

Chapter 3

Arapaho Ethnohistory and Historical Ethnography

3.1 Introduction

The Arapaho believe they were the first people created on earth. The Arapaho called themselves, the *Hinanae'inaⁿ*, "Our Own Kind of People."¹ After their creation, Arapaho tradition places them at the earth's center. The belief in the centrality of their location is no accident. Sociologically, the Arapaho occupied the geographical center among the five ethnic distinct tribal-nations that existed prior to the direct European contact.²

3.2 Culture History and Territory

Similar to many other societies, the ethnic formation of the Arapaho on the Great Plains into a tribal-nation was a complex sociological process. The original homeland for the tribe, according to evidence, was the region of the Red River and the Saskatchewan River in settled horticultural communities. From this original homeland various Arapaho divisions gradually migrated southwest, adapting to living on the Great Plains.³ One of the sacred objects, symbolic of their life as horticulturalists, that they carried with them onto the Northern Plains is a stone resembling an ear of corn. According to their oral traditions, the Arapaho were composed originally of five distinct tribes.⁴

Arapaho elders remember the Black Hills country, and claim that they once owned that region, before moving south and west into the heart of the Great Plains. By the early nineteenth century, the Arapaho positioned themselves geographically from the two forks of the Cheyenne River, west of the Black Hills southward to the eastern front

of the central Rocky Mountains at the headwaters of the Arkansas River.⁵ By 1806 the Arapaho formed an alliance with the Cheyenne to resist against further intrusion west by the Sioux beyond the Missouri River. Alexander Henry reported that the two groups wintered together, probably at the foot of the Rocky Mountains in Wyoming and Colorado. With the arrival of spring, the Arapaho separated when the Cheyenne moved toward the Missouri River villages to trade beaver and other skins.⁶

In the classic ethnographic study, Alfred Kroeber identified these five nations from south to north. Lying furthest south was the *Naⁿwacinaha'ana* or "Toward the South People." Their dialect was the most divergent from the other Arapaho tribes. Occupying territory adjacent to, but further north of the *Naⁿwacinaha'ana* were the *Haⁿanaxawuune'naⁿ*; the "Rock Men." Next were the Arapaho proper or the *Hinanae'inaⁿ*. Still further north resided the "Brush-Hut," "Shelter" or "Big Lodge" People." According to Kroeber they called themselves the *Baasaⁿwuune'naⁿ*. Finally came the *Haa'ninin*. They are the "White Clay People," the tribal-nation that would retain their ethnic distinctiveness as the historic Atsina.⁷

Through much of Arapaho history, each tribal-nation maintained a separate ethnic identity, although they occasionally came together and acted as political allies. Each also spoke mutually intelligible dialects, but there existed a degree of difference from Arapaho proper. Dialectically, the *Haa'ninin*, *Baasaⁿwuune'naⁿ*, and *Hinanae'inaⁿ* were closely related. Arapaho elders claimed that the *Haⁿanaxawuune'naⁿ* dialect was most difficult to comprehend of all the dialects.⁸

Before their historic geo-political ethnogenesis, each tribal-nation had a principle headman, usually chosen from the Antelope band. The exact date of the ethnic fusion or fission of each social division is not known, but elders state that the Arapaho and "Shelter People" fought over the sacred pipe and lance. Both sacred objects traditionally were kept by the *Baasaⁿwuune'naⁿ*.

The *Baasaⁿwuune'naⁿ* pipe keeper married an Arapaho woman and lived with her people. Since that time, the other tribal-nations lived together.⁹ The exact date of the fusion and amalgamation of these ethnically distinct tribal-nations is unknown, but by the late eighteenth century the four divisions south of the *Haa'ninin* ("White Clay People") or historically, the Gros Ventre consolidated into the Arapaho. By the time the Arapaho entered into the annals of history, only the Arapaho and Atsina were recognized as separate tribal-nations.¹⁰

While living on the Great Plains, the Arapaho (*Hinanae'inaⁿ*) divided itself historically into two geo-political social divisions. The Northern Arapaho are called the *Naⁿk'haaⁿ-seine'naⁿ* or the "Sagebrush People." The "Southern People" or the *Naⁿwuine'naⁿ* became the Southern Arapaho.¹¹

During the early nineteenth century, Arapaho territory stretched from Cheyenne River, near the Black Hills, southwest toward the eastern slopes of the central Rocky Mountains, south to the Arkansas River. By 1811 Arapaho ranged primarily along the North Platte River south to the Arkansas River, with a band of 250 Arapaho living with the Comanche and Plains Apache in Texas. Their allies, the Cheyenne lived further north, but after concluding an uneasy alliance in 1826 with some Sioux tribes, the Cheyenne joined the Arapaho in driving the Kiowa and Comanche south to secure the region north of the Arkansas River.¹² The alliance between the two tribes was part of a larger territorial effort to secure territorial lands on the central and southern Great Plains. The Arapaho and Cheyenne also intensified their war efforts against the Ute to the west, the Shoshone and Crow to the north, and the Pawnee in the east.¹³

Enveloped within their territory are a number of distinct ecological habitats. Arapaho bands roamed over the semi-arid sagebrush tracts and the short grass plains of western and central Wyoming, as well as the pine clad slopes of the Rocky Mountains. There also were a number of river valleys such as those found along the Northern Platte River and its tributaries. In the mountains, the open valleys or holes were favored summering locations. These holes offered a variety of game, edible plants, lodgepole

pine for their lodges, and excellent horse pasturage. The adjacent Plains offered, of course, bison, the mainstay of their subsistence economy.

3.3 Subsistence Economy

The structural composition of Arapaho bands was ideal to meet the seasonal fluctuations in their subsistence cycle. Bands could rapidly alter their population size and organizational structure to meet effectively and changes in local resources. Band movements and activities paralleled the quickly changing economic and political circumstances of the Great Plains.

The Arapaho descended to the Great Plains after cooler weather set in. Arapaho bands, especially during the fall season, conducted bison hunts for winter. A frequent bison hunting area for the Arapaho was along the upper reaches of the Powder River and in the country along the Sweetwater River to the Bighorn River.

As with other postcontact tribal-nations, the center of Arapaho subsistence economy remained the bison. Although the Arapaho used impounding and driving techniques during the "dog days," the continuous use of these practices was abandoned after the adoption of the horse. The post-horse Arapaho did drive bison and elk over cliffs when opportunity and geography permitted such large-scale hunts. Elk are mentioned specifically being killed in this manner.

The formation of larger bison herds during the summer, Arapaho bands came together and functioned as a macro-economic unit. All the bands joined together, hunted in tribal surrounds and camped together as long as possible.¹⁴ Unlike most Plains societies, an unique Arapaho practice is that bands continued to hunt communally throughout the year. Bison hunts always were highly structured affairs. Organized mounted hunters ambushed a herd from a single direction or attempted to surround the herd.¹⁵

Each hunter had assigned duties. As some hunters killed the animals with bow and arrows or lances, other hunters kept the herd contained, preventing it from scattering across the prairie in their panic to escape. Still other hunters separated the bison based on their age and sex. Younger animals were preferred as food, rather than old cows or bulls.¹⁶ When the bison could not be found or were difficult to contain, medicine men with bison calling medicine lured the herd to the hunting party. By means of his sacred powers, the medicine man positioned them for the attack.

Tribal chiefs carefully planned the annual summer hunt. Scouts scoured the surrounding countryside to discern the location and size of the bison herds. After hearing the scout's reports, the bandleaders decided on the direction, timing, and organization of the hunt. Once the tribal chiefs decided on a course of action, they chose an age-grade society to supervise and carry out the communal hunt. Society members policed the hunt, making sure no individual violated the hunting regulations set out by the Arapaho leaders. The society members would promptly punish anyone who acted as an individual, jeopardizing communal welfare. They could kill his horses, his dogs, destroy his lodge, or publicly whip the offender for his indiscretion.

The meat obtained from the communal hunt was divided among the participating hunters. Hunters that killed more bison than they needed, gave their surplus to the age-grade society members who could not hunt because of their policing duties. Surplus bison also were distributed to those persons who accompanied the hunt to help in the skinning and butchering process, but could not participate in the hunt.

Wealthy men often loaned their horses and hunting equipment to men without the means to hunt. In return, each hunter gave a surplus portion of the hunt to the wealthy man as payment for using his equipment. These wealthier individuals distributed that surplus among the infirm or elderly of their band. The redistribution of meat and other bison products not only fulfilled the obligations of kinship, but also raised his social status in the community. The reciprocity of meat guaranteed no one in the community went without an ample food supply for their immediate needs.

Antelope were also driven into enclosures or into entrapment pits. Mountain sheep were stalked and shot with bow and arrow, which also was the preferred hunting instrument for bison. Arapaho hunters stalked bison during the winter on snowshoes. A variety of smaller animals were eaten. The Cheyenne and presumably the Arapaho ate turtles and fish. Fish weirs were used to catch fish.¹⁷

Arapaho women also gathered a wide variety of plants for food and a variety of other purposes. Many Arapaho plant foods, because of their overlapping territorial boundary, were similar to flora used by the Cheyenne. Women and young girls for immediate consumption largely did harvesting food plants, but a large proportion of plant foods would be dried and stored for winter use. In spring for example, women would dig pomme blanche (*Psoralea tenuiflora*; *Psoralidium lanceolatum*; *Psoralea lanceolata*), much of which was dried and stored. Chokecherries (*Padus virginiana*), sarvis berries (*Amelanchier alnifolia*), plums (*Prunus americanus*), sand cherries (*Prunus melanocarpa*; *Cerasus demissa melanocarpa*), bull berries (*Shepherdia argentea*; *Elaeagnus argentea*), and currants (*Ribes aureum*) were seasonally gathered, pounded, formed into cakes, and dried for storage in parfleches. The Arapaho, as well as the Cheyenne, also gathered acorns, which were roasted in the shell, shelled, and pounded into a meal. The meal was boiled into a mush with buffalo fat.¹⁸

As with other indigenous societies, trade was an integral part of the economy. Occasionally, some Arapaho bands would splinter off from the main group and travel to the southwest to Santa Fe, New Mexico or to San Antonio, Texas to trade with the Spanish and, later the Mexicans. After the arrival of Americans, Arapaho bands would often trade at their establishments. Bent's Fort and trade posts scattered across the Great Plains adjacent to Arapaho territory were often visited.

Throughout the spring through fall Arapaho bands attended indigenous trade fairs and exchanged goods at European forts and settlements. Arapaho involvement in trade networks is widely recorded in the ethnohistorical record. As early as 1795 the Arapaho

were trading with the Spanish while living near the headwaters of the Cheyenne River in western South Dakota and eastern Wyoming. During this period they also were allied with the Kiowa. After the intrusion of the Sioux to the Missouri River, the Arapaho stayed away from the Middle Missouri River villages and only traded through the Cheyenne as middlemen. Pierre-Antonie Tabeau while at the Arikara villages met the Arapaho at a trading fair in Black Hills. Tabeau reported that they were wealthy in horses, traded prairie turnip flour to the Arikara for corn. Also present were the Kiowa and Plains Apache.¹⁹

During his 1819-1820 expedition, Stephen H. Long reported that Southern Arapaho bands were trading “dressed bison skins for blankets, wheat, flour maize, etc.,” with the Spaniards.²⁰ The Arapaho also seasonally held a trade fair on a tributary of the Platte River, called “Grand Camp Creek near the mountains.” At the trade fair, the Arapaho would obtain British goods from the Cheyenne living north and trade them south.²¹

With the onset of winter, the various bands retreated back toward their sheltered mountain valleys or wintered in the stream valleys on the Great Plains; the same locations that bison retreated to escape winter's wrath. The bands broke into winter camps, usually consisting of extended family camps. Each winter camp located itself near each other along neighboring streams. The area between the wintered camps served as a regulated hunting preserve. If it became necessary to conduct a winter hunt, an age-grade society organized the hunters. Soldier society members also gathered a bison herd of sufficient size for the camp's needs. Individual hunters could hunt in this area, unless the game was plentiful.²² As spring arrived, the Arapaho once again moved onto the Plains to gather prairie turnips and make preparations for the early summer bison hunt.

3.4 Technology and Material Culture

Women were responsible for the manufacture of a wide variety of material cultural items. Aside from dressing hides to make tipi covers, containers, and other

essential items, she was charged with making clothing. Women wore an open sleeved skin dress, moccasins, which were attached to the leggings reaching the knee. Adult women also wore a blanket in bad weather. The skin blankets of women and men were usually painted or embroidered, either with porcupine quills or trade beads. Women wore their hair loose with paint in it. Similar to old men, elderly women wore their hair loose and generally tangled.

Men dressed in a shirt, leggings reaching from the ankles to the hips, breechclout, and moccasins. During cold weather, men wore a dressed bison blanket. A mans hair was either braided or tied together in front of the ears. Elderly men gathered their hair in a bunch over the forehead. Both men and women painted for any religious or ceremonial action, except in mourning. While in mourning the face was never painted.²³

More than any other Plains society, women decorated dressed hide material items with prayers expressed in symbolic form using quills, beads, and paint. One of the most frequent symbols placed on material items was the life symbol or *hiiteni*. Sacred designs on lodge covers, buffalo robes, blankets, baby cradles could only be applied during a ritual under the supervision of the seven old women who were the keepers of the women's tribal medicine bags.²⁴

The Arapaho formally made pottery, but the practice was abandoned after becoming equestrian. Cooking vessels and eating plates were made of rawhide. Bowls were carved out of spherical cottonwood knots. Spoons and cups were made of mountain sheep horns. Food was cooked in a rawhide paunch placed into a hole. The paunch would be filled with water and hot stones added to boiled the food. Meat also was roasted.²⁵

Arapaho also made coiled basketry, but during the post-horse period only made basket throwing dice trays. Other material items included stone mauls, root digging sticks, and a variety of other material goods.²⁶

Men were responsible for the manufacture of weaponry. Bows were sinew backed, usually made of cedar. Arrows were made of shafts of cherry or currant, although red willow also was employed. Each arrow, once completed, was painted with ownership markings.

Knives were made of stone or bone, especially the bossed rib of bison. Stone axes were made as well as stone war clubs. The stone was encased in rawhide and attached to flexible wooden handles. Lances, about seven feet in length, were also made. Before the introduction of metal, a leafed-shaped stone would be attached to one end.

Shields, which held protective spiritual medicines or had ceremonial attachments, had significance in manufacture and care. The shield was made of bison bull hide. To make and shield required the performance of certain ceremonies. Because of sacred importance of shields, not every man could carry a shield.

3.5 Life Cycle

The birth of a child was an important event in an Arapaho lodge. An older woman who had knowledge of childbirth attended the delivery. She administered herbal medicine to the mother to make the labor a more comfortable event and to stimulate the flow of milk after the birth. Women delivered the infant from a kneeling position, with the attendant stationed behind the mother to catch the child. During the delivery, the elder woman massaged the mother's abdomen to assist the mother in the birthing process.²⁷

The afterbirth was tied in the top branches of an old tree with a prayer that the child might live to an old age. The infant was placed in a cradle made by the father's sister. The dried naval cord stump was saved and placed inside a grass-filled buckskin amulet that is diamond shaped. This decorated by beadwork. The amulet was hung on the cradle and later worn by the child until it wore out.

Arapaho infants were named shortly after birth. The husband's family was responsible for arranging for an older relative to perform the naming ceremony. A boy could change his name when he arrived at manhood and several times thereafter as his status changes.

At the next Sacrifice Lodge ceremony, an elder warrior was asked to perform the ear piercing ceremony for the child. Cutting the hair over the forehead and on one side were also ceremonies of childhood. The act of piercing symbolically portrayed the counting of coup on an enemy. For the ceremonial, an elder warrior received the father's best horse. If the child cried during the event, it meant a long life, since the pain and suffering had been undergone.

As the child grew, both parents assisted in child training. Both sexes learned at a very young age to ride horseback and were given their own ponies. Children often played games that imitated the daily activities of adults. Girls had dolls and toy tipis with all the associated furnishings. Boys were given small bows and arrows and other implements used as adults. They were taught to shoot at hoops and other marks and throw grass snakes.

By age ten or there about, the sexes begin to diverge sharply. Young girls and boys form single sex playgroups. Each also avoided siblings from the opposite sex. Family's rewarded sex specific accomplishments. A young boy's first successful hunt of a small animal or bird is acknowledged by a public announcement to the camp and his family gave away a horse in his honor. A young girl, in similar fashion, was honored for beading her first pair of moccasins.

The onset of puberty, in Arapaho society, is not marked by any special ceremony. An Arapaho woman did not have to isolate herself during menstruation, but she was required to behave in quiet manner. Her only restriction was that she had to avoid ceremonial activities. The transition to womanhood was demarcated by changes in dress and cultural behaviors. The young woman wore a concho belt, gathering her dress at the

waist. Because she was required to remain chaste until her marriage, their mothers carefully chaperoned their daughters to assure their virginity. On certain public occasions, especially during tribal encampments, the young girl was required to wear a protective rope. The rope was wrapped about her waist and legs under her outer garments. Her male relatives would punish any man who violated the rope.

In contrast to a woman's world, a young Arapaho man's life had fewer restrictions. With regard to sexual conduct, he was permitted to take any sexual liberties without criticism. The young man, wearing a blanket would wait by a path for a girl he liked to pass by unattended by her women relatives. If the young woman were interested in the man, she would allow him to wrap her in his blanket. He also gave his amour gifts to sway her interests.

In Arapaho society, the cultural expectation was that every woman and man should marry. Ideally, their respective families arranged marriages. Young women married by their late teens, although men normally waited until the middle twenties. If a young man desired a wife, he asked his mother or other kinswomen to approach the wife's family on his behalf. The decision to proceed with the union rested with her brothers, who could consent to the marriage without her knowledge. Most often the young woman followed her brother's recommendation, especially for the first marriage. On occasion, a couple may elope to another band containing relatives if the families disapprove of their marriage. After an acceptable time period, the couple would return and the union would be sanctioned by an exchange of gifts.

If the young man is acceptable to the family, the young man and his relatives presented gifts of horses, clothing and the other items to the bride's family. The young woman's family provided the couple with a new lodge and all the furnishings necessary to establish a new household.

When the new lodge was complete, the bride's family feasted the groom's family. During the ceremony, the woman's family presented his relatives gifts in exchange for the

items they received earlier. Medicine men were invited to the feasts to pray for the couple's well-being and future together. He also offered advice to the couple.

Post-martial marriage usually was with the bride's extended family. The new son-in-law performed several years of labor for her relatives. Marriages represented an important alliance between families and every effort was made to keep them intact. The wife's parents often would give a son-in-law a second and third daughter to a successful husband. Brothers, in addition, often married sisters. Sororal polygyny created firm kin relations. Co-wives cooperated together in childcare and other activities. The eldest wife however, directed the labor activities of the other younger wives and directed their proper behavior. Sometimes, the elder wife mistreated the younger wives, but most often she welcomed the extra set of hands to assist her in her daily activities.²⁸

Despite such efforts to create lasting kin ties, marriages did dissolve with frequency. The most common causes were jealousy or infidelity. Husbands could physically punish his spouse for laziness or improper behavior, although if the punishment was too harsh or unwarranted her brothers would intervene of her behalf. A man also could cut the tip of his wife's nose off for being unfaithful, although it was more honorable to send her to her lover without saying another word to her about the matter. Conversely, wives could punish a husband for sexual indiscretions by publicly scolding him or scratching his face. If the marriage did break-up, each spouse returned to their natal households with their property.

If a marriage ended by the death of the husband, the Arapaho practiced the levirate. The dead husband's brother would take his brother's widow and family into his household, often as another wife.

Similar to other Plains societies, social prestige and status increased with advancing age. A woman's social position was tied to her husbands. His progression through the age-grade sodalities, successes in war, and growing spiritual power conferred a corresponding status to her. She assisted him in society obligations and danced beside

him during public portions of their ceremonies. In the higher-ranking age-grade societies, women sang with their husbands and assisted them with the sacred objects. In so doing, they accumulated a high degree of ceremonial knowledge.

Women also acquired social prestige apart from their husbands. Participation in the Buffalo Lodge ceremony and the execution of sacred beadwork represented advancement in status and a degree of supernatural power. Sacred beadwork included the decoration of bison robes, tipi liners, and tipi ornaments. The beadwork knowledge was under the direction of seven elder women who held medicine bags. Only these women could mark-off the rows to be beaded on robes and conduct the necessary ceremony for the attaching of beaded medallions and dewclaw pendants to lodge covers. The medicine bags ceremonially were transferred to other women qualified to own them. Each new owner gave the previous owner payment for the sacred knowledge.

For men, their life cycle paralleled the formally demarcated age-grade system. Formal society membership began shortly after puberty, about age sixteen or eighteen. This age cohort would be initiated into the Kit-Foxes. Becoming a Kit Fox meant taking on adult roles. Hunting and warfare, to acquire wealth and social prestige, dominated early adulthood. Kit Foxes served as camp police, scouts, and were called upon by higher-ranking sodalities or political authorities to assist in a variety of tasks.

As a man gained in social status, he could lead and instruct others in warfare and sodality activities. Arapaho men who became wealthy through their activities emerged as leaders of their extended family. Of these men, within the formalized structure of the age grade system would become bandleaders. Still others may achieve the distinction of being selected as a tribal chief.

In Arapaho society, a man's status not only depended on the accumulation of wealth and social prestige, but the acquisition of spiritual power. Every man acquired some ceremonial knowledge through participation in sodality ceremonies and the Sacrifice Lodge, but few achieved the spiritual eminence to enter into the two highest age

grades. Although not a common practice, some middle age Arapaho men vision quested to become a doctor or to seek addition powers to qualify him for membership in the Grey Heads and Water Sprinkling Old men sodalities.

For Arapaho men and women, changes in age and status also meant changes in behavior and personality. From childhood for example, young men were taught to be aggressive and constantly oriented toward warfare and accumulating property. As they transition into an elder's status, the cultural expectation was for them to be wise, conciliatory, and concerned for the welfare of others. Elders among the Arapaho were respected and never openly contradicted for their opinions. Families cared for the elderly, even after they became non-productive members of the lodge.

Death was a time for communal mourning. Surviving kin unbraided or cut their hair. They also donned old clothes for the duration of the mourning period. Women overtly cried and sometimes, gashed their arms and legs with a knife. The mourning period lasted for a year. During that time, close kin did pay close attention to their personal appearance, ate less, as well as avoided joyous activities.

The kin of the deceased washed and finely dressed by close kin. Prior to burial, all his or her friends and relatives then viewed the person. Internment was usually in a grave in the foothills. A horse was killed over the grave. If a man, his shield also would be staked over the location. If the band camped near the grave, kinswomen would return frequently to the site to mourn the loss.

At camp, the lodge of the dead was given away. All materials that the deceased person had contact with was collected and burned by his relatives. Family members to “keep” the spirit away then burned cedar. The surviving siblings received any horses and the children kept any personal property they wished from their parent's lodge.

The mourning period ended with a feast prepared by the immediate family. They invited an elder--man or woman--to pray for them. At the end of the ceremony, the elder

painted all present with red paint, a symbolic indicator that the family could thereafter resume a normal life.

3.6 Marriage, Family, and Kinship

The nucleus of Arapaho life is the family that resides in each lodge. Each lodge although was connected to an extended kinship network that formed a kindred. All activities of daily life as well as social relations were rooted in kinship. The Arapaho maintained and recognized a wide circle of consanguineal and affinal relatives. Five generations were distinguished terminologically.

In theory, Arapaho kinship terms could be extended to all persons in society that a known genealogical relationship could be traced. In reality, every Arapaho person emphasized certain kin relations and de-emphasized others. Other relationships conveniently were forgotten or ignored as circumstances arose. Residence and social interaction determined the bilateral kindred in which kinship obligations and prohibitions applied in the course of daily life.

Arapaho distinguished kin on the basis of generation, sex of relatives, and age in ego's generation. Discrete lines of descent terminologically were not recognized. Within the same generation, collateral relatives and lineal relatives were referred to by the same term, except for father's sisters and mother's brothers. Their children were called by the same term as one's own children. Mother's sisters and father's brothers were called by the same term as one's own father and mother. Their children were called by sibling terms.

Following the cultural prescription of sororal polygyny and polygyny in general, half-siblings were included in the sibling terms. Sister co-wives or unrelated co-wives addressed each other as sisters or by their given name.

Great-grandparents and great-grandchildren were called by the same terms as grandparents and grandchildren. Adopted relatives were called by separate terms as

corresponding consanguineal kin terms. In-laws were called by separate terms and sibling terms and sibling-in-law of the opposite sex called each other by reciprocal terms. Separate terms for address or reference existed for most categories of relatives.

Embedded in kin terminology was the parameter of behaviors and social mores each person held toward each related individual. All relatives were supportive of each other, but it varied in degree, depending on kin distance and social relationships. Respect relationships prevailed among parents and children, parents-in-law and children-in-law, and between siblings of the opposite sex. A son-in-law never spoke to his mother-in-law and they avoided any association with each other. Once brothers and sisters approached puberty, they avoided each other, but remained concerned with each other's welfare and children. Same sex siblings, on the other hand, remained close throughout their lifetimes. Older siblings held authority over younger siblings and the greater the age distance between siblings the greater the authority.

Father's sisters and mother's brothers often made presents and offered advice to their reciprocal relatives. They also teased them in an instructive manner. Sibling-in-laws teased each other often, especially in matters concerning sex. Their intimate behaviors paralleled the Arapaho practices of the sororate and levirate.

Grandparents and grandchildren considered each other equals. Throughout their lifetime, they maintained an affectionate relationship. Elders constantly instructed and cared for their grandchildren, using anecdotes and oral traditions to teach them Arapaho cultural ideals. Grandparents offered advice on any subject without restraint to other relatives.

The majority of social intercourse in Arapaho society was carried out within the confines of an extended family, associated with parental lodge. Each extended family normally contained a man and his wife, unmarried grown sons, children, their married daughters with their husbands and their children. Often an assortment of other relatives joined the residence unit.

Married daughters usually had their own tipi, where she lived with her children and her spouse. In Arapaho society matrilocality was preferred, but there was a high degree of flexibility to post-marital residence. Elders also constructed small lodges that they maintained as associated residences attached to the extended family.

Within this cluster of related lodges, women shared hearths; meat-drying racks, and cooperated in all domestic activities associated with daily camp life. Men in the extended family also formed a cooperative labor force in hunting, butchering, and care of the horse herd.

3.7 Social and Political Organization

The Arapaho had eight age-graded men's sodalities that varied in rank and power. Unlike the military societies of their allies, the Northern Cheyenne and Teton Dakota, Arapaho sodalities were not voluntary associations.²⁹ Every Arapaho man entered into the age graded system to achieve his adult social status. Each society was ranked by age and ceremonial importance. As a man transitioned into each military society, his social prestige and ceremonial status increased in importance. A few men eventually achieved the highest social ranking, the *Hinanahaⁿwu* or Water-Sprinkling Old Men. At this level, a man assumed the role of being one of the highest religious authorities in Arapaho society. To be a Water-Sprinkling Old Man equated with being a priest, charged with supervising all tribal ceremonies and spiritual matters.

With the exception of the two highest-ranking Arapaho sodalities, the entry into each age-grade was marked by public ceremony. The ceremonial was only held after a man had passed through all the preceding ceremonials and made a vow during the preceding year. His vow represented a personal petition to the spiritual powers for assistance. A man could ask for good health or help for a relative as well as success in war. If the spiritual request was granted, the man was obligated to sponsor the ceremony.

All his fellow age-grade sodality members would then participate in the ceremony and move *en masse* with him to the next higher-ranking society.

The lowest ranked societies, the Kit Fox and Star Falcon, held dances when initiating a new age group into their ranks, but did not have any ceremonial functions. To assist them in organizing their dances, these societies had "elder brothers," recruited from the Club Boards and Girdled Spearmen. These fictive kin relationships from higher-ranking sodalities acted as ceremonial instructors. The "elder brothers" continued to act as advisors to the lower ranking age group as they progressed through the higher societies.

Within the age-grade system, the Club Board, Girdled Spearmen, Lime Crazy, and Dog sodalities formed the social and ceremonial core of an Arapaho man's life. Each age grade level held dances and ceremonies symbolic of their activities. Each society member selected a ceremonial "Grandfather" to assist him in carrying out properly his social and ceremonial duties. As with the role of "Elder Brother," the "Grandfather" could belong to any higher-ranking society. Ceremonial "Grandfathers" also provided their "Grandsons" with ceremonial regalia as well as instruction during religious and sodality events. "Grandfathers" prepared their "grandsons" for the transition to the next higher age-grade. In return for his knowledge and assistance, the "Grandfather" received property for his services.

Within each of the four societies, honorary degrees were bestowed on selected men for exceptional feats of bravery in war. "Elder Brothers" chose the honored men before the sodality dance took place. Those men who received these honors were given special regalia items to display publicly, reflecting their special status within the age-grade. Although the "Elder brothers singled out these men" their bestowed status did not equate to any political authority over fellow sodality members. Age-grade sodality leadership rested in the hands of "Elder Brothers," who were instructed in their ceremonial actions by the Water Sprinkling Old Men.

The two highest ranked sodalities, the Grey Heads and the Water Sprinkling Old Men, were the highest religious and political authorities in Arapaho society. To become a *Hinanahaⁿwu* or Grey Head required the acquisition of spiritual power beyond that of others in your age group. Selection to the *Hinanahaⁿwu* therefore, sodality was limited and marked by formal ceremonials directed by the *Tciinetci-bahaeihaⁿ*. Often band headmen and tribal leaders were Grey-Head Men.

The Water Sprinkling Old Men were the ceremonial leaders of the Arapaho people. They not only were charged with the direction of all lower ranking sodality activities through their supervision of "Elder Brothers," they cared for the spiritual well being of the Arapaho nation. The "old men" were priests that acted as intermediaries with the spirit world on behalf of the tribal-nation. The majority of their activities involved private ceremonial activities such as sweat lodge ceremonies, singing, praying, caring of the tribe's sacred equipment, and using their power to promote communal welfare.³⁰

Arapaho women also had a sodality. Unlike the age-graded system among their male counterparts, membership in their sodality was voluntary. A woman of any age could join the *Banuxtaⁿwu* or Buffalo Lodge. To be ceremonially initiated into the Buffalo Lodge, a woman made a vow. Members of the *Banuxtaⁿwu* symbolically represent the buffalo. Spiritually their activities were equated with the Dog Men.

The Arapaho age-grade system provided a mechanism for tribal integration. The age-grade system crosscut Arapaho hunting bands that tended to be flexible in membership. As Arapaho band structure changed with political and economic circumstances, the graded military societies offered a permanent social institution that promoted structural continuity across bands. In Arapaho society, older men held authority over younger men and their actions.

The sodalities, in addition, regulated Arapaho political and ideological authority. Band leaders not only led by making wise decisions for their people, those decisions carried a sacred mandate. In this way, Arapaho social organization, political structure, and economic system was linked permanently to their religious ideology.

Among the Arapaho, the band was the locus of political and economic life, although kinship was the underlying principle of band formation and affiliation. At the core of band membership was often a large, wealthy kindred, whose ability and solidarity of its adult members held the band together as a collective entity. In the core kindred, brothers are especially important. The eldest man of this extended kin network was usually the leader. Band leadership combined a blend of qualities ranged from personal ability to the man's standing in the social system. An older man, a member of the highest-ranking age-grade sodality in the band, provided spiritual guidance.

Other kindred's making up the band is linked through affines to the core kindred, although unrelated families could join the band for mutual interest or dependence. Bands are a number of extended families or kindred's joined together by marriage or common political-economic interests. It was adaptable to the quickly changing conditions of life on the Great Plains. Organizationally, Arapaho band composition and demography changed with the shifting socio-economic opportunities ecological, economic and political circumstances offered during the course of the year. Band membership also fluctuated with its leader's capabilities.

Bands remained relatively stable over many years, especially if the core kindred were particularly stable. Inevitably a band did dissolve or shift as key political members died and fortunes of core kindred changed through time. As these bands evolved toward dissolution, new alliances crystallized around emerging, younger kindred's. These kindred's became the nuclei of descendent bands.

Throughout the nineteenth century, Indian agents and military personnel referred to Arapaho bands by their leader's name, but they did have recognized names. Although

during the pre-reservation era there were no fixed number of bands, there were at least seven bands identified ethnographically. Among the Southern Arapaho, nineteenth century bands included the "Bad Faces," "Pleasant Men," "Black Men" or "Blackfeet," the "Wolves," and the "Looking-Up People," or "Watchers."³¹ The Northern Arapaho had four bands. The largest, "The Quick Tempered" band, contained about 800 people. This band was not only the largest, but constituted the center of tribal organization. Numbering about 600 individuals, the Antelope band, along with the demographically smaller "Greasy Faces" and Middle People" or the "Forks-of-the-River People," composed the remainder of the Northern Arapaho nation. In reality, each band probably fluctuated between 200 to 1,000 persons.³² Arapaho bands were quasi-independent political structures that could make alliances with other bands and foreign nations.

Arapaho political organization was designed to merge the diverging interests of various bands into a common framework of communal interests. Just as the Arapaho religious authority was linked to the age-grade system, so too was tribal government. Arapaho leadership was integrated directly into the age-grade system. According to Henry Elkin:

Outstanding Kit Fox and Star men were "little chiefs"; they had meager authority but were expected to rise to higher ranks. The Tomahawk and Bi^htahenec who were chosen as "older brothers" became "brother chiefs," while others became "company chiefs." At the top of the chieftainship scale were four "tribal chiefs who were formally and ceremonially inducted into their positions. When two of the four died, or, more frequently, retired with old age, the remaining chiefs chose the most capable men to replace them from among the Dog or perhaps the Crazy Society.³³

There also were chief's assistants, who carried a great deal of prestige and opinion on matters affecting the Arapaho nation.

Arapaho tribal chiefs coordinated the movements of the various bands, planned for the protection of the camp when the tribe gathered together, and chose the winter camping locations for each band. Routinely, the function of Arapaho government included the enforcement of rules surrounding a number of tribal activities. Hunting strategies, the line of march as the camp moved, the breaking and formation of the camp circle, and maintaining order within the camp were routine political decisions that were attended to regularly by tribal chiefs. To carry out their decisions, the tribal chiefs charged one of the first four age grade societies. Overseeing the tribal chief's decision, "elder brothers" headed the acting society to carry out his plans.³⁴

As a mechanism of social control, an acting Arapaho age-grade society chosen by the bandleader, had unlimited powers to punish offenders who jeopardize community welfare. Shooting the offenders dogs, destroying his lodge and belongings, or killing his horses would handle any violation. If a person physically resisted these acts, they were promptly shot. The only arena the age-grade members had difficulty in regulating was warfare. Frequently Kit Fox and Star society members left for war raids, especially during ceremonial preparations or the gathering of lodge poles; a time when war was forbidden.³⁵

Some political decisions were made privately, but others required input from all the age-grade societies. On these occasions, an open discussion occurred in which lesser chiefs and elders spoke before the tribal chiefs put forth their final opinion. If a consensus could not be reached, the tribal chiefs asked the societies meet among themselves. Since "Grandfathers" and "Grandsons" should never disagree, the "Grandfather societies" asked the "Grandson societies" to make a decision. On other occasions, the "Grandson societies" approved and supported any decision made by their "Grandfather societies." This is especially true on religious matters, when the two eldest societies held authority and knowledge.

In matters of war, the Tomahawk and the *Bi'tanhenenc* societies decided tribal matters. In most other decisions, the two eldest and the two youngest sodalities remained silent, allowing the Crazy and Dog Societies to hold sway.³⁶

The separation of Arapaho social divisions, combined with the new post-contact political economic conditions, altered patterns their political leadership. Principle headmen no longer were selected by hereditary principles. Instead, leadership was chosen on the basis of successfully dealing with Europeans. During the latter portion of the nineteenth century a macro-political structure developed above the tribal chiefs. An Arapaho tribal chief developed to respond to U.S. governmental demands of negotiating with a recognized leader. Their authority was derived from their direct control of governmental goods and services, especially treaty annuities.³⁷

3.8 Warfare and Raiding

For Arapaho men, as in other Great Plains societies, warfare remained the principal mechanism for the accumulation of wealth and social prestige. Participation in war against enemies was a prerequisite for a position of authority and honor. The Arapaho system of warfare is tied intimately to the age-grade system. The sodalities, especially the younger age groups, served as a source of training and encouragement for war activities. "Elder Brothers" as well as elders of higher-ranking age-grade societies constantly implored their younger charges on the virtues of bravery in battle. Higher-ranking sodality members constantly evaluated and ranked their acts of bravery. They also instructed younger sodality members in the art of war.

Four societies--the Star Falcon, Kit Fox, Tomahawk, and *Biitaha?ei*--divided themselves internally into two divisions. The two internal groups competed against each other in war. This competition expressed itself in public oratory contests. War expeditions, therefore, most often were composed of warriors from the same age-grade sodality. The expedition leader however, was usually an older man--an "Elder Brother"--with a proven war record. Warriors of the Tomahawk and *Biitah?ei* sodalities frequently went to war. Crazy Lime and Dog Society members did not war as much and seldom

went as an age-grade group. When they did fight, it was expected that these seasoned veterans exhibit the highest standards of bravery.

The positive social values of warfare created an anxious atmosphere to raid or meet the enemy in battle. Quite often, war parties left camps, despite cultural sanctions prohibiting anyone from going to war during the preparation and performance of the Sacrifice Lodge or during the gathering of lodge poles.

Success in raiding was gauged by returning with an enemy's property and/or war trophies without losing a raiding party member. The camp always exuberantly welcomed successful war parties with a victory ceremony. War party members painted their faces black and danced with women who carried their war trophies aloft on sticks. The victory ceremonial lasted most of the night. On occasion, the participants would tie each other together to prevent anyone from quitting the celebration.

During the nineteenth century the Arapaho was constantly involved in a complex arena of alliances and conflicts. The Arapaho for example frequently crossed the Rocky Mountains to war against the Ute and Shoshone. Aside from the shifting alliances that were dependent on current political economic circumstances, long-standing alliances existed with the Cheyenne, some Teton Dakota tribes, and their relatives, the Atsina. In 1840, the Arapaho, along with the Cheyenne, restored peace with the Kiowa and Comanche, who were now living largely south the of the Arkansas River.³⁸

The strongest alliance historically was with the Cheyenne. "Since long before the white man," according to Althea Bass, "the Cheyenne and the Arapaho had followed much the same road. We had been joined together against our common enemies and so made war together."³⁹

3.9 Religious and Ideology

Arapaho religious ideology centered about a belief in an all-pervasive spiritual power. According to their religious belief, "Man Above," the "Father," or "Great Mystery" was the source of creation. This spiritual power also exerted a controlling influence on individual human destiny as well as tribal well-being.⁴⁰ Thus cosmic, natural, and social forces in the world operated in concert. Supplication to the "Great Mystery," whose symbol was the Flat Pipe bundle, belief, thoughts, and expression, influenced events. Arapaho ritual and ceremony, whether practiced individually or as tribal acts, petitioned the spiritual forces for a long life, blessings, and power during ceremony, ritual, or daily behavior. The acquisition of spiritual blessings were by association with the sacred Flat Pipe, participating in the *bayaawu* or ceremonial lodges, or seeking personal power.⁴¹

The embodiment of that all-pervasive sacred power is the Flat Pipe. The origin of the Arapaho and their way of life is embodied in the Flat Pipe tradition. While only fragments of the tradition have been collected, apparently before the Flat Pipe was given to the people there were four other successive worlds. In the present world, the earth was originally covered with water. "Pipe Person," the Creator, floats on the water, planning, praying, and thinking good. Through these harmonious actions he received power (*beetee*), which he used to send waterfowl and animals below the water's surface to look for land. After failed attempts by various animals, turtle was able to bring dirt up on his feet. Taking the mud, the Creator sang four songs, spread the mud out on the pipe, and blew it in the four directions. In this way the earth was created.

The Sun and Moon, man and woman, all animals and plant life were made from clay. After their creation, the seasons were generated, giving the earth a cyclical rhythm. Afterwards, "Pipe person" instructed the Arapaho how to live.⁴²

"Pipe Person" then gave the Arapaho the Flat Pipe bundle to care for and use as a medium for conveying prayers to "Pipe Person," the Creator. The Flat Pipe bundle is

symbolic of the Arapaho nation and served to promote community solidarity. The sacred pipe is carved of a single, tubular stone. It has a low bowl and the mouthpiece represents the head of a turtle. The bundle also contains a stone turtle and stone ear of corn.⁴³ In 1897, Left Hand, a Southern Arapaho leader, described the significance of the Flat Pipe. He said:

We have a medicine pipe we call the 'flat pipe;' whenever a man smokes that pipe he is obliged to tell the truth... We use it in the Sun Dance, the sweat house, and whenever we want to worship. She Bear has it now (1897); he lives at Fort Washakie. It has always been north, and was never kept south; we have never seen it... it is wrapped in skins of different kinds, otter, beaver, etc. with it is an ear of corn and a stone turtle. This turtle is the one that brought up the earth from the bottom of the flood and spit it out, thus forming the present earth. The old south Arapahos has some stones which represented the ipie, but the last old man is dead, and his wife keeps them. Her name is Old Sun and she lives at Watinga. The flat pipe was given us by the father when we grew up as a people... when the Arapahos were first made.⁴⁴

A bundle keeper and his wife care for the Flat Pipe. The sacred Pipe Keeper is the highest religious authority in Arapaho life. Originally, the Pipe keeper always came from a particular family of the "Big Lodge People," or *Baasaⁿwuune'naⁿ*.⁴⁵ The Pipe Keeper received the sacred bundle from either his parents or his wife's parents with instructions, responsibilities, and taboos associated with the pipe's proper care.⁴⁶ The Keeper of the Flat Pipe, as the head ceremonial leader, was charged with all sacred matters connected to the annual Sacrifice Lodge.

On occasion, the Pipe Keeper opened the Flat Pipe bundle so its blessings could bestow good fortune. Those who viewed the sacred pipe, could vow "to cover it" in return for its power to cure an illness or reverse misfortune. The opening of the Flat Pipe bundle is a sacred act that required strict ritual prescription. The camp had to maintain

respectful behavior while the opening ceremony was in progress. Only individuals that had direct concerns with the Flat Pipe's blessings could attend. Although the solemn ceremony was a restricted affair, the opening of the Flat Pipe bundle had religious ramifications for the entire Arapaho nation.

So venerated was the Flat Pipe, it dictated the rhythm of Arapaho life. With the onset of spring, no Arapaho bands could break winter camp until the band with the sacred pipe began to move onto the Plains. The pipe holder, depending on circumstances, led the band or tribe in the line of march. If the pipe halted, all other people following had to stop, until the pipe resumed its movement. Furthermore, it was the Flat Pipe that determined each day the band's camping locale. When the Arapaho nation gathered for the Sacrifice Lodge, the location and camp circle revolved around the Flat Pipe.⁴⁷

Another set of tribally owned venerated objects were the seven men's and seven women's medicine bags. Priests kept all of the bags. The men's bags were cared for by the "Water Pouring Old Men," who played a major role in Arapaho religious life.⁴⁸

The seven women's bags contained implements for painting and doing quillwork. Tipi covers, cradleboards, and bison robes had to be decorated under the direct supervision of the women priests.⁴⁹

Traditionally, the Southern and Northern Arapaho cared for sacred feathered hoops ("Sacred Wheels"). A priest, who cared for the sacred object, kept each. After the separation of the tribe, the Sacred Wheel possibly assumed greater importance among the Southern Arapaho.⁵⁰ The Sacred Wheel played a prominent role in the Offerings Lodge (Sun Dance). Individuals could vow to the Wheel through prayer and sacrifice.⁵¹

The major ceremonial event in Arapaho life is the "Offerings Lodge or "Sacrifice Lodge." The "Sacrifice Lodge" made direct reference to the bodily sacrifice and hardships the dancers had to endure for the welfare of the Arapaho people. During the ceremony, the dancers refrained from all food and water.

Central to Arapaho religious practice and belief are the concepts of prayer and sacrifice. The expression of a person's sincerity of prayer is sacrifice, either through property or bodily offerings. In return for spiritual aid, individuals vowed to complete sacrifices. Occasionally, individuals would receive instructions from spirit beings to sacrifice, either through reciprocity or ceremonial participation. The "Offerings Lodge" was the major ceremony of sacrifice.⁵²

Before the four-day Sacrifice Lodge began, the ceremonial instructors spent three days in the Rabbit Lodge. The rite inside the Rabbit Lodge involved Lodgemaker, his wife, and elderly men and women who owned the rights to perform certain ceremonies and prepare regalia that symbolically portrays events in the creation. During their isolation, the instructors were prepared ritually for their tasks during the Sacrifice Lodge.⁵³

The "Offering Lodge" is a four-day public ceremony. The ceremonial "grandfathers" instructed and painted the dancers. The colors and designs symbolize not only the prayer-sacrifice of the dancer, but also mythological themes.⁵⁴ In the lodge, the dancers stood on a carpet of sage. As they danced, they periodically blew their eagle bone whistles while looking toward the center lodge pole. On the final day, those who vowed to pierce themselves, underwent a flesh sacrifice. They would insert wooden skewers in their breasts and fastened themselves to the center pole with leather thongs. As the men danced, they leaned away from the center pole attempted to rip themselves free. Such a sacrifice was a great honor, not only for the dancer, but also for the Arapaho people.

A man who made a vow to "put-up" the ceremony sponsored the Sacrifice Lodge. The vow, done for ill-health or misfortune, was for personal reasons, although he was assisted fully by all the ceremonial elders charged with Arapaho spiritual well-being. The man also had the support of his age-grade sodality members, who were obligated to dance with him.

The assembling of the necessary sacred materials for the lodge and its ritual preparation was a cooperative endeavor. Under the direction of the ceremonial elders, each age-grade sodality had certain duties to perform. Between the preparations, many of the sodalities held their own ceremonies and dances. The sodality's public performances promoted warrior ideals and honored individual members and their achievements. In the four middle sodalities, men who distinguished themselves in battle and upheld Arapaho ideals, were honored with special costuming and regalia. In other words, they became "honored men."

Not only did the age-grade sodalities hold their ceremonies, the pre-ceremony preparation was one of celebration for the entire nation. People held social dances, processions paraded around camp, the age-grade sodalities held mock battles, and young men publicly rode their girlfriends about the camp circle to show their affection.

All the Arapaho bands gathered for the ceremony. Each band had a designated camping location in the camp circle that formed around the "Sacrifice Lodge." The sacred Flat Pipe tipi had a special place in the center of the camp circle.

With all the bands gathered and age-grade sodalities present, the ceremony served an important political function. Arapaho chiefs, various band leaders, and sodality headsmen counseled with each other to decide on matters for the upcoming year. In this way, the leaders ensured the well-being of the entire Arapaho nation.

Among the Arapaho, the quest for spiritual power by individuals did not hold the same prominence than among other Great Plains tribal-nations. Personal medicines were acquired through dreaming or fasting for a vision. During the mid-nineteenth century onward, favored locations for seeking spiritual power were various peaks in Estes Park, Colorado. Supernatural aid for war or curing were the most frequent gifts, however some received power to divine, control the weather, or foretell future events. While men fasted

for spiritual power, women received power from dreams, walking visions, or power transferred from her husband or a parent.⁵⁵

Those who acquired a medicine, kept their power to themselves until they became Dog Society sodality members. Before that time, their medicine remained latent until sanctioned in communal spheres of religious practice. Part of that sanction involved informing the Flat Pipe Keeper of the power and the desire to use it. The spiritual power, now sanctioned by the highest Arapaho religious authorities, is prerequisite and a necessary spiritual preparation for membership in the two highest age-grades.⁵⁶

3.10 Conclusion

Among the Southern Arapaho the Offerings Lodge was still held in the spring until the 1880s, but after the collapse of the bison herds, the ceremony was moved to early fall to accommodate reservation farming activities. Despite the arrival of missionaries, the Southern Arapaho retained many religious beliefs and practices. Many Southern Arapaho frequently made trips to the Wind River Reservation to participate in the Flat Pipe ceremony. However with the cession of the reservation in 1891 and allotments, the Southern Arapaho experienced a series of cultural changes.⁵⁷

In 1879 the Northern Arapaho were settled in two large camps, but by the early 1890s were dispersed and settled into three bands. Unlike the Southern Arapaho, the Northern Arapaho retained and extended their land base, despite allotment. Using a series of accommodating strategies Northern Arapaho leaders worked to obtain official recognition of Arapaho title to the Wind River Reservation; a reserve originally set aside for the Eastern Shoshone. Those accommodating strategies extended to other aspects of Northern Arapaho life ways. Arapaho elders for example, compromising with Indian agent pressure to ban the Offerings Lodge, in 1890, banned piercing so the ceremony could continue. The Elders also permitted and integrated the Ghost Dance, peyotism, and Christianity as forms of worship, as long as the Arapaho people continued to fulfill their religious duties toward the Flat Pipe and the Offering Lodge.⁵⁸

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 - ². Alfred Louis Kroeber, The Arapaho. (Fairfield: Ye Galleon Press, 1975), 4-7; James Mooney, "The Ghost-Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890," Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Part 2. (Washington D.C., 1896), 954-955.
 - ³. Cited from, Ralph L. Beals, Ethnology of Rocky Mountain Park: The Ute and Arapaho. (Berkeley: National Park Service, Field Division of Education, 1936).
 - ⁴. Mooney, "The Ghost-Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890," 959; Loretta Fowler, "Arapaho," In. Handbook of North American Indians. Volume 13, Part 2. Raymond J. DeMallie, volume editor. (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 2001), 840.
 - ⁵. Bass, The Arapaho Way: A Memoir of an Indian Boyhood, 11.
 - ⁶. Elliot Coues, editor, New Light on the Greater Northwest: The Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry, Fur Trader of the Northwest Company, and of David Thompson, Official Geographer of the Same Company, 1777-1814. Volume 1. (New York: Francis P. Harper, 1897), 384.
 - ⁷. Fowler, "Arapaho," 840; Kroeber, The Arapaho, 5-7.
 - ⁸. Henry Elkin, "The Northern Arapaho of Wyoming," In. Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes. Ralph Linton, editor. (New York: Appelton-Century Company, 1940), 207; Fowler, "Arapaho," 840; Kroeber, The Arapaho, 6-7.
 - ⁹. Kroeber, The Arapaho, 6-7.
 - ¹⁰. According to Loretta Fowler, during the nineteenth century intense warfare and epidemics contributed the merging of some tribal divisions, see Fowler, "Arapaho," 840.
 - ¹¹. Kroeber, The Arapaho, 6-7.
 - ¹². Fowler, "Arapaho," 841-842.
 - ¹³. Fowler, "Arapaho," 842.
 - ¹⁴. Elkin, "The Northern Arapaho of Wyoming," 209.
 - ¹⁵. Kroeber, The Arapaho, 22.
 - ¹⁶. Sister M. Inez Hilger, Arapaho Child Life and its Cultural Background. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 148. (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1952), 173.
 - ¹⁷. Kroeber, The Arapaho, 22-23.
 - ¹⁸. See, Beals, Ethnology of Rocky Mountain Park: The Ute and Arapaho.
 - ¹⁹. Pierre-Antoine Tabeau, Tabeau's Narrative of Loisel's Expedition to the Upper Missouri. Annie Heloise Abel, editor. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939), 153-155.
 - ²⁰. Long, Stephen H., 1905 Expeditions from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountain, 1819-1820. In. Early Western Travels, 1748-1846. Reuben Gold Thwaites, editor. Volume 17. (Cleveland, 1905), 156.
 - ²¹. Hilger, Arapaho Child Life and its Cultural Background, 4.
 - ²². Elkin, "The Northern Arapaho of Wyoming," 222.
 - ²³. Kroeber, The Arapaho, 27-28.

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- ²⁴. Fowler, "Arapaho," 848; Hilger, Arapaho Child Life and its Cultural Background, 180-186; Kroeber, The Arapaho, 40,46, 70-77, 110,120-122.
- ²⁵. Kroeber, The Arapaho, 25-27; Hilger, Arapaho Child Life and its Cultural Background, 169-186.
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- ²⁷. Fowler, "Arapaho," 849.
- ²⁸. Fred Eggan, editor, Social Anthropology of North American Tribes. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955), 59-65; Fowler, "Arapaho," 849
- ²⁹. See, Muntsch, Albert, "Notes on Age-Classes among the Northern Arapaho," Primitive Man. 5(2/3, 1932):49-52.
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- ³¹. See, Mooney, "The Ghost-Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890."
- ³². Eggan, editor, Social Anthropology of North American Tribes, 84; Elkin, "The Northern Arapaho of Wyoming," 209.
- ³³. Elkin, "The Northern Arapaho of Wyoming," 220.
- ³⁴. Elkin, "The Northern Arapaho of Wyoming," 221.
- ³⁵. Elkin, "The Northern Arapaho of Wyoming," 222-223.
- ³⁶. Elkin, "The Northern Arapaho of Wyoming," 220-221.
- ³⁷. For a comprehensive analysis of Arapaho political and social changes diachronically see, Loretta Fowler, Political Process and Socio-Cultural Change among the Arapaho Indians. Ph.D. Dissertation. (Urbana: The University of Illinois, Urbana, 1970), 53.
- ³⁸. Fowler, "Arapaho," 842.
- ³⁹. Bass, The Arapaho Way: A Memoir of an Indian Boyhood, 3.
- ⁴⁰. Elkin, "The Northern Arapaho of Wyoming," 217.
- ⁴¹. Elkin, "The Northern Arapaho of Wyoming," 217; Fowler, "Arapaho," 843.
- ⁴². In some recorded accounts, the cultural trickster-hero gives the instructions for living and their cultural traditions, see, George A. Dorsey, The Arapaho Sun Dance: The Ceremony of the Offerings Lodge. Reprint of 1903 edition. (New York: Kraus Reprint, 1986), 191-212; George A. Dorsey and Alfred L. Kroeber, Traditions of the Arapaho. Reprint of 1903 edition. (Millwood: Kraus Reprint. 1976), 1-2; Kroeber, The Arapaho, 22, 35, 360, 337. In other accounts, Buffalo instructs the Arapaho people see, W. P. Clark, The Indian Sign Language. Reprint of 1885 edition. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982), 400; Edward S. Curtis, The North American Indian: Being a Series of Volumes Picturing and Describing the Indians of the United States, the Dominion of Canada, and Alaska. Frederick W. Hodge, editor. Volume 6. (Norwood: Plimpton Press, 1907-1930), 130; Kroeber, The Arapaho, 313.
- ⁴³. In several origin tradition versions, the Arapaho receive corn from either duck or turtle, see, Curtis, The North American Indian: Being a Series of Volumes Picturing and Describing the Indians of the United States, the Dominion of Canada, and Alaska, 6:140-141; Fowler, "Arapaho," 843; Kroeber, The Arapaho, 21, 308-309; Mooney, "The Ghost-Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890," 959-960.
- ⁴⁴. Hugh L. Scott, "The Early History and Names of the Arapaho," American Anthropologist. 9(1907);545-560; See also, L. H. Dunnells, Indian Life in Colorado: A

Collection of Source Material. Master's Thesis. (Greeley: Colorado State College of Education, 1938), 70-71.

⁴⁵. Mooney, "The Ghost-Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890," 959

⁴⁶. Elkin, "The Northern Arapaho of Wyoming," 217.

⁴⁷. Elkin, "The Northern Arapaho of Wyoming," 217; Fowler, "Arapaho," 843.

⁴⁸ The medicine bags were considered next in importance to the Flat Pipe. The Water Pouring Old Men would use medicine to conduct sweatlodge on behalf of all Arapaho people. The Water Pouring Old Men Lodge would be erected to the east of the Keeper of the Flat Pipe's Lodge in the camp circle, indicating their religious prominence, see, Curtis, The North American Indian: Being a Series of Volumes Picturing and Describing the Indians of the United States, the Dominion of Canada, and Alaska, 6:142; Kroeber, The Arapaho, 209-210; Mooney, "The Ghost-Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890," 986-989.

⁴⁹. Curtis, The North American Indian: Being a Series of Volumes Picturing and Describing the Indians of the United States, the Dominion of Canada, and Alaska, 6:142; Kroeber, The Arapaho, 209-210.

⁵⁰. Fowler, "Arapaho," 843-844.

⁵¹. See, Dorsey, The Arapaho Sun Dance: The Ceremony of the Offerings Lodge.

⁵². Fowler, "Arapaho," 844.

⁵³. Fowler, "Arapaho," 844.

⁵⁴. Fowler, "Arapaho," 844.

⁵⁵. Among the Southern Arapaho, powerful curers organized into societies based on their spirit-helper. The societies were called the Bears, Beavers, Buffalos, Foxes, Horses, and Lizards. Each society accepted apprentices and each spring gathered to renew their medicines, see, Fowler, "Arapaho," 844; Hilger, Arapaho Child Life and its Cultural Background, 124-130, 134-141.

⁵⁶. Elkin, "The Northern Arapaho of Wyoming," 218-219.

⁵⁷. Fowler, "Arapaho," 849-852.

⁵⁸. Refer to, Loretta Fowler, Arapahoe Politics, 1851-1978: Symbols in Crisis of Authority. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982), 103-221; Fowler, "Arapaho," 854-856.