"My Heart's Reservation":

A Study of the Boy Scouts' Order of the Arrow, Ka Ti Missi Sippi Lodge

by

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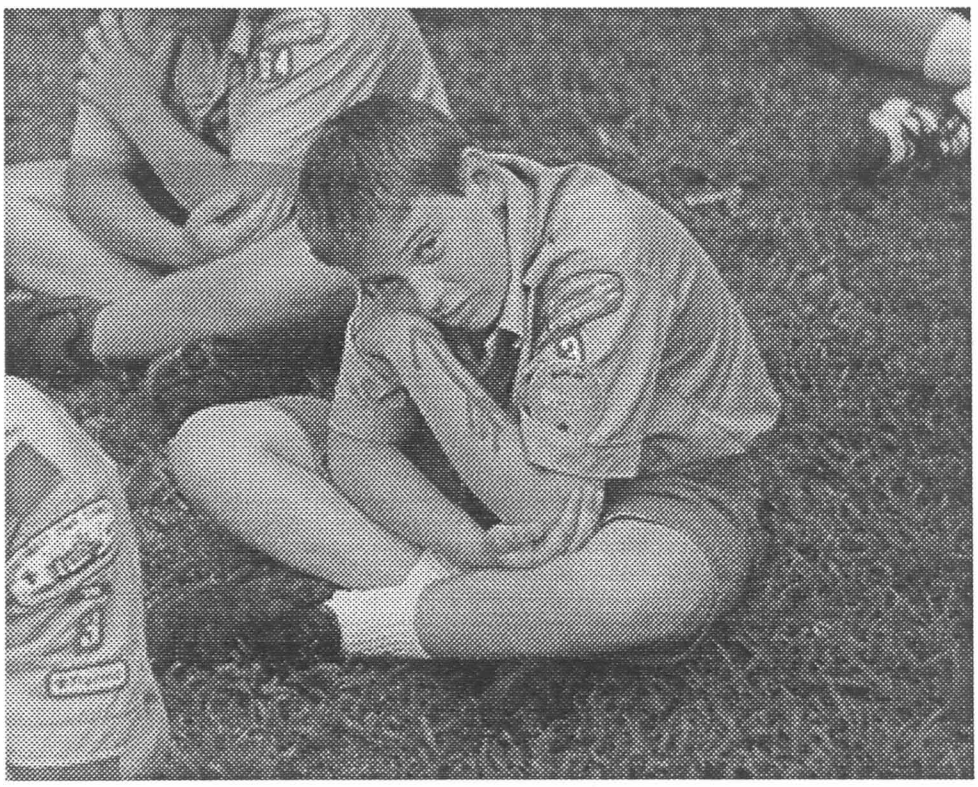

This work is dedicated to Benjamin Toal, a dear young man who was called-out during my research. Grow strong, be wise and strive for the best in everything you do. I'm proud to call you my brother.

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There are many people who have been instrumental to the process of completing this thesis project. My family has kept me motivated, always reminding me of the importance and privilege of education. My sister, Lori, was especially helpful in her patient instruction of the art of videotaping and the generous gift of a video camera. My husband, Morgan, has been the rock which kept my feet rooted in reality while my head swam the seas of theory. His family provided me with a variety of perspectives on this research topic and the opportunity to pursue it. Numerous friends have encouraged me, even when they weren't quite sure what on earth I was talking about.

Of course, nothing would have been possible without my committee members, past and present. Dr. Fields' voice has been constantly in my head, keeping me sharp and making me question my motives and my own biases. I was saddened by his departure, but glad to have been touched by such a wonderful educator. Dr. Warren's input shaped the practical aspects of this type of subjective study. Dr. Bruton gave me a perspective from across the road (Sociology) which helped me narrow my focus, and define my objectives. Dean Zimmerman has added refreshing creativity with her deeply perceptive observations when I had become too comfortable. Finally, my mentor, Dr. Wolff has given me enough leash to gather all my nuts together without getting lost in the forest. I am forever indebted to her generosity and confidence. I have been proud to be "your student."

Finally, I will never forget the OA members, young and old, who contributed to this study. They are ultimately the most important people to thank, for allowing me to enter into their organization without hesitation and giving their opinions freely. It is an excellent indicator of the success of this organization that these people were so willing to cooperate with, and at times even promote, my efforts. Truly they represent the finest the Scouts have to offer.

PREFACE

I chose the title "My Heart's Reservation," from a phrase I have heard among the boys and men of the Order of the Arrow. It refers to the camp where they were initiated into the Order, this Brotherhood of Cheerful Service, and it expresses the deep emotions shared by the group's members. It also embodies the borrowing of Native American cultural elements by mainstream America and particularly by the Boy Scouts. Summer camp has become a part of the American youth experience, and the Order acknowledges young men who exemplify the Boy Scout ideals of citizenship and excel at camping skills. So if Boy Scouts are to be examples of the epitome of the American youth, why should they act like Indians? And in acting like Indians, why glorify the concept of a "reservation," which in many past instances has born more resemblance to a concentration camp than a summer camp? It was such questions which led me to the writing of this thesis.

In the spring of 1994, I started down an adventurous trail. I must admit that there have been times where I felt things were going so smoothly that it was almost too easy, that some of the coincidences I encountered were too good to be true. In the end, it hasn't been too difficult of a road to travel. The project began with a paper I wrote for Dr. Robert Fields in an American Indian Studies class which outlined the initiation ordeal of the Tribe of the Silver Tomahawk, the Camp Eastman Lodge of the Boy Scouts' Order of the Arrow program. I learned about this Lodge and the program from my then fiancee who had been a member for nearly ten years.

Dr. Fields had many questions about the Order of the Arrow, as did I, and so I extended my research that summer and decided in the fall that it would be a good thesis topic. At the suggestion of Dr. Norma Wolff, I investigated Victor Turner's theory on structure and anti-structure, and my formal research was up and running. Several informants discovered at ISU provided a foundation for the project, along with my built-in "tour-guide" husband, but the heart of the research lay in the four weeks, from mid-July to late August in 1995, that I spent at Boy Scout camp where I was able to observe and even experience part of the process used to initiate new members into the Order. The public portion of the ceremony (as well as the other private, safeguarded portions of the initiation process) is conducted once during each week of camp, so my months of preparation resulted in days of observation and only a few hours of the actual ceremony.

Looking back over the past two years, and especially those weeks at camp, I feel that I have gained many things with the completion of this research. First, I have a better understanding of the goals and values of the Boy Scouts of America. Also, I have a clearer view of men and their relationships with one another. Second, I have been able to gain insight into some of the most significant experiences in my husband's life. I feel that we are closer and that I know him in a different way. Finally, since my father-in-law and young brother-in-law are also members of the Order, I find myself a stronger part of this new family.

I saw this research initially as a way of dealing with Native American issues without disturbing the lives of Native Americans. Many anthropologists have been criticized for their

work with Native Americans and I did not want to enter into that hot-bed of debate. Little did I know that the Silver Tomahawk was only barely less controversial.

The Silver Tomahawk Lodge is interesting because of its unique characteristics. This particular Boy Scout camp had the distinction of combining the national Order of the Arrow program with a secondary one, found only in a small region of the Midwest. My understanding is that this uniqueness has been and continues to be a source of contention with the national program. When for a variety of reasons, this Lodge was merged with another in 1995, there were strong feelings expressed on all sides of the merger. Members of the Silver Tomahawk Lodge were concerned about maintaining their "traditional" ceremonies while others were concerned about potentially harsh treatment of young boys. The ceremonies and rituals were scrutinized, a compromise made, and the Ka Ti Missi Sippi Lodge was born.

My research, while not addressing this situation directly, has been affected by the emotions of all sides. It is my strongest desire that the observations and conclusions herein be accepted at face value, and that no hidden intentions are read into them, for I have gone to great lengths to understand the various sides of the merger issue so that I might not be influenced or biased in any significant way. Ultimately, the changes made have not influenced my study, in that I could compare the observations from my pilot study in 1994 and those of another, more typical, Lodge, to the "new" traditions at Camp Eastman, so that I was able to get at the core elements of the initiation ceremony. I have struggled to remain neutral and occasionally in the writing of this thesis have blended past with present in the formation of an

"ethnographic present," but generally I have distinguished the various traditions to avoid misrepresenting the current situation.

It has been my intention throughout this process to maintain the confidentiality of my sources, as all ethnographers do, but I have had the additional burden of guarding the special knowledge of the rituals normally reserved for Order members only. Truly, it is a moral issue, that I do not wish to divulge information which is not mine to share, but also I have been careful to avoid any mistakes or misrepresentations concerning the organization's goals, values, and activities which might have led to litigate action on the part of the Order. If in any way material has been included here which falls into that category, it has been unintentional and I have made every attempt to err on the side of the conservative to avoid such problems.

It is my belief that I have provided a clear picture of a little known organization. I have nothing but the utmost respect for the Boy Scouts of America and their efforts to strengthen the character of America's youth, and I hope that this respect has been made obvious within these writings. Also, I deeply appreciate the concerns of the Native American communities, especially regarding stereotyping, and hope that I have provided some insight into that issue as well. Mostly I hope I have done justice to the Order of the Arrow since it has influenced so many of the men I love and respect.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Background

It could be said that America is a land without ritual. While most families eat turkey on Thanksgiving and give candy to trick-or-treaters on Halloween, there are very few widespread, unifying activities one might call rituals. No one has felt this absence more than the American male, who has long sought a way to define his identity and sense of self in a society with increasingly blurred gender roles. The Men's Movement of the 70's and 80's has risen out of this search for identity, but it has not been successful in clarifying the American definition of masculinity.

There are some youth groups that address these missing ritual elements of Western society, one of the best known being the Boy Scouts of America. Their summer camp program focuses on outdoor survival skills, with the intent of strengthening young boys' characters and in the process, helping them develop a definite sense of self. As a way of attaining this goal, the Scouts established an elite honor camping society, the Order of the Arrow. This internal organization is comprised of only those who best exemplify the Scouting Ideals and are willing to dedicate themselves to "selfless service." They utilize Native American cultural elements to create an atmosphere brimming with mystery and romanticism in their ceremonies and rituals which are thought to transform carefree young boys into responsible adult men. In the midst of this borrowing, the Order's rituals take on numerous characteristics of manhood initiation rites from around the world.

Adulthood initiation rites are performed by indigenous cultures around the world, but in Western society there is no designated ritual for changing a child into an adult, especially for men. Such rituals or "rites-of-passage," as defined by Van Gennep and Turner, are not only important to the development of the individual during the transition from childhood to adulthood, but to the cohesion of the group, since they offer shared experience and a common knowledge base which structures the social roles and status of group members (Turner 1964; Young 1965; Cohen 1964; Van Gennep 1960). This lack of ritual in America especially reduces the communication between society and the individual, so that neither knows what to expect from the other.

This thesis research examines the public portion of the Order of the Arrow initiation ceremony as an American "rite of passage." I propose that the ceremony is a rite of passage, having many of the "liminal" characteristics described by scholars, and that it functions as a means for the instillation of Boy Scouts of America (BSA) and Order of the Arrow (OA) values. As such, it has a lasting affect on the character of initiated members, making them better Scouts. This study is designed to sort through the layers of initiating ritual and ceremony within the Ka Ti Missi Sippi (KTMS) and extricate those pieces which contribute to the building of self-identity and character.

A Brief Description of the Boy Scouts of America

The first word of the Scout manual is "ADVENTURE!" and that's what the Boy Scouts of America is all about. The organization was founded upon the principle that with increasing

urbanization, the young men of the Western world were losing their hardy edge, that they needed to return to the outdoors and the ruggedness of nature. From this foundation one of America's largest and most well known youth programs has thrived for over 85 years. Since most people know the basics about Scouting and information is readily available, I am only including a brief synopsis of the organization, its history, structure, and beliefs as an immediate reference.[1]

The Boy Scouts came into existence as the result of Robert Baden-Powell's book, Scouting for Boys in 1907. This British general felt that the young men he had led during the Boer War had not been as prepared for life in the field as those he had led in previous campaigns. As a result, Baden-Powell began a movement to improve British youth, using his experiences as a soldier or "scout" in the army. At the first Boy Scout Camp on Brownsea Island, Baden-Powell taught boys basic survival skills along with the values which are espoused in the Scout Oath and Law. (Figure I) These values remain at the core of Boy Scout organizations around the world today.

Soon after, William D. Boyce brought Scouting to the United States after a surprising experience in London introduced him the organization. He had asked for directions from a young man who then not only guided him safely to his destination, but refused a tip, stating that remuneration would not be necessary since he was a "Scout." Intrigued by this, Boyce went to the Scouting Office and gathered information which he used to found the Boy Scouts of America on February 8, 1910. This is told as the origin of the Scouts' Daily Good Turn policy.

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[1] This material has been compiled from multiple sources, including informants and the boy Scout Handbook (1990). Specific references are used when applicable but the rest can be considered common knowledge to BSA members.

Scout Oath

On my honor I will do my best
To do my duty to God and my country
and to obey the Scout Law;
To help other people at all times;
To keep myself physically strong,
mentally awake, and morally straight.

Scout Law

A scout is trustworthy, loyal, helpful, friendly, courteous, kind, obedient, cheerful, thrifty, brave, clean and reverent.

The Scout Motto

Be prepared.

The Scout Slogan

Do a good turn daily.

Outdoor Code

As an American, I will do my best to-
Be clean in my outdoor manners,
Be careful with fire,
Be considerate in the outdoors, and
Be conservation-minded.

Scout Vespers

(Lyrics sung to a tune similar to "Oh Christmas Tree")

Softly falls the light of day,
As our campfire fades away.
Silently each Scout should ask,
"Have I done my Daily Task?
Have I kept my honor bright,
Can I guiltless sleep tonight?
Have I done and have I dared
Everything to be prepared?"

Figure I. The Scout Oath and other Statements of BSA Values

Daniel Carter Beard and Ernest Thompson Seton were also instrumental in the beginnings of the American branch of Scouting. They had each run similar outdoor programs for boys, Seton's Woodcraft Indians and Beard's Sons of Daniel Boone, which were looked to as models for the BSA. It was from these previous youth groups that the Native American elements adapted by the Order of the Arrow were probably derived. In 1911, the BSA published the first of many editions of its Handbook for Boys, citing ideas from these organizations as well as those of Baden-Powell. This helped to spread the Scout program until it became the single largest youth organization in America. In 1912 the Chief Scout executive, James West, initiated the printing of Boys Life, a monthly magazine which yet today offers helpful hints, project suggestions and an idea exchange forum to Scouts across the country.

After the basic Scout program was established for boys of ages 11 to 18, the organization expanded to include even more young people. Explorer posts emerged to provide vocation-specific activities for older teenagers, and many have since opened their doors to young women as well. Cub Scouting, for boys 8 to 10, and Tiger Scouting for boys under 8, were incorporated to serve these younger boys and their families, and prepare them for later participation in the Boy Scouts. Most recently, Varsity Scouting has been added to give the older boys opportunities to lead and participate in a wide variety of activities, especially outdoor sports. BSA members older than 18 are called Scouters, and have a variety of leadership opportunities open to them. Interested women can serve in roles such as Scout master and Den mother.

The national BSA organization can be divided into five structural units. The patrol is the smallest, with just a few boys. Several patrols comprise a troop, which is the basic unit for Scout

activities, such as camping and backpacking. Troops have adult leaders called Scoutmasters who lead activities and approve individual projects. Also, there are troop committees which approve such projects and individuals' advancement.

A district is a cluster of troops, usually a city or a rural area. Councils have multiple districts, and support the campgrounds used throughout the year, but especially during the summer for the troops' week-long sessions. Districts and Councils have professional officers that direct activities and organize gatherings at this level. Often there are council or district headquarters that stock catalogue supplies, such as uniforms, patches, manuals and project kits, and keep local records.

There are then four geographic regions which are represented at the national level, and are particularly distinguished during the national Jamboree events. The BSA national headquarters is located in Irving, Texas, and is staffed by full-time professionals dedicated to maintaining and improving the Scout programs. Also, the Boy Scouts of America is one of many international Scouting organizations which gather at World Jamborees to exchange ideas and encourage cultural understanding.

Within Scouting, individual advancement is marked by badges for each of the six ranks. At every advancement, a Scout must show the Scout Spirit and participate in a Scoutmaster conference. The first three ranks are Tenderfoot, Second Class Scout and First Class Scout. These are usually attained quickly within the first few years after becoming a scout, and the requirements are based on camping and safety skills. Next is the rank of Star Scout, awarded upon the completion of at least 4 months as a First Class Scout, during which a position of responsibility is

held, at least 6 hours of service projects completed, and at least 6 merit badges earned. Then the rank of Life Scout can be attained through completion of similar tasks during 6 months as a Star Scout.

The highest rank is that of Eagle Scout. This requires the earning of at least 21 merit badges, at least 6 months as a Life Scout in a position of responsibility, and the completion of an extensive service project. Like other projects, this one must be approved by the individual's Scoutmaster and troop committee, but unlike others, it must be planned, developed, organized and led by the young man with minimal assistance by others. The awarding of an Eagle Scout rank is usually done during a "Court of Honor," similar to a commencement exercise, but with only one honored recipient. [2]

A Brief Description of the Order of the Arrow

The Order of the Arrow is the BSA's national brotherhood of honor campers. It was founded in 1915 by E. Urner Goodman and Carroll A. Edson at the Treasure Island Camp of the Philadelphia Council, and became an official national program in 1948. Currently it has over 170,000 members belonging to over 300 lodges in their local councils (OA pamphlet). Reportedly, Goodman based the organization's traditions and rituals on those of the Lenni Lanape or Delaware Indians who had lived in the area of the Treasure Island Camp.

Members of the Order are selected from among Scouts who have attended an official BSA camp for at least three years, hold a rank of First Class or higher, and are recommended

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[2] A Glossary of special terms for this and the following section is provided in Appendix B.

by their Scoutmaster after being nominated by their troop. Typically, boys are 12 or 13 when they are initiated, and can participate as youth members past the end of their BSA youth membership at 18, until they are 21 years old. Although the OA is primarily a "youth-run" organization, there is a recognized need for adult members as advisors and program directors.

There are three ranks within the Order of the Arrow: Ordeal, Brotherhood and Vigil Honor. Ordeal membership begins with the first initiation ceremony, or Call-Out, and involves a twenty-four hour Ordeal. This twenty-four hour Ordeal includes remaining silent at all times except for necessary communication, staying alone in the woods overnight, eating and drinking only what is given to them, and providing a day of labor to the camp. Brotherhood membership is achieved through the completion of a second ordeal with an additional ceremony at the end of one year. Brotherhood is considered full membership, and in a standard OA Lodge, the only further advancement is selection for Vigil Honors. This selection is made by those already holding the rank and is limited to approximately 1 in 50 lodge members. Initiation into this third rank involves completing an overnight vigil and being given an "Indian name," usually from a Native American language, that reflects the individual's character or personality. The process or cycle of ritual associated with initiation and continuing membership is charted in Figure I.

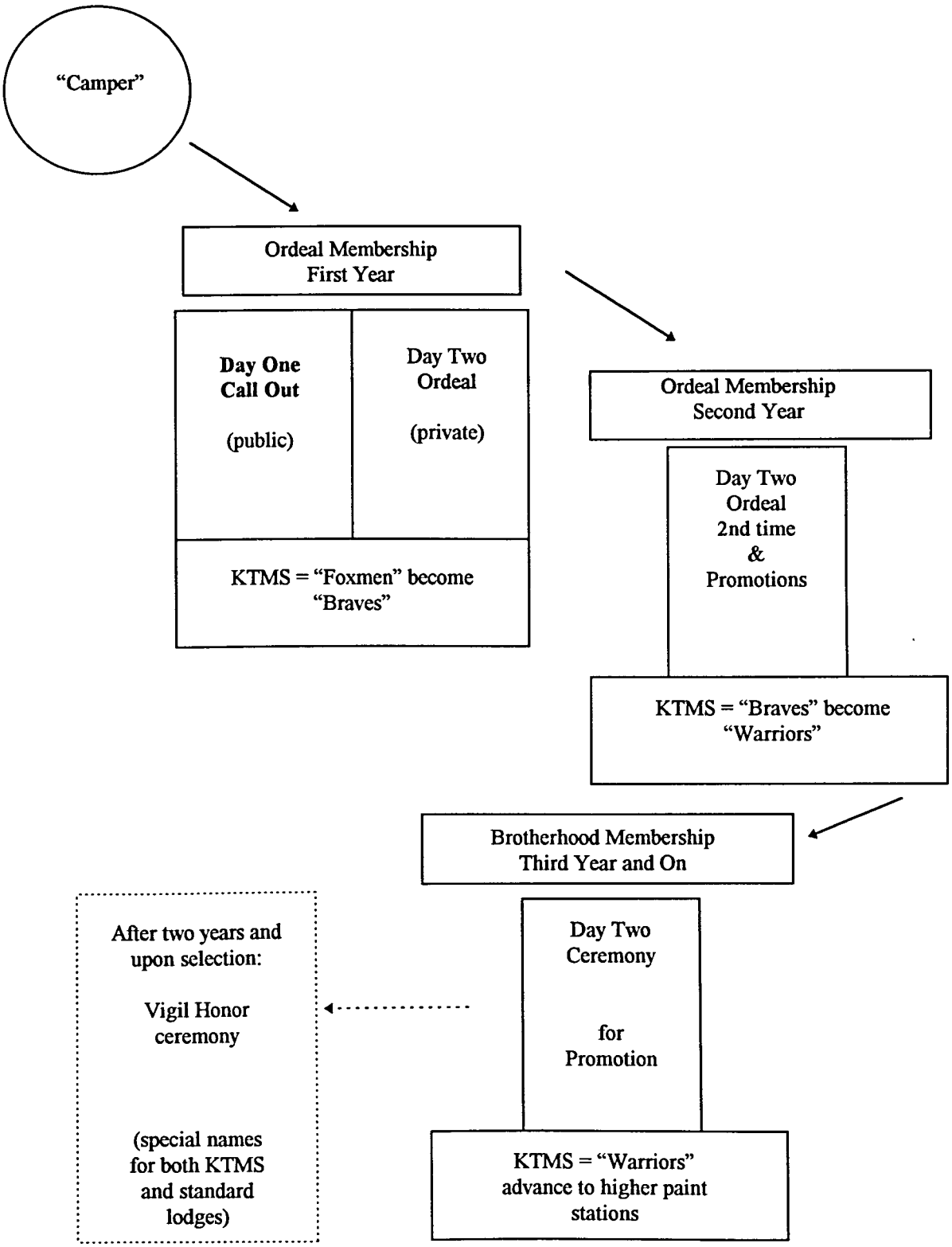


Figure I. Ritual Cycle of OA Initiation and Membership

For the Ka Ti Missi Sippi Lodge, there are additional positions called "paint stations" within the Ordeal and Brotherhood ranks. Each of these positions or stations correspond to an activity during the initiation ceremonies, such as Tom Tom Beater or Firebuilder, and advancement is generally automatic with participation from year to year. This expanded ranking hierarchy was incorporated into the traditions of the old Silver Tomahawk Lodge at Camp Eastman when the lodge was affiliated with an organization similar to the Order of the Arrow, called Mic-O-Say. This was a regional variation of the Boy Scout honor camper program that was founded in 1922 in Casper, Wyoming, and later brought to the Midwest by H. Roe Bartle (Ellison 1983:4). Mic-O-Say traditions and ceremonies are reportedly based on those of the Shoshone Indians, and were referred to by many informants as more "rigorous" and "authentic." There are two camps, one in St. Joseph, Missouri, and the other in Kansas City, that still follow Bartle's program.

Within the last ten years, some female scoutmasters and Explorer Post members have been inducted into OA Lodges across the country, raising serious controversy. This coincides with a wider debate concerning the effects and appropriateness of single-sex youth clubs, and the Boy Scouts in particular have been highly criticized. The BSA, and thus OA, counter such criticisms by arguing that their "boys only" membership is essential for the promotion of outdoor camping skills. This idea has been cited repeatedly by those who see such programs as the perfect opportunity for adolescents to develop both personal and sexual identity in a comfortable and supportive environment.

Research Setting

In the summer of 1995, field studies were carried out at Camp Mitigwa on Wednesday, July 12 and at Camp Eastman from July 20 through August 4. These studies included participant observation, administration of survey questionnaires, interviewing and videotaping. Camp Mitigwa serves the BSA's Mid Iowa Council and is located north of Des Moines, Iowa. Its rolling hills and deep ravines are located not far from the Des Moines river. Camp Eastman near Nauvoo, Illinois, serves the northern half of the Mississippi Valley Council and is self-reportedly the only Boy Scout camp located immediately on the Mississippi. Both camps are typical in that they include a number of troop-size camp sites, often named after Native American tribes such as "Cherokee" or "Apache", a central dining hall, activities hall, swimming pool and pond, and innumerable trails and paths throughout several acres of wooded timberland.

The camps hold several week-long sessions with a different group of troops each week. Day activities center around merit badge classes, but include open sessions for swimming, canoeing, archery, riflery, hiking, fishing and such. In the evenings, there are camp fire either at the camp sites or in a central fire ring. Order of the Arrow activities occur late in the week, since the second day of the Ordeal occupies most of the Order members and keeps them away from other activities. Generally, the Call Out occurs on Family Night when parents come to visit, and follows a presentation of skits by the camp staff and campers.

Research Objectives and Assumptions

The objectives of this research are two-fold.

A. To document the public initiation rituals of the Ka Ti Missi Sippi Lodge at Camp Eastman.

    1. Identify major elements of Native American cultural traditions in KTMS rituals and how this usage is perceived by its members.

    2. Establish that the Call Out ceremony is a rite-of-passage similar to adulthood rituals of indigenous cultures.

B. To explore the underlying functions of these rituals as perceived by both individual members and the organization itself.

    1. Discover to what degree the initiation ceremony has impacted the character of the organization's members.

    2. Examine the importance of secret knowledge in maintaining the organization's mystery and desirability.

Three major assumptions underlie this study. The main research assumption which is based on observation is that **the Order of the Arrow conducts initiation rituals which share common elements with male puberty ceremonies of other societies.** Generally these ceremonies are found in indigenous, small-scale cultures and not in Western ones. OA traditions draw from Native American cultures, using borrowed elements such as tee pees and tomahawks to create new ceremonies which fill the "ritual-less" void of mainstream American culture. These cultures in particular have been drawn upon because they are readily available and are widely romanticized in children's play. The use of these Native American cultural elements provides a mysterious atmosphere to catch and hold the interests of youths while

they are being instilled with the mundanities of American culture in the values and ideals of the Boy Scout program.

Historically, the romanticized popularity of Native cultures can be at least partially attributed to the turn-of-the-century, "Friends-of-the-Indians" movement. This time period saw social groups organizing to preserve Native cultures by imitating them (Churchill 1992:134). However, the OA's ceremonies closely resemble those conducted not only by North American peoples, but by indigenous peoples in Africa, Australia and Southeast Asia, in both form and function (Levinson and Malone 1980:208-215).

The second assumption is that **these Order of the Arrow initiation rituals are effective because they distinctly delineate the new position of the participants, smooth transition, and encourage continuing participation within the organization**. Initiation involves those people who know how to behave within the organization instructing those who do not, instilling in the new members the values and beliefs of the group, and helping them to understand what their new status will require of them. The example of the "initiator" is inspirational to the "initiatee," clearly displaying the benefits derived from appropriate behavior and conformity to group norms.

The third assumption is that **these initiation rites promote a high degree of citizenship and moral character among Ka Ti Missi Sippi members which extends through adult life**. I will show some evidence of this in the success and character of adult KTMS members who experienced the initiation rituals as adolescents, the "end-result" of the OA's "rite of passage." Certainly there are many factors which may also have contributed to this success and character, but for the purposes of this study I am only looking at KTMS

membership, recognizing the lack of any definite causal link.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

In preparing for this research, I have reviewed the literature in four areas. First, the definition and importance of rites-of-passage, with special emphasis on adulthood/puberty initiations. Next, the lack of significant ritual in American mainstream culture, particularly for adolescent males, and the resultant issues such as the rise of the Men's Movement and Native American responses to the borrowing of indigenous cultural traditions. Finally, I address issues surrounding youth camping organizations in America.

Rites of Passage

When discussing rites of passage, there are a few major theorists that are frequently cited. These include van Gennep, Turner, Cohen, Young and Whiting. All of them have addressed the different forms of such rites found in many small scale societies. In general these are (1) birth or naming ceremonies, (2) adulthood initiation, (3) marriage, and (4) death, but can also include initiation into social subcultures, recognition of a new social status rank (such as becoming a chief) or other life events. These rites all share some basic elements.

According to the classical work of Van Gennep (1906), rites of passage exist for many changes in social status, be they positive, negative or neutral, in a person's life. Some of these are formal and institutionalized, while others are informal. There are three basic phases in a formal rite of passage: separation, marginality, and aggregation. First, the individual is

separated from his previous associates within the group, including family members. This is to begin the redefining of the person's place within society. Next, the individual enters into a phase of "liminality" or "in-between-ness" during which the trappings of the old status are ripped away and the rules of a new one are learned. Finally, the individual is reintroduced or "aggregated" to society at their new status level, and are fully integrated back into social life.

Turner (1974:95-99) accepts this definition of a rite of passage, adding the concept of "Communitas" and emphasizing the significance of the liminal period. This non-status, "anti-structural" condition of liminality called "Communitas" is marked by its reversal of normalcy, what Kottak presents as "oppositions" to "normal social life" (Kottak 1982:327). Such oppositions include silence, total obedience to authority, minimal and uniform clothing, passivity, humility and homogeneity (Turner 1969:95). Communitas develops between the initiates during this phase, in place of the normal social structure. It is in general a bonding which occurs during periods of stress or crisis that motivates people to work together. This bonding incorporates social norms, providing the basis for acceptable behavior between those involved and increases group cohesion for the benefit of the whole. Communitas then is the extrasomatic and inter-personal essence of anti-structure, which unifies and strengthens it.

According to Levinson and Malone (1980:209) there are two basic schools concerning the explanation of rites of passage: sociogenic and psychogenic. Cohen (1964) and Young (1965) are examples of sociogenic theorists that emphasize the need for individuals to break away from their families and become part of the external group in order to fulfill their role in the overall social structure, citing specific references from their own field work for support.

Cohen (1964) emphasizes that there are generally two social acknowledgments of puberty which he sees as the period of breaking childhood ties and establishing adult ones. First, there is a social "extrusion" from the family's sleeping quarters, and a development of male/female sibling avoidance patterns. Second is the ceremony which usually occurs at the time of physiological puberty which results in the full attainment of adult status. Cohen sees the former as the more important of the two stages, because it marks the formal separation of one's self from one's family.

Young's status dramatization theory (1965) is similar, but without the two-stage division of the initiation process. He emphasizes the need for a dramatization of the male sex role upon entrance into the adult male society. There is an instructional ritual, a preparational role-play, that teaches the adolescent about the proper conduct of an initiated adult. It is the new status within the social structure which is being explained and celebrated during the initiation ceremony.

The psychogenic theory offered by J.W.M.Whiting, R. Kluckhohn, and A. Anthony (1958) differs in that it finds a connection between the system of social interaction and the phenomenon of male initiation rites, and so excludes the importance of social structure. This basic argument is that the close mother-son bond in societies with low birth rates from extended post-partum sex taboos accompanying exclusive mother-child sleeping arrangements necessitates a distinctive severing of childhood ties to make room for adult relationships. The psychological attachment of boys to the mother is particularly strong due to the lack of contact with adult males during childhood, and is seen as hindering the development of adult

associations between men. While these arguments are based on evidence from specific societies, the concepts can be applied to broader situations with similar characteristics.

Levinson and Malone (1980:208-215), looking for a standard definition of an initiation ritual, combined Van Gennep's and Cohen's theories. They focused particularly on male rites of passage to develop a list of seven universals for use in cross-cultural comparison:

> 1. Elders preside over the rite, and are often members of a male initiate's descent group [that] have some role in his upbringing.
>
> 2. Parents of initiates usually have no role in the rite.
>
> 3. The rite involves education in the basic rules and practices of the group.
>
> 4. The rite often involves physical hardship including scarification, circumcision, clitoridectomy, severe punishment, and denial of food or sleep.
>
> 5. All boys or girls of the appropriate age must be initiated; if one must go through the rite, all must go through it.
>
> 6. The rite is focused on the group of initiates, not on any single initiate.
>
> 7. The opposite sex is prohibited from viewing the rite.
>
> [Levinson & Malone 1980:207]

While these characteristics are common to most discussions of rites of passage, I would add one addition to the list: initiates receive new names to identify them as a full members of the group. This naming is referenced by Turner (1969:97) and Erchack (1992:66-68), along with many others. It is interesting that Levinson and Malone did not include this in their comprehensive list, but it is perhaps due to a lack of strong emphasis on the topic by these theorists.

American Male Gender Roles

The literature concerning male gender roles in America is extensive. Much has been written regarding the lack of ritual in American culture, particularly in the lives of American men. Many experts in this field delineate an almost desperate need for direction in these men's lives. Some authors discuss the complete failure of American culture to support men, while others call for the incorporation of ritual, new or borrowed, and describe such activities. Two people are held up as central authorities: Lionel Tiger and Robert Bly.

Lionel Tiger's Men in Groups (1984) goes straight to the heart of the male psyche. He says that the basic thing that men want is to better their social positions or at least the appearance of these positions, and they use their companions to do so. Tiger claims that in hierarchical surroundings, men will court other men as friends with the same techniques used to court women as girlfriends or wives, in order to be associated with high status men. Such male status is often defined by age, so that young men want to be with older men, to be like them. What Tiger calls "the male bond" is established between men who have shared experiences and entered into a brother-like relationship. These factors contribute to the high frequency of male fraternal organizations at all ages and stages of development. They need this bond to find a niche in society as a member of a group since they feel that they cannot enter into it as lone individuals.

Robert Bly's classic, Iron John (1990), has revolutionized both academic and popular discussions of the place of men in American society. His claim is that modern man has lost

touch with his primal self, his "wildman," and needs that "earthy," "primal" aspect of himself to be complete. Denying this element of the male self is like denying an arm or a leg, the person is not whole. By opening up to this "wildman," men can allow themselves to recognize and act upon their "feminine" emotions or "sensitive side" and heal the "wounds" inflicted by the Iron John archetype of the unfeeling, uncaring, impenetrable male. So American men need to find a way to let this bottled primal element loose, yet remain a part of society. This need is met for many by participation in men's groups that explore new definitions of manhood and male role models.

Given this interpretation of the nature and needs of men, it is amazing that our society does not have a ritualized system of initiating men into the adult hierarchy to alleviate the stresses of fitting in. "Boy culture" is an idea presented by Rotundo (1993) to describe the adaptive nature of youth activities. When boys form clubs and gangs, they are mimicking the adult world, establishing a sense of the responsibility and commitment they know will become necessary with age. They learn from each other, since the group is a natural setting for trying out new ideas and for changing one's self-image (1993:267). But Rotundo points out that there is no mechanism to facilitate the imminent separation from boy culture at maturation, i.e. there is no rite of passage. Separation generally happens, he says, as the boys are leaving home; there is a double trauma in loss of family and peers, with no support system and no ritual to confirm this transition.

Lee continues this idea in his discussion of the lost ritual of manhood in American culture (1991). He eloquently portrays the situation of men without ritual confirmation of adulthood:

> American males have no such [painful initiation] rituals. They have pain in their daily lives to be sure, but it is a pain produced from lack of ritual and ceremony. An American boy walks in a man's suit but stays forever a boy, because he never feels certain that he has won the right to enter into the world of men. [1991:14] (insert is his)

He calls for the creation of meaning in men's daily lives, where it is necessary to fulfill the needs of both fathers and sons, so that all men might be complete and wholly integrated into society.

According to Martin, in 1965 there were three things sought after by modern youth: identity, a dependable (stable and well defined) social structure, and respected and respectful male authority. These would alleviate the unpredictability of everyday life (1965:17, 27). Of course his "modern youth" are today's middle-aged parents, but they were the builders of the Men's Movement and the ERA. They recognize, Martin said, the role a highly-developed, personal ego can play in people's lives and that directed group activities contribute to the development of such an ego. He acknowledged that youth culture lacked meaningful experience, such as ritual.

The importance of initiation rituals, according to Garfinkel (1985), lies in the deferment by the individual to the group ethos. He claims that Western men are by nature solitary, so they need group affiliations to learn how to function within a social system. The humbling which occurs during intense physical initiations is then essential to bend the

individual to the social mold, to fit him into the system. The periods of isolation during the group rituals are to allow for reflection of the new relationships which are being formed, a "group aloneness" which adds to the cohesion of the society and the development of the individual. These characteristics fit Turner's definition of liminality perfectly, emphasizing the point that rites of passage are necessary to establish communitas.

Kauth (1992) discusses how rituals bring about change in the individual, and uses this argument to justify the borrowing and modifying of Native American mythologies and traditions for use in non-native men's rituals. He says rituals provide "safety" in which the barriers necessary for everyday living can come down and people can reflect upon themselves. The shared element of a ceremony is vital, since there is a need for intention and direction during contemplation to keep it in line with the organization's goals. Initiation rituals, then, must be conducted by those who 'can' direct the ideas of the group, those who can pass on the appropriate behaviors, which is problematic when no one knows what to do. So Native American cultural elements and rituals are borrowed to provide a structural model for a new group's rituals, and those who understand the system teach those who don't, setting in motion a continual process of initiation and membership for the group's internal society.

There are two clear responses from the Native American community concerning such borrowing of religious ritual. First, Vine Deloria (1988), a Native American, finds it repugnant that people would borrow one piece of a culture and claim to know it. His argument is that people needing a mythology should create their own from within their own understanding of the world. Stedman (1982) concurs with this, finding that too much has been taken from the

Native cultures during assimilation and that the religions should be left alone. Churchill (1992, 1994) echoes this response, but adds that the Men's Movement may have bitten off more than it can chew by adopting potentially dangerous rituals; if they work, if spiritual contact is made, the ritual performers may not know what to do.

Camping Organizations

Within the American context, there seems to be a common forum for the development of ceremony and ritual. Most youth programs draw young people to the outdoors, into camping programs. Levy's history (1944) of the Boy Scouts of America discusses the intentional inclusion of camping for the instillment of leadership and responsibility. A "strong character" was found to be lacking in young men, and the skills needed for "wilderness survival" were thought to be the ideal tools for establishing this (1944:121).

In early male youth organizations such as Seton's Woodcraft Indians and Beard's Sons of Daniel Boone, there were obvious (and stereotypical) Indian overtones, but there was also an emphasis on the American frontiersmen (Rosenthal 1986:242). The role-playing provided an otherwordly "mystique" in which the boys could explore and grow without the stresses and pressures of everyday life (ibid.:243).

These groups, and later the Boy Scouts of America, were organized to promote such "hardy" activities as camping, fishing, hunting and hiking, all believed to encourage the "masculine character" (Levy 1944:19-20). Macleod (1983) agrees with this assessment of the need for character development. He states:

Camp programs would encourage boyish activism; yet campfire rituals and natural beauty would induce mild cases of adolescent romanticism. The hope was to strengthen boys and yet protect them, to keep them boyish, and yet reap certain benefits of adolescence. [1983:233]

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

This research project utilized several methods of data collection. Initially, library and document searches were conducted to supplement unstructured interviews. Then, further interviews were conducted, both unstructured and structured. The later interviews included the completion of a survey questionnaire. During periods of participant observation, field studies were recorded through photography and videotaping. There were two time periods involved in the collection of data which incorporated various combinations of these methods.

Pilot Study

The initial work for this research was done as part of a class project involving a contemporary issue or controversy in American Indian Studies. Since this was to be completed during a one-month period of time in the spring of 1994, and camp sessions are held in the summer, no actual observation could be made of the Call-out Ceremony. Rather, approximately 20 personal interviews were conducted with adult members of Camp Eastman's Silver Tomahawk Lodge. These informants were all men, most in their mid to late forties, who had been active with the Order for several years. Approximately half of them were youth-initiated Order members, and the others were men who were involved in Scouting as parents. The few available organizational publications were consulted for detailed background information. This resulted in a second-hand description of the public initiation ritual, its preceding preparations, and the members-only/secret/safeguarded activities which follow.

Also included was a description of the organization derived from the personal interviews and published materials. More documents were included which outlined the history of the BSA and OA in general and the Silver Tomahawk in particular. Some charts and diagrams from this project are included as Tables and Figures in the following chapter. Later observations and interviews confirmed the reliability of this initial study.

Formal Data Collection Design

Participant Observation

The formal field-work was conducted over a five-week period of time, from mid-July through the end of August in 1995. Two camps were included, Mitigwa near Des Moines, Iowa, and Eastman on the Mississippi River near Nauvoo, Illinois. My observations of Mitigwa were limited to the evening of Wednesday, July 12, 1995, during the Call Out ceremony. I conducted approximately 4 informal interviews at that time, gathering information about the OA, the program at Mitigwa Lodge and the details of the ceremony while it was occurring.

The following three weeks, from July 20 through August 4, were spent at Camp Eastman. I was there on Thursdays and Fridays for the Call Out and Ordeal activities and present on some other days as well. During this period I combined interviews with participant observation, documenting many activities and locations on film and video. There were 32 structured survey interviews conducted, 19 in person on weekdays at camp and 13 over the phone on weekends. Approximately 50 unstructured interviews were conducted in the form of

question-and-answer conversations about camp and OA activities throughout this period. My participation in the camp experience included eating in the dining hall, sitting in on an Indian Lore merit badge class, attending campfires, and "hanging out" at the OA building. The second and third weeks of my observations at Eastman, I was allowed to view the secondary initiation ceremony on Fridays, July 28 and August 4. The first time I did so, I walked the same dark trails that the initiates follow through the woods, and really felt that I was taking the "participation" angle to a new height.

Informant Selection

The selection process for informants for this research might be described as unorthodox, and yet has proven beneficial in light of the nature of the topic. The first and primary informant was and is my husband. He then introduced me to several Silver Tomahawk (now Ka Ti Missi Sippi) members, some attending Iowa State University in Ames, Iowa, and others in his hometown of Burlington, Iowa. These individuals were predominantly involved in the pilot study interviews, but the presence of some at Iowa State lead to the expansion of the pilot project into thesis research. Contact with other informants was made through coincidental conversations about the research. These latter informants provided information about the standard OA and Mic-O-Say programs.

Since the KTMS membership is spread out geographically, and my anticipation of mail survey response was low, it was decided that questionnaire interviews for the formal research project would be conducted in person at camp. The goal was to include as wide of a range of

people as possible, spanning all ages and paint stations, but with an emphasis on youth-initiated members currently over the age of 25. Both members and non-members with a vital interest in the organization (such as parents, scoutmasters and younger campers) were included in the informal interviewing process to get a clear picture of the attitudes surrounding this organization. Also, members of both genders were included to gain the perspective of women within a male institution.

Randomness was left to chance since participation was voluntary, only one interviewer was available, and contact time was limited. As it turned out, the sample was well varied. There were 32 informants total who completed questionnaire interviews, 12 male youths, 18 male adults and 2 female adults. Most of the Warrior rank paint stations were represented, except for the generic black paint Warrior/Adult Warrior station and the green Tom Tom Beater station. Phone interviews were conducted with 13 of the informants and the rest were conducted face-to-face at camp. The approximately 50 unstructured interviews were conducted both at camp and in Burlington, Iowa, with members and non-members of ages spanning from 13 to 65. These informants included 5 female adults, 20 male youths (including 2 Foxmen), and around 25 adult males (including 1 adult Foxmen).

Interviewing Techniques

Two types of interviews were conducted: structured and unstructured. During the 32 structured interviews, the survey questionnaire was completed verbally, with me asking the questions and recording the informants' responses. Other information provided by these

informants was recorded either on their questionnaires, if given at the time of the interview, or as field notes, if given at another time. The approximately 50 unstructured interviews consisted of conversations not based on the completion of the questionnaire, even though many loosely following the format of the questionnaire. These were recorded as field notes during the conversations with my personal reflections tacked on at the end of the same day.

An additional 10 brief interviews concerning ceremonial costuming based on Native American dancing attire were conducted on videotape. These were not documented in writing, but were recorded with both a video camera and a standard 35mm camera. This was done to document a variety of outfits recorded with descriptions and explanations from the owners.

The Questionnaire

The questionnaire was designed to address the second and third research assumptions. The survey instrument has six sections dealing with demographics, past and present rank and paint station advancement, continuing and/or family participation, organizational goals and ideals, Native American elements, and organizational or ceremonial significance to the lives of members. (see Appendix A) The topics were arranged so as to increase in intensity, from impersonal information such as sex and age, to in-depth information such as why they selected their Indian names.

The questions were primarily open-ended, with the exception of a few limited choice questions in the demographics and rank sections. The questionnaire was intended for use

during interviews, so it was written in the second person (i.e. When were you initiated?) to be read aloud. Responses were recorded by me on the surveys with additional comments and information taken as field notes. A cover letter was included explaining the study and the voluntary nature of participation, and confirming that all responses would be kept confidential through the use of code numbers on the surveys. In accordance with this confidentiality, the question pertaining to the informants' Indian name was made optional. The cover letter also stated that the records of the code number assignments would be destroyed upon completion of the study.

The first section on demographics was designed to address the third research assumption regarding the "success" of the organization in terms of its adult members. It recorded personal information, including sex (Item A1), marital status (Item A3), number and age of children and grandchildren (Items A4 and A5), and age (Item A2). Responses to age were cross-referenced with later items regarding age at and date of initiation, and number of years in attendance at Camp Eastman (Items B1, B2, and C1). Information about current employment status, occupation and education were also included here (Items A6, A7 and A8).

The second section pertained to individual progression and participation within the OA and the BSA, and provided more important information about the composition of the sample. Items B1 and B2 addressed age at initiation and length of membership. Items B3 and B4 were included to provide information of the current ranks of informants as well as their progressions through the paint stations. The informants' degree of participation in the BSA

was indicated by Item B6 and participation in the OA by Item B5. This latter information is again addressed by Item C3.

Continuing participation over a long time span would support both the second and third research assumptions, by indicating group cohesion and an internal sense of community. These issues were addressed in the third section, along with the significance of family members' involvement (Items C4 and C5). Retention and annual participation information was requested by Items C1, C2 and C3.

To support the second research assumption, which involves the use of ritual to clarify the role of individual members, questions regarding individual perceptions of the organization's goals and ideas were included in the fourth section. Items D1, D2 and D3 addressed these issues, including a description of an "ideal" members' actions. Item D4 inquired about what the informant considered to be the singularly most important part of the OA. Item D5 dealt with BSA recruitment and recommendation to others.

Since the Order utilizes Native American cultural elements in a wide variety of ways, such as Lodge and personal names, ritual activities and outfitting, informants' perceptions of this usage was collected in the fifth section of the questionnaire. Item E1, E2 and E3 deal with the informants' perceptions of the importance of individual elements and the general Native American model in the overall structure of the organization. Outfitting is addressed in Items E4, E5 and E6, and Indian name selection in Items E7 and E8. Item E4 was not used in the field after the first few interviews, since it dealt with general information which was quite obvious in the camp setting.

The concluding section was intended to gather general attitudes of the informants about the organization. Item F1 inquired about what outsiders should know about the OA. Item F2 was added in the field and asked only when a very comfortable rapport had been established, since it dealt with the personal impact of the Call Out ceremony on the individual. This final question was only included in 10 questionnaire interviews.

Videotaping and Photographing

Consideration was made of entitling this work, "Filming by Firelight, an anthropologist at summer camp," since I learned as much about the video medium as I did about the OA. Like most modern researchers, I used a 35 mm camera for still photos. This was a Minolta X-700 MPS, loaded with 100 speed Kodak Gold film.

The video camera was a Panasonic OmniMovie VHSHQ. To get the longest play time, T160 tapes were necessary, and TDK HS T160 were used. This camera has a lux rating of 2 which means it operates very well in low lighting. It does have fully automatic features for focus, lighting and zoom, but the presence of flying insects and brilliant campfires made these features useless. The fires had to be kept to the edges of the focus area to prevent overexposure, due to the high contrast between the flames and the illuminated dancers. The manual focus option corrected for this as well, so no additional light was necessary.

This video camera also has a wind buffer feature on the microphone to filter out most background noise. While it was very effective at minimizing the jostling and wind noises, it couldn't handle the monotonous droning of the locusts. The one true mechanical problem with

this Panasonic was its failure to focus at temperatures over 100 degrees with humidity above 60%. However I suspect that it performed as well as possible under such harsh circumstances, and in general the footage was quite good.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS

In this chapter I will describe the results of my data collection and show support for the three research assumptions. First, I will outline my observations of the Call Out ceremonies of the two Order of the Arrow Lodges at Camps Mitigwa and Eastman, respectively, for comparison. Then I will summarize the responses to the survey questionnaire. Finally, I will address the assumptions in light of the data.

The Call-out Ceremony

This study focuses on the public portion of the initiation ceremony, the Call Out (what was called the Tap Out by the Silver Tomahawk Lodge). The OA's hierarchy of ranks is based on partial "Ordeal" membership and complete "Brotherhood" membership, the latter being those "called out" initiates who return the following summer for a secondary ceremony, and a third level of "Honor Vigil" members who have been recognized for excellence. (See Figure I) Brotherhood and Vigil members are the active "initiators" during the initiation of new members.

Two Lodge's ceremonies have been included in this project. The Mitigwa Lodge Call Out can be considered typical of the national program. It is described in contrast to that of Ka Ti Missi Sippi Lodge which is a hybrid of the standard OA program and H. Roe Bartle's Mic-O-Say program. The unique aspects of the latter lodge become important in examining the organization's impact on its members.

Mitigwa Lodge

Mitigwa Lodge is located at Camp Mitigwa, near Des Moines, Iowa. The camp has a colorful history, with stories about acquiring the land by claiming to be "raising kids", and not specifying that these were the two-legged variety of kids. This lodge adheres to the basic three-tiered structure of Ordeal, Brotherhood and Vigil rankings of the OA. Their ceremony is breathtaking, a spectacular event, and yet it can be considered typical of the national program, which makes it an excellent choice for comparison to the unique Ka Ti Missi Sippi rituals.

The Call Out ceremony is held on Family night, with parents and other relatives in attendance. After displays and contests (such as the "belly flop" contest at the swimming pool) on the main square of camp, families, Scouts and Scouters gather at an amphitheater on a hill, with a small stage at the front, overlooking the camp's small man-made lake. After some skits and songs by the troops, a dancer from the Lodge's dance troop performs on the stage. Behind him, a canoe crosses the lake, with two Indians paddling and carrying lit torches, ferrying the Chief to shore. The Chief stands erect, with his left arm across his chest, and his right arm extended in the Scout salute.

The drumming and chanting that began with the dancer's routine ends as the chief climbs the hill to the stage. The scene is now set for the beginning of the Call Out ceremony. The chief directs all present to be silent throughout the ceremony, for "silence is golden," and describes what is about to happen. Those individuals who have attained a first class scout ranking, have shown that they live by the Scout Oath and Law, and have been selected by the

members of their unit will be called forth. Then they will spend twenty-four hours in silent contemplation of the Scout Oath and Law, eat frugally to demonstrate willingness to sacrifice for others, spend the night under the stars to prove courage, and spend the day in arduous labor to show their willingness to serve others.

All OA Brotherhood members present are called upon to line the walkway up the hill to the field where the remainder of the ceremony will take place. These members are demarcated by white sashes with red arrows on them, worn over Scout uniforms across the right shoulder. The sashes also indicate the rank of the bearer. Ordeal members have just the arrow, Brotherhood members have an arrow with a bar above and below it, and Vigil members have these plus a triangle in the middle of the arrow's shaft. While the procession is moving to the upper field, a slow cadence is sounded by the ceremonial drum.

On the field, a line is formed of all eligible Scouts and Scouters. This line may be up to a quarter mile long, arching around in a semi-circle. At the apex of this semi-circle, there are two teepees, a totem pole, and three fire platforms. The family members and non-eligible scouts stand behind this line, staying far enough back for a secondary line to form. This secondary line is formed by OA members, who will play an important role in the upcoming events.

An arrow is shot from behind these lines into the trees behind the teepees, and this portion of the ceremony begins. A costumed youth stands in the middle of the three fire platforms and calls for the "fire of welcome" to be lit, to prepare the ring for the Chief. Two torch bearers, one from either end of the line, run towards each other to the center of the

semi-circle where they turn and run towards the teepees. (Figure III) There they light the fires to the fast beating of drums, and the Chief emerges, singing with outstretched arms. As the song ends, a speech which equates the Order to a "mighty Oak" and new initiates to growing acorns is given while the torch bearers move back to the ends of the line, each accompanied by a runner. At the Chief's request, the drumming starts again as the torch bearer and runner teams move towards the center of the semi-circle. As they go, OA members in the second line, hold their sashes over the heads of the Scouts and Scouters being called forth. When the runner sees a sash, he stops stares at the initiate, and then pulls them forward and sends them running to the teepees. Since the runners randomize their movements by crossing in the center of the semi-circle, turning around, and ending up where they started, there are many opportunities for initiates to be pulled out of line. This provides a degree of suspense for those who are not pulled until the final passing of the runner.

Once all the initiates have lined up between the teepees, the drumming stops, a refrain from the welcome song is sung, and the Chief reminds everyone that these people are about to endure the arduous Ordeal, and that they will not be seen again that night. He then calls for their names to be read. Once the list has been completed and the new initiates have been led away, the silence is broken. OA members from the line then escort guests to their cars with flashlights.

Ka Ti Missi Sippi Lodge

There are some interesting attributes of the Ka Ti Missi Sippi Lodge at Camp Eastman which make it a distinctive lodge. First, and most importantly, every KTMS

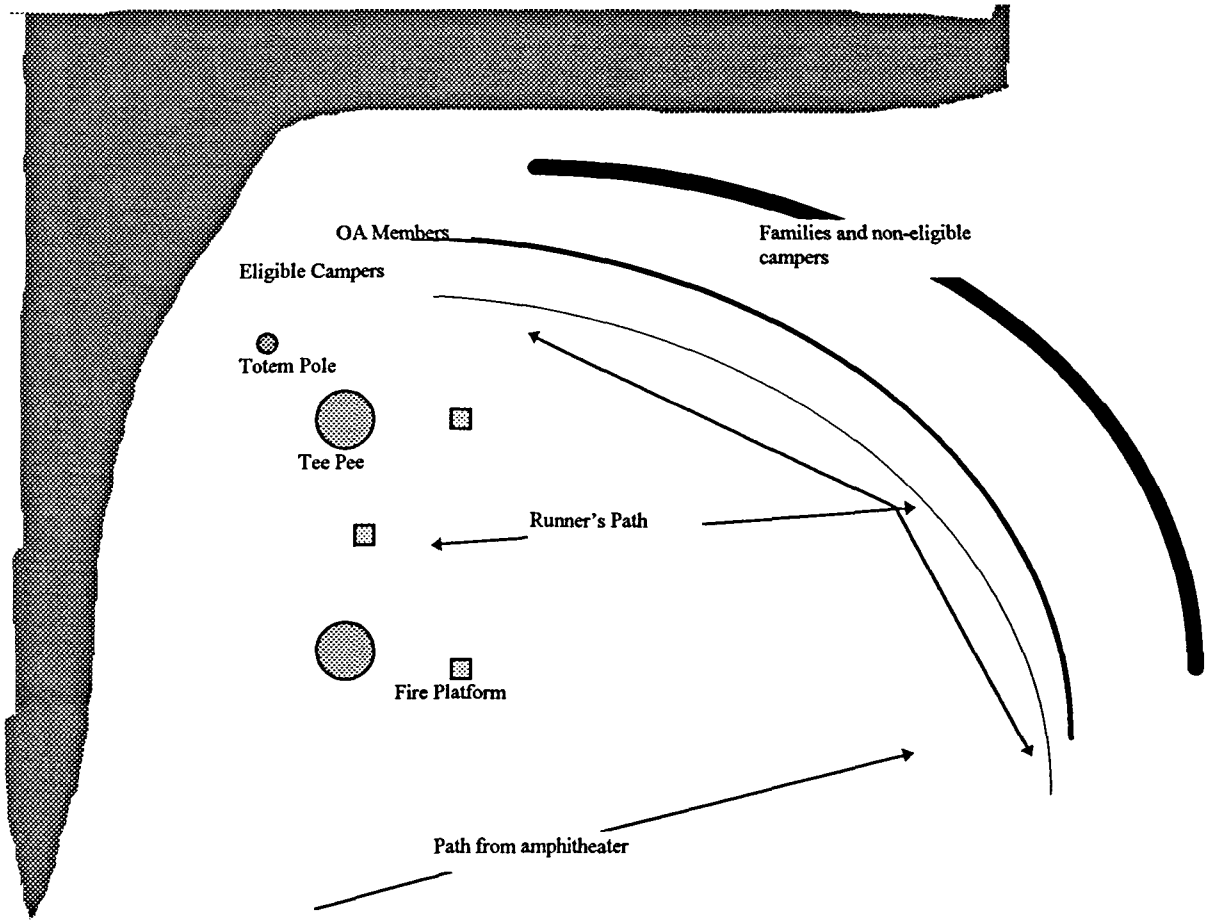


Figure III. Initiation Field for Mitigwa Lodge

member has a position or "paint station" associated with their role in the initiation ceremonies, and they make necklaces to identify their station. Also, new members are called forward and into the ceremonial circle, rather than pulled out of a line to another line. Too, the Call Out ceremony at KTMS involves many people not only the Chief and his council. In comparison with the above description of Mitigwa's Call Out, these and other unique aspects of this program should be immediately obvious.

The expanded ranking hierarchy of "paint stations" is a result of the Silver Tomahawk's blending of the standard OA program with Mic-O-Say traditions. These stations are associated with specific duties involved in the Call Out ceremony (see Table I). As described above, OA members' uniforms are marked by a white sash worn over the right shoulder. This sash denotes an individual's progression through the three ranks with an Arrow, then bars, and then a triangular mark (Figure IV). For KTMS members, the expanded hierarchy is differentiated by necklaces called "logchains" of various colors (Figure IV). These logchain necklaces also have beads called "coups" to indicate length of membership, military service, Vigil membership or other special honors.

The first station is that of a candidate enduring initiation, who is called a "Foxman." Foxmen are Ordeal members and are identified by the small leather pouches they wear around their necks. After completing the first summer's rituals a Foxman becomes a "Brave" and is given a single claw, about the length of a child's index finger, to wear with his pouch. After one year, the Brave goes through a second set of rituals, becoming a "Warrior," who is eligible to take part in the initiation of new members and other activities. The Warriors, as full

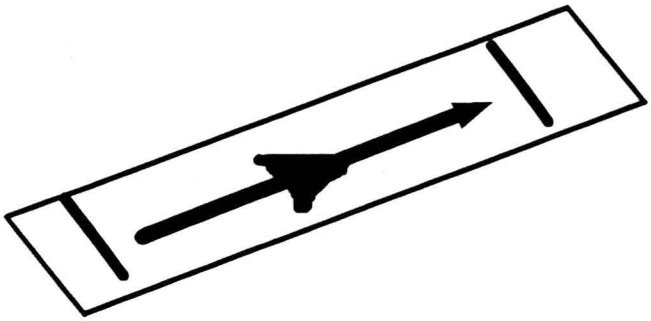
Table I. Expanded hierarchy of the Ka-Ti Missi Sippi Lodge

OA Ranks	KTMS Ranks		
	Youth Initiated Ranks		Adult Initiated Ranks
	Under 21	Over 21	
Ordeal	Foxman		Adult Foxman
	Brave		Adult Brave
Brotherhood	Warrior		Adult Warrior*
	Firebuilder		
	Tom Tom Beater		
	Runner		
	Keeper of the Sacred Bundle		
	Lodge Chief (elected)		
		Sagamore	Sagamore
		Sachem	Sachem
		Keeper of the Wampum	Keeper of the Wampum
		Shaman (appointed)	Shaman (appointed)
Vigil	Honorary Society		

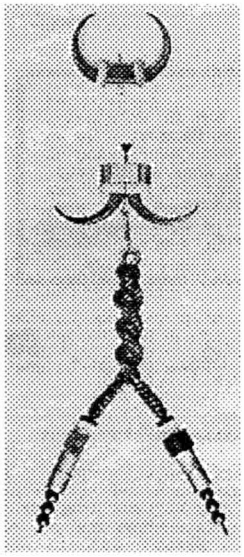
*Adult Warrior claws are turned inward to indicate status as an Honorary Warrior

Brotherhood rank members, wear black logchains. As they progress through the paint stations, generally advancing a step each year, this "blank" or colorless logchain is "painted" the color of each position or a new one is made in the color of the station (Table II). So Runners are referred to as having "blue paint" and wear blue logchains. Warriors' logchains also have pendants with two bearclaws on them (See Figure IV) which point outward for youth-initiates and inward for adult-initiates. The "Firebuilders" tend to the fire in the center of the ceremonial dancing circle. The "Tom Tom Beaters" play the drum and chant. "Runners" are responsible, along with the "Keepers of the Sacred Bundle," for supervising the Foxmen and Braves during the events which follow the Call Out. One Warrior is elected "Lodge Chief," whose duties include leading the rituals, "tapping" new Foxmen during the initiation ceremony, and heading the youth executive council which makes many of the local Lodge's internal decisions.

The adult members, those above the age of twenty-one, have another set of ranks and duties. At this level, adults who were not involved in scouting as children but have become Troopleaders and such, can enter as Adult Foxmen, become Adult Warriors, then move into the standard adult ranks. Within these adult ranks, there are first the "Sagamore," who have traditionally helped monitor the safety of the Foxmen and Braves during the Ordeals and record their new Indian names. Next are the "Sachem," who constitute the Tribal Council which votes on official business policies, and approves inductee nominations and promotions. After several years, some Sachems are granted further titles, such as "Keeper of the Wampum," which indicates a person has significantly impacted the scouting community. The



The OA Sash



The Logchain*

Figure IV. Symbols of OA and KTMS Membership
*Photograph of logchain taken from Brave Handbook (1981:15)

Table II. Paint Station Progression (by color)

Paint Station	Paint	Logchain Color
Warrior or Adult Warrior	Black	Black
Firebuilder	Orange	Orange
Tom Tom Beater	Green	Green
Runner	Blue	Blue
Keeper of the Sacred Bundle	Yellow	Yellow
Lodge Chief (current Chief)	Red	Red with Silver stripe
Chief (past Chief)	Red	Red
Sagamore	Purple	Purple
Sachem	White	White
Keeper of the Wampum	White	Black with White Stripe
Medicine Man	White	White with Black Stripe
Shaman	White	White with Red Stripe

*adapted from table in Brave Handbook (1981:16)

honorary rank of "Medicine Man" is also given for service well above and beyond the proverbial call of duty. There is also a temporary, appointed position of "Shaman," reserved for a knowledgeable adult who will advise and counsel the young Chief throughout his term. Often a young man selects his father, grandfather, or Scoutmaster; generally it is someone with whom he has a close relationship. Adult stations use different colored logchains for distinction, along with the bearclaw pendants, just like the youth stations.

Summer camp is the main arena for OA activities, with the Tap Out ceremony occurring as the highlight of each troops' week-long session. It begins with a potluck dinner and a public campfire on Thursday evening, the official Family Day at Camp Eastman. There is a small amphitheater with a roped off circle and a fire pit in the center which serves as the location for the initiation ritual (Fig. V) There are rows of benches around three-quarters of the circle for families and younger campers, leaving an open area along one side where a large sign has been erected bearing the values enumerated by the Scout Law. This sign stands out during the ceremonies and camp fires in this ring, always reminding people of the BSA's expectations of them.

To open the Call Out, the Chief (or one of the other council members) enters the center of the circle and instructs all in attendance to remain silent once the friendship dances are over and the serious dancing has begun. A fire platform has been prepared ahead of time, and the ceremony then begins with the "Indians" (outfitted youth and young adult members) rushing in, lighting the fire and dancing around it amidst a chorus of fast drum beats, cries and

Figure V. W.O Peterson Fire Ring (in use)

hollers. There are several songs with specific dances which are performed, including friendship and flag dances.

When the dances are done, a rope is attached to posts around the fire, forming an inner circle within the ring of seats. The chief and his council enter the ring and address the audience. The OA is described, an explanation is given as to what will happen to those called out, and the same speech from Mitigwa is given, equating young scouts to acorns and the OA to a "mighty oak" which will shelter them and nurture their growth. This nurturance he says, will extend out to those who will not be called forth, so that if they continue to better themselves as scouts they may be called in the future.

The names of the individuals about to be initiated are called, first youth and then adult, and these individuals come forward to stand at the rope facing the fire. Once all the names have been called, and all initiates are in place around the outside of the rope, the chief, with a team of two torch bearers, and a single Tom Tom Beater with a handheld drum who beats out a slow cadence, march around the inside of the rope. Outside the rope, there is a line of Runners, who walk behind the initiates, stopping when the inside team does. The Chief stops in front of each of the initiates, an act which the Tom Tom Beater marks with three rapid strikes of his drum, stares into the eyes of the initiates, one by one, and then "taps" them on the shoulder with his outstretched arm three times, again to three quick beats of the drum.[3]

The chief and his initiation team tap each initiate in random order, skipping several then tapping another. After he has done so, a Runner will grab the new Foxman and run,

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[3] Previously in the ST, a ceremonial tomahawk was used for the tapping; hence the name.

pulling the new initiate into the circle. While they are being lined up by the fire, they are made to assume a posture called the "Sign of the Arrow " (SOA) in which they stand with right hand on left elbow and left hand on right shoulder, then an arrow is drawn on their exposed right forearm. They are told to be silent for "four and twenty hours" because "silence is golden," and then one by one they are taken away. Next the adult Foxmen are tapped out and brought into the circle. They too are made to stand silently in the "Sign" and are taken away to join the youth Foxmen.

Next the Braves, also under the order of silence, enter the circle, receive instructions similar to those of the Foxmen via elaborate hand gesturing by the Chief, and run off to join the others. The chief announces that these people will not be seen again that night, but that they will be carefully cared for. At this point in the past, everyone in attendance sang the well known camp song, Kumbayah, parents and families were escorted by flashlight to the parking area, and the public portion of the ceremony was over. A newer tradition involves all the OA members still present to line either side of the path to the parking area with flashlights and sing "Scout Vespers". For the next twenty-four hours the initiates will complete the Fourfold Ordeal. This is a process which includes their spending the night under the stars, eating only what is given them, laboring for the camp the next day, and maintenance of silence. This Ordeal culminates Friday night in a second ceremony at a distant, secret location.

The following Figures, VI through XVI, show some of the points of interest from around Camp Eastman, along with some pictures of the Call Out ceremonies I attended and the people I met.

Figure VI. Scout Law Sign from Peterson Ring

Figure VII. Building a "Wickiup" for Indian Lore Merit Badge Class

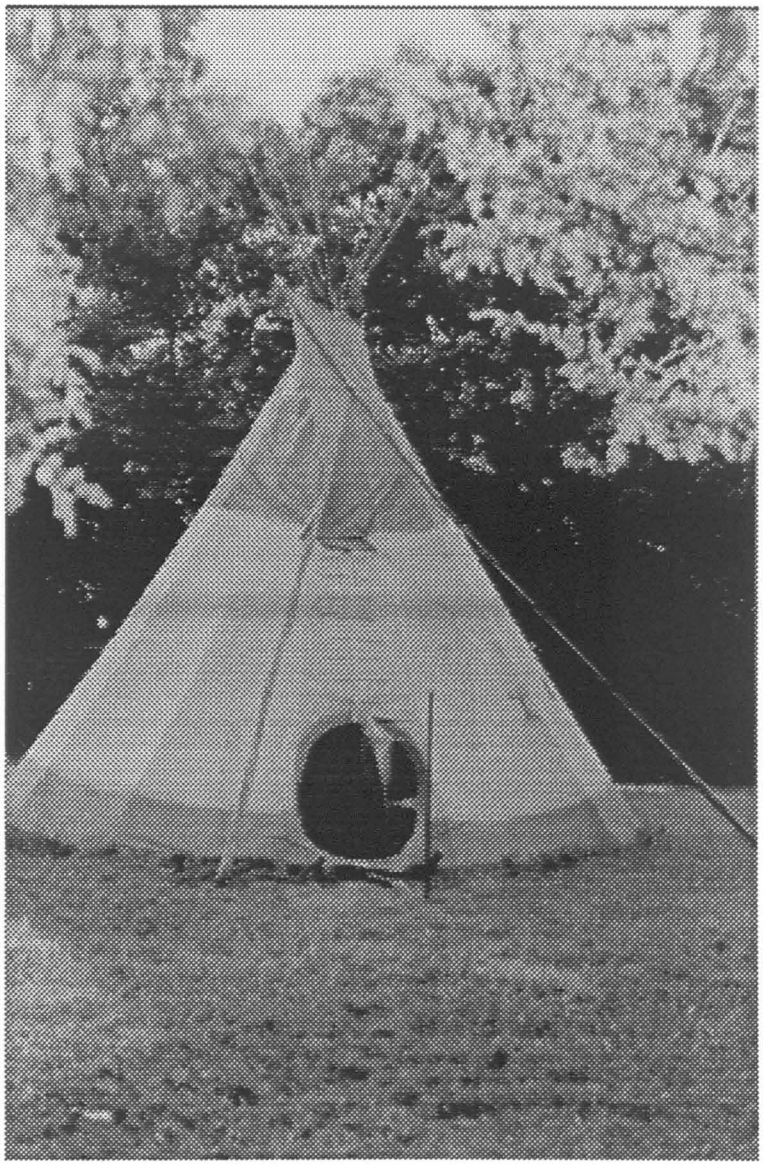

Figure VIII. Tee Pee Behind the OA Lodge Building

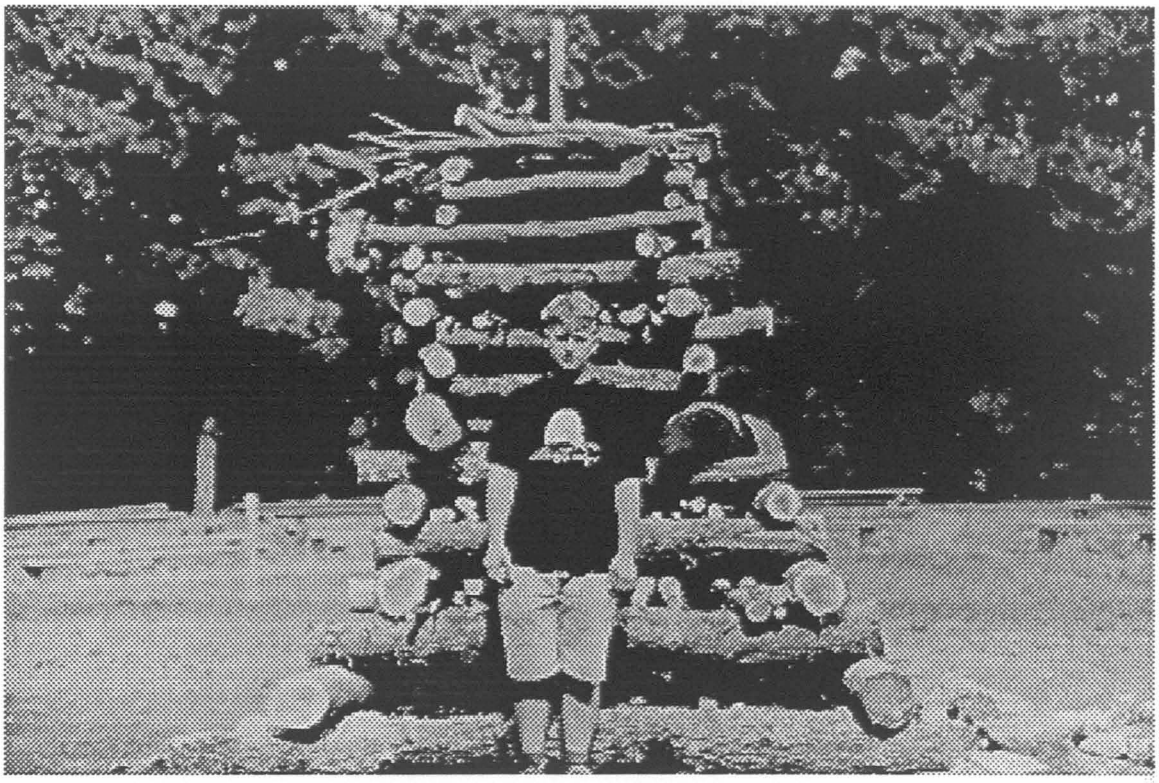

Figure IX. Fire Platform with a Six-Foot Youth for Perspective

Figure X. Staging Area before Call-Out

Figure XI. Dancing Near the Drum

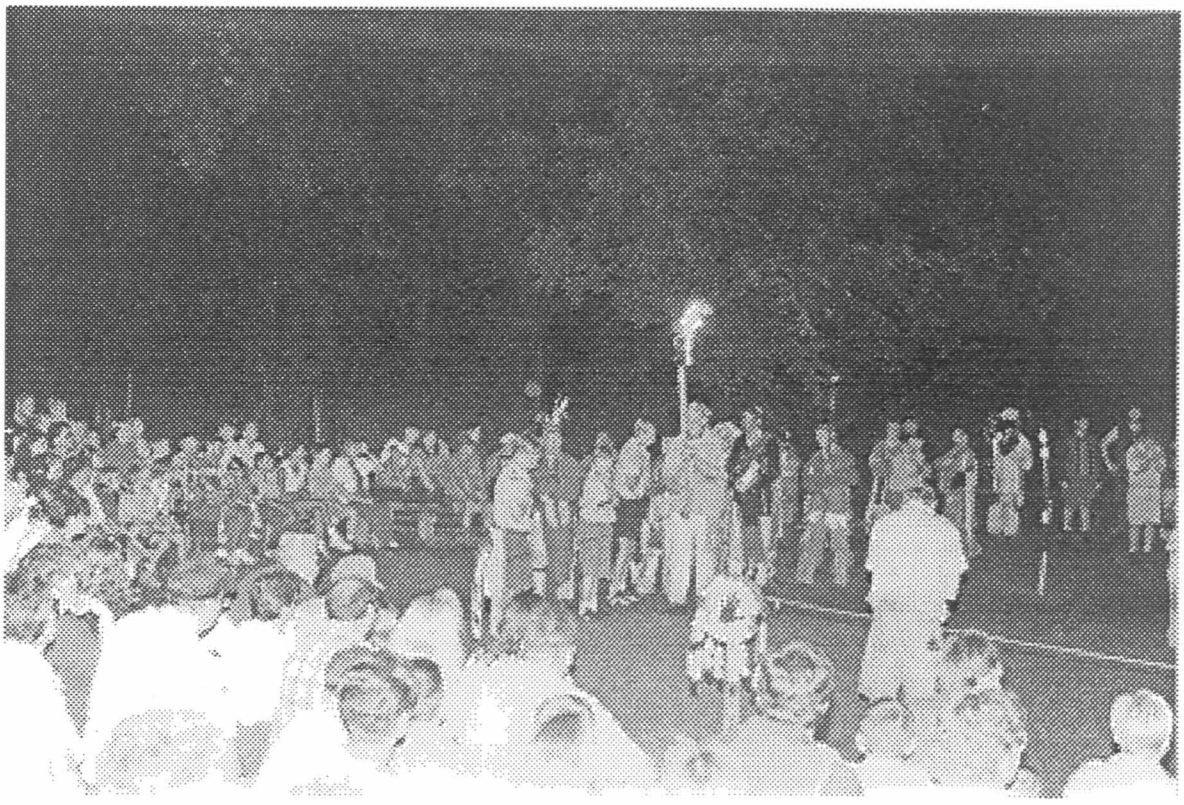

Figure XII. The Procession Approaches

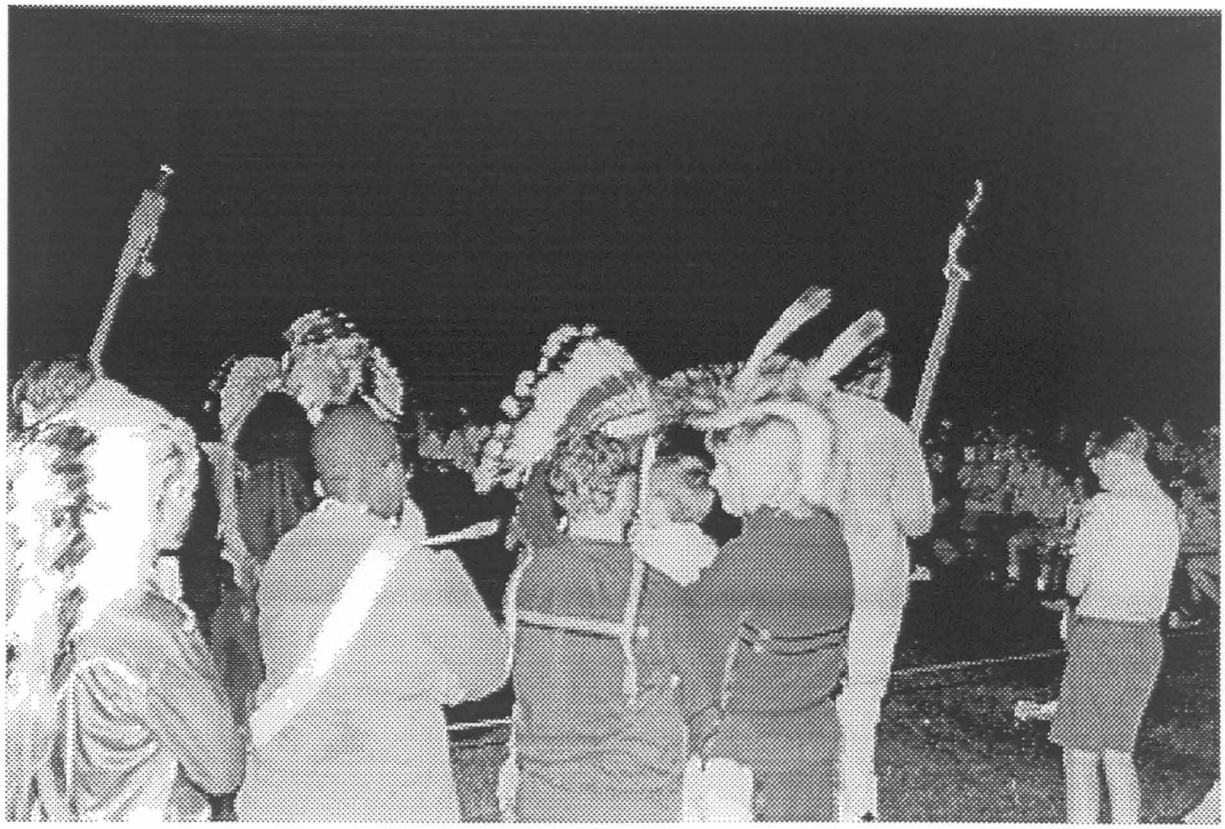

Figure XIII. Staring into the Eyes of the Chief

Figure XIV. Sitting "SOA"

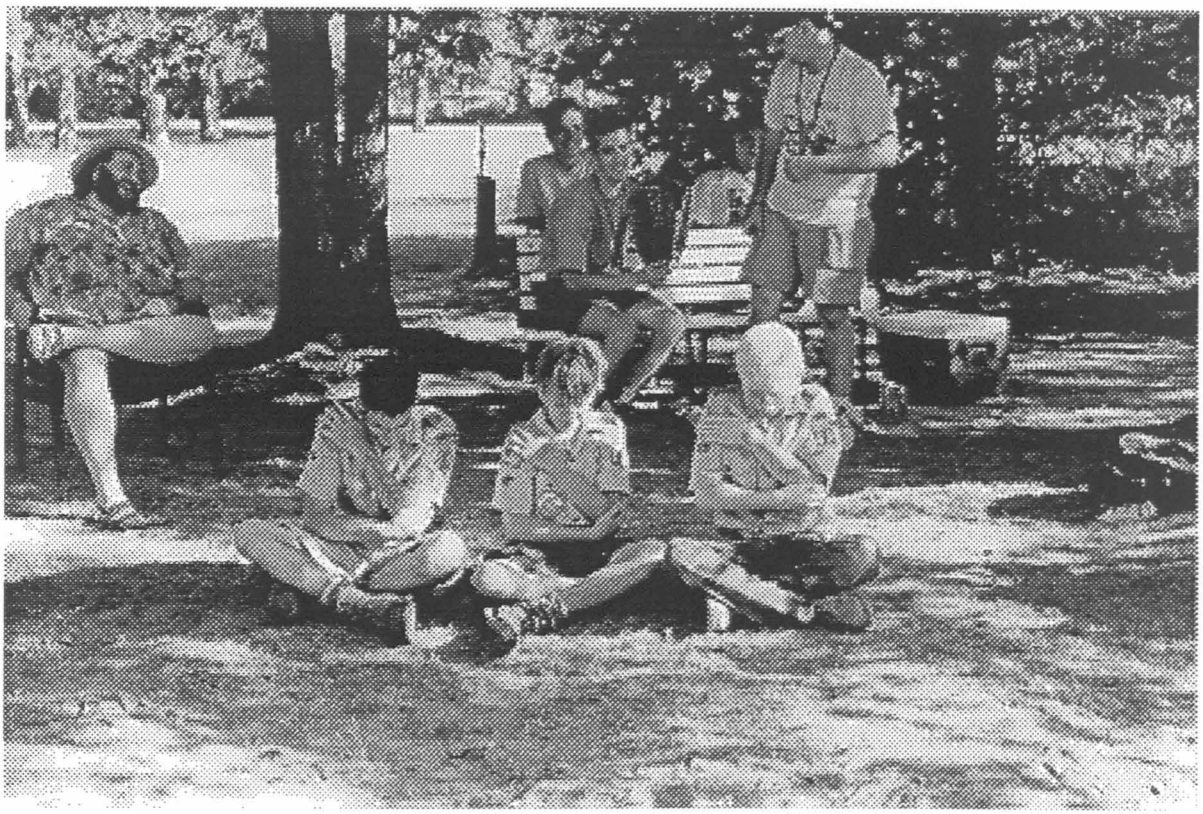

Figure XV. Posable Foxmen

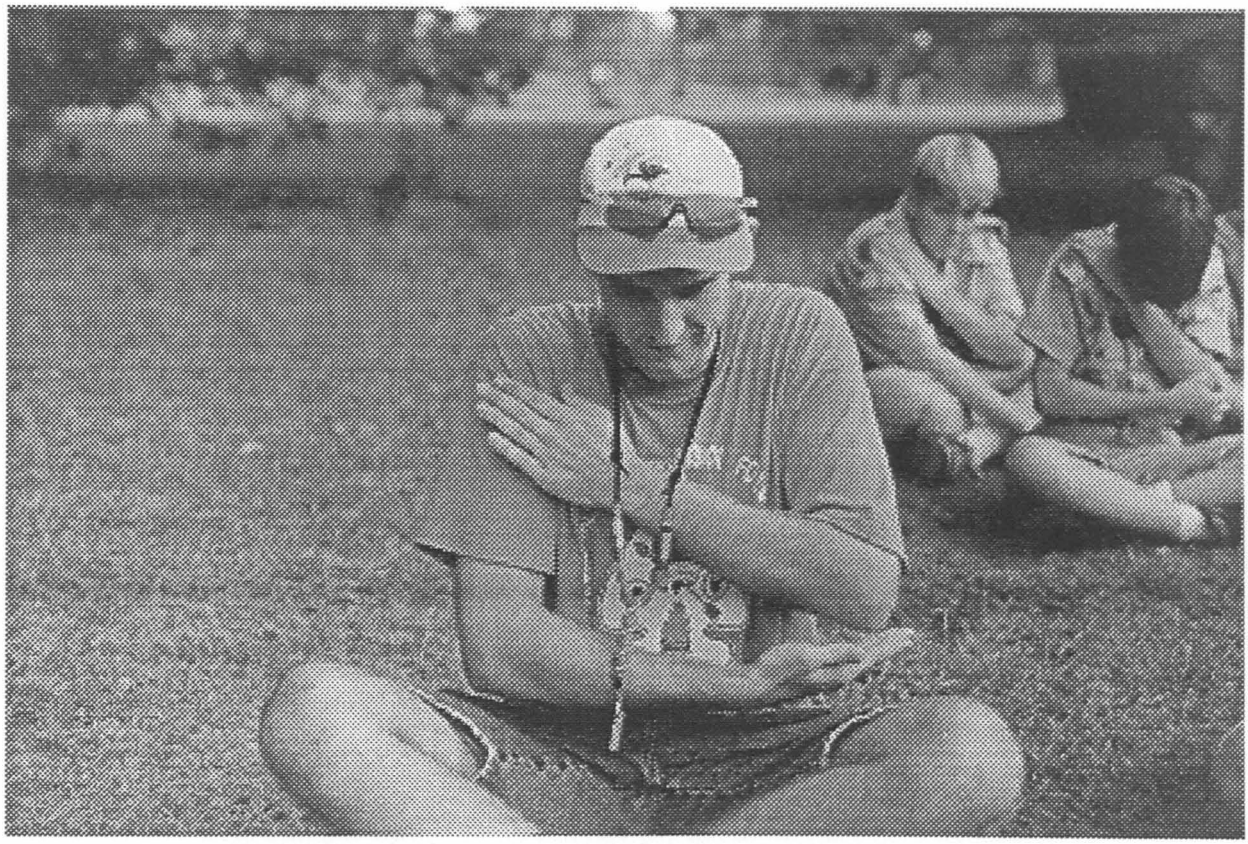

Figure XVI. The Chief Shows 'Em How

Questionnaire Results

This section, like the questionnaire, has six divisions. The first, Demography, deals with the personal statistics that show the success of the OA program in terms of the "end-results" (youth-initiated adults) of the organization. The next section has information on the current paint stations and ranks of the informants, with information about the typical path of advancement and average age at initiation. Family involvement and retention rates are the focus of the next section. The fourth section involves informants' perceptions of the goals, values and ideals of the organization. Native American elements within the organization are the discussed in the following section, with particular focus on reasons for the OA using Native American cultures as a model. The final section pertains to individual perceptions of the significance of the organization and the ceremonies within members' lives.

Demography

The pool of 32 informants who completed the questionnaires was quite an interesting mix of people. There were 20 adult informants and 12 youths. Adults' ages ranged from 26 to 70 years old. The youths included eight informants under 21, as prescribed by the OA age definitions along with four other young men between 21 and 25 who were in similar employment and educational circumstances. Two of the adults were women who had been involved in various aspects of Scouting and camp activities. Since OA membership at Camp Eastman averages about 700, this represents about 5% of the organization.

Over half of the sample was married, including both women, 15 of the 18 adult men and one youth. (See Table III) Only one divorce was recorded in the sample. All but one of the married members had children, including the youth informant. The average number of children in these families was 2.6. Grandchildren were reported by eight informants over the age of 40.

Half of the informants had completed some post-secondary education (Table IV), with 31% having at least a Bachelor's degree. Most youth informants were still in school, either high school or college, but 3 were employed and one was looking for a new job. Only one had been working for over 5 years. All 20 adults were employed or retired, and 75% of them had been at their position for over ten years. Only one had been in his current position for less than five years, and four for between five and ten years. (Table V)

Ranks and Paint Stations

Nearly all of the warrior paint stations are represented in the sample. (Table VI) Adult-initiated members accounted for 41% of the informants (this being 65% of the adults surveyed). Including the youth and young adult members, 46% of the informants held the BSA rank of Eagle Scout, and only 22% (including the two women) had not been involved in the BSA as children. The average length of involvement at Camp Eastman (regardless of

Table III. Marital Status

Married Youth Informants	2 (17%)
Married Adult Informants	17 (85%)
Total Married Informants	19 (59%)
Total Single Informants	13 (41%)
Total Divorced Informants	1 (3%)

Table IV. Educational Level

High School	16 (50%)
Trade School or Vocational Training	3 (9%)
Associate's Degree*	3 (9%)
Bachelor's Degree*	7 (22%)
Master's Degree*	3 (9%)
Doctoral Degree*	0
Total with Bachelor's or higher	10 (31%)

* Or equivalent credit hours

Table V. Employment Status

Student	8 (25%)		
Employed or retired	23 (72%)	Years at Position	(n = 23)
		under 5 years	3 (13%)
		5 to 10 years	6 (26%)
		over 10 years	14 (61%)
Unemployed	1 (3%)		

current age) was 14 years, with as few as 5 and as many as 48. The stem-and-leaf diagram in Figure XVII displays this information for each informant, and shows that over half of the sample has been going to Camp Eastman for over 10 years. The average age of youth initiated members at initiation was 13, and the average age of adult initiated members initiation was 35. This 22 year gap corresponds to the standard 20 year span of one generation and is indicative of the high degree of father-son participation which draws both grown-up youth members back in after a period of lapsed membership, and attracts adults who were not involved as children.

Goals and Ideals

When working with open-ended questions, it is difficult to code and compare responses. Individual responses to these questions vary widely, but generally there are patterns which allowed for the use of thematic categories. By creating general categories for each question, such as "Values, Ethics, Morals" and "Participate, Offer Service," I was able to code responses in order to quantify the data. Two major criteria were used in sorting the data: current age and age at initiation. Since many of the informants provided multiple responses to each question, the percentages do not necessarily total 100% for each question.

The first open-ended section of the survey deals with the goals and ideals of the Order of the Arrow. When asked "What do you see as the central goals of the OA" (Item D1), the most frequently recorded responses pertained to the promotion of BSA values. The next

Table VI. Paint Station Representation in the Sample

Stations	Youth-Initiated	Adult-Initiated
Foxman	0	-
Brave	0	-
Warrior	0	-
Firebuilder	2	-
Tom Tom Beater	0	-
Runner	3	-
Keeper of the Sacred Bundle	1	-
Lodge Chief	2	-
Adult Foxman	0	0
Adult Warrior	0	0
Sagamore	2	2
Sachem	6	8
Keeper of the Wampum	1	3
Shaman	1	0
Medicine Man	1	0
Total	19 (59%)	13 (41%)

Figure XVII. Stem-and-Leaf Plot of Years in Attendance at Camp Eastman

First Digit	Second Digit[4]
0	56667777778899
1	0002335678
2	011
3	05
4	08

[4] For a Stem-and-leaf plot, the first column represents the first digit in the possible responses to the question, and the numbers in the second column represent the specific, individual responses to the question. For example, 3|05 represents one response of 30 years and another response of 35.

most frequent responses were those pertaining to the instillation of responsibility and leadership skills. (Table VII) Most informants found that participation and cooperation within the organization was the best way for members to contribute towards the accomplishment of these goals (Item D2). This response was especially prevalent among current youth members. (Table VIII)

Responses to another key question regarding the activities of an "ideal" member (Item D3), offered further insight into the focus of the OA. According to 78% of all informants and 85% of the adults, an ideal member lives by the Scout Oath and Law. (See Table IX) These responses mark the first mention of the Scout Oath in the structured interviews. The next most frequently mentioned asset was the willingness to participate and serve the community which was cited most frequently as a way to accomplish the organization's goals. Interestingly, a willingness to lead and teach through example was also associated with the idea of an "ideal" member.

The instillation of values - especially service and fellowship - was cited as the most important aspect of the OA, especially by adult-initiated informants (Item D4). Responses pertaining to the strengthening of youth's characters were cited nearly as often. (Table X). In response to the question concerning recruitment of new BSA members, only 2 informants had not done so, but all said that they strongly recommend the Scout program for young people and encourage people to strive towards the OA's standards.

Table VII. Central Goals of the OA by Percentages of Sample

Categories	Youth	Adult	Y-ini*	A-ini^	Total
Values, Morals, Ethics	50%	65%	52%	77%	63%
Leadership Skills	42	40	42	38	41
Strengthening Youth	42	25	26	38	31
Retention of Older Youth	25	15	21	15	19
Camping Skills	25	15	26	8	19
Teach about NA's	17	10	16	8	13

*Y-ini = youth-initiated ^A-ini = adult-initiated

Table VIII. Ways to Accomplish Goals by Percentage of Sample

Categories	Youth	Adult	Y-ini	A-ini	Total
Participate, Offer Service	83%	70%	74%	77%	75%
Set Example, Teach	25	50	32	38	34
Have Fun	17	10	3	8	13

Table IX. Activities of an "Ideal" OA Member by Percentage of Sample

Categories	Youth	Adult	Y-ini	A-ini	Total
Live the Scout Oath/Law	67%	85%	74%	84%	78%
Participate, Offer Service	67	55	63	54	59
Set Example, Teach	42	15	32	15	25

Table X. Most Important Aspect of the OA by Percentage of Sample

Categories	Youth	Adult	Y-ini	A-ini	Total
Values, Morals, Ethics	33%	85%	47%	92%	66%
Strengthening Youth	50	65	42	85	59
Retention of Older Youth	33	10	26	8	19
Having Fun	8	5	11	0	6
Honor Good Scouts	8	5	5	8	6

Native American Cultural Elements

Another section of open-ended questions covered the usage of Native American cultural elements within the OA. Responses to the first two questions concerning the most important elements (Items E1 and E2) proved interesting (Tables XI and XII). The least common response to the first question, regarding the most important Indian element within the organization, was the most frequently cited response to the second question as the reason for using Native American cultures as models for the OA. These responses dealt with the "mystique" surrounding Native

Table XI. Most Important Native American elements in OA by Percentage of Sample

Response	Youth	Adult	Y-ini	A-ini	Total
NA Values	42%	50%	47%	54%	50%
Ceremonial Trappings	58	40	47	46	47
Respect for NA's	25	25	16	38	25
Mystique	8	2	11	8	9

Table XII. Reasons for Using Native American Cultures as a Model by Percentage of Sample

Response	Youth	Adult	Y-ini	A-ini	Total
Mystique	42%	45%	47%	31%	41%
NA Values	67	20	42	31	38
Respect for NA's	33	35	37	31	34
Environmentalism	25	25	32	15	25

Americans that makes them interesting to others and how this has been used to delineate OA from BSA activities. The third question (E3) also resulted in interesting responses. When asked whether or not the OA could exist without the Native American cultural elements, or with some other model such as buckskinners or pioneers, the informants were equally divided between "yes" and "no".

Answers to the questions regarding costuming (Item E5 and E6) made obvious the importance of conformity among OA members. Of the 30 people who responded to the question about their current and past costuming, 73% (22) wore outfits that were designed to "fit in" or that were "just like everyone else's." These generally consisted of leggings (simulated leather, suede or cotton cloth), a loose ribbon shirt like those worn by Mesquakie Indians (if a shirt was worn), moccasins, and adornments such as hairpipe chokers and breastplates. Quite a few also wore face paint, reportedly in a style reminiscent of the Apaches. Of these people with "standard" or "typical" outfits, most had worked from their general knowledge, often stating availability and cost of materials , hand-me-down items and helpful mothers as having influenced their selections. There were 2 (6%) individuals with very unusual costumes that had been extensively researched, one included an animal skin headdress, and the other was a fancy-dancer outfit, in the Central Plains tradition. The remaining 8 (25%) informants, all adults, reported that they currently only wear Scout uniforms, many with the OA sash.

The Indian names of the informants varied widely, as one might expect, as did the explanations of their origins. (Items E7 and E8) Most names included a natural element, such as night or thunder, but plants, animals, colors and several modifiers were also utilized. Modifiers such as "little" or "old", along with terms like "son of" or "second son of", were used to indicate blood relationships between people. Table XIII lists some of the components from informants' names.

Table XIII. Indian Name Components from KTMS Lodge
(arranged in random order, no horizontal correlations)

Animals	Plants	Natural Elements	Colors	Modifiers
hawk	cedar	night	blue	fleeting
coyote	leaf	shadow	red	swift
eagle	sycamore	storm	white	guiding
scorpion		fire	golden	crazy
whipowhil		star	gray	old
wolf		thunder	yellow	thundering
fox		breeze	silver	stinging
owl		skies		crashing
		moon		lone
		earth		mighty
		morning		little
				great
				big
				winged

Organizational and Ceremonial Significance

Responses to the concluding question (F1) regarding what outsiders should know about the OA were highly individualized. In general, people were concerned with the image of the organization, that it not be perceived as demeaning or disrespectful towards either the youth members or the Native Americans from which cultural elements have been borrowed. Too, they wanted people to see the value of the program, its purpose of helping young men and serving the camp environment as well as the greater community. As far as the ceremonies are concerned, one man probably was the most succinct when asked what should outsiders like myself know; he said "not much." This desire for privacy is common to secret organizations or societies like the Order of the Arrow, and serves to maintain the "mystique" discussed above.

A final question (Item F2) pertaining to the impact of the Call Out initiation ceremony on youth initiates, was included with 10 informants. Of these informants, 8 said it was a very significant experience for them or their children. They see it as something that stays with a person for life. Two saw it as important, but not transforming, pointing rather to its practical function of instilling the organization's values and educating new initiates. According to 3 individuals that found it a significant event in their lives, it was something that provided a sense of self confidence and independence. One young man said, "I know if I could do that, I can do anything."

Addressing the Research Assumptions

For this thesis project, there were three research assumptions. The first is based on observation of the Call Out ceremony and the other two are based on the results of the

questionnaire. All of these pertain to the functional and structural similarities between the Order of the Arrow's initiation ceremonies and male puberty rites of indigenous societies. It is important to keep in mind that the OA's initiation is designed for a secret organization with safeguarded practices, and so is not a true puberty rite. Only the Call Out ceremony is being discussed which can be seen as analogous to the initial, separation phase of Van Gennep's three stages of a rite of passage. The second, liminal phase is associated with the Ordeal, which is not discussed directly due to its safeguarded nature, but rather is referred to when appropriate.

Part 1: The Call Out as a Rite of Passage

The main research assumption which is based on observation is that **the Order of the conducts initiation rituals which share common elements with male puberty ceremonies of other societies.** The establishment of the KTMS Call Out ceremony as a rite of passage can be achieved through comparison with Levinson and Malone's criterion list and with Turner's description of liminality (see Literature Review, rites of passage section). Some of the criterion are fulfilled by KTMS during the non-public portion of the initiation ceremony, the Ordeal, but usually these activities are alluded to during the Call Out. I am including Mitigwa Lodge's ceremony for comparison. The criterion list was developed by Levinson and Malone specifically to address male puberty rituals of small-scale indigenous cultures. While the OA is not a society-wide organization, it has some characteristics of a secret society and in many ways fulfills the functions of a puberty rite, so this is still a useful list in that it addresses the

important elements of a rite of passage for young adolescents. Levinson and Malone's criterion list (in boldface) will be addressed point by point.

1. Elders preside over the rite, and are often members of a male initiate's descent group who have some role in his upbringing.

The Call Out ceremony is conducted by the Executive Council which is composed of the Lodge Chief and his officers. These are youth members who have been elected by their peers to make decisions for the Lodge and to lead rituals. They are generally about five years older than the new initiates. Other participants are divided by tasks, according to their paint stations (Table I) In the past, adult members were involved in the ceremony, providing true "elders" to the ceremony, but this practice has stopped.

The young men on the Council are usually on staff at the camp and have been working with and instructing the Scouts throughout the week. Some of the ceremonial participants, especially the Runners and the Tom Tom Beaters, will be from the initiates' own troops, and will be people they know and have been involved with for many years. Occasionally, these older boys are acting in the capacity of assistant Scoutmasters, and so have already been instrumental in the initiates' lives.

Mitigwa Lodge also has an elected council, and participation by troop members from week to week. They have an additional role to be filled by OA members that already know them, in that each person in line has an OA member stand behind them. It is not unlikely that these people behind have been involved with the initiate before, and some may be parents or

other relatives that have been previously initiated. While not a consanguinial descent group, the Order has established a clear division between the older, knowledgeable members and the younger, unknowledgeable initiates which is similar to the relationship between elders and children in a small-scale society.

2. Parents of initiates usually have no role in the rite.

For both Lodges parents are typically spectators, as is common during the initial portions of such rituals in indigenous societies. The separation from one's family and previous status is the first of Van Gennep's three phases within rites of passage. In previous years, with the Silver Tomahawk tradition of involving some adults inside the fire ring, a previously initiated father may have been a part of the ceremony, but this is not a standard procedure. Likewise for Mitigwa, a parent who has already been initiated might stand behind a child initiate, but this would be coincidental rather than expected. Since the ceremony occurs on Family Night at camp, the presence and non-participation of parents is reminiscent of the initial separation stage of an indigenous puberty rite where children are often taken away from their home to secret locations for their training while parents stay behind.

3. The rite involves education in the basic rules and practices of the group.

During the KTMS Call Out, there is a speech which is recited by a council member which describes the intention of the organization to help its members grow strong like "the mighty oak." This begins the instruction of initiates through metaphor, since the oak tree

"shelters" and "protects" the seedling as it "grows" from an acorn. Too, it assures those whose names are not called that they may be called in the future so they should strive for the same "growth" . Later, during the Ordeal which follows the Call Out, the initiates learn more about the history of the Order and their Lodge through other examples and metaphors. The same is true for Mitigwa's practices. At Camp Eastman, there is a large sign in the fire ring used for the Call Out which bears the Scout Oath on wooden plaques, keeping these ideas constantly in mind. In general, OA initiation ceremonies are infused with symbolism which incorporates BSA values, especially service and selflessness, and furthers the organization's purpose of strengthening the character of its members.

4. The rite often involves physical hardship including scarification.

During the KTMS Call Out, the initiates are made to assume the posture called the Sign of the Arrow (SOA), run around the circle, and remain silent. There are more intense physical conditions during the later Ordeal, including a day of labor with minimal food, which better comply with this criterion, since physical hardship is generally associated with the liminal phase and the Call Out ceremony is primarily for separation.

For Mitigwa initiates, there is a further distance to run during the Call Out, providing more of what could be called hardship. A torch bearer and runner escorts them from the quarter-mile long line to the fire ring where they are lined up. This distance is more readily symbolic of both the separation from the old status and the new, and of the physical endurance required of members. Their Ordeal also includes silence, labor and minimal food. In both

cases, the initiates are enduring conditions which are outside their ordinary experiences, creating a liminal environment.

5. All boys or girls of the appropriate age must be initiated; if one must go through the rite, all must go through it.

This one criterion is not easily applicable to the OA, since it refers directly to society-wide puberty rites. For such rituals, all children of the appropriate age are initiated at once and the experience is mandatory for entrance into adult society. With the OA, all members must have experienced the Call Out and Ordeal, even the adult-initiates, but only those eligible individuals that have been elected by their peers are actually initiated. It is here that one sees the characteristics of a secret society in that eligible and selected individuals are initiated together, rather than all individuals of the appropriate age. The criterion is applicable in that all OA initiates do pass through the "same" ritual, however.

6. The rite is focused on the group of initiates, not on any single initiate.

For KTMS initiates, the group they are Called Out with takes on the characteristics of an age-grade. They will progress through the ranks and paint stations together. Age-grades are used by small-scale societies to organize the population into levels. Each age-grade is born, matures, marries, and advances through adult life as a unit, moving from one grade to the next. KTMS members recall their initiations according to who was Chief at the time (Johnny Smith tapped me out...), and typically advance through the paint stations along with

the same people they were Called Out with. Ordeal members have specific costumes to wear which both separates them from the full members and shows their shared liminal status. The activities are very much group-oriented, and all the initiates are addressed as "Foxman," rather than by name, again reflective of a liminal phase. No one is given preferential treatment. This group mentality is also present in the Mitigwa traditions and practices. This age-grade practice is beneficial to the OA in that it promotes cooperation and mutual obligations among members with common status who share special responsibilities within the larger society or organization.

7. The opposite sex is prohibited from viewing the rite.

While mothers and sisters may be present during the Call Out for both Lodges, they are not present during the later activities. The presence of the opposite sex during the initial separation stage of this type of ceremony is not uncommon in indigenous societies. The recent induction of women into the OA caused much controversy in that a male-only environment was considered necessary and appropriate for the Scout camping experience. This idea is rooted in the idea of a safe and stress-free environment for adolescent growth. (See the Literature Review for more detail). An analogy might be made that only Order members can be present during the most important rituals, and were this a true manhood ceremony, that would mean only men. In some ways, the women members, who are almost exclusively mothers or wives and thus not "sexual" in the minds of young boys, might be considered

honorary men as well as Honorary Warriors. Again, this is a criterion that does not address the Call Out specifically as a secret organization initiation.

Interestingly, because of a coed Explorer Post at Camp Mitigwa, there are a few young women (between 21 and 25) in the Mitigwa Lodge. The presence of young, non-maternal females would seem to change the atmosphere. Since the intention of a manhood ritual is to provide an environment free of sexual tension or confusion, the presence of females young enough to be considered "sexual" or as potential sexual partners would be counterproductive. Again, there continues to be controversy at both the local and national levels surrounding their membership, the very fact of which supports this criterion.

On the basis of my observations and the data collected during the pilot study, I have added an additional criterion:

8. The taking of a new name by the initiates.

While both Lodges' ceremonies fit most of the criterion laid out by Levinson and Malone as universal characteristics of male initiation rites, I would argue that the taking of a new name may also be crucial. This practice separates the old-self from the new-self and gives the initiate a new identity within this organization. The KTMS practice of giving oneself an "Indian name" does exactly that. It is not a name that people use for themselves or each other in passing conversation. In this context, it is a ceremonial name, one which may or may not be known by the individual's family and outside friends, and is not used in casual conversation, even among KTMS members. This name furthers the mysterious and secret nature of the

organization by giving members a "secret identity" of sorts, one which is based on their own perception of themselves and what is important to them.

Often the names are familial, with "son of" or "second grandson of" being attached to the name of the blood relation. Other families will select an item such as a tree or animal, and include that in each of their names, so you might see "Running Willow" and his son "Lightning Struck Willow." Other names are chosen to symbolize something that occurred during the initiation ceremony, like a thunder storm, or someone stumbling. (See Table XIII in Results) Pendants which characterize members' names are sometimes hung from the bottom of logchains or incorporated into costumes, to identify people and their family affiliations, on sight.

The Mitigwa Lodge, as a standard OA Lodge, does not practice this naming tradition. There is no separation of the new-self from the old-self in this manner, nor is there such recognition of family ties within or between members. Mitigwa members do however acquire new names with Vigil membership, the third rank within the OA after Brotherhood. These names are given to the new Vigil members, not selected, and usually are words from Native American languages that, when translated, are based upon personality traits such as "happy Dancer" or "Goofy Mug". So these names do distinguish members within this upper level of the OA, and serve a function similar to the Indian names of KTMS.

While not all of the criterion were fully satisfied by the OA Lodges, a strong case can be made for the OA's initiation ceremony as a rite of passage. The Call Out is definitely a period of separation, and it provides the basis for the secondary liminal phase of the Ordeal.

Reaggragation occurs after the second night, when the campers return to their troops, and then their families, wearing their necklaces or sashes and preparing for a repeat of the Ordeal the following year. Too, the description by some informants of the Call Out and Ordeal as significant and life-changing experiences stands as evidence of the ritual function of the ceremonies. The function of a male puberty rite is to transform boys into men, to give them confidence and help them become good citizens. Since the OA initiation process reportedly does the same thing for its youth members, giving them the confidence to succeed and instilling in them the values needed to be good Americans, it would appear that this process is in fact a rite of passage.

Part 2: The Secondary Assumptions

The OA initiation rituals are effective because they distinctly delineate the new position of the participants, smooth transition, and ease potential conflict and tension within the organization.

This assumption describes the defining function of a rite-of-passage. According to Van Gennep and Turner, rites of passage function to facilitate an individual's shift in status within a culture's social system. The Call Out is the first step in an on-going process which involves various shifts in status and as such is equivalent to the first stage in Van Gennep's three-tiered definition of a rite of passage. It is the only part of the initiation ritual to be viewed by non-members. As such, the Call Out is significant in that it publicly separates members from non-members, and establishes the Order as a society within a society. The text of the ceremony

and the roles played by the initiators provide insight into the basic structure and values of the organization. Native American cultural elements are used to simultaneously obscure and emphasize these values which are at the core of not only the Order of the Arrow, but the Boy Scouts of America and the larger American society.

For Ka Ti Missi Sippi members, transitions through various statuses associated with the hierarchical paint stations is smoothed by assigning each member a specific task during the ritual. Everyone has a place, a responsibility and a significance, so there is no confusion or conflict. Within a standard lodge, there is an initiation team which consists of the Chief and his officers or council. These people are essential in that they lead the ceremony, while others are important for the services they provide, such as marking the individuals to be called forth. The expanded hierarchy of the KTMS involves more youth members in the ceremony through the use of paint stations. Each person has a task which must be completed for the ceremony to succeed, promoting group unity and ultimately Communitas. Too, this serves to promote retention by providing a mechanism for advancement from year to year.

In this sense, there is some indication that the KTMS ceremonies are more effective than those of standard OA lodges. Every year Lodges reapply for their national charters and report on their current standings. Figures are recorded which include total membership, the number of new Ordeal members, the number of new Brotherhood members, and the number of individuals that returned from the previous year to become full Brotherhood members. This last figure, the Brotherhood conversion ratio, is calculated as a percentage, and Lodges reporting a high ratio (over 35%) are considered Quality Lodges. Table XIV compares the

Table XIV. Brotherhood Conversion Data for Three Lodges[5]

YEAR	Total Membership (#)	Eligible Mem. (Ordeal) (#)	Mem.Completed (Brotherhood) (#)	Conversion Ratio (%)
Mitigwa				
1991	914	293	82	25
1992	923	207	97	32
1993	1071	240	172	42
1994	1113	237	146	38
Maheegun				
1991	216	41	25	38
1992	256	53	19	27
1993	270	49	31	39
1994	257	46	29	39
Silver Tomahawk				
1991	723	69	54	100
1992	515	67	47	70
1993	530	60	54	87
1994	574	68	62	75

[5] This information was obtained from the annual Lodge charter applications collected by the National Boy Scout Headquarters' Order of the Arrow Office in Irving, Texas.

three main Lodges in this study, at Camps Mitigwa, Saukenauk and Eastman respectively, over a four-year period.

This data should not be seen as hard proof that the Silver Tomahawk, or now the KTMS, program is better at retaining members, since there are a variety of factors which affect these figures. However, the differences between the other lodges and the old Silver Tomahawk indicate that there is something happening that merits attention. I think the continuance of the paint station hierarchy within the new KTMS traditions is a factor which will support future retention.

The conformity of the ceremony and ritual from year to year also ensures that the new initiates are not given conflicting messages. There is an established routine with set actors at the various stages throughout the event, so the new members do not have to think about what they are doing. The history and traditions of the Lodge are re-enacted every year, to reinforce the bonds between the past, present and future. Initiates' thoughts are supposed to be directed inward, as they are supposed to reflect upon esoteric concepts like service and loyalty. To this end, their every action is directed according to the routine and all they have to do is follow instructions. This provides safety and a degree of reassurance to the new members during a liminal, and tiring if not frightening, ordeal. These conditions are strikingly similar to those oppositions provided by Turner as characteristic of a liminal period.

Perhaps most importantly, the Call Out, as one part of a rite of passage, establishes a sense of unity and helps provide direction to the Order. Turner labeled this "Communitas" and considered it the glue which binds a society together. In upholding the traditions and

expectations of the Order, members are seen as excellent citizens, good men, who are examples to all. Too, the benefits of being a part of the organization, or in this case "the" organization itself, are exposed during ceremonies. It is an honor to be a member of the Order, one which only a small percentage of Boy Scouts can claim. By expounding the values and virtues of the organization, a ritual reminds the old and teaches the new about the importance of belonging to the organization and acting appropriately.

These initiation rites promote a high degree of citizenship and moral character among KTMS members which extends through adult life.

As the Brotherhood of Cheerful Service, the Order encourages its members to do whatever they can to contribute to the betterment of their surroundings. This applies to their camps, families, schools, communities and country. This also applies to their education and careers, since according to the Scout Oath and Law it is important to keep themselves strong and sound. For KTMS members, this strategy of self-improvement seems to be especially prevalent.

There are two major supporting factors for this assumption. First is the high frequency of questionnaire responses supporting BSA values, such as hard work, cooperation, and following the Scout Oath and Law in daily life. In the question asking, "What does an "ideal" member do within the OA and in everyday life," (Item D3) "Live the Scout Law" was a very common response. In almost every interviewer conducted, including those with new Ordeal

members or Foxmen, the importance of incorporating BSA and OA values into everyday experiences was mentioned.

Also, the adult members who were youth-initiated have apparently done just that. When compared to national marriage, education and employment statistics these "end-results" are at least slightly above average across the board (Table XV). While this is a small sample, it still can be seen as representative of an atypical collection of middle-aged people. Further research would need to gather specific data on this geographical region to draw any firm conclusions, but I think that there is some indication that these men have been positively affected by their experience with the Order and with BSA.

Table XV. Percentage Comparison of Sample and National Averages

Statistical Component	National Figures (in %)	Sample Figures (in %)
Marital Status = Divorced*	92.7	96.9
Post-Secondary Education#	32.2	50.0
Currently Unemployed*	93.3	96.9

*based on 1991 information on U.S. citizens over 16 years of age (Kurian, 1994)

#based on 1993 information on U.S. citizens over 25 years of age (Reddy, 1994)

This can be attributed to the strong emphasis on BSA values at all levels of OA membership. New members are instilled with these values by older members who set examples by living according to them. The rituals especially emphasize interdependence between members within the KTMS paint station hierarchy, promoting ideals of cooperation, teamwork and service to each other and the group. Too, these rituals call for a commitment,

not only to the organization, but to each other, further strengthening the bonds of Communitas established during this liminal period. The Ka Ti Missi Sippi Call Out beautifully symbolizes this ideal of the bonds of Brotherhood by creating a circle and drawing new members into it; the Chief stares into the eyes of the new initiate, searching his soul for strength, then a Runner brings him into the heart of the organization where he will be completely cared for for the next "four-and-twenty hours" by his new "Brothers." These actions are intended to create strong attachments between the individual and the group, and to deeply affect impressionable youth, showing by example the benefits of upholding the Order's values.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSIONS

Summary

This study has been challenging yet fun. Not many graduate students can say they spent the summer at Boy Scout Camp, and it certainly makes for interesting conversation! I have learned much about this organization, its members, and our culture. The goals laid out at the beginning of this journey have been modified several times, slimmed down and reined in, but the heart of the exploration has remained the same. Basically I wanted to determine whether or not the Order of the Arrow has been providing unsuspecting youth with manhood ceremonies for nearly a century, giving them an advantage over their ritual-less cohorts. Given such a scenario, I wanted to know why they needed to borrow from Native American cultures to do so. At this point, I take the answers to these questions for granted, but I think that this study is unique in its recording and analysis of a little known organization.

There were four objectives for this project.

A. To document the public initiation rituals of the Ka Ti Missi Sippi Lodge at Camp Eastman.

   1. Identify major elements of Native American cultural traditions in KTMS rituals and how this usage is perceived by its members.

   2. Establish that the Call Out ceremony is a rite-of-passage similar to adulthood rituals of indigenous cultures.

B. To explore the underlying functions of these rituals as perceived by both individual members and the organization itself.

1. Discover to what degree the initiation ceremony has impacted the character of the organization's members.

2. Examine the importance of secret knowledge in maintaining the organization's mystery and desirability.

Each of them has been addressed during the process of supporting the three assumptions. First, the use of Native American cultural elements in KTMS rituals was documented. These elements were found to have been borrowed piecemeal, for the general purpose of creating an exciting atmosphere in which to teach boys how to be men. Members perceive these elements as educational, practical and fun, but few would call their usage genuine or authentic. Mostly they are viewed as a mechanism for instilling values, and half of the respondents felt that they were not vital to the purpose of the organization.

Next the Call Out ceremony was established as a rite-of-passage. Figuring heavily in this is the absence of intentional and direct parental involvement, the initiation of a group rather than an individual, and the endurance of physical hardship, as would be true for indigenous puberty rites. Also, each KTMS member takes a new name, self-chosen, to identify themselves within the Order's organization. This helps to separate the old-self from the new-self and often indicates actual blood relationships to other members. This naming is unique to the KTMS Lodge and is distinctive in comparison to standard OA Lodges. Also, the KTMS' expanded hierarchy, the paint station system of advancement, offers older boys more opportunities to participate, keeping them active and increasing the influence of this character building organization on their everyday lives.

Discovering the extent of this impact from, the ceremony in particular, upon individual members' lives was more complicated. The return rates from the survey sample, (Item C1) an average of fourteen years at Camp Eastman, indicates that members are drawn to participate in this Brotherhood of Friendly Service, and that they do so even after they have jobs and families to care for. Many come with their children into the Order, or perhaps return to it with their offspring, as can be seen by the 20 year difference between the average ages of adult- and youth-initiated members, a figure which corresponds exactly to a single generation span. When compared to national averages, KTMS members are excellent husbands, well educated and employed. They appear to be model citizens, and it would appear that KTMS can be thanked at least in part for this. I would expect the same to be true of members of any OA Lodge, or the BSA in general, because of the strong emphasis on American values.

Application of Findings

It could be said that the Order of the Arrow serves the Boy Scouts of America in a manner similar to the way Officer Candidate School serves the American Army; it prepares the organization's future leaders. I have only a very few comments of suggestion, since in general I see the Order, both its national program and the KTMS program, as valuable and successful in the nurturing of young people in an increasingly disharmonious society.

First, I think that an environment free of young females is essential for the success of this organization. The BSA and OA's primary goal is to help young boys become independent men and good citizens, a goal which necessitates an environment free of gender conflict. The

presence of young girls, potentially viewed as sexual partners, would be confusing. It could promote competition, instead of cooperation, and defeat efforts to provide a safe and supportive environment for boys' exploration of manhood. The BSA encourages young people to know themselves before they enter into relationships, so that they can be good partners and ultimately good husbands. Making the camping atmosphere co-educational would be contradictory to this.

Second, I think that if the Order is going to continue to utilize Native American cultural elements, they must address the issue of authenticity. A recent controversy in the Quad Cities of Iowa and Illinois exposed the delicacy of this issue. An Explorer Post which had been formed to help Scouts learn Indian dance routines was accused of unethical conduct by a local Native American interest group. Evidently the Scouts were charging for their performances, and this was seen as inappropriate since the dances they were doing did not "belong" to them. Such arguments are not uncommon where non-Natives have borrowed cultural elements, and it would seem fitting that an organization which espouses respect for others would want to prevent this kind of confrontation. The questionnaire respondents were split 50/50 as to whether or not the Order could exist without the Native American elements or use some model other than Native American cultures, so I think that that possibility is unlikely to find support. However, I was told of some Lodges, one in Texas in particular, that "adopted" an Indian nation and used only that culture for their ceremonies, costuming and dances. They even incorporated some of the indigenous authority titles to fit their council positions (in place of Chief and Medicine

Man, etc.). Such a program might be easier to defend since it could truly be considered educational when compared to the current pan-Indianism, especially if developed with the assistance of interested Native American interest groups.

Finally I think that the expanded hierarchy, or paint stations, of the KTMS could provide a model which would benefit the national program. First, the paint station hierarchy encourages retention and participation of older youths while providing added cohesiveness to the organization. Second, the logchains offer a visible indication of membership and status that is not as clearly present with the standard sash. Logchains show not only one's rank in the order, but the coups indicate military service, service as a camp staff member and length of OA membership, reminding people of the values and ideas behind the organization. Third, I would recommend that the tradition of acquiring a new name with Ordeal membership be adopted by the national program. This serves to help the individual see himself as a new person with new responsibilities, and add to the "mystique" of the organization.

The Order of the Arrow appears to be very successful in achieving its goals of making better American men, but there are always ways to improve upon a design. These suggestions are based upon limited research, and I do not doubt that there are other unique Lodges with equally innovative and successful programs that the National program could utilize.

Future Research

For the purpose of this thesis, a very narrow focus has been used. There are basically three levels at which further research could be facilitated: other KTMS ceremonies, other standard OA activities, and other aspects of Native American culture used by the BSA.

There are several aspects of KTMS Lodge which are interesting and deserve attention. The secret, liminal portion of the initiation ceremony, the Ordeal, would be a fascinating subject for ethnographic study. It holds the intricate legends and rituals which bind the group together. It would be interesting to compare these activities with those of the Mic-O-Say camps in Missouri. Also, I would like to use a similar questionnaire at Camp Mitigwa for additional information on the adult "end results" of youth initiation into the OA, as well as any effects from their introduction of young women into the Order through Explorer Posts.

I suspect that there are other Lodges with local idiosyncrasies. Some informants talked about organizations similar to the Mic-O-Say that were replaced by the national OA program, one in particular in this area was the Old Guard. A surface study of the Call Out portion of several camps' initiation rituals would provide insight into how variable the national program is. That could be continued into the other geographic regions, to see at what level within the Scout camping program the most variation occurs. An international element could be added to such a study, to see if other nations' Boy Scout organizations have programs similar to the OA.

The topic that I would have most liked to expand upon in this thesis, and one I will very likely write about for publication, is the use of Native American cultural elements. It would be interesting to take each element, be it a word, an article of clothing or name adoption, and trace its ethnic origin. Some elements I suspect have been derived from "movie Indians," and represent cultural stereotypes, while others have been taken - as the Order claims - from the Delaware peoples. Too, I would like to find out about Scout troops in Native American communities, how prevalent they are and whether or not they participate in the OA program. That would definitely add depth to this field of research.

In general, I feel that I have just begun to scratch the surface of the Order of the Arrow. My personal association with the organization will not let me walk away from it easily. There are a few years yet before I become an "Order Mother," one of the proud moms who brings chicken and a side dish to the potluck dinner and then skillfully sprays her brood with Backwoods OFF before the dancing starts, but my time will come. My mother-in-law has passed the duty of patch-sewing on to me, so I'm already moving into the ranks of the "Order Wives." Perhaps this is another area for future research, this unofficial "Arrow Auxiliary," which one female member told me is the real backbone of the organization. A sample of Den Mothers and women Scoutmasters would certainly offer a different perspective, if not different results. Perhaps I'll conduct such a study in the future when yet again we return to Camp Eastman, the place Morgan calls his "Heart's Reservation."

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APPENDIX A: SURVEY INSTRUMENT
(not in original format)

(cover page, to be signed by informant and removed from booklet)
CODE#_ _ _

This survey is part of an Iowa State University Master's thesis project involving the Order of the Arrow. I will be observing and recording the public portion of your initiation activities, the tap out or call out ceremony, and am interested in how this kind of initiation effects participants. No names will be used in the writing of the project's results, so you will not be named directly, and all information you give me will be kept strictly confidential. You will be assigned a code number, such as 025, so that I can keep track of who I have spoken with, but the records of these codes will be destroyed when the project has been completed. Your participation is voluntary, and if you do not wish to answer any or all of these questions, that is perfectly acceptable. If you do wish to participate, this survey takes approximately twenty to thirty minutes. I may want to talk to you a little longer, or set up a time to talk more later about topics of particular interest. At any time during this interview process you may end your participation. Thank you for your interest in this project!

(Booklet)

CODE#_ _ _ DATE:_/_/_ CONDUCTED BY:_____
SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE FOR SILVER TOMAHAWK (KA TI MISSI SIPPI)
PROJECT 1995

A.PERSONAL
1.Sex 2.Age 3.Marital Status 4.Children (number and age by sex) 5.Grandchildren
6.Employment Status 7.Occupation & #years at most recent position 8.Education
B.RANKS
1.When were you initiated?
2.How old were you then?
3.What rank/station do you hold currently?
4.What ranks/stations have you held?
5.Have you ever served on the sectional, regional or national level?
6.If youth initiated, what BSA rank(s) do you hold?

C.RETURN RATE/FAMILY
1.How many years have you been coming to Camp Eastman?
2.How often do you come?
3.How active are you at the OA camp? Explain.
4.Are any of your (grand)children/(grand)parents involved in camp/OA?

5.Do you have any other relatives that have been or are involved in the OA?

D.GOALS AND IDEALS

1.What do you see as the central goals of the OA?
2.How can members contribute towards the accomplishment of these goals?
3.What does and "ideal" member do within the OA? In everyday life?
4. In you opinion, what is the single most important part of the OA?
5.Have you "recruited" members for the BSA, and ultimately for the OA?

E. NATIVE AMERICAN ELEMENTS

1.What do you see as the most important Indian elements in the OA?
2.Why do you think the OA uses Native American cultures as a model?
3.Could the OA exist without indian elements? Or with some other model, like pioneers, or buckskinners?
4.Tell me about the clothing/costumes worn during the tap/call out ceremony? (not used in field)
5.What do you wear yourself currently? What have you worn in the past?
6.How did you decide on this attire? For example, did you use a specific tribe?
7.(optional) What is your OA name?
8.How did you decide on this name? What influenced you?

F.CONCLUSION

1.What do you think is the most important thing for outside people to know about the OA?
2.(added during some interviews) How significant do you think the tap out ceremony is in the lives of youth initiates?

APPENDIX B: GLOSSARY

Boy Scout and Order of the Arrow Terms

-Boy Scouts Of America (BSA): a national youth organization dedicated to the strengthening and betterment of young American men; included within the organization is a strong camping program, to promote strength of both body and mind

-Call Out: the public portion of the initiation ceremony of the OA

-Camp Eastman: BSA camp near Nauvoo, Illinois, which is the northern of two camps in the Mississippi Valley Council; previous home of the Silver Tomahawk Lodge #80, currently one of two camps associated with Ka-Ti Missi Sippi Lodge #37

-Camp Mitigwa: BSA camp north of Des Moines, Iowa, in the Mid-Iowa Council; home of Mitigwa Lodge #450

-Camp Saukenauk: BSA camp near Quincy, Illinois, which is the southern of two camps in the Mississippi Valley Council; previous home of Maheegun Lodge #136, currently one of two camps associated with Ka-Ti Missi Sippi Lodge #37

-Four-Fold Ordeal: the private portion of the OA's initiation ceremony which ends in a second fire-ring ceremony twenty-four hours after the Call Out

-Ka Ti Missi Sippi Lodge (KTMS): local Order of the Arrow chapter for the Mississippi Valley council

-Logchain: necklaces worn by members of Ka-Ti Missi Sippi Lodge which are made in different colors to distinguish between the different levels or paint stations; currently they are made of plastic craft strips of the appropriate color, but in the past were made of leather and dipped in paint, with new colors added over the old; see Figure II for more details

-Lodge: a local chapter of the Order of the Arrow, generally associated with a single council; each is given an annual charter to the national program

-Mic-O-Say (MOS): honor camping organization, similar in function and purpose to the Order of the Arrow, currently active in only two camps in the Mid-West, near St. Joseph, Missouri

-Mitigwa Lodge : local Order of the Arrow chapter for the Central Iowa council

-Order Of The Arrow (OA): the BSA's honor camping organization which recognizes those Scouts and Scouters who exemplify the Scout oath and Law within their daily lives; members must meet a standard of rank within the BSA, personal character, and recognition by their peers; maintains three levels of membership, Ordeal for new initiates through their first year, Brotherhood for full members, and Vigil Honor for those selected for outstanding citizenship - also BROTHERHOOD OF FRIENDLY SERVICE

-Paint Station: one of the hierarchical positions within the Mic-O-Say tradition, which was incorporated into Silver Tomahawk traditions, and ultimately into the new Ka-Ti Missi Sippi program; distinguished by the bearers' responsibilities within the organization and their activities during (or surrounding) the initiation of new members; named for the different colors of logchains worn at each level; these positions are incorporated within the standard three-tiered ranking system of the OA, and secondary to those ranks; ex. Son of Friendly Badger is both a Brotherhood Warrior and a Sachem, and so he wears a white logchain, and is considered to have "white paint"; See Tables I and II for the ranks and logchain colors

-Scout: a youth member, under 18 years of age, in the Boy Scout of America

-Scouter: an adult member, over 18 years of age, in the Boy Scouts of America

-Silver Tomahawk Lodge (ST): previous Order of the Arrow chapter for the Southeast Iowa council, now defunct -also TRIBE OF THE Silver Tomahawk

Anthropological terms

-Communitas: the cohesive element of culture which is derived from shared experience within the society; generally associated with the bonds created during liminal periods of initiation rituals

-Culture: the collective values, ideas and beliefs of a people which unify and structure them, providing boundaries for appropriate behavior

-Liminality: the in-between phase of a rite-of-passage during which initiates are without a status and without a place in the social structure

-Native American: a general term applied to people of the various original nations or "tribes" of North America; since there is no one unifying language or culture among these societies, this term is not specific and should be considered akin to the term "European" rather than "Englishman" - also AMERICAN INDIANS, INDIANS, INDIGENOUS

-Native American Cultural Elements: those things, such as clothes or words, which have been derived from actual or perceived traditions of Native American peoples

-Rite of Passage: an event, often a formal ritual, which marks the transition from one social status to another; generally attributed with three phases, separation, marginality, and aggregation

-Society: a group of people with a common culture