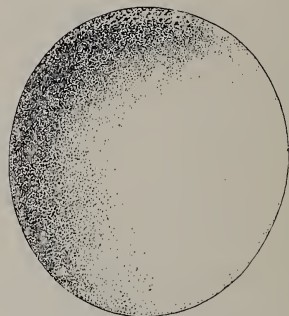


Fig. 11. (50.1-4024). Stone used in Smoothing Skins.

Catlin's description of skin-dressing seems to relate to the Crow method:—

The usual mode of dressing the buffalo, and other skins, is by immersing them for a few days under a lye from ashes and water, until the hair can be removed; when they are strained upon a frame or upon the ground, with stakes or pins driven through the edges into the earth; where they remain for several days, with the brains of the buffalo or elk spread upon and over them; and at last finished by "graining," as it is termed, by the squaws; who use a sharpened bone, the shoulder-blade or other large bone of the animal, sharpened at the edge, somewhat like an adze; with the edge of which they scrape the fleshy side of the skin; bearing on it with the weight of their bodies, thereby drying and softening the skin, and fitting it for use.

The greater part of these skins, however, go through still another operation afterwards, which gives them a greater value, and renders them much more serviceable—

that is, the process of smoking. For this, a small hole is dug in the ground, and a fire is built in it with rotten wood, which will produce a great quantity of smoke without much blaze; and several small poles of the proper length stuck in the ground around it, and drawn and fastened together at the top, around which a skin is wrapped in form of a tent, and generally sewed together at the edges to secure the smoke within it; within this the skins to be smoked are placed, and in this condition the tent will stand a day or so, enclosing the heated smoke; and by some chemical process or other, which I do not understand, the skins thus acquire a quality which enables them, after being ever so many times wet, to dry soft and pliant as they were before, which secret I have never yet seen practiced in my own country; and for the lack of which, all of our dressed skins when once wet are, I think, chiefly ruined.<sup>1</sup>

Though Catlin mentions and pictures a frame for stretching the hide (in addition to the pegging to the ground), I do not remember any reference to this method by my informants nor to have seen it in use, but it may well be that occasional use was made of the frame as by the Blackfoot.

Naturally, so important an industry is repeatedly mentioned in the myths; indeed, here and there the processes are rather circumstantially described.<sup>2</sup>

#### TRANSPORTATION.

*On Water.* There is no evidence that the Crow used any form of boat, such as the bull-boat of the Upper Missouri tribes. There is a word for boat, *bâce*, and another for paddle, *îwinaxûwə*, but contact with the Hidatsa adequately accounts for the existence of such terms and the reference to a boat in a version of the deluge myth.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, the Crow had ways of transporting goods across rivers both with and without the aid of horses, as described by Simms.<sup>4</sup>

In case of a small party with horses three sticks were arranged to form a triangle, or four to make a rectangle, and a hide was spread over and securely fastened to the edges. This raft was then towed by the horses. Larger parties made their frame of parallel tipi poles with the required number of hides over them, the cargo being put on top.

The other method was to place several buffalo hides on top of one another and run a gathering-string round the edge of the lowest one, causing the robes to assume a globular form. The articles to be kept dry were put in with a stone ballast and the skins were towed by means of a line. In shallow water the wading tower pulled the contrivance by hand, otherwise he swam holding the line between his teeth. The latter method was witnessed by Beckwith.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Catlin, I, 45 f., Pl. 22. Cf. Leonard, 275.

<sup>2</sup>Lowie, (f), 57, 61, 84, 121, 132, 167, 219.

<sup>3</sup>Lowie, (f), 16.

<sup>4</sup>Simms, 191 f.

<sup>5</sup>Bonner, 158.

*Travois.* Curtis makes the categorical statement that the Crow "never used the travois, either with dogs or with horses."<sup>1</sup> I made inquiries on this subject again and again and obtained widely varying replies. This much seems certain, however, that the travois (*arāk'ō*) was not used with horses except for the removal of wounded or otherwise disabled tribesmen. Leonard, however, speaks of "a sort of dray formed by these poles, which is done by fastening one end to the pack saddle, and the other end dragging on the ground, on which they place their furniture."<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, a number of informants declare that in the old days the travois was employed with dogs. Bear-crane even gave a brief origin account.

Long ago the Crow had no dogs. Once a little boy went to a pond and saw a dog but did not know what sort of animal it was. He went to some willows and peeled off the bark of the trees for a rope. When he got back, he found two dogs there, a male and a female. He secured them with his rope and led them to camp. Before this the Indians used to pack food on their backs. The boy said to his mother, "Let us keep these dogs for packing things on." The other people did not know what kind of animals these were. The woman did not know how to pack the dogs when they were to move the next day, so her son brought two poles and fixed them on the dogs. All the other people packed on their backs. The dogs had seven pups and their owner gave them to other Indians, so they came to have dogs too.

In both versions of the myth of the Dwarf's Ward a child is represented as strapped to a dog travois.<sup>3</sup>

All informants describing the Crow travois at all spoke of it as having a rectangular frame. Bear-crane makes his boy inventor first cross the poles, then change the method so as to have them almost parallel. Another Indian said the poles did cross.

Warriors going on a raid packed their moccasins directly on the dog's back.

*Cradles.* The cradle models secured on the Reservation as well as the specimens in the Field Museum, conform to a single variety of a well-marked type. (Fig. 12.) There is a tapering board covered with skin or its equivalent and the pocket is partly covered and tied by means of three pairs of beaded flaps with strings. The general type is shared with the Blackfoot, Nez Percé, Spokane, Shoshoni, and Ute.<sup>4</sup> The absence of the lattice cradle found among the Kiowa, Comanche, and Dakota is noteworthy. Individuality is shown by the Crow in two

<sup>1</sup>Curtis, vol. 4, 21.

<sup>2</sup>Leonard, 258.

<sup>3</sup>Lowie, (f), 165, 169.

<sup>4</sup>Wissler, (a), 87 f; Lowie, (a), 190; Mason, 187-190. I bought a very large cradle of this type among the Southern Ute of Navaho Springs, Colorado. A Ute frame from southern Utah figured by Mason has a series of parallel rods in place of the board.



respects: in the use of beaded flaps with strings instead of simple strings; and in the shape of the board, which, while generally the same as in the tribes mentioned, is decidedly more angular at the top in every specimen that has come under my observation.

When traveling on horseback the mother hung the cradle from the saddle.

*Dogs and Horses.* The Crow kept many dogs in the old days and indeed they still do. Maximilian was impressed with the number and ferocity of those encountered in the Crow camp at Fort Clarke. There were about five or six hundred of them running about, wolf-like in appearance and representing all shades of color; and they savagely attacked the strangers, who were obliged to defend themselves with stones.<sup>1</sup> As the Prince correctly observes, the Crow did not eat dogs. In connection with the modern Hot (=Grass) dance they have doubtless eaten dog, but I learned that even then they sometimes substitute other food.

One old man, possibly legendary, was spoken of as having bred dogs till he had as many as a hundred. Another informant said that the dogs were allowed to breed in their own way. Gelding was an old custom: if they saw a long-limbed dog they would castrate him and use him on the warpath for carrying moccasins.

Some, but not all, dogs had names. The following were cited as examples: *makára-wasàc*, Runs-opposite; *mìcǰ e-círe*, Yellow-dog; *mìcǰ etsètac*, Wolf-dog. The two last-mentioned appellations were used by my informant to call his dogs in my presence and they came.

In historic times the Crow were famous as equestrians, training their children almost from infancy, and through constant raiding acquired vast numbers of horses. In Maximilian's day the total number was set at from 9,000 to 10,000,—larger than that of any tribe in the region. As to their care in the winter this author writes:—

Im Winter sollen sie dieselben am Wind-River an einer gewissen Strauchart weiden, eine Nahrung, von welcher sie schnell fett werden.

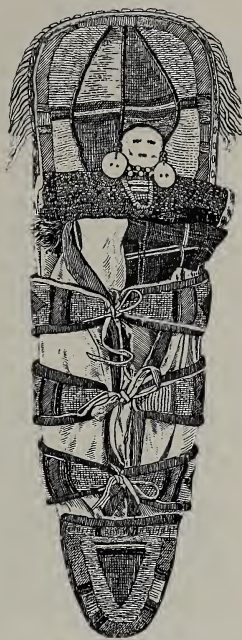


Fig. 12. (50.1-6005a).  
Model of a Cradle.

<sup>1</sup>Maximilian, I, 396, 398.

The horse-gear did not differ appreciably from that of neighboring tribes. Maximilian noted the use of mountain-lion cloths (*Pantherdecken*), such as are occasionally mentioned in Crow tales, and of elkhorn whips, of which I secured a specimen.<sup>1</sup>

#### SHELTER.

As among other nomadic Plains tribes, the conical skin covered tent (*acé*) was the characteristic dwelling. Skin has of course for many years been replaced with canvas, but in this form the tipi has persisted alongside of modern frame houses. It is most conspicuous at the time of the



Fig. 13. Crow Camp at Lodge Grass.

Fourth of July festivities, on which occasion the Lodge Grass people certainly range their tipis in a circle or ellipse. (Fig. 13.) Curtis regards this as the normal arrangement in olden times.<sup>2</sup> According to my data, the camp circle was not regularly employed by the Crow and there was no definite arrangement of clans within it when it was used. This is confirmed by Maximilian's observation that the Crow lodges were "*ohne regelmässige Ordnung aufgeschlagen.*"<sup>3</sup>

Maximilian describes the tents as similar to those of the Dakota, but with pennants of colored cloth instead of scalps on the poles. There is, however, a fundamental difference between the Dakota and the Crow

<sup>1</sup>Leonard, 274; Maximilian, I, 395, 398 f.

<sup>2</sup>Curtis, vol. 4, 5.

<sup>3</sup>Maximilian, vol. 1, 396.

structure, the latter resting on a four-pole foundation while the Dakota use three poles. The difference is important because it divides the Plains Indians into two categories, as shown in the following tabulation, which rests on Dr. Wissler's statement,<sup>1</sup> amplified by G. L. Wilson's on the Arikara, and the result of my own inquiries among the Wind River Shoshoni and Southern Ute (Southwestern Colorado).

<i>Four Poles</i>	<i>Three Poles</i>
Blackfoot	Teton Dakota
Sarsi	Assiniboin
Crow	Cheyenne
Hidatsa	Gros Ventre
Shoshoni	Arapaho
Ute	Kiowa
Comanche	Plains-Cree
Omaha	Mandan
	Arikara
	Pawnee

A marked peculiarity of the Crow lodge lies in the height of the poles, which project far beyond the cover. In this respect the difference is marked between Crow and, say, Arapaho lodges; most of the Blackfoot tipis illustrated by McClintock also have noticeably shorter poles than the typical Crow tent.

Catlin describes the Crow tipi as the most beautiful of all Plains Indian lodges. It was 25 feet in height and the framework consisted of from twenty to thirty pine trees brought down from the mountains. A large one figured in his book is said to have accommodated forty men. The skins used for the cover were often dressed as white as linen and decorated with quills and paint.<sup>2</sup>

Curtis was told that before the acquisition of horses the poles were of the lightest kind of fir and that the cover of that period was made of only from eight to ten skins. In a myth cottonwoods appear as temporary makeshifts in place of pines.<sup>3</sup>

According to my informants, the woman who wanted to have a lodge cover made engaged the services of one or more designers (*akasítsk'e*), who directed the work and received four different articles by way of compensation. Other women were invited to assist in the work and were entertained with berry-pudding previously prepared by the owner.

<sup>1</sup>Wissler, (c), 37.

<sup>2</sup>Catlin, vol. 1, 43 f. Cf. Leonard, 257.

<sup>3</sup>Curtis, vol. 4, 21; Lowie, (f), 262.

This work was undertaken in the fall of every year. For a small tipi only seven or eight buffalo hides were required, while the largest was made of as many as twenty.<sup>1</sup> The dressed hides were put up in a pile and a whole day was spent in preparing the sinew thread. The designer directed the work, showing the other women how to sew. Sometimes as many as twenty women collaborated.

After completion of the cover the lodge was pitched. They burnt sagebrush and weeds inside and when the smoke was seen through the hides they said, "This will keep out the rain," and opened the smoke hole. Then old men were called and the owner's husband smoked for them. They (or the husband himself) counted coups and said, "This will be a very good tipi to make moccasins and bags from in the spring." According to one Indian a social dance was held in the new lodge.

The rear of the lodge, known as *acô* or *acôria*, is the place of honor. When visiting Rotten-belly's lodge Maximilian found the chief in the rear and was himself bidden to sit down at his left. The portion of the tent immediately on either side of the entrance is called *arô'kape*, and the space between it and the *acô* is designated by the term *icg'ewatsûa*.<sup>2</sup> The fireplace (*birâptua*) is in the center. The poles are called *iria*, also *barâtsk'e*, the pair flanking the door *barâpiria*, those outside the cover and used to regulate the smoke hole *asâracia*. *Biria* is the term for the door, *îkcîwe* for the wooden bar lifted in entering. The pins fastening the cover above the door are known as *barâpite*, the pegs holding down the bottom of the cover as *îk'ace*. Bear-crane stated that long ago rocks instead of pegs were used to weight down the bottom of the tipi cover; another informant restricts the practice to the winter season. As among other Plains tribes a draft screen (*bitâricia*) was employed and it was customary to represent the owner's deeds on the screen, not as a rule on the outside of the lodge cover, though this is also said to have occurred. The square "smudge place" behind the fire reported from the Blackfoot<sup>3</sup> does not seem to have been used by the Crow.

Unlike the Hidatsa, the Crow had no bedsteads but slept on several blankets resting on the floor. The place for these on either side was called *mitâse*. Backrests of willows strung with sinew were suspended from tripods and covered with buffalo skins. I have not seen these in use but was able to purchase specimens. As a curiosity I mention the reference to a sort of headrest in the episode of the snakes in the Grandchild myth.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>This number, according to Curtis and one of my informants, was reserved for medicine tents. Normally the maximum number was eighteen and the average is set at fourteen.

<sup>2</sup>Also noted with an initial *a* instead of the *i*.

<sup>3</sup>Wissler, (a), 105.

<sup>4</sup>Lowie, (f), 56, 62, 72.

In the Hidatsa version two log pillows are mentioned, one for the snakes on either side.

In the summer the Crow spend the major portion of the day under a shade erected close to their tipi or modern frame house. This structure has a roof covered with boughs and foliage. It differs from the shade seen among other tribes in having a more or less circular groundplan and a conical instead of a flat roof. An illustration has been published in a previous paper.<sup>1</sup>

A temporary shelter (*acta'tsé*) is sometimes referred to as being erected, e.g., by visionaries, warriors, and elopers. Men on a war party, according to Blue-bead, erected windbreaks of sticks interlaced with bark and sometimes roofed with foliage.<sup>2</sup>

#### DRESS AND ADORNMENT.

*Men's Clothing.* The men's clothing, which was famed for its beauty among early travelers, included the breechclout, leggings extending to the hip, a shirt, the buffalo robe, and moccasins.

The ancient use of the clout is denied by Curtis, who writes that "as late as seventy-five years ago some of the old men had not yet adopted that article of dress." This statement is of great interest because Henry describes the early Blackfoot as lacking this garment, though other information collected by Wissler is contradictory.<sup>3</sup> However, I am inclined to doubt that the Crow ever exposed their genitalia. In the first place, Maximilian saw a large group of Crow Indians otherwise naked covered with the breechcloth (*sämmtlich nackt nur mit dem Breechcloth bedeckt*).<sup>4</sup> Secondly, though I have bathed and sweat-bathed with the Crow I never saw one without the gee-string. Thirdly, in the myths the generic name for Indians is sometimes "Breechcloth-owners" (*bā+i'tsisat-bicè*), and breechcloths are several times mentioned.<sup>5</sup> It is of course possible that the ancient garment was more in the nature of a skin kilt, such as is known to have been worn by the main performer in the Sun dance.<sup>6</sup>

The normal cut of the Crow shirt has been described by Dr. Wissler on the basis of Museum specimens. He finds that the Crow fall in the same category with the Assiniboin, Blackfoot, Nez Percé, and Northern Shoshoni both in wearing shirts as part of their regular costume and in

<sup>1</sup>Lowie, (d), 39.

<sup>2</sup>Lowie, (f), 152, 177, 261; also (b), 236.

<sup>3</sup>Curtis, vol. 4, 23. Wissler, (a), 118-120, 153.

<sup>4</sup>Maximilian, I, 398.

<sup>5</sup>Lowie, (f), 17, 43, 248.

<sup>6</sup>Lowie, (f), 286; (d), 21.

using "the fringed front or sleeves, with broad decorative bands over the shoulders and on the sleeves."<sup>1</sup>

From Ed Wolf-lies-down I bought a peculiar shirt, which he said had been worn in battle by his father. It has numerous little discs cut out from its body so as to hang from it by the merest thread, so to speak. In a myth a benevolent dwarf is represented as giving to his protégé "a shirt with holes in it," presumably conceived as conforming to this type.<sup>2</sup>

The decoration of moccasins has been dealt with elsewhere. As to their cut, I was told without having asked a leading question that in the old days the sole was not distinct, the entire moccasins being cut from one piece of skin.

The war-bonnet (*ik'úpe*) was only worn on special occasions and conformed to the usual Plains type. Curtis figures Old-dog and On-top wearing fur caps, such as the Blackfoot and their neighbors seem to have worn more commonly than the Crow.<sup>3</sup> I myself secured a cap made from an entire beaver skin and worn as a war medicine; a feather was attached to the head. Normally no headgear was worn. I never saw the rawhide shade reported from the Arapaho, but its occurrence has been noted by Reynolds.<sup>4</sup>

*Women's Clothing.* The woman's costume included a long skin dress, leggings extending to the knee, and moccasins. Its present equivalent with a modern leather belt is shown in the picture of White-hip's wife (Fig. 14).

Wissler has described and figured the typical dress.<sup>5</sup> He points out that it represents a widespread pattern concept—a sleeveless garment made of an inserted yoke and two pieces for the skirt with cape-like shoulder pieces falling loosely over the arms. The bottom is found to resemble that of Hidatsa, Ute, and Apache dresses.

The woman's dress was richly adorned with elkteeth, a fact repeatedly alluded to; even nowadays imitation teeth of bone are substituted. According to Catlin the dresses were of deer or mountain-goat skins trimmed with ermine skins and extended from chin to feet; the cloth substitutes of today are somewhat shorter.<sup>6</sup>

Except on ceremonial occasions no headdress was worn, though nowadays the women affect a varicolored shawl bought from the trader.

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<sup>1</sup>Wissler, (a), 136; (b), 54.

<sup>2</sup>Lowie, (f), 174.

<sup>3</sup>Curtis, 4, 84, 88.

<sup>4</sup>Raynolds, 46.

<sup>5</sup>Wissler, (b), 64 f., 86.

<sup>6</sup>Lowie, (f), 46, 173; Catlin, vol. 1, 51.

*Hair.* The only type of brush collected consists of a porcupine tail mounted on a stick. It is also the only one to which I find reference in



Fig. 14. White-hip and His Wife.

mythology, but in the tale of Spotted-rabbit the hero is represented as likewise using a buffalo tongue.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Lowie, (f), 121, 300; Belden, 122.

In recent times fundamental changes have affected the fashion of dressing the hair. I can find no good description in the older writers, but Maximilian's *Atlas* presents an instructive picture of the methods used by the men. The fact that almost all the men in his vignette wear feathers in the hair is worth noting incidentally. The fundamental style seems to have been to divide the hair roughly into two halves and to let it flow down loosely in the back and on the sides of the face. This general fashion was, however, sometimes combined with a lock falling down the center of the forehead. One of Maximilian's subjects has the hair coiled in a bulky foretop.<sup>1</sup> What is most significant is the complete absence of braids. This is corroborated by both Curtis' and my own informants, but Curtis evidently assigns too early a date (1830) for the introduction of the later style, since in addition to Maximilian's testimony I have that of my informant, Shell-necklace, according to whom men wore their hair unbraided in his boyhood. On the other hand, this native authority corroborates Curtis' statement that the change was due to Nez Percé influence.<sup>2</sup> Shell-necklace said that the hair was cut even at the bottom and that on the warpath it was gathered and tied in front of each ear. The Crow men lengthened the hair by splicing on switches made from the hair cut off in mourning.<sup>3</sup> In order to keep the unconfined hair from blowing about their eyes, the Crow put little balls of pitch into their hair in belts an inch wide until it was matted together all around their heads. In the early thirties of the last century travelers noted the marvelous length of Chief Long-hair's hair, which was estimated at from 9 ft. 11 in. to 10 ft. 7 in. Ordinarily it was wound with a strap and folded into a container some ten inches in length, which the wearer either carried under his arm or within the folds of his robe, only loosening it on festive occasions. Leonard declares that the chief venerated his long hair as his medicine.<sup>4</sup> The "ruler-like" quill-worke'd strip of rawhide noted by Maximilian as a pendant from the hair of Village Indians seems likewise to have been in vogue among the Crow.

The women did not anciently braid their hair either,<sup>5</sup> but divided it in the center, painting the line of demarcation red; before lying down to sleep they are said to have tied it to prevent entanglement.

As suggested above, the most important difference between old and recent usage lies in the adoption of braiding. This applies to both sexes

<sup>1</sup>Maximilian, *Atlas*, Fig. XIII.

<sup>2</sup>Curtis, vol. 4, 175.

<sup>3</sup>Curtis, *Album* with vol. 4, Pls. 136, 138; Belden, 141.

<sup>4</sup>Leonard, 255; Catlin, vol. 1, 49 f.; Maximilian, vol. 1, 400.

<sup>5</sup>Even Boller, whose observations fall between 1858 and 1866, speaks of the Crow women's hair "falling free and unconfined over their shoulders." (Boller, 326.)



The women still divide the hair in the middle and paint the parting-line, but in addition there is a thick braid on each side. With the men there is some variation. In 1910 a very popular style was to have a queue in the back with a pair of queues in front, one hanging down over, in front of, or just behind each ear. Crane-bear then had his hair parted in the middle, with a little braid on the right of the dividing-line but without the usual lateral ear braids, his hair being unconfined in front while in the back there was one long, thick queue. Many young men still wore switches secured above the rear queue and often provided with two elk teeth near the place of attachment. The young dandies affected a thin lock passed through a narrow brass tube somewhat toward the center of the body from each lateral queue. The central bang or pompadour is also characteristic of modern times.<sup>1</sup>

Catlin speaks of the hair being oiled every morning with bear's grease. According to Curtis, both sexes perfumed it with castor and sweet-smelling herbs and rubbed it glossy with cactus pith.

*Tattooing.* Arm-round-the-neck said that the Crow occasionally tattooed themselves, but not on one-half of their body in the Hidatsa style. He said he had seen some tattooed men; some had the marking on their arms. The women tattooed a circle on the forehead, a dot on the middle of the nose, also a line from the lips down to the chin. Besides the Hidatsa my informant knew of the Assiniboin as a tattooing people.

It may be worth noting that one of the two chiefs mentioned in a legendary account of the Crow-Hidatsa separation is named, Has-a-tattooed-face<sup>2</sup> (*is-aràpi-wicè*).

Curtis learned that tattooing was not general, only some men having a symbol of their medicine pricked in their breast.

In tattooing, four or five porcupine quills, held with the points almost touching, were pricked into the skin, then powdered charcoal of red willow and pine was rubbed in.

The women, he tells us, had a narrow perpendicular line on the lower lip and chin and a small circle on the forehead.<sup>3</sup>

*Various Ornaments.* A great variety of ornaments served decorative purposes. Maximilian figures a Crow wearing a bear-claw necklace and Curtis states that necklaces were also made from circular pieces cut from the bleached shoulder-blade of a buffalo, polished, and smeared with white clay. Shell ear-rings (*ixbúste*) are mentioned in describing the

<sup>1</sup>For the pompadour see *Handbook*, art. Crow, and Spotted-rabbit's picture in Curtis, vol. 4, 108.

<sup>2</sup>Lowie, (f), 272.

<sup>3</sup>Curtis, vol. 4, 175.

appearance of prominent men,<sup>1</sup> and according to Curtis the women wore ear-pendants of circular pieces of buffalo bone. In modern times a neck and breast ornament of many chains of bone discs is very popular with the men. Ornamental tomahawks are carried in the hand for show and the same applies at least in part to big eagle-feather fans. The modes of dressing up for special occasions have been noted in the accounts of ceremonies and societies.

#### WEAPONS.

Arrows were made by especially skilled workers. When the points and feathers had been got together, a big feast was prepared by the man who wanted arrows made and the experts invited came and ate. After dinner the sticks were distributed and each took his and fashioned it into an arrow, which was given to the host for inspection. Two kinds of arrow-straightener are described, one of horn, the other a pair of grooved stones. The former was made from the horn of the female mountain-goat with four holes of successively larger size bored into it to accommodate shafts of varying bore. This instrument is said to have left a mark on the wood that was effaced by rubbing the arrow between two grooved stones about three inches in width. In the Field Museum I noted a bone-straightener with three circular holes. On the shaft of the arrow the craftsman traced a zigzag line by running a sharp iron point along the surface while slightly shaking the arrow.

Well-made arrows were highly prized, so that when a man receiving some dessert from his sister acknowledged the courtesy by sending back ten arrows to her husband the gift was deemed equivalent to that of a horse.

Bows were either simple or sinew-backed, but according to Gray-bull the former were used exclusively by boys. In the Field Museum there are several hickory bows wrapped with cloth in the middle as a substitute for buckskin and also one of ash wood. In the tales I find references to elkhorn and sinew-backed cedar bows.<sup>2</sup> My informant mentioned the red cedar (*murupé*) as furnishing the material. Under the ends of a wooden bow the craftsman tied some object and raised the extremities so as to give them the required bend. Catlin described bows of both bone and mountain-sheep horn; he gives three feet as about the standard length of all Crow and Blackfoot bows.<sup>3</sup> Gray-bull spoke of elkhorn bows but

<sup>1</sup>*E. g.*, see this series, vol. 11, 216.

<sup>2</sup>Lowie, (f), 123, 151.

<sup>3</sup>Catlin, vol. 1, 32.

added that for the most part they were obtained from the Shoshoni. It is interesting that Maximilian speaks of horn bows as importations among the Blackfoot.<sup>1</sup> The makers took the antlers of an elk that had been recently killed, and heated them till they were soft so they could be easily cut off. Some split the piece in the middle, others did not.

Belden speaks of the elkhorn bows of the Crow as their typical form of the weapon and furnishes this description:—

. . . they take a large horn or prong, and saw a slice off each side of it; these slices are then filed or rubbed down until the flat sides fit nicely together, when they are glued and wrapped at the ends. Four slices make a bow, it being jointed. Another piece of horn is laid on the center of the bow at the grasp, where it is glued fast. The whole is then filed down until it is perfectly proportioned, when the white bone is ornamented, carved, and painted. Nothing can exceed the beauty of these bows, and it takes an Indian about three months to make one.<sup>2</sup>

Beckwourth<sup>3</sup> is likewise enthusiastic about these bows:—

The horns are thrown into hot springs which abound in that region, where they are kept until they are perfectly malleable (*sic*); they are then taken out and straightened, and cut into strips of suitable width. It takes two buffalo horns to make a bow of sufficient length. They are pieced in the center, and riveted; then they are bound strongly at the splice with sinew. Bows made of this material are equaled by none other except those made from the horn of the mountain sheep.

In order to glue on the sinew for the back of the bow the maker took the eyes, breast, and penis of a buffalo, cut them into small pieces and boiled them in a kettle; the outer hide of a beaver's tail was also put in. Another time buffalo gristle (*arātsīse*) was said to have been boiled for two or three days. The sinews were taken from the shoulder-blade of a buffalo and softened, being wrapped round a white stick, then removed and placed into sand. Then the sinew is dipped into the cooled glue and little cross-markings that have been made on the back of the bow are filled up with glue. One layer of sinew is then placed on top of another antler back of the bow.

The bowstring was made of dried sinew. At both extremities there was a wrapping to prevent the string from slipping. The wristguard was made of buffalo rawhide.

As in the case of arrows, the manufacture of bows was left to especially able individuals. In recent times Hunts-to-die (*aracé-tsīric*) was a distinguished craftsman for both arrows and bows. I do not know whether this combination was general.

Gray-bull spoke of quivers made from three otterskins sewed together. Two specimens in the Field Museum are of sheepskin and buffalo calfskin respectively. Maximilian writes:—

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<sup>1</sup>Maximilian, vol. 1, 580.

<sup>2</sup>Belden, 112.

<sup>3</sup>Beckwourth, 285 f.

Die Männer arbeiten die Waffen vorzüglich gut and zierlich, besonders die starken Bogen mit dem Horn des Bighorn oder Elkhirsches überlegt, auch oft mit der Haut einer Klapperschlange überzogen. Einen schönen Köcher dieses Volkes, mit Rosetten von Stachelschweinstacheln, habe ich (Tab. XLVIII, Fig. 10) abbilden lassen.<sup>1</sup>

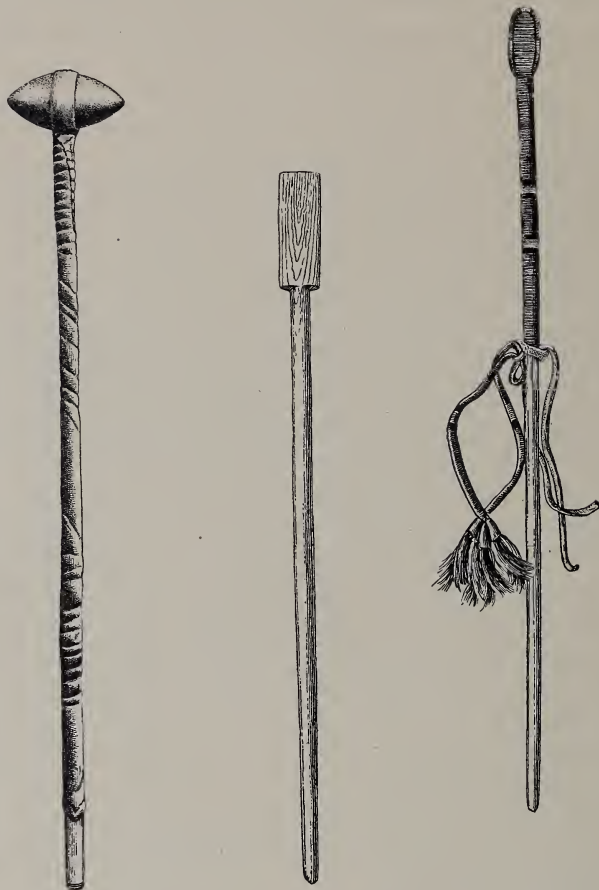


Fig. 15. (50.1-717). Warclub.

Fig. 16. (50-6836c, 6835d). Pipe Stokers.

Maximilian's wording suggests that there were genuinely complex bows of wood strengthened with bighorn and elk antler rather than bows of this material altogether. The snakeskin covering is reported from the Gros Ventre and Indians west of the Rockies.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Maximilian, vol. 1, 400.

<sup>2</sup>Kroeber, (b), 151; Wissler, (a), 160.

In striking coups the Crow sometimes availed themselves of a device called *ictáxiə hátskite* (long bow; also *maráxiə hátskite*). I secured an indifferent model, but better specimens are exhibited in the Field Museum. Each consists of two long slender sticks wrapped spirally with red and black cloth respectively and united at intervals with quill-covered buckskin strings. Six feather pendants are said to represent three Dakota and three Cheyenne killed by the owner.

Gray-bull said that the wood was either ash or birch (?), his model being of the former; that the feathers were formerly seven in number, all of them eagle wing feathers dyed red; and that the red flannel was substituted for deerskin. At the end of one of the sticks there was a piece of metal, so that it could be used as a spear at close quarters. Yellow paint or white clay was smeared on the wood according to a man's visions, and the same applied to the character of the wrappings. A man eloping with the wife of another would give her a coup stick to hold.

Spears (*icg'akéo*) are mentioned in accounts of both fights and ceremonial activities. Maximilian figures a mounted Crow holding a spear, and the robe illustrated in the paper on Art likewise shows warriors carrying this weapon.

The Museum has two specimens of the familiar egg-shaped warclub (Fig. 15). A much heavier stone club with similar hafting was evidently used ceremonially, since the stone is largely covered with strips of quill-wrapped rawhide and appendages of tin cones with feathers or dyed hair.

The Crow used the circular buffalo hide shield characteristic of the Plains Indians. Owing to its religious associations it has been fully dealt with in a previous publication.<sup>1</sup>

#### PIPES AND SMOKING.

Shell-necklace says that the Crow never made any pipes themselves, but obtained theirs from the Dakota and Hidatsa. This is confirmed by Old-dog so far as redstone bowls are concerned. In this connection it is worth noting that when Maximilian visited the chief, Rotten-belly, a Dakota pipe was passed round for smoking.<sup>2</sup> However, Old-dog also refers to the former use of tubular soapstone pipes, of wild rose bush (*maráxaxè*) stems, and of gun-barrels. Grandmother's-knife said that while the Shoshoni and Arapaho used pipes of black stone he could not remember any but catlinite pipes among the Crow. Still another informant said that small pipes were obtained from the Nez Percé

<sup>1</sup>Lowie, (h).

<sup>2</sup>Maximilian, vol. 1, 398.

and that the Crow never made pipes. This latter statement he qualified by saying that a piece of red stone was bought from the Dakota by a Crow Indian, who subsequently made some pipes therefrom.

For cleaning the pipe bowl a stick of *ĩptsi'tsixaaxè* (pipe + ?) wood was used. The same kind of wood was made to serve as the point of fire-drills and to mount porcupine tails for brushes. The two available stokers, however (Fig. 16), are made of a different kind of wood.

It is interesting to recall that even in Maximilian's day a tribe so far to the west as the Blackfoot had secured in trade the highly prized Dakota pipes, though in addition they had steatite and blackstone pipes.<sup>1</sup>

As I have pointed out in a previous publication,<sup>2</sup> the Crow did not smoke their own sacred tobacco plant but only that of the Hidatsa, which differed specifically from it. Old-dog had heard of the ancients smoking "deer-tobacco" (*ũ"x õpe*), but he did not know what it was like. For lack of tobacco, he said, the Indians smoked willow bark; the red willow was only used in recent times. Formerly the tobacco of the traders was mixed with *õpicè*, a weed or vine growing in the mountains, or with the bark of the wild rose (*maráxaxé*). Belden says that *õpicè* ("called O-pe-sha by the Indians, and Lambre by the Whites") was mixed with an equal quantity of tobacco. He describes it as a green leaf growing on a running vine above the perpetual snow line.

The vine runs on the ground, has a pear-shaped leaf, and resembles the pig-weed of the north. It is an evergreen, blossoming in the winter, on beds of snow, and bears bright red berries, of the size of a pea. The berries are sour, very hard, and always retain their color.<sup>3</sup>

I do not remember seeing Crow women smoke. According to Wissler, Blackfoot women smoke from small pipes of somewhat specialized type. I have very definite recollections of Cree women with little pipes in the corner of the mouth. The practice may thus have a distinctly northwestern distribution so far as the Plains are concerned.

#### AMUSEMENTS.

The Crow had a considerable variety of amusements, even apart from the social dances, which are considered elsewhere. The games to which I find specific reference in the mythology are the hand-game, hoop-rolling, plum-seed dice, shinny, and football.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Maximilian, vol. 1, 569.

<sup>2</sup>Lowie, (g), 112.

<sup>3</sup>Belden, 132 f.

<sup>4</sup>Lowie, (f), 31, 53, 58, 88, 111, 119, 154, 163, 200.

*Hand-Game.* This is known as *bāxuə-(h)irūə*, hiding making, but this is also interpreted as "soul-making." It is perhaps the gambling game *par excellence* and medicine was made to ensure success. Robes and other valuables were wagered freely. There are traditions of men who lost all their possessions in this game and went out to fast and wail, obtained a vision and then recovered all they had lost. One of these men was nicknamed Chews-the-hiding-game (*bāxuə hiné'tsic*) because while singing during a game he had a queer way of opening and closing his mouth. After his revelation he put white paint over his forehead and then beat all his opponents. Red-clothes (*axúə-íicēc*) also lost all his property at the game, went out for a vision, and was adopted by a hawk. Thereafter it was hard to beat him.

Messiter, cited by Culin, speaks of a shell as the object concealed under a buffalo robe, where it is changed from one hand to the other.<sup>1</sup> My informants mention elkteeth,<sup>2</sup> or two differently marked bones, or more recently bones with strings. I bought two spindle-shaped bone objects, one with string round the middle. There were ten tally sticks, and when all had been taken by one side the game was over. Whenever a guesser (*aktsiwé*, the one who tells) failed, he had to surrender one counter. Two persons hid the teeth and one guesser represented the opposite side. There was a conventional way of indicating a guess. A right-handed person would strike his heart with his right hand and point, a left-handed guesser would use his left hand. If the guesser wished to indicate that the teeth were in the right hand of the person facing him on his left and in the left of the one facing him on his right hand he would extend his thumb and index while flexing his other fingers. This guess was known as *ása'ka rūpdək*, outside two, since the teeth were supposed to be in the two outside hands from the guesser's position. If the teeth are supposed to be concealed in the two inside hands, i.e., in the right-hand person's (from the guesser's position) right hand and the left-hand person's left, the guesser moves his hand downward with the four fingers extended. This guess is called *k'úonēk*, the middle. If both hiders are supposed to hold the teeth in the hands nearer the door, thumb and index move in that direction and the guess is termed *birīac-dēk*, he went to the door. Contrariwise thumb and index move in the opposite direction and the guess is called *acúc-dēk*, he went to the lodge.

Gray-bull says that both men and women played this game, but each sex by itself. Originally there were only four or five players on each

<sup>1</sup>Culin, 317.

<sup>2</sup>Lowie, (f), 26.

side, but in later times the Lumpwoods and Foxes were pitted against each other. Each society first met in its own tent, then they got together in a large lodge prepared for the purpose. They sat on opposite sides, each group in several rows. Robes, beadwork, and war-bonnets were laid down as stakes. When the amount wagered by both sides was equal, two men took seats in the rear; it was their business to keep the pipes going. Their function was to work magic for their respective societies. All sang songs. Each side had two elk-teeth, which were hidden at the same time while the singing was going on. Drums were beaten. Each society was represented by a player. The first guesser would strike his breast hard with one hand, at the same time extending his other arm. Each player appealed to his medicine: they would paw the ground like a horse, snort like a bear, flap their arms like a bird, hiss like a snake,—all according to their medicines. A wrong guess was jeered. In this formal game it was incumbent on the guesser to indicate his guess at the other player's second movement. Each man had had three tally sticks, of which one had to be surrendered at each wrong guess. The game was lost with the three counters. Then the winners beat drums and sang victory songs, mocking their opponents. They would give their tally sticks to a famous chief, who held them up and recited a coup for each counter. Throughout the performance the two men in the rear continued making medicine. A blind man was reported to be the best guesser, provided he knew the voice of his opponent.

In addition to the myth already published revolving about a hand-game between opposing groups of animals<sup>1</sup> a very brief statement was secured to the effect that Old-Man-Coyote once assembled all the winged and unwinged creatures and made them play at the hand-game, helping each group alternately. They played all night. In the morning the birds finally won. Magpie went up, raised his wing and got the first light on it, hence his wing is white.

*Dice.* Under this heading two categories may be distinguished, the plum seed game and the stick dice, the former being called *burú'pirú* (from *buru'pé*, plum), the latter *baré-côpe* (sticks four).<sup>2</sup> Both are played by women and are indeed emphatically regarded as associated with the female sex. When I tried to get Gray-bull's wife to explain the method of counting throws, her husband grew very impatient, finally exclaiming that it was a woman's game, that the women always went off by themselves in playing it, and that it was useless for me to try to under-

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<sup>1</sup>Lowie, (f), 26.

<sup>2</sup>Culin, 177-178.



stand the game since he himself failed to understand it though living with Crow women all his life.

The playing of the seed game was thus described in the Reno district. Two women play against an equal number. Both sides lay wagers. There are ten tally sticks, which are placed in the middle. Five seeds, differently marked, are placed in a wooden bowl resting on a robe. The player strikes the robe with the bowl, causing the dice to fly up. Each combination counts differently. A player in bad luck will turn to a friend and say, "I am not lucky, wash them for me." Her friend rubs the dice between her palms and returns them.

According to a Lodge Grass informant, the number of counters used by each player is twelve and it takes six dice to make a set. In place of seeds bone dice are frequently used, and it was with such a set, made up of three circular and three triangular dice, that the method of counting was explained to me. Mr. Culin also puts the number of dice at six. With the set referred to above the scoring was explained as follows. If all the dice turn up either marked or plain, the throw counts 6. Three marked discs and two marked triangles score 1; one marked disc and one marked triangle, 4; one marked disc, 2; three marked discs, 3; two marked discs and one triangle, 3.

Another authority said that usually only five dice are thrown, but when a player has made a "hole" (*hupik*) she has the privilege of adding a sixth. The quintet is composed of two pairs and an odd die. The "hole" is scored when all the five dice fall with their faces down, which counts 2. The same score holds when the pairs fall face up while the odd die is down, but I do not know whether this also is considered a "hole." When one pair falls up, the other down, the odd die up, the score is 3. The "white" throw (*tsiak* or *tsiahik*) is made when six dice are thrown and all fall the same way; it counts 6 in either case. When only five dice are used and all fall the same way, it counts 1. When all the five dice turn up except for one of the paired ones, the throw counts 1. If one pair turns up while the other three are down, it counts 7, but apparently only if this is done at the third throw. Under special circumstances six dice up count 10, i.e., "when the tallies are in symmetrical position," which possibly means when opponents have an equal number of tally sticks.

Still another informant refers to the use of a pair of buttons, a pair of bones, and an odd elktooth. If the buttons were up and the three other dice down, the player was said to score 3; and the score was the same when the buttons were down and the rest of the dice up. If the

elktooth fell up unmarked and one button unmarked, the score was 0. Five marked dice were said to score 5; one button up and the rest down, 1; one bone up and the rest down, 2.

According to Culin, the Crow dice closely resemble those of the Wyoming Shoshoni. I purchased a considerable number of sets, vary-

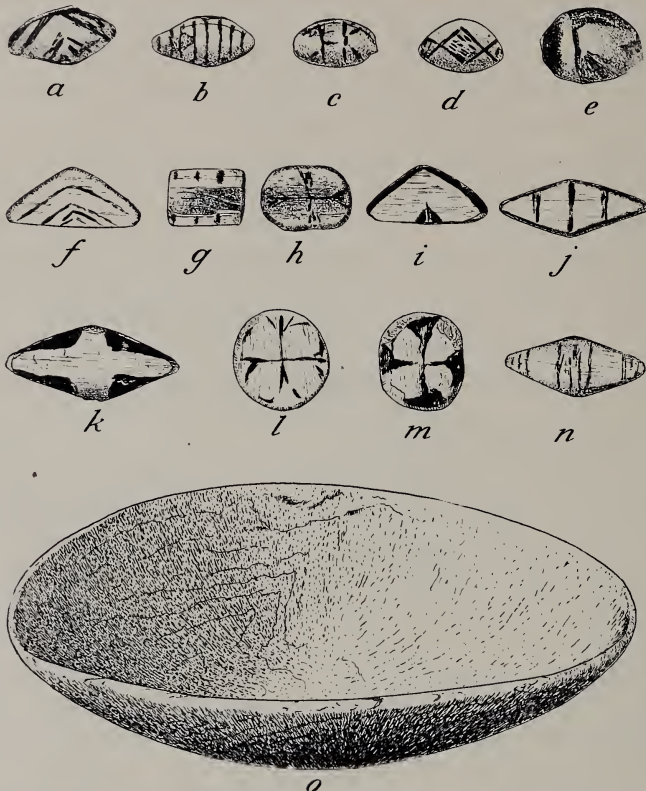


Fig. 17. a-n (50.1-3980, 3964, 3966). o (50.1-3925). a-n, Plum Seed Dice; o, Bowl used with Dice.

ing widely in shape, size, and decoration (Fig. 17). The bone dice are lozenge-shaped, triangular, rectangular, circular, and elliptical, the last-mentioned variety having a concavity on the marked side. My counters are cylindrical sticks about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches in length. Culin mentions dice of wood and such alien materials as blue china, which I also recall seeing on the Reservation.

In a typical set three discs are marked on one side with a cross in faded brown, while three lozenges have transverse lines of the same color.

A central cross expanding into an isosceles triangle from each point seems a fairly common design.

The use of a bowl (Fig. 17o) may prove significant since baskets seem to be far more common in the Plains area.

About the stick-dice, also a women's game, I learned that they were thrown on a flat stone in the middle of a circular piece of tanned hide

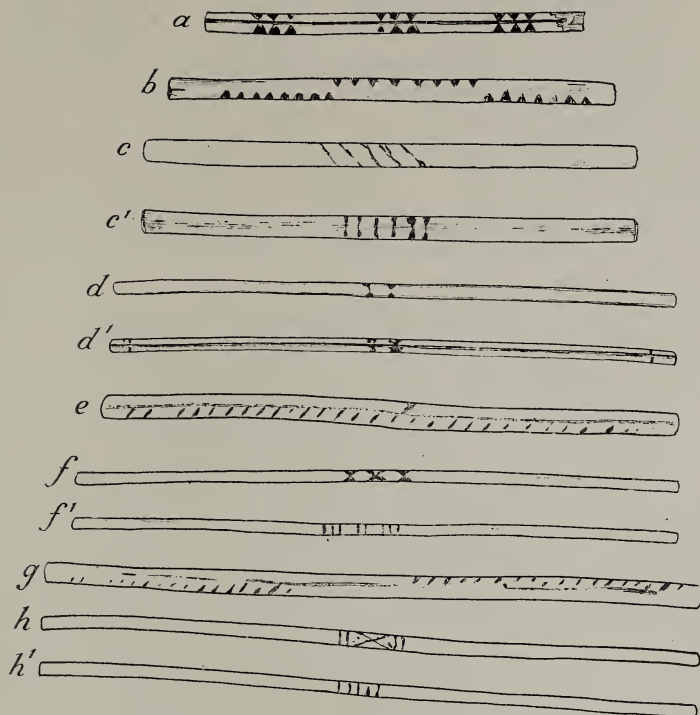


Fig. 18. a-h' (50.1-3970, 50-3973, 50.1-4297, 3972, 3971, 3974, 3969). Stick Dice.

marked with a circle in white. I collected a considerable number of sets, generally of eight, more rarely of four dice each. Mr. Simms's sets, however, all came in fours. In each of his sets two sticks are distinguished by burnt marks on both sides; the length of his dice varies from 6 to  $11\frac{1}{2}$  inches, while mine are from a little over 7 inches to a foot in length. It is only the very widest sticks that are  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch in width;  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch is much closer to my average.

Two types of sticks may be distinguished, grooved and ungrooved. The latter are quite flat on one side and generally have a very slight con-

vexity on the other. In some of the ungrooved specimens, however, a longitudinal central line, marked with greater and lesser definiteness in different pieces, and indeed at different spots on the same specimen, suggest the beginning of a groove. Both grooved and ungrooved dice bear burnt decorations. These vary a good deal. Sometimes, but by no means always, a stick is marked on both sides, but in such instances the designs are different on the two sides. Transverse parallel lines are common. There are also parallel oblique lines, series of small triangles more or less symmetrically disposed with reference to the groove, and other patterns, of which a fair sample is offered in Fig. 18.

One informant said that a complete set comprised four red and four blue sticks. In each quartette there is one stick with two markings, which score nine (*həwátəxpe*). A stick marked with the representation of a gun or of a little man counts ten (*piriké*). Dresses, elkteeth, and quilts were wagered on the outcome of a game. Players were permitted to get outsiders to throw for them.

According to one statement, the women got distinguished warriors to paint their stick-dice with pictures of men or horsetracks.

*Hoop and Pole Game.* This is called *batsíkisiùə*, mock-hunting. This recalls one of the Dakota terms for the game, which is translated "shooting the buffalo," and the Cheyenne designation of "buffalo game." Another Crow term is *bá<sup>a</sup>xarə'k'uə* (throwing the hoop), or *báxa-ritùə-dé'k'uə* (hitting and throwing the hoop), *bá<sup>a</sup>xa* (*má<sup>a</sup>xa*) being the word for hoop. The dart is known as *iriə*.

The hoop evidently differed considerably in size and appearance. I collected two distinct types,—one a plain bark-wrapped ring, not quite circular, with diameters of  $9\frac{1}{4}$  and 10 inches, respectively (Fig. 19a), the other a netted wheel about a foot in diameter (Fig. 19b). The latter is somewhat larger than the one collected by Mr. Simms and differs in having a circular, not a rectangular, central opening, agreeing in this respect with a Piegan hoop figured by Culin. One informant, doubtless referring to the plain ring, said it was made as small as possible in order to make the game more difficult; another set its diameter at five inches. As a matter of fact Culin pictures an iron hoop of only  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches. This represents a third type, since it is profusely decorated with colored glass beads affixed to the inside: I also heard of yellow and blue rings attached for decoration.<sup>2</sup>

The darts also varied. Two specimens collected by Mr. Simms with the netted wheel are trident saplings  $44\frac{1}{2}$  and 57 inches in length. A

<sup>1</sup>Culin, 441, 504.

<sup>2</sup>Culin, 502.

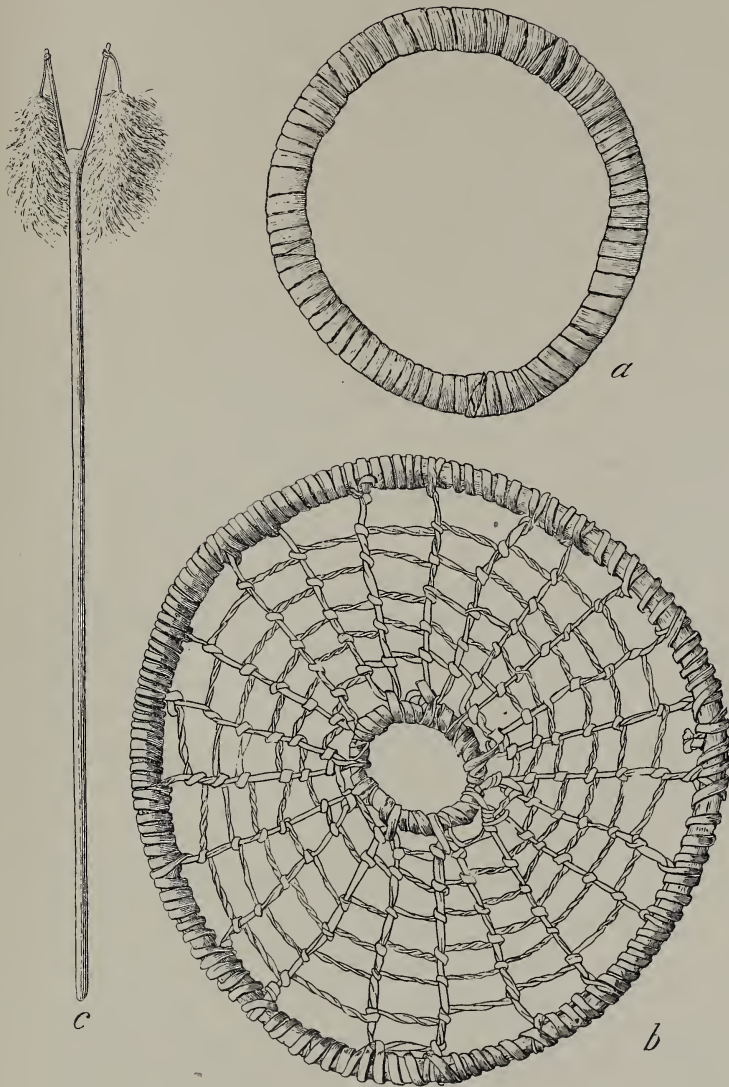


Fig. 19. a-c (50.2-165, 164b, 164a). a, b Ring and Hoop; c, Dart.

model I bought with the same type of hoop is only about 42 inches long, has two prongs, and attached to each is a plume (Fig. 19c). Another type described by an informant and presumably for the other forms of hoop, was 4 feet in length and of the thickness of a finger, and in recent times was provided with an iron tip. The shaft was wrapped with sinew and buckskin alternately, the latter being especially heavy in the center. Buffalo hair was tied to one end, and to make the dart slippery it was smeared with white clay. Little-rump said the stick had four buckskin wrappings at different spots on the shaft; to one end was attached the bushy part of a buffalo tail, to the other a (piece of?) buffalo horn. Before throwing this javelin, they rubbed mud all over it.

According to the same informant, the game was played on level ground with two score-keepers who used small willow sticks as counters. The two players used one ring. When it was thrown on the ground, both hurled their darts at it while it was rolling. The one who came nearest to the hoop scored. According to other data, the dart was to go through the hoop or, in case of a netted ring, through the central hole (*kúanõpe*). There was gambling on the result. Sometimes when there was no betting the winners pursued their opponents and struck the rear man on the back with the hoop.

Another way was for one man to roll the hoop and the other to throw at it. Then the dart was stuck into the ground where the hoop fell down and the other player shot at it with bow and arrows, losing all the arrows that missed their aim. In this game several young men seem to have been on each side. In the Reno district I was told that the hoop, if not touched, is rolled back and forth until one of the players hits it. Then he raises the dart, but in order to score he must lift it so that the hoop does not fall off.

Gray-bull described the netted hoop as about 4 inches in diameter and wrapped with buckskin. The netting consisted of three horizontal and three vertical cords, and beads were attached in the intervening spaces. The darts were long willow sticks with a wrapped elkhorn tip at one end and a buffalo tail at the other; at every three or four inches there was a wrapping of buckskin round the dart. The ground for rolling the hoop was leveled and at the end of the path logs were placed, with dirt on either side. The first player (only he?) had his body painted red and wore nothing but a breechclout. Both players ran with the rolling hoop and threw the dart as it got to the logs. It was essential for a score that one of the heads of the hoop should touch the wrapping of the dart. Gray-bull makes it appear that while in any one inning there were only

two players these really represented two opposing sides and were relieved by their associates in subsequent innings.

On another occasion Gray-bull said that each side had six tally sticks and surrendered one for each mesh struck by their opponents. Sometimes one group of players would have a single counter left, but if they then succeeded in striking the center or the edges (*saxtaré*), they won all the same.

Both among the Arapaho and the Gros Ventre Professor Kroeber found that the netted hoop was restricted to boys. Among the former adult players used a plain ring with a pair of joined darts; the Gros Ventre men substituted an equivalent of the third Crow type, with beads or other decorative objects attached to the inside. Incidentally, the latter form, according to Culin, also occurs among the Piegan.<sup>1</sup>

*Snow-snake.* Another amusement consisted in peeling a young willow and twisting the bark round it. This was held over a fire, yielding when the bark was removed an alternation of blackened and white spaces. In the latter property marks were made in red. Then the sticks were thrown for distance, the winner taking his opponent's sticks. The stick was hurled so as to touch the earth and then fly up. Each player had ten or fifteen darts. Once Dave Stewart won as many as 150 of them. When a boy had thus won many sticks, poor boys would come and pick them up for him; then he would take only the longest ones for himself, dropping the rest for the poor boys. A stingy lad would pick up the sticks for himself.

Two informants who described the foregoing pastime regarded it as a variant of Mr. Culin's third type of the snow-snake game, which is called *āc-xarúci-ré'k'ùā*, sending the horn running. According to my informant, a buffalo horn tip was fixed to the end of a peeled cherry stick. The horn was heated and greased so that it should slide with ease. The players wagered so many arrows, then swung the dart in the air with the horn end forward, struck the ground with it and made it fly into the air to a great distance. The one who threw his stick farthest won. Some boys who had bet their best horned sticks would not give them up on losing, but ran away. Mr. Culin figures a Crow javelin of this type collected by Mr. Simms, "a thin sapling, painted red and tipped with horn"; the length is given as 32½ inches. "The stick is seized by the end, whirled rapidly with a vertical motion, and released when it gains momentum."

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<sup>1</sup>Kroeber, (a), 382-386; (b), 186-188.

Mr. Culin's second type of snow-snake, a genuine ice game, also occurs among the Crow.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Simms collected a dart 29 inches in (total) length. It consists of a piece of beef rib, painted red and incised with crossed lines, and two long twigs inserted at the squared end. Feathers dyed red are attached to the ends of the twigs.

*Shinny.* The Crow name for this game is *bũptsa-ritũə*, ball-hitting. According to Simms<sup>2</sup> men and women play on opposite sides, but one of my informants mentions instances of husbands playing with their wives, and more particularly speaks of the Night Hot Dancers with their wives being pitted against the Big Ear Holes and *their* wives; in former times the place of these modern clubs is said to have been taken by the Foxes and Lumpwoods. Nevertheless, it seems that the game is more particularly associated with women: when an old woman in the Grandson myth desires to determine the sex of an intruding child she deposits in her garden a bow and arrows as a boy's toy and a ball and shinny stick as a girl's.<sup>3</sup> It is, however, conceivable that my interpreter was at fault and that the reference is to the double-ball game which is everywhere restricted to the female sex.

This is a spring game. The goals consisted of two blankets (Simms) or piles of blankets laid down side by side. At the start the ball is tossed into the air and players were expected to drive the ball to the appropriate goal. The ball collected by Simms was a flattened spheroid, four inches in diameter, with a median seam; the stick was an unpainted sapling, 38 inches long, and curved at the end. From a lively account of a game played long ago near the Yellowstone-Bighorn confluence, it appears that the Crow permitted players to carry the ball in their hands, contrary to the general rule as noted by Culin. Thus, Long-ear's daughter participated on horseback, dismounted when the ball was knocked towards her, picked it up, and mounted her horse, the women of the opposing side seizing him by the tail and hanging to his sides. Being unable to get through the crowd, she threw the ball to the goal. At the same gathering another woman seized the ball and ran with it. Her opponents gave pursuit and seized the belt, but unbuckling it she left it in their hands. When they were about to catch her, she growled like a bear and raised her hands; by thus frightening the other side she succeeded in making the goal. This my informant considered great playing. When men and women played together, a particularly fast couple was selected on each side, probably for the final drive to the goal. On such

<sup>1</sup>Culin, 399, 415.

<sup>2</sup>Quoted by Culin, 616, 637.

<sup>3</sup>Lowie, (f), 53, 70.



occasions the women dressed up in their best clothes, wearing elktooth dresses reaching down to their ankles.

Naturally all sorts of diverting incidents occurred. Once a woman raised her dress in running away from her pursuers and managed to get the ball to the fast couple on her side. The spectators said, "They saw her legs but were not able to catch her." Again, it happened that a woman would take the shinny sticks and thus address the young men: "Young men, I'll hug you and take your blankets away from you," the latter being presumably an allusion to the stakes wagered on the issue of the game.

*Archery.* As Culin points out, the Crow shared with the Gros Ventre and Teton the practice of shooting at a grass target.<sup>1</sup> This game is called *bāpatariō*, the target being called *bāpaté*, the last part of the term being derived from the stem *dī*, *rī*, to shoot at something. One of my interpreters further analyzed *bāpaté* into *bāpé*, nose, and *até*, sharp, which would give to the game the name "shooting at a sharp nose."

In the early spring the boys would say to one another, "Let us shoot at the grass target for the fun of it" (*bāpatá warī-kci-wōk*). They gathered up *pūpuə* grass, made a bundle about a foot long and thicker at one end, and tied it together with sinew or, if away from camp, with willow bark (*barīca*). The shapes of the Crow and Gros Ventre wisps figured by Culin are remarkably similar, but the latter is three inches shorter. This target was laid down on a hillside at a considerable distance, which Mr. Simms, quoted by Culin, sets at 40 feet. The players were divided into sides and staked their arrows on their marksmanship. Each side discharged four (or, according to another account, five) arrows. Whoever came closest to the target took all the opponents' arrows. As a sequel they threw the wisp into the air and tried to shoot it. According to Simms an archer who has hit the wisp at a distance, takes it up, and puts it between the index and second finger of the left hand, crossing and resting on the arrow, which is ready to shoot, but pointed downward. Raising bow and arrow with the grass bundle still resting on it, he releases it and discharges an arrow at it. If he hits it in the air, he wins an arrow. According to one informant it was the less clever players who threw the target up into the air rather than let it glide down. Some boys would stick an arrow into the sinew or bark wrapping. They were regarded as cheating and were barred from the game.

Another game played by boys in order to become expert marksmen was called *bicēnde'k'uə*, throwing a buffalo chip. The boys would per-

<sup>1</sup>Culin, 383 f., 391

forate the chip in the center; then they took their arrows, one boy made the chip roll, and the rest shot at it. The one who hit through or nearest the center won, arrows being staked on the result. Usually there were three or four players on a side. Three-wolves was hurt by an arrow while playing at this game.

Sometimes a buffalo lung was attached to a rawhide strip and a boy swung it in the air over his head. The other players shot at it, saying they were chasing wild buffalo, whence the term for this pastime, *bicé-reksùə*, simulating a buffalo hunt.

Still another form of archery game was known as *arū<sup>4</sup>tdé'k'wə*, arrow-throwing. It was played by ten men, five on each side. They threw one arrow, then they shot at it, and the one who hit it or came nearest scored. Then tally sticks (*bara-kíce*, mock-sticks) were used and those who got all of these counters won. It is not certain to what extent there was side or individual playing. Another informant said that at the close of the game all the arrows were set up in a pile and the marksman who shot into the sheaf took them all. Culin does not cite this as a Crow game but quotes J. O. Dorsey's description of a very similar Dakota game.<sup>1</sup>

Towards evening the game was sometimes varied. Two arrows were set up in the form of a cross, and others were leaned against them. Any arrow thrown against this target and failing to touch the bunch of arrows was added to it. Sometimes as many as a hundred men participated. The one who struck the target won all the arrows. One or two men were stationed at the goal as watchers and received as their fee some of the arrows that were not quite perfect. The boys also stood around waiting in the hope of getting from the winner some arrows lacking a point or feather or otherwise damaged.

*Meat Stealing.* When meat was plentiful in camp, the boys indulged in a pastime known as "playing the part of magpies" (*ĩpiəreksùə*), which recalls a Gros Ventre usage.<sup>2</sup> A Reno informant said that on such occasions the boys would get together, find a deposit of black mud and daub their hands, legs, bodies, and faces till they had made themselves irrecognizable. They also rolled up their hair and blackened it in imitation of bears' ears. The people in camp knew what the boys came for and hid their meat, but the boys would snatch away what they could reach, sometimes capturing a whole rib, and then made their escape. Later one of the party returned to camp to get buffalo chips, which he

<sup>1</sup>Culin, 393.

<sup>2</sup>Kroeber, (b), 182.

brought to his comrades. All then went to a river, sat down in the shade, built a fire, and roasted their meat and fat. The cooked food was piled on leaves and cut up by two boys, who asked, "Who got this meat?" Sometimes a tongue or some other delicacy had been stolen, and in that case its thief got the first chance to eat them. The other boys would say, "He is the best one." He himself said, "The next time even if I should get hit, I will try to get a good piece again." All of the boys kept some fat after the repast, and each would say, "If anyone gets up, I'll rub my grease on him." All sat still until one of them forgot the rule, when all his companions would leap up and wipe their hands with the grease all over his body. Before the party's return the women in camp had prepared chips of meat, which they threw at the thieves when they got back, and the boys would throw them back at the women.

Some particulars may be added from Gray-bull's independent account. The conspirators selected the fastest runner, sang over him, painted him all over with mud, and twisted his breechclout so he should not be impeded in running. All lined up and dashed for the camp, where meat was hanging up today. By the time the owners knew what was going on the boys had fled with their booty, with the old women flying after them to recover their food. When they were in safety, the older boys said, "This is plenty, let us feast." These cooked the meat, then all would sit down. They imitated various of the military organizations. The four who had stolen the best meat were selected, each being requested to hold up the purloined food. These four prizes were put in the center on fresh boughs and their captors sat in a little circle to eat by themselves. When everyone had eaten, a herald announced that whoever rose first would have all the others wipe their greasy hands on him. Finally some small boy would forget the caution, then the rest cheered him. Fat had been broiling on the coals. One of the larger boys rubbed his hands with it and wiped them on the transgressor, and the rest did likewise, greasing all his body. He would try to wash off by jumping into the creek, but the water would glide off the fat. Then they chased butterflies and when a boy caught one he rubbed it on his breast because that would make him a swift runner.

In the night the boys sometimes stole the two outside lodge poles. Then the owners would chase them and the thieves had to run, for if they were caught their blankets would be taken away from them. They took the poles from sheer mischief in order to be chased.

*Tobogganing.* Sometimes six, eight, or ten ribs of a buffalo (usually of a cow) were united, a rawhide was put on top, and then a boy would

coast down-hill on this toboggan. This was called *awōxarūə*. Sometimes a man would coast down-hill with a woman in this fashion, putting his legs round her and saying, "I am eloping with her" as he slid down. If a woman did not like the man who seated himself behind her, she would seize him by the hair and throw him off. If a woman was a wanton, her companion would put his legs on her shoulders. Sometimes children would overturn the toboggans of the coasting couples.

When ice had formed, they looked for buffalo skulls and tied to them a rope through the nasal orifices. Then the women would seat themselves on the skulls and be dragged by the men. Another way was to gather flat pieces of wood, cover them with hide and drag the women on these sleds. Sometimes goals were appointed, possibly some holes in the ice, and the men would race back and forth. The young men would sometimes dispute about the girls they wished to pull along the ice. This pastime was called *batūxarūə*. It was regarded as one of the legitimate opportunities for having a good time with members of the opposite sex.

*Skating (batcīruo)*. In a tract about a quarter of a mile in length strips about three feet wide were cleared of snow at appropriate intervals, then the players slid over the cleared ground, ran across the intervening space to slide on the next strip, and so forth. The Lumpwoods and Foxes, accompanied by their wives, would skate, coming from opposite directions. Each side placed the strongest four men in front and these pushed their opponents, trying to break the line of the rival society. Boys and girls were pitted against each other in a similar trial of strength, with the strongest of each party in the lead. The losers would have to get out of the path.

*Top Spinning*. As elsewhere in North America, this was a winter game, played when the snow was several inches in depth. The top, as described to me, resembles most of the specimens collected by Mr. Simms for the Field Museum, being mainly cylindrical but tapering to a cone at the bottom. One of Mr. Simms' tops was conical with rounded base, another was pointed alike at both ends. The typical cylindrical shape with conical bottom closely resembles the Arapaho, Cheyenne, and Oglala tops figured by Culin.<sup>1</sup> In my earliest notes I find this game designated as *mātsire tsūsua*, but later I recorded *binnāce* as the native name for a top.

A stick with a buckskin lash was used to clear the ground of snow and with this whip the top was spun in a circle. Some boys succeeded in making it go all the way round. They tried to see which top would

<sup>1</sup>Culin, 733 f., 745 f.

spin the longest. If one top upset another, its owner won and he would cry out, "You are knocked out." Some played an unfair game substituting stone for wooden tops. The tops themselves served as stakes. Well-to-do parents made the best kind of tops for their boys, but unless these took care their playmates would steal their toys. Sometimes the children would first spin their tops and then race to a goal far off. Girls as well as boys played this game.

*Cat's Cradle.* Cat's cradle is called *icbasé-tsiracío*, thumb-catching. My impression is that this form of amusement is not nearly so common among the Crow as among some other tribes; various informants pleaded ignorance of how to make any figures and I do not remember anyone making them without being specially asked to do so. The only figure I definitely remember represented a tipi.

*Various Amusements.* In various ways boys and girls imitated the social life of their elders. When the people were moving camp in summer, the children would move apart. Girls of prosperous families owned small tents and poles; in riding some placed the poles across their stomachs, others exactly imitated the ways of their mothers. The boys would approach the girls' gathering-place, and a herald announced, "Boys, offer a horse to the girl you wish to marry." Then they offered their horses to their favorites and rode double. When the people had pitched camp, this mock caravan would likewise camp at some distance on a hill. They pretended to be married.<sup>1</sup> The boys would get food from their mothers and bring it to their "wives." After having picketed their horses, they ate supper. After dark they went to the real camp, each to his own home. This method of playing is covered by the term *nāxapāsùə* (calf-skin tipi); boys from about ten years of age up indulged in it. Young-crane recalled occasions when the girls were moving their mock-camp and the boys came on horseback, knocked down their tipi and ran off with it. The girls gave pursuit, recovered the lodge, and slept in it during the night.

Sometimes the boys would kill a young wolf or coyote, bring a lock of its hair, and make their girls dance, evidently in imitation of the scalp dance. They also enacted a victorious return after killing a rabbit in the woods, whereupon they tied its head and other parts of its body to long sticks, again making the girls dance.

This manner of playing is specifically attributed to the Hammers, the boys' society modeled on the men's military organizations.<sup>2</sup> Some-

<sup>1</sup>Lowie, (f), 222.

<sup>2</sup>Lowie, (c), 186.

times the boys divided into opposite sides with their "wives" and imitated the wife-kidnapping of the Lumpwoods and Foxes.<sup>1</sup> If any player took his wife back, the boys of the other side would take away the blankets of all his associates and tie them to sticks.

Sometimes, Young-crane said, the girls had little shields to play with. They would also make male dolls and when a boy came to a girl she would show him her doll, saying, "That's you." Then the boy would bring her something to eat. A girl might also take a doll and throw it into a lodge harboring a boy, saying "There's your boy!" Then his mother gave the girl some beads or other gifts. Sometimes the girls would take dogs, put articles on them and lead them around. When the boys approached, the dogs barked, making the boys run off. At times several girls jointly went toward a tipi where there was a boy and said, "We are coming to you." Then his family called them in and gave them something to eat and the girls would lie down to sleep with the little boy as though they were his wives. Or a bevy of little girls would enter such a lodge, one by one, dance and sing, and the mother would give them each some pemmican. This happened when there was abundance in camp.

In the winter the boys would get together and sing a song of rejoicing at the doors of tipis where some other boy lived. Then the inmates of every lodge visited in this fashion would give them some pemmican.

When traveling in the winter the boys went afoot, killing all the rabbits they could. Sometimes girls accompanied them. When near camp, they roasted or boiled the rabbits. The one who shot the rabbit would get the best part. The others would take it and throw it on the marksman's back. If a boy let a rabbit get out of the brush, they would shoot a hole through his jacket to teach him to be more careful the next time. Sometimes the boys divided into sides to see which could shoot the greater number of birds. Those who killed the first bird would shout that they had done so. The boys of the losing side had to crack the live birds' skulls with their teeth. They were also made to chew the feet, the legs, and the wings. Opposing sides also would gather birds' eggs and throw them at each other.

The boys would throw stones high into the air by the side of a creek, making them come down with a thud and simultaneously reciting these words: *ičbiri-k'á bābiri-k'áp*, "His water is my water." The last syllable was to coincide exactly with the sound of the stone touching the water.

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<sup>1</sup>Lowie, (c), 169.

A kind of football (*búpts-arap̃iu*, ball-kicking) was played by the girls. The player kicked the ball about two feet from the ground and then kicked it up. If she did not miss it, she continued kicking. There was gambling on the result. This game was noted by Mr. Simms, who describes the object as keeping the ball in the air the longest time by kicking it or by the greatest number of kicks without a miss. His specimens are catalogued by Culin; each consists of a bladder filled with antelope hair and enclosed in a network of sinew, the diameter varying from  $6\frac{3}{4}$  to  $8\frac{1}{2}$  inches. A ball collected by Dr. Hoffman is somewhat smaller.<sup>1</sup>

Another kicking game was called *batsitpú-arap̃io*. The girls all seated themselves with legs extended. One girl stood up with eyes closed and kicked at the feet of one of the others. Then she took the sitter on her back and carried her far off. Similarly she carried off the rest, one after another. After kicking she opened her eyes. When the girls had all been carried far away, they ceased playing.

Footraces were and are popular among the Crow, though horseracing is probably far more commonly practised now. According to Denig the runners, usually two at a time, formerly ran about 300 yards; there were bets both by the contestants and the spectators.<sup>2</sup>

On the smooth ice four men would be pitted against an equal number in a game called *batcécde'k'ùə*, or *batcécdewa'kuə* (to each other throwing). Each made a little depression in the ice, put in a small rock and said, "I am this stone" (*ba'xúskìce*, my body it simulates). His opponent slid a flat stone against the rock and if he succeeded in dislodging it he won. Sometimes young men and women opposed each other in this game.

According to one statement, only one man played on each side; the others merely bet on his success; but if the playing was poor other men were substituted. Only bracelets and small trinkets are said to have been wagered.

Sometimes willow bark was made into a ring and thrown into the middle of a creek, with boys of opposite sides on each bank. Each leader had a hooked stick, tried to catch the ring with the hook and pulled against the other, so as to drag him into the creek. The players would get their clothes wet. This game was called *bawóvaxiksùə*.

When the boys went swimming, they would sometimes throw stones or short sticks far out into the stream and bid someone of their number

<sup>1</sup>Culin, 705, 707.

<sup>2</sup>Culin, 807.

get them. If he failed, the rest threw him into the water, saying, "*ic-birapé tsitsimba'tsëwik*," "I'll make him look for his beaver."

In the spring the boys would put mud on the end of sticks and throw the mud at each other, whence the name of this pastime, *bat-c'ipíə-wāsuə*. At night they sometimes fixed live coals to the mud and threw them, causing a swelling in the part of the body struck.

Sometimes a big dry hide was taken and a rope was run through holes along its border. The girls and the boys took opposite sides: each group selected one of their number to stand on the hide and run round on it, while their sides pulled in opposite directions. If either got dizzy and stepped off the hide, his or her side lost the game. The players also would raise the couple and again lower them four times, then they would throw them up and the one that was able to stand, won. Sometimes the girl would throw the boy off while they were in the air. This game was played at night.

Mr. Simms collected a whirling toy made of an ox's joint bone, painted red, tied round with sinew string extending 8 inches on each side, and having hand grips made of twigs at the ends. This buzz is apparently identical with one figured by Culin as coming from the Oglala.<sup>1</sup>

Sometimes men coming back from the chase would bring home a buffalo calf for their children. These either pretended hunting it or kept it as a pet with a rope round its neck. Sometimes little children would ride double on it. After a hunt the boys would ride round looking for calves that had lost their mothers and would kill them with bow and arrow, bringing home the meat and giving the girls they played with the skins for their toy tipsis.

## WAR.

Customs connected with war have already been described or at least mentioned in previous papers.<sup>2</sup> Without pretending to give a systematic survey of this most interesting subject I append accounts and notes as yet unutilized.

*Honors.* Though there is unanimity as to the four types of exploit required for the chieftaincy, as explained elsewhere, there is some difference of opinion as to the relative value of the several types. Gray-bull considered all four as approximately on a par, while Blue-bead gave precedence to the successful captaincy and the coup proper. Flat-back said that four men were allowed to strike coup on the same man and to

<sup>1</sup>Culin, 756.

<sup>2</sup>Lowie, (b), 230 seq., (h), 359 seq.



touch a gun, but of course in such cases the gradation of honor was according to the order of striking or touching.

Gray-bull said that a warrior who had struck a coup or captured a gun put hair only on his shirt, while a captain was privileged to use hair on his moccasins also. According to another statement, a captain who had returned with captured horses put horsehair only on his leggings, while chiefs, *i.e.*, those with at least one deed of each of the four types of exploit to their credit, tied horsehair to their leggings and shirts.<sup>1</sup>

As explained in a previous publication, Bell-rock was regarded by my informants as the greatest of chiefs living at the time of my investigations. In the words of Gray-bull, Bell-rock (*mi-tawúac*) was *k'am-basá-kāce*, the very first, for he excelled all others in every point: he had taken five guns, cut two horses Gray-bull positively recollected and probably still another; struck six undisputed coups; and led eleven war parties my informant definitely knew of though he was sure there had been more. By way of comparison may be listed the achievements of other distinguished men. Plenty-coups, the chief acknowledged at the Agency, was credited by Gray-bull with seven coups, three or four guns, four picketed horses, and nine war parties. This, of course, is somewhat inconsistent with the statement that Bell-rock excelled on every score, and suggests that in spite of his affirmation that all honors were equal Gray-bull gave precedence to the captaincy. Gray-bull himself, universally recognized as a very brave man, had cut three horses, taken three guns, struck three coups, and led three parties. Accordingly he put hair on his moccasins, leggings, and shirt. Hillside would have been a chief if he had had a picketed horse to his credit. As a matter of fact, he did cut a horse once, but the enemy recovered him so the deed does not count. Flat-head-woman lacked a coup. It does not matter how many times a warrior had performed meritorious deeds, he could not lay claim to being a chief unless he had performed at least one of each of the four categories conventionally recognized. But of course, apart from this, his social standing rose with each deed. A captain, *e.g.*, who had come back with scalps or horses, would act as crier on public occasions and rank next to a chief. Those who took the part of crier without such qualification were mocked in the old days.<sup>2</sup>

As explained elsewhere, war experiences were represented on robes and on the draft screen of the lodge rather than on its cover. Blue-bead said that enemies who had made a desperate stand were designated by a

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Lowie, (b), 231.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Lowie, (e), 82 f.

circle and the Crow charging them by horse tracks. An enemy's shield was exactly represented. If a man was shot with a gun, the event was duly drawn.

The Crow, like other Plains Indians, esteemed exploits according to a rigid conventional standard, paying little regard to the special circumstances. A coup was a coup whether the enemy struck was a warrior or a woman. Thus Bull-tongue tells of being dispatched as a scout to the Dakota camp; he saw a woman urinating, shot and killed her. On the other hand, though Hillside had gone through the danger of cutting a picketed horse his recovery by the enemy wiped out the accomplishment.

*Flat-back's Account.* In 1913 Flat-back summarized the typical procedure of a war party as cited below. His narrative is interesting because he sharply differentiates between an expedition to the Piegan and one to the Dakota,—the former being conceived as a horse raid, the latter as an attempt to strike coups and kill the enemy.

In an expedition against the Piegan a man who had dreamt to that effect announced that he was about to set out, and those who wanted to joined him. First all gathered in a tipi to sing the scout's songs, *tc̄t̄bushùä*. Among the words sung are these: "I am going to bring horses, I'll bring some back." After the singing they shout. The number of scouts depends on the size of the party. They go toward the enemy's camp and return. When they have seen something, they go back yelling and their comrades recognize the shout. When they get close to the main body, they shake a gun or some other object in the air, indicating that they have really seen something. The party stand in a semicircle, round a pile of buffalo chips, and sing. Then the scout leader comes and kicks over the chips. The captain asks for the report. The scout answers, "The enemy is over there." When the sun is low, each ties his medicine to his body and paints his face according to his medicines. The captain spreads something on the ground, lays his medicine on it, and sings toward the enemy's camp. Sometimes he whistles and sings, saying, "So many horses are given to me." When ready they start. One man is chosen to lead and they approach the camp. The captain bids the party gather, goes round them, and prays thus to the Sun: "If all my party get home well and with plenty of horses, I'll make you a sweatlodge (or an offering of cloth, etc.)." Then he bids one or two to go to the camp and bring all the horses that can be driven off. When the horses are brought to him and he is satisfied with their number, they start homeward. They run all night and the next day and the second night. On the following day they take their time. After running they kill buffalo

and eat. The duration of their journey depends on the distance of the camp. When they get near the Crow camp, they shoot into the air. They ride the captured horses round camp. The scouts carry wolf hides on their backs and sing *tsûrə* songs. At night all in the party gather in the captain's lodge, where the young women of the tribe come and sit behind them. The *tcûtbushûə* are sung. Pudding has been prepared and is given to the women after the singing; they take it home and return. Then the men and women stand in a circle.

When going against the Dakota, the Crow stood outside the door of a tipi, either afoot or mounted. They had songs for that also. The scouts reported as in the other case, and the tying of medicines and face painting likewise occurred. There was a great deal of singing before they charged. Everyone wanted to be the first to strike a coup. To do that it was necessary to have some medicine. Coming back, they carried the scalps with them. They ran as in returning from a horse raid. Buffalo blood was mixed with fine charcoal and the first coup-striker and first gun-taker blackened their shirts with the mixture. When the party approached the Crow camp, two men were sent toward it as scouts. The party camped close to the camp and stayed there overnight. Just before sunrise they advanced to the edge of the camp and shot into the air. Seeing the scalps tied to their sticks, the people at home know that the warriors have killed some of the enemy. All get in a row and sing, going about camp. The first coup-striker goes in front. After the singing, the men take drums while the women dance in front of them with the scalp sticks. Then an *âsa'ke* (father's clansman) of one who has captured a gun or struck a coup goes to the warrior's tipi and sings songs of joy (*mâtsik'arûə*). The brave gives everyone some present. The scouts sing *tsûrə* songs and go about camp. There is singing in the lodge and the women come in and sit behind the men. Afterwards they go out and dance. The women choose one or two of the war party to take the lead. They dance as they approach the captain's lodge. The women all hold willows in their hands, strike the tipi, and dance. They dance a day and night after killing one of the enemy.

Flat-back added the following personal experiences. Once in the fall a party of Crow Indians set out under the leadership of Lean (*xarâvik'âte*). They went on this side of the Missouri. The Dakota had slain many of the Crow, that is why this party was organized. The Dakota were camped on the Bark (?) River. "We saw the camp, caught sight of buffalo hunters leaving it and watched them. Most of the hunters remained in one group, but one man went in a different direction, into

a creek, and we started after him. He dismounted and went rather far from his horse. At first we passed him without seeing him. One of us had a slow horse and was the first to espy the enemy. He turned towards him, and as he approached quite near, the Dakota was going to shoot him, but the horseman rode over him. The enemy got up and seized his gun. Then two of us came up. He aimed at them and they did not strike him but went on either side. Next I and another man got close to the Dakota, turned aside, passed him and dismounted. The other man was in front of me. The enemy was facing in the opposite direction, whence another Crow was coming. This Crow seized the Dakota's gun, but the enemy jerked it out of his hand and the Crow fell on his knees, rose and ran off. The enemy did not shoot. We two had got there. Just as I was about to seize the enemy's gun, my comrade seized it; I also took hold of it. While we were trying to wrest it out of the Dakota's hands, it went off without hitting any one. We jerked the gun out of his hand. Then Female-face (*īs-bi'k'e*) took the Dakota by the hair, put a pistol to his face, and killed him. This happened in the morning. We ran all the rest of that day and that night till we got to the Missouri, where we hid in the woods. In the morning we crossed the river and slept on the other side that night. We started from where the (Prairie) Gros Ventre now are; the next morning we woke up and saw buffalo by a creek near the Wolf Mountains. From the time of the killing it took us four days and until the fifth night to reach home.

"The winter before this party some Crow Indians had killed a Dakota in the same place. His companion fled and told his people, who tracked the Crow and killed twenty-nine of us. We mourned. We did a lot of dancing when we had killed the first Dakota in revenge."

On another occasion Flat-back killed four squaws near the enemy's camp and took the scalps home. "Medicine-crow is a chief, yet he does not equal me."<sup>1</sup>

*Grandmother's-knife's Narrative.* There were plenty of buffalo on the other side of the Musselshell. The people had done a good deal of hunting and were moving towards the mountains. Several young men went out on a war party; I also went. There were about sixty altogether. We stopped at the Missouri some time in the afternoon. We lunched on this side. It was about this season of the year and the river was high. We built a raft, laying our saddles and guns on it. Then we swam across with our horses and slept there afterward. The mountains were not far

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<sup>1</sup>This is a joke based on the fact that Medicine-crow was Flat-back's "brother-in-law", hence liable to this sort of pleasantry. See Lowie, (e), 80.

away. There was a thick wood on our way. About noon we were pretty near the foot of the mountains. There was a creek and a flat piece of ground on its side. Some buffalo were there; we chased and killed many of them, took the meat, and went toward the mountains. There we stopped and smoked our meat. The sun was low. We went into the mountains and slept there. The next morning before sunrise we got up, then we ascended the mountain. On the summit we stopped and smoked.

Some of the young men had gone up during the night. The ground on the other side was rather level. When we stopped to smoke, one of the scouts returned and we gave him some meat to eat. "A Dakota camp is nearby," he said. He had seen calves looking for their mothers and buffaloes looking for their offspring. They were somewhere nearby, we might expect to see them that day. We went down the other side of the mountain. Before noon we got to the foot of it. There was a good deal of timber there. Some of the men had gone to high places but had not seen us. It must have been about four o'clock. We started off towards the east along the foot of the mountains, reached a creek, and stopped at about five o'clock. Then we heard coyotes barking up on the mountain and the scouts came back. They formed in line and sang a song. They approached and we asked them questions. "We have seen the camp, they are down the creek." Some of the men were well acquainted with the country and inquired just where the camp was and then said it was not a hostile camp but rocks looking like tipis from a distance. When the sun was very low, we heard the coyotes howling again. We got up in line and sang a song. The scouts came to us and said the camp was at the foot of the mountains. We saddled our horses, ascended the mountains, and got to where the scouts had sighted the camp. We stayed there till the next morning.

We were going to kill an enemy, but no one left the hostile camp. A man named Cuts-the-bear's-ear made medicine, using his pipe. He was going to hook an enemy with his pipe and bring him out. He sang a song, made a motion with his pipe, made a drawing of a man on the ground, and laid his pipe on it. "Someone will come out," he said. They looked for a while, then a man came toward the mountains riding a sorrel horse. "There's one man coming." He got to the foot of the mountains. We chased the man toward camp and killed him. He was a young man and had no gun.

Then we ran away along the foot of the mountains. The enemy knew we had killed this man and pursued us along the other side. That night we ran to the Missouri, swam across before sunrise, built a

fire, and ate. We had scalped the enemy and cut off one of his ears. He had good hair. When we had eaten, we went up on the hills. We got to a cow, not a buffalo, but a cow. There were no white people about then, I don't know where she came from. This happened forty-one years ago. We did not take the cow, but just killed and left her. All day we ran. Another group of Indians came running toward us and many shots were fired on both sides till we discovered that both groups were Crow. There were many on the other side; they were also out on a war party. When they camped, we told them we had killed an enemy. "Where is the Dakota camp?" "They are across the Missouri at the foot of the mountains. Where are the Crow camps?" "The Crow have moved toward the mountains, to the other side of the Musselshell called Buffalo-heart (*bicé-rāsec*)." We continued traveling that night, got close to camp, and halted just before sunrise. We stayed there till sunrise, then fired shots and ran to camp. The women came out. We had a big dance (*bārisūm matsātsk*). Hillside, Cuts-the-bear's-ears, Wolf-bear, and Medicine-crow were the leaders; all four of them carried pipes. Cuts-the-bear's-ears had brought the man out of the lodges and caused him to be killed. He was the main chief, but all four were permitted to mention the deed in reciting coups.

Sometimes there were more men in a party. Soon after this one returned eight hundred of us left, but some of them were (Prairie) Gros Ventre. We were chased back, but only one man was killed.

During the year of the Custer battle I was with the soldiers, drawing thirty dollars a month. I got 180 dollars in all, so I must have been with them for six months. I had been on the warpath several times. The first time I went I was fifteen years old; we did not see any enemy that time. I was seventeen the year of the Custer battle.

The captain of a party selected as scouts, *tcitce*, those known for their cunning and their ability to run a great distance. When looking over a hill, a scout put a wolfskin on his head so that buffalo seeing it would take him for a wolf and not run away. I was out twice under Bell-rock; both times there were many soldiers with us, a hundred and five hundred, respectively. There were about ten captains on these expeditions.

On the former expedition we started in the winter, went down the Yellowstone, and came to some white people who must have had bread but were living on buffalo. They had no horses. They had killed many eagles and gave us the feathers. We crossed the Yellowstone, got to a creek, and halted. One of the captains was regarded as medicine and Old-crow asked him to make medicine that night and discover the

enemy's whereabouts. He made medicine accordingly. In the morning he told them the enemy was far away, but some were in the Yellowstone valley. We didn't go toward the enemy, but in the other direction. We kept going till we got to a creek by a thick wood. We got to a campsite. The poles were still there. Some war party had stopped there. We covered the poles with cloth, yet some remained uncovered, indicating that it had been a big party. After we had eaten, one man went out and announced, "The party that camped here left three days ago. The enemy outnumbered us. There are no men in the main camp we come from. This party is going there. Track them and overtake them before they reach our camp." We set out that night. It was very cloudy. We camped and slept in the bed of the creek. In the morning, when we rose, we saw the tracks of the party. We were on the gallop and kept on going till the sun was very low. There were plenty of buffalo; we killed them. We got to a river and camped there. In the early morning we saddled our horses and went off. When we had traveled a while, more buffalo came and ran among us. The young men took their guns and killed many of them. Some young men drove the horses to a river. Those who had killed buffalo were butchering and did not come. Coming to a creek, they saw on the opposite bank the poles of a tipi left standing. Some of the men saw it and said, "Those are Dakota who stopped here, they have moved only this morning." They began to halloo. The butchers came up and all of us set out on the trail. There was light snow on the ground. Young-mountain, a young man, another named First-crow, and Bell-rock followed the trail, leading the rest. After a long time they returned to the main party. "They are nearby, get ready and mount your best horses." The trail did not lead to the main water-course but up a coulée. Ascending this, we saw one man between the main party and the three leaders. The man held out his arm and made a sign for us to come on. Some of our party looked after our horses. There were seven Dakota men. They took their guns, came out and fired at us. We fired back. They ran into a hollow. We surrounded them. They shot one Crow through the shoulder, another through the elbow, shot one horse through the ankle and grazed another's belly. We killed them all. There was no Crow killed.

*Gray-bull's Reminiscences*<sup>1</sup>. When I was about four years old, the Crow were camped on Pass Creek, just above Wyola. The Dakota then

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<sup>1</sup>Gray-bull was one of my main informants and data obtained from him and bearing on war customs will be found scattered in all of my publications. The information here presented was furnished in response to a specific request for memories of early days.

drove the Crow back to camp and killed three boys engaged in chasing calves. Altogether they killed twenty-three of us, including one pregnant woman. Then we drove them back towards the Wolf Mountains. I don't know how many Dakota were killed,—about ten; two of their women were captured and also some of their horses. This is my first recollection.

That summer I hunted birds and chased butterflies. In the winter we camped in the Bighorn Mountains. A man named Tears, with his wife and five or six children, went down the mountains while the rest of the people remained above. The Piegan killed them off. Some people went out buffalo hunting from there, remaining out all night. The Piegan killed one and wounded another of these. The next summer we camped at the head of Pryor creek. A war party set out from there with five women and went to the Dakota. The Dakota killed eighteen Crow of this party and took three of the women and one little child captive. The place where this occurred is called Rain-hill. The following summer we were at the mouth of Reno Creek, when a Crow who had married a Dakota woman and had been living with the Dakota brought back one of the captured women. The captive told her people that the Dakota-Crow accompanying her had counted coup on a Crow boy captive and killed him. The Dakota chief whipped the murderer and would have shot him had not his people taken away his gun. When the Crow Indians heard this, they were going to kill the Dakota-Crow, but he ran back to the Dakota and was never seen again.

Some time after this the Hidatsa brought to the Crow the little boy who had been captured with his mother. The two remaining women captives hid and escaped to the Crow camp, where they stayed for two years. Then they went to the Hidatsa and gave horses to the man who had brought back the captured Crow boy.

In the battle in which the three women were captured one Crow dismounted while his people were being driven back. He could not be shot. A Dakota also dismounted and approached him; he too could not be shot. Both had a bow and arrows. The Dakota first let fly an arrow, and hit the Crow on one side, but the arrow flew off. Then the Crow shot his enemy in the head, but he did not fall down. The Crow seized the enemy by the breast. He was wearing a buckskin shirt. Taking out a knife, the Crow stabbed his foe above the collarbone and cut his body open, yet he did not fall down. Then a second Crow shot him in the back of his head and he fell forward. The other Dakota warriors came up and raised the wounded man and almost everything inside his body fell to the ground.



In the same winter the Piegan stole some of the Crow horses at night, among them those of the man who had slain the Dakota. He and three others started in pursuit and rode all night. The next morning they were on top of a high hill and saw a Piegan on horseback. His horse got exhausted and he proceeded afoot. The Crow approached him. The enemy twice shot his horse with a pistol and shot the Crow twice or three times without killing him. The Piegan exhausted his ammunition. Then the Crow dismounted, seized the enemy by the arm and swung him round till he was quite dizzy; then he released him and the Piegan fell down. The Crow jumped on him, stepped on one arm, took hold of the other, cut off first one arm, then another, then cut his neck off.<sup>1</sup>

When a boy had been on the warpath, he would approach those of his age-mates who had never had this experience and address them as though they were women: "*dī'cik' áke-sa-k, dícire cúak'*" (You are not a boy, your vulva is blue). Then those thus reproved were stimulated to go out on war parties. When I first went out and got back to camp, I was eager to say this to the boys who had stayed home. I said it to them all the time, *e.g.*, to Bird-tail-rattles.<sup>2</sup>

When a boy first went on a war party, his companions would play tricks on him. They would send him to a certain warrior, telling him to ask for shavings from a buffalo hide. The man would answer that he had eaten his and would send him to another warrior, and so the novice was sent back and forth. Also they would send him for water without telling him where it was. Further, the young boys had to carry all the meat. That is why they tried to make the men eat much, so that they would not have such a load to carry. The boys who accompanied a party divided into two sides. The first one to awake would bring water and pour it over those of the opposing side who were still asleep. This was kept up so that all the boys wanted to get up first.

When the warriors returned from a war party, plenty of pudding was prepared in some big lodge. Then all the party sang songs and then went outside. Some of them were singers and beat drums. Each man had a girl and each girl carried a long willow stick. Those who did not sing also had willow sticks. All then ran to a tipi and beat it with their sticks. The singers sang; there were no words to their songs. After the beating of the tipi, (*acditúá*), they sang another song with the following words: *hīrā waréc, kamba'kúk, birícbactsi*, "Just now I had gone, I

<sup>1</sup>Here Gray-bull gave an account of some children's games, which has been utilized in the appropriate place.

<sup>2</sup>This man had joined us during Gray-bull's narrative.

have returned, kiss me." Then they would go to some other big tipi. Usually all the horses ran off when the *acditúá* was performed.

When some time after this the camp moved, the same warriors reassembled with their drums and went together singing. If there was anything in the road, they beat up the horses.<sup>1</sup> When the people of the camp got to a place where there was a single road, these warriors would stand on both sides and sing songs and shoot into the air. Girls and women were bashful about passing between them, and men would not go through, but made a *détour* on horseback. When all the people had pitched their tents, these warriors came to the door of some big tipi and sang a few songs, receiving something to eat. All dismounted to eat. The next day they took girls behind them on horseback, went to any tipi, sang at its door, and rang bells for music. When they moved to a camping place, the war party reassembled with all the girls they could muster, danced, and went about camp. When it got dark some went home, but others kept on dancing throughout the night. These tied one another together with ropes. About daybreak the women dancers went to the members of the war party and jerked off the comforters covering the men and their wives. This was to rouse them for another dance. When all warriors had been awakened, they reassembled and danced. I myself danced twice all night and went with a woman who roused the braves by pulling off their comforters.

Sometimes a war party traveling afoot had dogs to pack their mocasins. It was hard going on a war party in the wintertime. At night they had merely a blanket for covering and they lay down on a bedding of bark and grass. The dogs did not require leading, but followed along. When stopping for the night, all helped build a shelter. The boys did the cooking. In the morning the scouts went out before any of the others were up and ascended a high hill. They stayed till the rest of the party had eaten and started on their tracks. Then the scouts ascended another high hill and continued in this fashion. They had nothing to eat that day. The scouts kept on ahead till they sighted the enemy. Then they returned to the main party and hallooed. The main party got up in a circle and put buffalo chips in the center. If the scouts had seen the enemy, they waved something in the air in token thereof. If they had only seen the tracks of buffalo killed by the enemy, they did not shake their blankets. When they got back to the party, the first scout kicked over the pile of chips and reported what he had seen. The scouts then ate meat. Then everyone painted up and made medicine. Some were

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<sup>1</sup>Meaning obscure.

left to wait for the rest; any old men, boys, and women were left behind. If anyone had the blackbird for his medicine, he was chosen as leader against the enemy. He started on the run and continued running. Those who were exhausted returned to those who were waiting. When the rest got close to the camp, the captain sent about four to steal horses. They would bring horses and return for more if necessary. Then they started homeward. They had to run all night and all day. Having no saddles, they had a hard time riding. They continued the next night and day. Their buttocks were worn out (*û<sup>u</sup>ce pâtsik'*). Sometimes they did not get enough horses, then some had to go back afoot and were usually killed. They liked horses very much.

Once I went to the Shoshoni. We followed the tracks for two days and two nights without anything to eat. During the first three days we had nothing to eat either, making five days in all. When we got to the buffalo, we were nearly all of us so weak that we walked with the aid of canes. One man was sent to kill a buffalo. He loaded his gun with two bullets. When he had gone, another man prayed to the Sun: "All of us will give you a piece of skin if he kills the buffalo." He killed one buffalo, cut its belly open, and dipped up the blood with his hands and drank it. We washed the manifolds in the blood and ate that first. The rest we took to a creek nearby and ate till we were very full. We lay down and slept on the meat for our pillows. We had stomach ache that night and vomited all we had eaten. One of the old men told us that was because we lay on top of the meat, so thereafter we placed the meat beside ourselves and did not vomit thereafter.

Once two parties went against the Piegan, captured some horses, and went back. It snowed. There was a snowstorm. One party lay down in a coulée, the other in the brush. It snowed so hard they could not get up and most of them perished. Only two or three survived of one party, and five died in the other. I was not in these parties.

*Miscellaneous Data.* When the Crow saw a person near camp, they would cry "hêha!" If he did not reply "é" (yes) or "he," in token of being a Crow, they regarded him as an enemy. They might also call out "cik'á" (boy), expecting the same reply.

From Beckwourth's narrative<sup>1</sup> may be gleaned a number of interesting data on war, which I present below, enclosing in parentheses the precise page references. The editor of Leonard's Narrative, Dr. W. F. Wagner, has challenged Beckwourth's veracity,<sup>2</sup> and there can be little

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<sup>1</sup>Bonner.<sup>2</sup>Leonard, 264.

doubt of Beckwourth's constant attempt at self-aggrandizement. Nevertheless, whether he arrogated the glory that properly belonged to other warriors or not, there is no question of his reproducing in the main accurately the martial conceptions of the Crow, which is more important than the correctness of his personal record.

Among the well-established facts referred to by Beckwourth may be cited the blackening of warriors' faces in token of victory (pp. 153, 160), the use of dogs for packing moccasins (p. 163), the glory gained through rescuing an unhorsed tribesman by riding double with him (p. 206), the practice of severing fingers in mourning (pp. 163, 267, 269, 391), and the view that there shall be no victory celebration if a Crow has been killed in the affray (pp. 163, 169, 197). In the same category may be included the giving of trophies to wives and kinswomen (p. 154), the whipping of men by the police for going on unauthorized raids (pp. 287, 367), the surprising of small parties of hostile buffalo hunters (pp. 228, 235), and the use of looking-glasses in signaling (p. 241).

The distribution of property by a father in honor of his son's first exploit (p. 154) is also entirely in keeping with Crow conceptions. On the other hand, the statement that comrades must not join in war parties so that one might stay at home to look after the other's interests (p. 156) is contradictory to my information.<sup>1</sup> I should also like to check the statement that a female enemy was invariably regarded as her captor's sister and accordingly could not be married by him (pp. 212, 222). On the other hand, Beckwourth is doubtless right in saying that the lot of captured women was usually no worse than that of the Crow women generally and that they were married by the tribesmen, the captor apparently having the right of disposal (pp. 164, 212). That male captives, especially young boys, were also kept as more or less naturalized Crow tribesmen (p. 357) seems certain, though the consciousness of the foreign origin of captives was not wholly lost, as shown by the special office assigned to such a "*dātse*" in the Sun dance.<sup>2</sup> Our author has it that these "hyphenated citizens" had a special function, since newly made captives of the same tribe were likely to make confidantes of them and thus cause important information concerning the enemy to be transmitted to the Crow (p. 357). According to Beckwourth, the recovery of horses stolen by the enemy was esteemed more highly than the capture of new horses (p. 160). In connection with the familiar feature of mourning women soliciting a warrior to avenge their loss the petitioners are

<sup>1</sup>Lowie, (b), 212.

<sup>2</sup>Lowie, (d), 31 f.

reported to have lifted the lodge directly from over him, leaving him in the open air (p. 166). When a war party had lost one of its members, they are said to have refrained from dancing and to have worn their mourning paint till they had killed one of the enemy (pp. 188, 226). Beckwourth has a good deal to say about an Amazon who after the loss of her brother vowed to kill a hundred enemies before marrying and achieved prodigies of valor (p. 202 *seq. et passim*). Unquestionably this part of his narrative has been considerably touched up, and I failed to get corroboratory testimony. Nevertheless, a germ of truth may be granted to the tale: I at least heard of a woman who had been sent to war by a famous shaman, and one of my own female informants laid claim to a coup, though her pretensions were derided by a man I consulted on the subject. Beckwourth reports one case in which a captured Blackfoot horse thief was thrown into the flames of a large fire (p. 323). In my informants' accounts there repeatedly occur references to "fortifications" or "breastworks" used by the Crow, the native term being *minaxtsé*, which is also used for a pound or corral. I never obtained a clear account of what they were. Beckwourth several times refers to "sand forts" used by the Blackfoot (pp. 172, 243, 290) and presumably not very different from corresponding Crow contrivances. His most circumstantial account (p. 242 f.) is as follows:

I saw that the Black Feet had chosen a strong position, and that we had another fort to storm. It was built partly by nature, but human industry had improved the stronghold. It was low water, and there was a pile of drift on a naked sand-bar, and trees had been felled from the bank upon the drift-pile, forming quite a shelter. Over this position the enemy was placed, protected with a breast-work formed of timber taken from the drift.

The style of fortifications used by the Blackfoot in 1834 in a memorable battle also described by Beckwourth (p. 189) is thus explained by Leonard.

. . . the Blackfoot had chosen a most fortunate spot to defend themselves, and by a little labour found themselves in a fort that might have done credit to an army of frontier regulars. It was situated on the brow of a hill, in a circle of rocks shaped similar to a horseshoe, with a ledge of rocks from three to four feet high on either side, and about ten feet, on the part reaching to the brink of the hill, with a very creditable piece of breastwork built in front, composed of logs, brush, and stone."<sup>1</sup>

On this occasion a relatively small group of Blackfoot to the number of sixty-nine were attacked by the Crow camp and after an heroic defense were massacred to a man. According to Leonard, the victors cruelly tormented their helplessly wounded foes before killing them and two days

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<sup>1</sup>Leonard, 262.

later the corpses were beaten and mangled. Leonard gives a vivid account of the simultaneous celebration of victory and mourning of deceased relatives after the sanguinary encounter. Women and men separated for public self-torture, the former pricking their heads from ear to ear with an arrow point, the latter correspondingly gashing their legs and arms. This was followed by the hacking off of fingers, in which both sexes indulged. The faces of the women were not washed, remaining blood-stained until the disfigurement wore off. A subsequent victory dance was followed by a sham battle.<sup>1</sup> On a later occasion when a single Blackfoot marauder was slain Leonard made an observation corroborative of all other information on the subject and couched in almost the same words as those used in a corresponding situation by Beckwourth:

It appears natural to these Indians to exult more over the death and scalping of one enemy without the loss of one of their own—than they would to kill fifty of the enemy and lose one of their own.

The victim was hung from a tree by the neck, whereupon the men shot at him and the women pierced him with sharp sticks.<sup>2</sup>

#### MISCELLANEOUS DATA.

*Ideal of Beauty.* The Crow have very definite notions as to both masculine and feminine beauty. In order to be regarded as handsome or beautiful (*itse, úsik' àte*) a perfectly straight nose is considered indispensable. Slimness of body is desirable. I got the impression that the people are extremely chary of applying a complimentary term about a person's looks. They ridiculed the idea that certain individuals I suggested could be rated as good-looking. One woman with a handsome figure was considered too tall and, more important still, had a somewhat curved nose. One man was too short, another too tall.

In this connection it is interesting to note that distinct tallness is regarded as a blemish. The Crow are among the tallest Plains tribes, yet they do not look kindly on great stature. I was told vehemently that Moon, whose net height I estimated at 6 feet 4 inches, and Plenty-hawk, who could not have exceeded 6 feet 2 inches very considerably, were too tall: *hátskitkâcè xawá+uk'*, "Very tall people are ugly." Once my own height, a trifle above 5 feet 10 inches with shoes, was designated as the proper one, but I am inclined to consider this as a statement colored by politeness. On another occasion Spotted-horse, about two inches taller, was said to be of the right stature. A man whom actual measurement proved to stand 5 feet 8¾ inches in his moccasins spoke in deprecating

<sup>1</sup>Leonard, 262-274.

<sup>2</sup>Leonard, 276.

terms of his height. As a result of my questioning I think I am not far wrong in setting the ideal Crow's net height at between 5 feet 10½ inches and 6 feet ½ inch.

Spotted-rabbit is referred to as the best-looking Crow that ever lived: "There were no pimples or scars on his face, he had small feet and small hands, there was no fault in any part of his body."<sup>1</sup>

*Tribal Names.* The following terms are used to designate foreign tribes:—

awacé (awé, earth; acé, lodge); xóxace-akdúce (xóxace, corn; ak, one who; dúce, eats), Hidatsa  
 asa'kacé (as, lodge; hákace, last), Mandan  
 a'panópisé (a'pé, ear; anópe, hole; isé, big), Arikara  
 nakó̄tə, àkbareacúpəc k'o (ak, one who; baré, indefinite, acú, head, páck'u, cut), Dakota  
 bik'áce (bik'é, grass; acé, lodge), Shoshoni  
 ímbatsé (íre, blood; batsé, man), Blood  
 k'ámne, ac-k'ámne, piəkáre, Piegan  
 isá+uspúce (isá, arrow; bā+úce, feather; púce, striped), Cheyenne  
 árapahó, Arapaho  
 hùrucíre (húru, legs; círe, yellow), Assiniboin  
 apíwice, Gros Ventre  
 apupé (apé, nose; hupé, pierced), Nez Percé  
 sah̄fə (practically identical with the Hidatsa, Mandan, Assiniboin word<sup>2</sup>), Cree  
 acúxapè (acúo, heads; xapé, flat), Flathead

The following renderings are doubtful: matóp'e, Northern Dakota; miripáxuə<sup>3</sup> (miré, water; páxuə, scraping), Kiowa; dúcbatsé (dúse, rib; batsé, man), Osage; acipíte (acé, lodge; cipíte, black), Ute; íóxuxke batsé (íóxuxke, Fox), Indian tribe in Oklahoma; bik'ása'dakdúce (bik'á, grass; akdúce, eater), Paiute; úxpig'è akdúce (úxpig'è, white-tail deer), a tribe on the Pacific coast; akmínaxúwe (ak, one who; mínaxúwe, paddles), Canadian tribe; bú+akdúce (búə, fish; akdúce, eater),?

Although the interpreter who gave these renderings identified the Rib-men (*dúcbatsé*) with the Osage, another translated the native term as "Kiowa."

<sup>1</sup>Lowie, (f), 299.

<sup>2</sup>Maximilian, vol. 2, 544; Matthews, 200.

<sup>3</sup>This name occurs in a Crow tradition. See Lowie, (f), 256.

The Crow call themselves *aps̄rūke*, an unanalyzable term sometimes said to refer to a bird no longer seen in their country. They also speak of themselves as *b̄rūke*, a word probably derived from that for "we."

*Sign Language (bāpātia)*. I made no systematic effort to study the Crow sign language, though I repeatedly had occasion to see it in use. I recall particularly one occasion when a visiting Cheyenne not at all conversant with the language of his hosts was able to carry on an animated conversation with a group of Crow Indians concerning ancient warfare. In 1907 I also witnessed a remarkable exhibition of blanket signaling while driving in the Reno District with my then interpreter Dave Stewart. At a considerable distance on a hillside he caught sight of an old Indian to whom he wished to make a communication of some consequence. Not having a blanket he took off his coat and by waving it in a definite manner he soon succeeded in catching the other man's attention and conveying the idea that he wished him to meet us, which he forthwith did.

*Mnemonics*. Crow sometimes tie something to the little finger of the left hand to prevent them from forgetting.

*Standards of Value*. Since the introduction of the horse, horses served as the most prominent medium of exchange, a certain number of them, e.g., being offered to a girl's parents by her suitors. It is not certain whether any one form of property functioned with equal uniformity in the old days. However, we find reference to the payment of meat by way of getting initiated into the Tobacco society, and also learn that bows and arrows were regularly used for the same purpose.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>. *ow'e*, (g), 179, 181.



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