

Ethnology of the Ioway Indians, by Alanson Skinner

Skinner, Alanson, 1886-1925.

Milwaukee, Wis., Pub. by order of the Board of Trustees [1926]

[Find this Book Online: https://hdl.handle.net/2027/inu.32000002901595](https://hdl.handle.net/2027/inu.32000002901595)

Digitized by 

Original from
INDIANA UNIVERSITY



Public Domain, Google-digitized

We have determined this work to be in the public domain, meaning that it is not subject to copyright. Users are free to copy, use, and redistribute the work in part or in whole. It is possible that current copyright holders, heirs or the estate of the authors of individual portions of the work, such as illustrations or photographs, assert copyrights over these portions. Depending on the nature of subsequent use that is made, additional rights may need to be obtained independently of anything we can address. The digital images and OCR of this work were produced by Google, Inc. (indicated by a watermark on each page in the PageTurner). Google requests that the images and OCR not be re-hosted, redistributed or used commercially. The images are provided for educational, scholarly, non-commercial purposes.

Generated at University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill through HathiTrust on 2025-07-05 13:34 GMT

AM101
.M66
v.5
copy 2

AM101
.M66
v.5
copy 2

BULLETIN

OF THE

PUBLIC MUSEUM OF THE CITY OF MILWAUKEE --

VOLUME V

WITH 55 PLATES

S. A. BARRETT
Editor

IRA EDWARDS
Assistant Editor

MILWAUKEE, WIS., U. S. A.

Published by order of the Board of Trustees

1923-1926

285212

AM 101
.166
v. 5
copy 2

UNIVERSITY OF INDIANA
LIBRARY

CONTENTS

Number 1. Observations on the Ethnology of the Sauk Indians, by
Alanson Skinner, Pages 1-58, Plate 1.

Number 2. Observations on the Ethnology of the Sauk Indians,
Part 2, War customs, by Alanson Skinner, Pages
59-118, Plates 2-12.

Number 3. Observations on the Ethnology of the Sauk Indians,
Part 3, Notes on Material Culture, by Alanson
Skinner, Pages 119-180, Plates 13-26.

Number 4. Ethnology of the Ioway Indians, by Alanson Skinner,
Pages 181-352, Plates 27-55, Text figures 1, 2.

Index. Pages 353-362.

BULLETIN
OF THE
PUBLIC MUSEUM OF THE CITY OF MILWAUKEE

Vol. 5, No. 1, pp. 1-57, plate 1

August 30, 1923

**Observations on the Ethnology
of the Sauk Indians**

BY
Alauston Skinner

MILWAUKEE, WIS., U. S. A.
Published by Order of the Board of Trustees

Printed by
ADVOCATE PUBLISHING COMPANY
Milwaukee, Wis.

Engravings by the
HAMMERSMITH-KORTMEYER COMPANY
Milwaukee, Wis.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE ETHNOLOGY OF THE SAUK INDIANS

CONTENTS

| | Page |
|--|------|
| Introduction | 6 |
| Former History of the Sauk..... | 7 |
| Social and Political Organization..... | 11 |
| Bands | 12 |
| Moieties | 12 |
| Gentes | 13 |
| Reciprocal Functions of Gentes..... | 13 |
| Waiter's Inviting Terms | 14 |
| Gens Tabus and Customs..... | 15 |
| Adoption Into Another Gens..... | 15 |
| Adoption Ceremony | 15 |
| Naming Customs | 16 |
| Assuming a New Name Because of War Exploits..... | 17 |
| Gens Names | 20 |
| Bear Gens Names | 20 |
| Buffalo Gens Names..... | 22 |
| Wolf Gens Names | 23 |
| Turkey Gens Names | 24 |
| Fish Gens Names | 25 |
| Great Sea Gens Names | 26 |
| Thunder Gens Names..... | 27 |
| Bear-Potato Gens Names..... | 28 |
| Beaver Gens Names | 29 |
| Eagle Gens Names..... | 29 |
| Fox Gens Names | 30 |
| Deer Gens Names..... | 30 |
| Marriage Customs | 31 |
| Training of Children | 32 |
| Winter Fasting | 32 |
| Dream Fasting | 33 |

| | Page |
|--|------|
| First Game Feast..... | 33 |
| Religion | 34 |
| Conceptions of Deities | 34 |
| The Hereafter | 36 |
| Mortuary Customs | 36 |
| Notes on the Medicine Dance..... | 37 |
| The Origin Myth | 38 |
| The Ceremony of Initiation..... | 40 |
| Instructions Given to Medicine Dance Guards..... | 46 |
| Paraphernalia | 46 |
| Ceremony on Selling an Otterskin Medicine Bag..... | 47 |
| The Buffalo Dance | 48 |
| Wolf Gens Ceremony..... | 49 |
| Smoking Ponies, or Anohi'wêtiwatc..... | 50 |
| The Dream Dance, Ghost Dance, Peyote..... | 51 |
| Conduct of Feasts..... | 51 |
| Order of Feast Service..... | 52 |
| Feast of Thanksgiving for the Crops, or the Green Corn Dance | 52 |
| Fall Feast and Fall Hunt..... | 53 |
| Night Feast | 53 |
| The Bark House Feast and Winter Quarters Feast..... | 53 |
| Types of Shamans..... | 54 |
| Games | 55 |
| Lacrosse | 55 |
| Woman's Shinny Game..... | 56 |
| Arrow Shooting Contest..... | 56 |
| Bowl and Dice..... | 56 |
| Moccasin Game | 57 |
| Ice Game | 57 |

PHONETIC KEY

The phonetics employed in recording the native names and terms found in this and the succeeding papers of this series are as follows:

| | |
|-----------------|----------------------------|
| ā, as in flat | sh, as in short |
| â, as aw in raw | °, a whispered final vowel |
| ê, as in pen | °, a whispered final vowel |
| î, as in pin | ', a glottal stop |
| û, as in mud | x, an aspirant |

The other letters used have the usual values assigned them in English.

INTRODUCTION

The following notes were obtained while making a collection of specimens, representing the material culture of the Sauk Indians for the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee during the months of May, June and July, 1922. They are by no means complete, yet serve to illustrate the specimens gathered, and are published principally because of the great paucity of material descriptive of the life and customs of this important Central Algonkian tribe, and as a part of the writer's studies on the Central Algonkian and Southern Siouan groups. A good bibliography of the subject may be found under Sauk in the *Handbook of American Indians*.¹ This includes many of the older authorities. The accompanying article by J. N. Hewitt also embodies many facts of interest.

The Indian informant, from whom most of the information concerning customs of the Sauk was gathered, is the writer's interpreter and field assistant, the Rev. Wm. Harris or Mě'siwûk, ("Tree-without-limbs" or "Tree-stripped-of-limbs"). He is a Sauk of the Bear gens, and a nephew of the Chief Keokuk. Up until a few years ago, he was a "pagan" member of Mokoho'ko's Band, but is now a convert to Christianity and Pastor of "The Only Way" Baptist Church near Avery, Oklahoma. Mr. Harris was born 77 years ago in Kansas, and is well informed upon the rites of his people, having been brought up in a conservative family. Mr. Harris is a member of the Oskû'sh moiety, and was long an attendant or waiter at the meetings of the Medicine Lodge Fraternity, although not actually a member. In consequence he is well posted as to the beliefs of the society, although naturally not so deeply acquainted with the mysteries as one of the leaders.

Additional material, especially on the rites of the Medicine Lodge, was given by one of the chief priests or masters named "Frank Smith," who resides near Shawnee, Oklahoma, and from whom several ceremonial articles, among them a number of animal skin medicine bags of considerable antiquity were obtained. Some further data were added by

¹Bur. Amer. Ethn., Bull. 30, vol. 2, 1910.

Ki'shāmāk^w, of the Kwa'skwami Band, located near Reserve, Kansas, on what was the Great Nemaha Reservation. Still further information was obtained from Sisi'a or Aveline Givens, Harding Franklin, and Jesse James, all of Cushing, Oklahoma.

FORMER HISTORY OF THE SAUK

The traditional home of the Sauk was probably the region about Saginaw Bay in the eastern peninsula of Michigan, whence they were expelled in late prehistoric times—that is, shortly prior to the coming of the first whites into their country. Algonkian tradition about the Great Lakes states that the expulsion of the Sauk was at the hands of the Ojibway. It is possible that, as Hewitt declares, the Iroquoian Neutrals had something to do with their flight, but all historic references to the antagonists of the Neutrals seem to refer distinctly to the Potawatomi,² or to the Mascoutens.³

In their retreat from the Ojibway, the Sauk fled across Lake Michigan, probably via Mackinaw straits, and, continuing southward, settled, according to Menomini tradition, on what is now the Door County peninsula, the long northward pointing arm of land which forms the east coast of Green Bay, Wisconsin. Here, directly opposite the Menomini headquarters, they found asylum for a time. However, their aggressive and warlike nature soon brought them into violent conflict with the peaceful Menomini, who, although probably fewer in numbers, and far less martial by nature, after a war of varying fortunes, eventually forced the withdrawal of the Sauk from the peninsula to the lands along the Fox river, from its mouth southward, where they were found by Father Allouez in 1667.

With the coming of the French, the Sauk and their allies, the Foxes, proved to be the only Algonkian peoples who were on an unfriendly footing with the newcomers. Bitter fighting ensued, in which the Sauk and Fox again suffered defeat at the hands of the Menomini, now allied with the Winnebago and the French. The Iroquois, too, were called into service against them by the whites, and for a long time an entire village made up of captive Fox, or more properly "Múskwaki'," was colonized among the Iroquois in western New York, the locality being

²They are referred to as the "Fire Nation" which is an exact translation of the word Potawatomi.

³The term Mascoutens signifies "Little Prairie" and seems to indicate that even at that early date the Potawatomi were divided into the groups which still exist and which we now recognize as "Forest" and "Prairie" bands.

known today as "Skwaki Hill." A number of Seneca still claim descent from the "Skwakihowes," and the Muskwaki of Tama, Iowa, are said to preserve traditions of their relationship to the Iroquois. It is possible that certain Iroquois customs, such as the torture of prisoners, may have been thus introduced to the Fox and so to the Sauk. At all events the surrounding Algonkian tribes declare that it was not their custom to torture captives until the Sauk began to do so.

The Sauk were gradually thrust southward and westward by the power of their enemies, the final act in the drama being the Black Hawk war. Although there can be little doubt but that Black Hawk, deserted by Keokuk, and betrayed by his Winnebago and Potawatomi allies, would have been defeated by American troops in the long run, the massacre of a party of defenseless Menomini at their camp on an island in the Mississippi near Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, precipitated the end. While there seems to be justification for this attack by the Sauk on the Menomini, for there are records that some Eastern Sioux and Menomini had murdered a party of Sauk warriors the year before, it was ill-timed. Menomini tradition, which seems well substantiated by contemporary historical data, says that runners were at once dispatched to all their important settlements, the partisans took down their sacred war-bundles, and the tribe, hitherto neutral, sent out all its available warriors, some with the American troops, others under their own leaders. Simultaneously the "Santee" Dakota, with whom the Menomini held a long and cherished friendship, were also called upon for help by the latter, and, incidentally, by the white authorities. Black Hawk, who had hitherto waged war with some success, was rapidly overwhelmed, and finally all the Sauk followed the pioneers of the tribe westward across the Mississippi, never to return.

The change in environment from the shores of the Great Lakes to the plains was indeed a profound one, but no more so than the accompanying change of culture must have been. On the lake shore the Sauk were fishers and followers of the inland sea. They were expert canoe-men, and great utilizers of birch bark. One of their ancient gentes is named Kêtcikûmi, or the Great Sea, a term applied both to Lake Superior and Lake Michigan by the Woodland Algonkians. Their traditions are replete with allusions to a maritime existence, for their old lake shore life was no less, as can be appreciated by those only who have examined the wind-swept sand dune archeological sites of the tribes dwelling along these lakes.

On the borders of the plains they came in contact with the buffalo and peoples of a buffalo-hunting culture. Buffalo hide took the place of bark, though in some cases the forms of the utensils which they made, for example, the rawhide trunks, remained the same. The bull boat supplanted the canoe, and the buffalo hunt the gathering of wild rice. Some of their buffalo hunts led the Sauk even beyond the border of Colorado.

Whereas the Sauk had formerly associated chiefly with the Central Algonkian Menomini and Potawatomi, the northern Algonkian Ojibway, and the Siouan Winnebago; they were now in active contact with the Ioway, Oto, and Osage, of southern Siouan stock. The culture of these tribes, while closest to the Central Algonkian in point of things material, differs strongly on the side of mental, social, and religious activities, and it is probably from these peoples, especially from the Ioway who befriended and fraternized with them, that the peculiarly complex and unusually stiff gens organization of the Sauk, so unlike the indefinite and loose customs of the general run of Algonkians of the central region, is due, although Iroquoian influence may have played some part.

The Sauk evidently made no little impression on the inhabitants, both red and white, in the territories through which they passed. In Wisconsin, in particular, there may still be found numerous names derived from that of the tribe, among them Ozaukee County, Sauk County, Prairie du Sac, and Saukville.

This very brief and incomplete account of Sauk history takes little notice of the Fox, who are now wholly separated from their old allies, and are situated at Tama, Iowa. They seem to be more distinct from the Sauk in all matters save material culture than has been generally realized, and should be considered separately by ethnologists. The Sauk feel keenly that they are a distinct tribe, as much so as the Kickapoo or even the Potawatomi. It may well be that even in material culture the Fox are farther removed from the Sauk than is now supposed. At present the Fox are by far the more conservative group of the two.

Unlike the Tama Fox, or *Múskwaki'*, the Sauk of Oklahoma dwell almost entirely in modern frame houses with many conveniences. The finding of oil on Sauk lands in recent years has made them well-to-do, and the automobile, player piano, victrola, and other luxuries are seen everywhere. Yet the Sauk are still conservative in the matter of re-

ligion, for in the rear of many of the houses may be seen rectangular bark lodges in which still hang the gens sacred bundles and in whose shelter ancient rites are still carried on. In not a few instances, the older members of the family dwell in these houses, or in the round mat wigwams used in winter in earlier days. Small lodges for the housing of women undergoing their menses are still frequent adjuncts to modern dwellings, and bough arbors or shelters abound.

Even in cases where all members of the family are users of the narcotic peyote and are members of its religious cult, the people seem to cling to the beliefs and relics of the past at heart, and are no more willing to sell their sacred objects than are the professing pagans. In fact, of recent years, the users of peyote seem to have, in a measure, reconciled or adjusted the old beliefs to the new, and do not seem so anxious to discard the paraphernalia of "paganism" as they were a few years ago.

The Sauk, according to the Handbook of American Indians, formerly numbered about 3500 souls. In 1909 there were 536 Sauk in Oklahoma and 87 in Kansas. At this time the Muskwaki were recorded as 352, all, or nearly all, at Tama, Iowa. It is thought that the Muskwaki probably once numbered about 3000. The period of greatest population of both tribes was probably about 1650, when they first encountered the whites.

The name "Sauk" is variously translated. The sign used in the sign language means "something sprouting up," which is frequently given as the meaning of the name. However, the more popular translation is "Yellow Earth" as opposed to "Red Earth," the proper name of the Muskwaki or Fox. Some even say that in former times the Sauk painted in yellow ochre and the Fox in red, just as the moieties of the Sauk today paint in black and white. The translation "Yellow Earth,"^{3a} agrees with the explanation given by the Menomini and other of their Algonkian neighbors.

In the sign language the Muskwaki are designated by the signs for red, earth, and painting oneself. The related Kickapoo are indicated by a sign meaning "straight cut hair."

^{3a}The translation "Yellow Earth" has long been known, and is probably correct. W. P. Clark, author of "The Indian Sign Language, Phila., 1885," on page 323, says that Keokuk (probably Moses, son of the well known chief) told him that, "God made the Sacs out of yellow, and the Foxes out of red, earth." At that time also the sign for Sauk was simply "shaved head." The idea of "something sprouting up" seems to be a very modern "folk explanation."

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Inasmuch as the earlier writers, and indeed most of those of later times, have failed to realize that the Sauk and Fox are two separate and distinct peoples, it is impossible to utilize much of the information which may be found scattered throughout American ethnological literature because of the confusion of data.⁴ Thus Lewis H. Morgan gives a list of Sauk and Fox gentes, but, as he does not distinguish between the two tribes it is unavailable here.

J. N. B. Hewitt, writing in the Handbook of American Indians under the caption of "Sauk" on uncredited authority, probably the late Dr. William Jones, gives us no less than fourteen gentes. Of this number, however, my principal informant among the Oklahoma Sauk, Mě'siwük, or the Reverend Wm. Harris, himself long an officer of the Bear gens, and in this capacity frequently called upon to give names in not only his own gens, but in those gentes with which his enjoyed reciprocal functions, was unable to identify six; namely, the Trout, Sturgeon, Bass, Great Lynx or Fire Dragon, Swan, and Grouse. Harris is of the opinion that all of these names are personal titles in the Fish, Great Sea, and perhaps Thunder gentes. Certainly all but two, Trout and Grouse, occur in the lists of gens names which Harris furnished. Undoubtedly Trout is a Fish gens name. If, as the writer suspects, Hewitt derived his information from Jones, who was a Fox by descent, it is quite probable that the data is colored by Dr. Jones' superior knowledge of Fox ethnology, which led him to infer identity of thought and custom for the Sauk many times where this was not the case, as for example, in the account given in the Handbook of the attitude of the Sauk toward their former chiefs Keokuk and Black Hawk, which, according to the statements of the present day Indians, is incorrect.

Marston⁵ gives twelve Sauk gentes of which the Sturgeon, Perch,

⁴The following data furnished by Dr. Truman Michelson are of interest as bearing on this question:

"Apropos of Sauk and Fox, in Elsie C. Parsons' American Indian Life, p. 386: 'though they are, even today, distinct in language, ethnology, and mythology.' And in the Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences, Vol. LX, p. 492, in speaking of the Foxes at Tama: 'in language they are Foxes; also in ethnology...' the much heralded amalgamation with the Sauks is shown to be a myth." On the Sauk population see p. 430, et sq. I there show that certain large figures are mere fabrications. The paper I spoke of in Milwaukee is "Some general notes on the Fox Indians." It is in the above Journal, Vol. IX, p. 483, et sq., 521 et sq., 593 et sq. You will find there many documentary references to the Sauks and Foxes that are apparently unknown to most ethnologists. Some of these I previously pointed out in my review of Mary Owen's Folk Lore of the Musquakie Indians of North America (Current Anthropological Literature, Vol. II, p. 233 et sq.)"

⁵E. H. Blair's "Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi and the Great Lakes Region," Cleveland, 1911, pp. 190-191.

Black Bass, Swan, and Panther are probably gens personal names.

In addition to the gentes, the Sauk tribe is divided into two moieties which are wholly independent of the gentes, and also, in former years it was further subdivided into several local bands, again quite regardless of gens or moiety, members of both moieties and any or all gentes being found in each. These bands are now obsolete.

BANDS

The bands into which the Sauk were formerly divided took their names or nicknames from their chiefs or from some real or fancied personal peculiarities. They were:

1. *Pä'thihuk*, or "Poker Players." This was Keokuk's band.
 2. *Wishā'tahuk*, or "Sweaty People." This was Gray Eyes' band.
 3. *Wishigē'shihuk*, or "Strong Band." This was Mokohoko's band.
 4. *A'xkanûk*, "Bone" or "Skeleton" band, so-called because wasted by smallpox.
 5. *Tci'kwoskûk*, "Walks-on-the-bank's-edge's" band, so-called from their leader, a Muskwaki chief of the Deer gens who deserted his own people to live with the Sauk.
- 6 and 7 should no doubt be *Kwa'skwami's* and Black Hawk's bands.

The latter is largely exterminated, but the survivors of the former still reside at Nemaha, Neb.

MOIETIES

With the Sauk, membership in either of the two tribal moieties depends on the sequence of birth of the individual. In other words, the first born goes to the opposite moiety from that of the father, the second into the father's moiety, and so on, in alternate rotation. Thus, if a father is *Ki'shko* (the moiety using white paint) his eldest son will be *Oskû'sh* (black paint) and the next *Ki'shko*, etc., sex making no difference, except that, in some instances at least, a girl seems to be taken into the moiety of her eldest brother.

Ki'shko and *Oskû'sh* do not divide and oppose each other for dances and ceremonies, as is popularly supposed—the eating contest at adoptions and other functions excepted—but always do so for games.

The eating contest above mentioned is an hilarious affair. Four young men are selected from each moiety, and a bowl of boiling hot

stewed dog, cooked very tender, is set between them, the meat being cut into eight pieces. At the east end of the lodge a war spear is thrust upright in the ground.

At a given signal, the Oskû'sh, as is their right, grab first into the boiling mess, while the Ki'shko follow, gobbling to see who can swallow all of his boiling portion first. He who wins, springs up, if able, with a whoop, runs as fast as nature will permit to the upright lance, and rubs it up and down with his greasy hands, exclaiming: "This is what I'll do when I go to war!" meaning he will slay an enemy.

According to tradition, an Oskû'sh must complete anything he undertakes, but a Ki'shko may give up or turn back. A lone member of one moiety amid a group of the opposite class is liable to much teasing and good natured banter, as has come under my personal observation.

GENTES

1. Bear, called *Mû'kwa* or *Makwî'sûjîk*.
2. Buffalo, called *Nānoso'skwajîk*, "Those who have Buffalo Division."
3. Wolf, *Mahwä'sujîk*.
4. Fox, *Wagushe'siwîk*.
5. Fish, *Pakahamouwä'sujîk*, "Tight Bodied People."
6. Thunder, *Wāmegoiwisujîk* or *Nināme'xkiwûk*.
7. Eagle, *Kētiwî'sojîk*.
8. Great Sea (Lake Michigan?), *Kētcikûmi*.
9. Beaver, *Oma'kwê'sojîk*.
10. Deer, *Pēshigishiwi'sojîkî*.
11. Indian Potato, *Pāniwesojîk* or *Mûkopä'niäk*, Bear Potato.
12. Turkey, *Penäwä'sujîk*.
13. Elk, identity now probably lost. The gens is amalgamated with the deer.

RECIPROCAL FUNCTIONS OF GENTES

The gentes as enumerated below in the first column call upon those given in the second column to furnish waiters for all gens functions, and vice versa.

| <i>Host Gens</i> | <i>Serving Gens</i> |
|------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. Bear | Buffalo, Deer, Potato, Sea, Elk |
| 2. Buffalo | Bear, Turkey |

3. WolfTurkey
4. FoxTurkey
5. FishThunder, Eagle, Potato
6. ThunderFish, Beaver
7. EagleFish
8. Great Sea.....Bear
9. BeaverThunder
10. DeerBear
11. Indian PotatoBear, Fish
12. TurkeyBuffalo, Wolf, Fox
13. ElkBear

WAITER'S INVITING TERMS

When messengers or waiters are sent from one gens to another with the invitations to a feast, they do not address the members of the gens by their ordinarily accepted title, but by a ceremonial term, some of which are as follows:

1. Bear Gens, *Kishkitihuk*, Short Tails.
2. Buffalo Gens, *Wäwiw'nitcik*, Those Who Have Horns.
3. Wolf Gens, *Papamitcikwä'huk*, Those Who Run with Head Sideways.
4. Fox Gens, *Apah'ikûnûnwikûtajik*, Those Who Like to Eat Buckskin Scraps.
5. Fish Gens, *Nä'mäwûk*, Sturgeons.
6. Thunder Gens, *Wämegwûnämähûk*, You Who Have Feathers.
7. Eagle Gens, (?).
8. Great Sea Gens, *Wisupiage'tuhûk*, Moving Water People.
9. Beaver Gens, *Kishkikû'tcäkähûk*, Root Biters.
10. Deer Gens, *Wapiskanua'jik*, The White Tailed Gens.
11. Bear-Potato, *Kiwa'piajik*, Those Who Vine Out.
12. Turkey Gens, *Pêmikûnâbâhûk*, Roosters Above.

In inviting any given gens to attend a feast or ceremony, the waiter gives the chief of that gens one of his invitation sticks, and the chief, on accepting it asks, "Who do you want?" whereupon the waiter replies, using one of the terms given above, adding the information as to the place and time of the function.

Members of gentes bearing reciprocal ceremonial functions towards each other often address each other, as "My Waiter." For instance,

I have heard a Sauk of the Bear gens call to a member of the Deer gens as we were passing, "Hello, my Waiter."

GENS TABUS AND CUSTOMS

If a wolf barked at a Wolf gens member from the east, it was a sign that someone of his family would soon die.

Mr. Harris is of the opinion that in former times the chieftainship of the Sauk tribe was hereditary in the Fish gens, but in more recent years minor chiefs at least have been elected from among the warriors of the Thunder gens.

ADOPTION INTO ANOTHER GENS

Sometimes a woman will have her child adopted into her gens instead of allowing it to go to the father's gens as usual. This is done by giving a feast to the father's gens, at which time formal announcement of the adoption is made.

An example of this cross gens adoption is that of Frank Smith, whose father was Wa'pikahân or "White Bear's Fat" of the Bear gens. Frank was adopted into the Thunder gens on behalf of his mother, Pemiwa'kâk, or "Moulting Feathers," and at that time was named Pi'âtcsât, or "Flying Over."

Sometimes a person who is adopted to fill the place of the dead is also taken over into the opposite moiety from that to which he formerly belonged.

ADOPTION CEREMONY

When a person dies, the moiety brothers of the deceased "clean the grave of grass and weeds" at intervals, and, after a month has elapsed, a feast is given by the family of the deceased and a person adopted to fill the place of the departed.

An old man is elected to take charge and erect a "war post." The guest of honor, the candidate for adoption, is dressed in fine clothes at the expense of the mourners. He is then seated in state by himself. When all is in readiness, the male members of the two moieties, Oskú'sh and Ki'shko, vie with each other in counting coups—or, as Wm. Harris said, "telling how many scalps they had brought home to their uncles," Oskú'sh going first, as is customary, and Ki'shko following.

As each warrior counts coup—that is, relates the time, place, and circumstances of his deed, he strikes the war post, and all present cry "Hau!"

After the contest is over, there is the usual eating contest and general feast, after which the candidate goes about the circle and gives presents of calicoes and blankets to the warriors, and they in turn present these to their sisters or nieces. It is a breach of etiquette to retain the presents or take them home.

The ceremony is now ended, and from that time on the candidate takes the place of the deceased in the family of mourners.

NAMING CUSTOMS

Every Sauk child inherits an ordinal name at birth, as is the custom among many other tribes, such as the Menomini, Ioway, and Dakota. These names are as follows, beginning with the first born:

| Boys | Girls |
|--------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>Mûdjî'kiwîs</i> | <i>Kê'tcîkwäo</i> |
| <i>Ä'nêkutc</i> | <i>Nishonêmkîkwäo</i> |
| <i>Näso'nomûk</i> | <i>Nyâ'konomêk</i> |
| <i>Yâo'nânûk</i> | <i>Okoêtcî'a</i> |
| <i>Akoêtcî'a</i> | |

As previously stated, the eldest child belongs in the opposite moiety from its father. Thus, if the father is Oskû'sh, the first born is mudjî'kiwîs or Kê'tcîkwäo, as the sex determines, and of the Kî'shko moiety. However, at adoptions to take the place of the dead, a child or an adult may be taken over into the opposite moiety.

When the child is from ten to thirty days of age, its parents and relatives give a dog feast at which its father's moiety in particular appears in force. As usual, before the others are served, the waiters set before four men from each moiety, kettles of boiling dog meat, cut in equal portions. This hot food the contestants gobble down, each trying to outdo the rest.

After this, an old man of the father's gens, to whom this part of the ceremony has been intrusted, rises and announces the name which he has decided to confer upon the child, and the moiety to which the baby will belong. He then addresses a prayer to the Great Spirit, telling him what name has been conferred upon the child, and its moiety, so that it will always be recognized.

The child keeps this name until well grown, when, in the case of males, it is likely to be changed as a reward for prowess on the war-path. If a warrior is among the first four to touch the body of a slain enemy, his name is discarded and a new name is at once given him by the partisan in charge of the war party. This becomes his title without further ceremony. It may be that a particularly successful brave may have his name changed several times in the course of his life, depending on his ability in battle.

One rule that is strictly observed, both in the naming of children, and in the subsequent changing of names as war honors, is that the name must have some reference to the gens eponym. This may be by directly naming the animal, or by reference to some habit, attribute, characteristic, or quality, either real or mythical, of the animal, or even by reference to some associated animal or article.

The writer was unable to determine that these names were set, and handed down from generation to generation by the Sauk as is the case among their relatives, the Menomini. Among the latter the gens names were accorded as great honors, were limited in numbers, and could only be held by one incumbent during a lifetime. With the Sauk the number seems unlimited, and the impression given was that new gens names could be coined whenever occasion demanded, although it is quite probable that many times sons succeeded to their father's titles, and possibly names were also sometimes changed on the occasion of ceremonial adoptions.

ASSUMING A NEW NAME BECAUSE OF WAR EXPLOITS

As above noted it was customary for Sauk warriors who had accomplished some brave deed in war to "throw away" their old names and assume or be given new ones in commemoration of the event. Mě'siwûk told of the following incident in which the new names were not generally accepted by the tribe, and the men who had counted "coup" in so tame a manner were generally jeered at by the people.⁶

"Once, about 1871, a Sauk named Piätwä'tûk (Coming Sound, a Thunder gens name) lost all his horses by theft, and accused the Pawnee. I was living with my uncle, Chief Keokuk, and was one of

⁶It is interesting to note that my Wahpeton Dakota assistant and friend Mr. Amos Oneroad declares that the Dakota would have considered a technical coup counted on a foeman as in this instance, by shaking hands, as perfectly valid, and tells me that several instances of this are still recounted by both Teton and Santee Dakota.

those called upon to help avenge the loss. They said to me, 'Come and help us, we are going for Pawnee scalps, make fifty bullets.' I went quietly about it, telling no one, and cast fifty bullets. I got my horse ready and tied him, but, as I hadn't any saddle, I went over to borrow Charlie Keokuk's saddle from the old man. When I got there and asked for it, he seemed to know already what we were going to do. 'Don't go, nephew, those Pawnee are innocent. Those fellows will only play Hell,' he said to me. So I stayed at home.

"The rest of the war party gathered that night at a lone oak tree on the prairie. The partisan was an old fellow named Ní'shkákāt or Strutting Turkey from the Turkey gens, whom the white people called Jefferson Davis. He was the one who carried the war bundle. They started out, and when close to where Pawnee City now is, they found an old Pawnee man and two women digging bugosk^w or Indian turnips. Strutting Turkey ordered his warriors not to kill them, so instead they all rode up and shook hands with them and returned, after changing their names because they had touched the enemy. The rest of our tribe was disgusted and refused to accept the new names. They only made fun of the warriors that took them, so it is just as well that I did not go after all."

In the section following are given a number of series of personal names found in the various gentes, furnished by Rev. Wm. Harris.

It is to be noted that several of the Sauk gentes are either extinct, or nearly so, notably the Fox, Potato, and Elk gentes. In some of these cases the gens names seem to have been taken over more or less bodily into another gens closely related to the dying one. Thus Elk gens names are, to some extent, incorporated with those of the Deer gens, and Fox names with Wolf names. In other cases the names are interchangeable to a certain degree, or else duplicated in, "related" gentes. For example, the name Black Hawk, while here enumerated as the property of the Eagle gens, is also found among the Thunderers. Gourd Rattle occurs alike in the Buffalo and Great Sea gentes.

In the accompanying list the writer has marked with an asterisk each name, the equivalent of which is found among the related Menomini, but the mere occurrence of the same name among both tribes by no means infers identity. A warrior's title in one may turn up as a woman's name in the other. In fact, this is actually the case in some instances. Moreover, a name definitely identified with a gens in one tribe is likely to have no such significance in the other.

It is interesting to note that, with the exception of the Thunder gens, the gentes of the Menomini are equipped with very few names. A small number formerly did occur in each of the other divisions, but these were, both in number and character, insignificant as compared with those of the Sauk. Among the Menomini, gens names were conferred as honorary titles only upon such members of the gens as had achieved especial distinction and were supposed to be kept constantly filled, but it was not permissible for more than one man to bear any given name at any one time. That is, for example, there might not be more than one man bearing the distinguished title of "Terrible Wolf" at any given time, and he had to be a member of the Wolf gens who had earned the right to the name in battle. Such titles were apparently conferred upon warriors after their return from the warpath by act of their gens council, and not given in the field by the partisan as was the case among the Sauk.

Among the Sauk the names belonging to each gens seemed to have been unlimited in number, and new ones appear to have been frequently coined for successful warriors, who assumed them on their return from warpaths.

While the Sauk state that all their names had reference to, and were in a sense the property of, the gens of the bearer, Menomini names in general were not of this nature. The writer has before him an extensive series of Menomini names which form part of a study of the nomenclature of the Central tribes which he is preparing. Although it is yet too early for a final statement, the following general observations may be of interest.

Besides the limited number of honorary titles belonging to the Menomini gentes, there are also several very much coveted appellations bestowed upon warriors of distinction which were apparently given quite without reference to gens affiliation.

Many names were given to the bearers by their parents and refer to the dreams or supernatural experiences of the latter. Others again refer to the time of day that the child was born, the appearance of the sky at the time, or to some person or animal, natural, supernatural, or even mythological, with whom the parents of the bearer had some unusual experience. Again others derived their names from their own dream guardians, or even from personal peculiarities or habits. Some again are of the nature of nicknames. The reason for the unusual number of real gens names in the Thunder gens, is twofold, first, the Menomini visualize the Thunderbirds as members of a family each of

whom possesses a name; second, many Menomini believe themselves to be reincarnated Thunderbirds, and therefore entitled to the names that they bore during their previous existence as Thunderbirds.

However, it appears that the concept of gens names is as a whole foreign to the various tribes of Algonkian stock, being found along with the entire complex of definite gens or clan organization among such peoples as have been in contact with nations of more intensive culture, as the Iroquois on the east, who have imposed much of their social organization as well as material culture upon the Delaware, Mahikan, and Mississauga for example, and the Southern Siouan on the west, the Sauk and the Fox, for instance, having been unquestionably greatly modified by the Winnebago and the Ioway. The lack of many of the well developed features of the gens and moiety among the Menomini postulates that the culture of the latter is more nearly archaic Algonkian, for the ancient tribes of that stock, as represented today by the northern Cree, Naskapi, Montagnais, and Ojibway, are of non-intensive culture, with the individual or the family as the important social unit, and the gens or clan weak or lacking.

The whole subject of Indian nomenclature is too little known, and herein lies an important and neglected study for the linguist and the ethnologist alike. The writer ventures the prophecy that there are not only tribal but group patterns, i. e., that among the component tribes of a given culture area, the same similarity of names as of other features of the local cultural complex will be noted.

Thus among the Southern Siouans one may venture to state that the type in which a name is composed of a noun modified by an adverb, as Standing Buffalo, Walking Turtle, Walking Rain, etc., will prove far more common than among the Central Algonkians. Certain names will probably prove to be popular everywhere, and will not be circumscribed by area. In the Central Algonkian-Southern Siouan group these will include such titles as: White Thunder, Red Cloud, Black Hawk, and the like.

GENS NAMES

BEAR GENS NAMES

1. *Mê'siwûk*, Tree Without Limbs, i. e., broken off by a bear climbing.⁷

⁷The name of my principal informant, the Rev. Wm. Harris.

2. *Wako'me*, Shoulder Shining, i. e., where licked by a bear.
3. *Ko^ssêkwä*, Heavy Weight Woman, referring to the weight of a back pack of bear meat.
4. *Kagonwi'käshäo*,* Long Claws, i. e., grizzly bear.
5. *Pishagâ*,* Bear hide.
6. *Päshito*, Old man, also used as a term of address to a bear before killing.
7. *Pushito'nik^w*, Winking Bear.⁸
8. *Wapiku'naiyâ^o*, Gray Blanket, reference to fur of grizzly bear.
9. *Kishkiti^w*, Bob Tail.
10. *Wapika'kä^o*, White Spotted Breast.
11. *Tü'sihâ*, Already There (Mythical Reference).
12. *Mumagû'nâsît*, Big Feet.
13. *Kêtcî'kash*, Great Claws.
14. *Wa'bano*, Dawn (Bears hide at daylight)
15. *Kêtcîwabano*, Great Dawn.
16. *Wabû'nosä^o*, Walks Until Dawn Woman.
17. *O'winîm*, Fat (meat).
18. *Bäskutcikäo*, Bear Cracking Plums.
19. *Mûkwûmuêtc*, Bear Excrement.
20. *Mûkwi'pûshitu*, Old Man Bear.
21. *Mûkwikwi'esä^o*, Bear Boy.
22. *Mûko'*, Bear Cub.
23. *Shämätuk*, Hanging Lip.
24. *Se^sko'aga*, Foaming Jaws.
25. *Ma'misäsha*, Fuzzy Ear.
26. *Mâkwimê'tämu*, Bear Old Woman.
27. *Mâkwipä'shito*, Bear Old Man. (See No. 20.)
28. *Wapêna'kenak*, Scratching Bark on Tree.⁹
29. *Käku'mu*, Marks the Tree.⁹
30. *Amo'kä*, Bee Hunter.
31. *Pitci'nâkât*, Pawing Honey Out.
32. *Kaki'tiyäpi^w*, Imprint of Buttocks on Sand.
33. *Wishäpi^w*, Sits Tight in Hollow Tree.
34. *Pamikâ'shik^w*, See His Tracks Going On.
35. *Sisü'a*, Fat, Cracklings.
36. *Makwo'winê^m*, Bear Fat.

*Old Eye; Michelson.

⁸These two names have reference to the custom of male bears in marking the bark of trees with their claws as high as they can reach. The Sauk say this occurs in July.

37. *Makwo'uias*, Bear Meat.
38. *Nasha'kwisa^w*, Slides (backwards) Down Tree.
39. *Pêna'si^u*, Climbing Down.
40. *Nahäsi^u*, National Meat, or Everybody's Meat.
41. *Namû'sut*, Erect Standing Man.
42. *Päkutcä'piu*, Sitting Rabbit.
43. *Kishkä'tägît*, Small Bodied Bear.
44. *Mäshänäo*, Cross Bear.
45. *Mätä'näni*, Medicine Lodge Man.
46. *Wapima'k^w*, White Bear.
47. *Wipê'kwi^w*, Wallows in Dust.
48. *Ako'nîk^w*, Snow on Back.
49. *Kêkitaku'nûmuk*, Bear Hugging Tree.
50. *Okima'kwä^o*, Chief Woman.
51. *Makwiskwä'sá*, Young Woman Bear.
52. *Kwäkwäni'pî'kwä^o*, Twinkling Eyes.
53. *Nämûswi^u*, Stands Erect.
54. *Mûkwû Nâmesît*, Bear Stands Erect.
55. *Wapa'shi Ma'k^w*, Daylight Bear.
56. *Mûkutä umûk^w*, * Black Bear.
57. *Kwiêsähimûk^w*, Boy Bear.
58. *Mämüskwapî'nikwä^o*, Red Eye Woman.
59. *Mûkwi I'nêni^u*, Small Bear Man.
60. *Mû'kasît*, Bear Foot.
61. *Mî'shikwagâ*, Hair Above Genitals.
62. *Kiwa'si*, Climbing From Limb to Limb.
63. *Mä'sikumîgo'kwä^o*, Grandmother Earth.¹⁰
64. *Muko'wish*, Male Bear's Head.
65. *Shê'kak*, Skunk.
66. *Wapî'kahân*, White (Bear's) Fat.

BUFFALO GENS NAMES

1. *Wä^{*}kûniu*, Poor Buffalo, i. e., Lean Buffalo.
2. *Nänoswi'winäo*, Buffalo Horn.
3. *Wapîni'nos*, White Buffalo.
4. *Wapîni'no'sokwäo*, White Buffalo Woman.
5. *Soski'näo*, Straight Horn.

¹⁰The name Grandmother Earth occurs in the Bear Gens because *Mä'sikumîgo'kwäo*, grandmother of *Wi'sakîä*, had a bear paramour, according to one of the myths of the Culture Hero cycle.

6. *Wapanä'nuswa'*, All Night Buffalo.
7. *Mu'ite**, Dirty Behind.
8. *Mä'kasäto*, Buffalo Head or Mouth.
9. *Mami'shi^w*, Extra Tripe.
10. *Wi'sakä**, The Culture Hero.¹¹
11. *Shishi'gwün**, Gourd Rattle.¹¹

WOLF GENS NAMES

1. *Meshê'z'bekwa'*, Big Ribs.
2. *Mûkatä' Muhwä^{wa}*, Black Wolf.
3. *Miakîmi'siu*, Dung on the Road.
4. *Papamitck'wä'sâ*, Wolf Looking Back Over His Shoulder (as he runs away).
5. *Tcûki'muhwä^{wa}*, Little Wolf.
6. *Pabä'shkosit*, Mangey Wolf.
7. *Bi'gwanu*, Bushy Tail (Woman's name).
8. *Wapûnwä'tûk*, Howls Till Daylight.
9. *Mägi'simu*, Big Voice.
10. *Muhwaibü'nishâ*, Wolf Cub.¹²
11. *Asä'wäsi*, Bay Colored Wolf.
12. *Opi'kaï'ya*, (Wolf) Rib.
13. *Ma'noshâo*, Puppies (Woman's name).
14. *Muhwä'kwä^o*, Wolf Woman.
15. *Nanomi'paho*, Trotting Wolf.
16. *Napû'mutut-Muhwä^w*, Fishing Wolf.¹³
17. *Kikiwanê'm^{wo}*, Stray Dog.
18. *Winî'shatûk*, Urinates on Trail.
19. *Pätê'gwishkik*, Curls Up to Sleep.
20. *Wapi'muhwä'wa*, White Wolf.
21. *Pökwî'muhwä^{wa}*, One Half a Wolf.
22. *Piä'tanokwä^o*, Wolf Den.
23. *Pokwün Muhwä'o*, Half Wolf.
24. *Muhwä'sû'*, * Young Wolf.
25. *Muhwäta'*, Sounding Wolf.

¹¹The name of the culture hero occurs in this gens because *Wi'sakä* raced with a buffalo, according to the myth of the origin of the Medicine Dance, and carried his rattle with him. The name *Shishi'gwün* occurs likewise in the Great Sea gens, because the race was along the sea-shore.

¹²Young Wolf, Michelson.

¹³So-called because in one of the myths a wolf fished through the ice with his tail.

26. *Muhwä'sik^w*, Acts Like She Wolf.
27. *Ma'nwätûk*, Lots of Noise.
28. *Tanä'komi^w*, Walks Through Deep Water (Mythological reference).
29. *Mûkutä Ä'sipûn*, Black Raccoon.
30. *Wab Ä'sipun^{*}*, White Raccoon (This name is used by the Menomini for dogs when eaten ceremonially).
31. *Ya'patä^{*}*, From the Wolf Brother of Wi'sakä, who was slain by the Underworld Panthers. Said to mean "Lies in the Sun to Bask."
32. *Muhwä'sa^{*}*, Wolf-like. This is the alternate name for Ya'patä among the Menomini.
33. *Mûkutä'wänim*, Black Dog.

TURKEY GENS NAMES

1. *Penä'kwä^o*, Turkey Hen (Woman's name).
2. *Nishkê'kât*, Gobblers Strutting.
3. *Kwi'êsä*, Boy, i. e., young male turkey.
4. *Skwä'sä*, Girl, i. e., young turkey hen.
5. *Na'pîut*, Turkey Beard.
6. *Wi'shkwinäwä*, Gobbler.
7. *Apê'mêkinabâ*, Roosting Above.
8. *Wápûna'pi^w*, Stands (on tree) Till Dawn.
9. *Mä'skokâ*, Red Wattles.
10. *Katûkâ'kü*, Spotted Wings.
11. *Wapagu'näskûk*, White Tracks on Snow.
12. *Näkwaski'paho*, Hiding in Weeds.
13. *Tci'känä^o*, Comb of Turkey.
14. *Nä'kwaki^w*, Hides His Head.
15. *Wapi'pênäo*, White Turkey.
16. *Wayä'pênäo*, Turkey Beard.
17. *Nä'muskwipäho*, Erect Runner.
18. *Kêtcipaka'kwa*, Big Cock.
19. *Kêno'äbâ*, Roosting Sideways.
20. *Pokwi'nêkwat*, Crippled Turkey.
21. *Pämiki'witä*, Stays in Timbered Bottoms.
22. *Shigwami^w*, Leaving the Nest.
23. *W'itâ'gâ*, Wings on Both Sides.

FISH GENS NAMES

1. *Mûtcî' Nêmäs*, Bad Fish.
2. *Wapî'nêmäo*, White Sturgeon.
3. *Kî'shamäk^w*, Already Fish.
4. *Nêmäo,** Sturgeon.
5. *Känwî'känäo*, Pointed Head, i. e., Sturgeon.
6. *Keo'kûk*, Circling.
7. *Kwa'skami*, Scattering Out.
8. *Mokoho'ko*, Showing Himself.
9. *Päshi'pähu*, Fish Rubbing Bank.
10. *Wisupiagê'tu*, Fish Breaking Water. Also used as a teasing form of ceremonial address by a man to his nephew, if the latter happens to be of the Fish gens, and especially on public occasions.
11. *Ta'kinik^w*, Cold Eyes.
12. *Wa'pamäk^w*, White Catfish.
13. *Wi'shok^w*, Yellow Catfish.
14. *Wa'sêsiû*, Bullhead.
15. *Mûkätämia'nämäk^w*, Black Forktail Catfish.
16. *Mûtcikwäwa*, Ugly Faced Fish.
17. *Wi'kêtcä*, Buffalo Fish.
18. *Nämä'sikwä^w*, Fish Woman.
19. *Sho'skwonêt^w*, Slips Out of the Hand.
20. *Sho'skohut*, Glances (from spear).
21. *Kû'nwaska*, Frog.
22. *Namäpiäkitûna'wätûk*, Shouts Under Water.
23. *Wûha'gîsä^w*, Exposing Head.
24. *Miy'anomä^w*, Not Eating Fish Clean.
25. *Wä'wakî^w*, Swimming Crookedly.
26. *A'shika*, Young Bass.
27. *A'sikan*, Bass.
28. *Si'kûmäk^w*, Gar.
29. *Skutäo*, Fire (because fire was used to fish with at night and also to cook fish with).
30. *Mûkûte Si'kûmäk^w*, Black Gar.
31. *Mûkûte A'sikûn*, Black Bass.
32. *Wi'sûkûtä^{w,*}* Sunfish.
33. *Kêtûk Kûmaho*, Spotted Sunfish.
34. *Wi'kâtcä*, Buffalo Fish.
35. *Pä'shito*, Old Man (Name of Drumfish).

36. *Wapama'k^w*, White (cat) Fish.
37. *Mê'shinomäk^w*, Giant Fish (Mythological).
38. *Wapi' Nämä^o*, White Sturgeon.
39. *Okäwûk*, Pike (plural).
40. *Maskwa'sêkwahûk*, Suckers.
41. *Pu^xkê'tuhûk*, Chubs.
42. *Wäwikä*, House Owner (reference to a fish nest).

GREAT SEA GENS NAMES

1. *Kê'tcikûmi*, Great Sea.
2. *Wase'djuam*, Bright Flowing Water.
3. *Mäshîsi'pu*, Mississippi, or "Great River."
4. *Tcûkisi'pu*, Little River.
5. *Mûtcisi'pu*,* Bad River.
6. *Pêshi'wa*, Wild Cat, i. e., one of the Underneath Panthers of Mythology.
7. *Manêtu'kä^o*, Mermaid, literally God, or Snake Woman.
8. *Pemi'tûnu*, Passing Water.
9. *Kiwatû'nu*, Eddying Backwards.
10. *Wawia'tûnu*, Whirlpool.
11. *Kishkitû'nukä^o*, Waterfall.
12. *Kwaskwitû'ng'*, Riffles.
13. *Kêtcikûmi'kwä^o*, Great Sea Woman.
14. *Piwä'kunî^u*, Back Flowing Ocean.
15. *Witê'ko^a*, Waves, i. e., Surf.
16. *Paia'si^u*, Bubbles (under the ice).
17. *Mêsîk^w*, Ice.
18. *Têtêpitûng'*,* Eddy.
19. *Utê'ku^a*,* Wave.
20. *Witê'kokwä^o*, Surf Woman.
21. *Askîpûki'kûmi*, Green Bay (named from the old Sauk home on Green Bay, Wisconsin).
22. *Askîpûkikû'mikwä^o*, Green Bay Woman.
23. *Tîshû'kûmi*, Warm Sea.
24. *Wa'pikûmi*, White Sea.
25. *Wisko'säo*, Lake Wisconsin, i. e., Lake Michigan.
26. *Mû'tcinêpî*, Bad Water.
27. *Wasi'kûmikwä^o*, Moonlight on the Sea Woman.
28. *Meshikwatätä'pâhokwût*, Ice Cake Floating on the Ocean.

29. *Kä^xkitûnuk^w*, Mark on the Water Woman.
30. *Kämiâ*,* Rain.
31. *Kêtcishâ'wan*,* Great Sprinkling (on the surface of the sea).
32. *Hähäo*, Swan (also Thunder gens name. Included here because its habitat is on the sea).
33. *Mänitû'wä*, Water Spirit or Serpent.¹⁴
34. *Nä'mpêshik^w*, Underworld Panther Woman.¹⁴
35. *Pêshik^w*, Lynx Woman.¹⁴
36. *Mê'shikâ^o*, Snapping Turtle.¹⁴
37. *Shi'shigwûn*,* Gourd, i. e., Rattle.¹⁴

THUNDER GENS NAMES

1. *Sawîn Inêmäkiu*,* Yellow Thunder.
2. *Wapîn Inê'mäkiu*,* White Thunder.
3. *Mêsikwa'kü*, Ice on Wings.
4. *Mû'kute Mî'shikäkük*, Black Hawk.
5. *Wasêho'nokwâ^o*, Light in Front, i. e., of the Thunderers.
6. *Kwago'hosi^u*, Sounding Ahead.
7. *Skutä'o*, Fire.
8. *Tca'kênä^o*, (Thunder-bird), "Eating Serpent."
9. *Konêpakä*, Soaring.
10. *Piä'tcisû^t*, Flying Over.
11. *Piä'tcisä^k*, Flying over Woman.
12. *Piätana'xkahûk*, Strikes Top Branches.
13. *Bäkûtük*, Tree Striker.
14. *Nika'nûkohûk*, Leader in Striking.
15. *Wamê'soni^u*, All Body, i. e., reference to one of the snakes eaten by Thunder Birds.
16. *Nê'nêmäkis^a*,* Little Thunder.
17. *Pî'ätwätük*, Coming Noise.
18. *Nä'kutwätük*, One Noise.
19. *Nûwakwä'geshûk*, Middle of the Day.
20. *Sawa'nakwût*,* Yellow Cloud.
21. *Mûkû'täwâkwût*,* Black Cloud.
22. *Notê'n*, Wind.

¹⁴This group of names is included in the Ocean gens because the Under-world Horned Panther, a mythical long-tailed, horned monster dwells in seas, lakes, rivers, etc., under water. The lynx or wildcat is its representative on earth. The Snapping Turtle and the Merman and Mermaid are of course included because of their habitat. The Gourd is an Ocean gens name, because in one of the myths Snapping Turtle carries a gourd rattle in a race.

23. *Notê'no'kăo*, Coming Winds.
24. *Mûkutê Ninîmäki^u*, Black Thunder.
25. *Mûtcî-kîneu*,* Bad (in the sense of terrible) Eagle.
26. *Pî'äjisât*, Flying Over.
27. *Piäta'nokwî^u*, Coming Storm.
28. *Mêskwä'makwî^u*, Red Cloud in Storm.
29. *Aia'tcî^u*, Starts (thundering) Afresh.
30. *Kishkanaka'hak*,* Tree Breaker.
31. *Wapa'bkwokûk*, White Streak (On Stricken Tree).
32. *Tä'pasi^u*, Circling Above.
33. *Wapikî'shko*, White Ki'shko.¹⁵
34. *Ki'shko*, Ki'shko.¹⁵
35. *Oskû'sh*, Oskû'sh.¹⁵
36. *Nu^xkagê*, Tender Wings.
37. *Mê'shikü*, Snapping Turtle.
38. *Tukû'misä^o*,* Flying Across the Trail.
39. *Wapimi'kwûn*, White Feather.
40. *Kwäkwäjisä*, Learning to Fly.
41. *Pa^xkêtu*, Distant Flash.
42. *Wapi'jîkwä*, White Face.
43. *Tcakäta'gosi^u*, Heard All Over.
44. *Wase^xhono^xkwê*, Light After Storm.
45. *Täka'koskûk*, Passing Shadow.
46. *Mämäkü*, Butterfly.
47. *Notê'nokwä^o*, Wind Woman.
48. *Pemiwa'kâk^o*, Moulting Feather (Woman's name).

BEAR-POTATO GENS NAMES

1. *Nika'piä*, Vining Out.
2. *Katûwhan*, Digging Potatoes.
3. *Anänotäo Pâ'niäk*, Known by Indians as Potatoes.
4. *Kî'shkänâ*, Breaking the Vine.
5. *Kä'ta^xhank*, Being Dug Out.
6. *Kätûhoku^x*, Washed Out by High Water.
7. *Pâ'niak Sa'giwûk*, Potato Sprouts.
8. *Wapo'so*, Stains the Water.

¹⁵The Thunderers, like the Sauk themselves, are supposed to be divided into two moieties, Ki'shko, painting in white, and Oskû'sh painting in black. The Oskû'sh division as among the Sauk goes ahead and does not turn back. The Oskû'sh make all the fuss and noise. While both are enemies of the Horned Serpents, it is the Oskû'sh who do the killing, and the Ki'shko eat the victims.

9. *Sake'je'siu*, Exposed Potato Root.
10. *Kiwapiyû*, Potato Vine.
11. *Sasaki'huk*, Bunches of Tubers Together.
12. *Mê'skutc*, Reddish (color).
13. *Kiwa'pishiû*, In the Way, i. e., the Potato Vine.
14. *Koskima'hûk*, Potato Vine Seeds.

BEAVER GENS NAMES

1. *Kiskikû'tcikâ°*, Biter Off of Roots.
2. *O'mäk°*, Beaver.
3. *Gapi°kân'uk*, Beaver Dam.
4. *Täpopo'siu*, Level Full of Water.
5. *Kätikänuk°*, Damming the Creek.
6. *Wagi°kanuk°*, Crooked Dam.
7. *Kiwikanuk°*, Dams the Branches.
8. *Pena'tciû*, Tears Holes in the Dam.
9. *Tcû°komä°k°*, Little Beaver.
10. *I°womäk°*, Known as a Beaver.
11. *Kiwî'tcimä°*, Swing Around, i. e., action of beaver in swimming.
12. *Piätci'tcimä°*, Swing Round Towards Me.
13. *Kaki'suta°*, Hiding in Den.
14. *Wa°bomêk°*, White Beaver.
15. *'Ki°omêk°*, Small Beaver.
16. *Tcûkiomêk°*, Little Beaver.
17. *Wawanikâ°hütcimä°*, Cuts Willow with His Teeth.
18. *Gäwûtçikü°*, Gnaws Down Trees.

EAGLE GENS NAMES

1. *Mê°gêsiu*, Bald Eagle.
2. *Wa°pikêti°wa*, White Eagle.
3. *Mudji°kêti°w*, * Bad or Ugly Eagle.
4. *Kê°ti°wa*, Eagle.
5. *Keti°sa°*, Eaglet.
6. *Mû°kûte Kêti°w*, Black Eagle.
7. *Tcûki° Kêti°w*, Little Eagle.
8. *Mê°gêsiu O°kima*, Bald Eagle Chief.
9. *Wapêskîtäpä*, White Headed Eagle.

10. *Kêti'kwe^w*, Eagle Woman.
11. *Mêkêsi'ta*, Erect Sitting Eagle.
12. *Wapi'kakê*, White Breast.
13. *Name'akwisâ,** Swift Flying.
14. *Pä'misiwa*, Greasy Feather.
15. *Mûkûtemishikâ'kâk*, Black Duck Hawk.
16. *Witê'koa*, Owl.
17. *Muskute Witê'koa*, Prairie Owl.
18. *Ti'tiwa*, Blue Jay.
19. *Pishki'nani^u*, Locust.
20. *Pitaski^w*, Dragon Fly.

FOX GENS NAMES^u

1. *Wa'kushâ,** Fox.
2. *Tcû'kiwakushâ*, Little Fox.
3. *Nana'hiki^u*, Young Growing Fox.
4. *Wagasha'siu*, Foxlike.
5. *Pikwa'noⁿ*, Bushy Tail.
6. *Tca'kikwat*, Small Face.
7. *Sho'skêsh*, Straight Ears.
8. *Sha'kwäni^u*, Deepset Eyes.
9. *Wi'shkosâ^o*, Raised Off the Ground (in running).
10. *Sho'kwi^{wa}*, Soft Walking.
11. *Kû'pahi^z*, Sly Mover.
12. *Wätcinä'witci*, Why He Sees Me.
13. *Sa'wa'nik^w*, Fox Squirrel.
14. *Kê'shkashe O'kema*, Peaceable Chief.

DEER GENS NAMES

1. *Wapiska'nûwâ^o*, White Tail.
2. *Sisia'*, White Tail. (Another form of No. 1.)
3. *Wasinä'osâ^o*, Bright Horn.
4. *Sagikiwinâ'kapâ*, Horns Sticking Out.
5. *Mâkûte Wi'kwägâ*, Black Necked Buck.
6. *Kêtcâ'iapâo*, Big Buck.
7. *Oko'^a*, Doe.
8. *Pêshi'gîshikwâ^o*, Deer Woman.

^uFox Gens names are very like those of the Wolf Gens, and some are said to be interchangeable.

9. *Mako'sikwä*^o, Doe Fawn.¹⁷
10. *Shoski'winäo*, Straight Horn.
11. *Mishiwinät*, Velvet Horns.
12. *Mishiga'kwa*, Yearling Buck.
13. *Kätükänä*^o, Spotted Fawn.
14. *Wapa'sai*^a, White Tanned Deer Hide.
15. *Kê'tcimä*, Old Elk.
16. *Ma'kini*^a, Elk Fawn.
17. *Wawa'tusä*, Deer Meeting.
18. *Tänwa'piäshik*, Lying Down Stretched Out.
19. *A'iyapao*, Buck.
20. *Oshä'ki*^a, Ridge (Deer run along ridges).
21. *Mätêkomî'näkäo*, Hunts Small Acorns.
22. *Päguwi'käwä*, Makes Dust on Trail.
23. *Tu'kigûsh*, Spreading Hoofs.
24. *Namia'shikgo*, Bad Nose (of deer).
25. *Wasi'shimuk*, Partly Visible.
26. *Nänyä'skwi*^w, Weaned Fawn.
27. *Oka'kaia*, Brisket.
28. *Notê'nwikwä*^o, Runs Up Wind.
29. *Mä'shkoikwä*^w, Bloody Face (from buck's fighting).
30. *Wapi'kwat*, White Face or Eyes.
31. *Mûci Mukêsä*, Bad Moccasin.
32. *Wapê'shkêsi*^a, White Deer Woman.
33. *Wapai'apao*, White Buck.
34. *Mäsâwênät*, Two Spike Buck.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS

Among the Sauk marriages were generally arranged by the parents of the contracting parties. The parents of a girl, for example, would select an eligible young man and then interview his father and mother. If all was agreeable sometimes the marriage was consummated the next day. The parents of the bride would get up a feast and take it straightway over to the groom's lodge. The young man's parents would dress the girl in fine clothes and give her a horse and plenty of household utensils. The youth then went to live with the girl in her parent's home.

¹⁷From the Myth of Wisaka and Turtle. To be published in a later bulletin.

The punishment meted out to a woman for adultery was to have her hair or nose cropped, usually the penalty was inflicted by her own brothers. For minor offenses the woman's uncles might beat her.

If a woman was widowed, and was held in high esteem by the parents of her husband, after she had fasted part of each day and mourned for thirty days, they would dress her in good clothes and marry her to one of her husband's brothers or some other male relative.

When a man's wife died, her relatives took everything in the home, regardless of whether it was his or hers, leaving only a saddle, gun, and blanket, and helping themselves not only to such valuable property as horses, but even to sweet corn and other food. In the case of the death of the wife of a man who was an accredited Brave, or Wata'säo, he was left alone, and nothing was disturbed.

A widower fasted part of each day for from thirty to forty days, after which his relatives brought him new clothes and goods to make up for those taken from him. His brothers-in-law then shaved his head, painted his face, and sent him out to find a new mate.

A man may not speak to his mother-in-law, nor a woman to her father-in-law. Joking may be indulged in with one's brothers and sisters-in-law, and one's uncles and aunts.

Plurality of wives was formerly in vogue.

Just as among the Menomini, where "Manabus's blanket" is said to have been used formerly to prevent physical contact between married couples, the Sauk had a similar custom. The robe, of deerskin, was called Pwa'higûn or Ma'kunân, and was kept by certain persons and loaned or hired out especially to newly married couples so that their skins would not touch during connection. It was adorned with jinglers so that all might know when and how intercourse was being held. The reason assigned for this custom was in order that "no children born to members of the tribe might be strange or deformed."

TRAINING OF CHILDREN

WINTER FASTING

During the winter boys were given one meal a day. The youngest ones, however, only went without breakfast. They were also not allowed to drink. This fasting was kept up from the fall until the frogs began to sing in the spring.

Certain old men in camp used to lecture and harangue the boys daily. Our informant states that he has seen as many as possible of the boys of a village assembled in a bark house listening to an old man hold forth, while others were crowded around the outside, sitting on the ground and remaining there for hours.

At the beginning of the winter fasting season the adult men of the tribe would seek out small basswood saplings standing alone, and cut them down, making them into ten-inch peeled lengths. The ends of these were charred for blackening the faces of fasters, and two of them would last a man all winter. They were called *Mûkûte wi'tcikûn*, or "Black (Fasting) Sticks," and were hung up in the lodge among the sacred articles. They were carefully put away when the first frogs' songs were heard. This custom is also found among the Ioway.

It is said that the two tribal moieties, *Ki'shko* and *Oskû'sh* used to vie with each other to see who could first use up an equal number of sticks of a given length.

DREAM FASTING

When at or about the age of puberty, about fourteen years, both boys and girls were formerly required to fast and thus incubate a dream in which some supernatural power appeared to the supplicant and volunteered itself as a Dream Guardian. Fasters blackened their faces and repaired to some isolated spot where they gazed at the rising sun, so that it, their "Grandfather," would recognize them thereafter as persons who had fasted.

The powers of whom the Sauk children tried to dream were *Shawanû'tâsiu*; the South God or Wind, who appeared generally as a monster serpent; the God of the Sea, or *Kêtcikûmi* manitu; the Thunder, who always gave success in war, and the Buffalo or Bear, either of which gave good hunting medicine. Of course, other powers often appeared, but these were the ones most desired.

FIRST GAME FEAST

When a child kills his first game, no matter how small and insignificant it may be, a ceremony called *Kikikâ'nu*^a or feast of the first game is held. The little creature is cooked in a kettle, with other food, and the neighbors are called in. The animal killed by the little boy is

placed in a special wooden bowl and set before his uncle, who eats it all, with great show of ceremony and profuse thanks to encourage the youthful nimrod. This is a widespread Algonkian custom.

RELIGION

CONCEPTIONS OF DEITIES

Gêtcî Mû'nito^a is thought to be an old white-headed man of majestic appearance who sits everlastingly in the Heavens, smoking. While it has been the fashion in recent years for many writers to maintain that the Great Spirit concept is wholly of missionary origin among the Indians, Father Claude Allouez, the first missionary to visit the Sauk, declares that they, with the Fox and Potawatomi, were already in possession of this belief. In the Jesuit Relation for the years 1666-1667 he states, speaking of the Fox: "These people are not very far removed from the recognition of the Creator of the world, for it is they who told me what I have already related,—namely, that they acknowledge in their country a great spirit, the maker of Heaven and earth, who dwells in the country toward the French."

Whatever may ultimately be shown to be the case among the tribes of other areas, there can be no doubt as to the antiquity of the Great Spirit among the Central Algonkians, and perhaps elsewhere in the woodlands, although it is likely that many of these peoples formerly looked upon the sun as this supreme deity.

Wi'sakä, the culture hero, founder of the Medicine Dance, dwells on earth in the north. He is of human appearance, and will some day return to deliver his uncles and aunts, the Indians, from the white man's yoke. A similar belief is found among the Menomini.

The Thunderers, called Nê'nêmiwûk or Wä'migohûk, the latter term being a ceremonial form of address meaning "The Feathered Ones," are generally considered, as by most woodland Indians, to be giant eagles inhabiting the western Empyrean, but some maintain that they resemble human beings, or, at least, are anthropomorphic at times. They dress like men, and wear especially elegant fringed leather leggings.

The Water Spirits consist of monstrous snakes and enormous panthers who dwell everywhere in waterfalls and dismal swamps, springs, etc. The serpents are constantly preyed upon by the Thunderbirds,

who eat them, but sometimes the serpents have revenge. It is said that some of them hold a Thunderer captive beneath Niagara Falls, and that when he hears his brethren during a storm he cries to them, and lightnings may be seen flashing in the east (reflections) whenever there is a storm in the west. With all their power, however, the Thunder-birds cannot free him, for the mighty rock ledge over which the cataract falls is impervious to their bolts.

Four of the great serpents support "this island," the earth, on their backs. Their leader is called Kwägwä'shiwäo, and he was once killed by Wi'sakä, but lives again, as he is immortal.

The giant Underworld Panthers, Nampe'xshiwük, have spotted bodies like wildcats, and tails of immense length. They, and the Thunderers also, often appear in conventionalized designs on woven bags, and, more rarely, on mats.

Tepä'kinini^{wa}, the "night man," who frightens belated travelers, is known as a spirit or power on earth. Under the name of Tepä'inäni^u, he is known to the Menomini.

Skutä'näsiu is the "Master of Fire," a God connected with the underworld serpents.

The Ukima manêtu'wük, "Chief Snakes or Powers," are regarded as benevolent, because they do not bite. They are represented on earth by the "bull snakes."

Kêtcikûmi Manitu is the God of the Sea, while the Paia'shiwük are two brothers, dwarfs, who dwell under the water.

Mä'sakomigo'kwä°, "Our Grandmother, the Earth," is the earth personified as an old woman. She figures prominently in Sauk mythology as the old grandmother who raised the hero Wi'sakä. She is frequently invoked and to her are offered tobacco sacrifices which are buried in the ground. She owns the roots and herbs which are the hairs of her head. Under a similar name she figures in Menomini mythology.

Shawa'natäsiu is the manitu of the south. Just what his properties and functions are, besides controlling the warm winds, are not apparent. He is personified as a great serpent, and was desired as a dream guardian.

Ya'patä is the brother of Wi'sakä, the Culture Hero, and has charge of the realm of the Dead. As Ona'xpatäo, this personage is known to the Menomini.

Po'kitäpawä, known as "Knocks-a-hole-in-the-head" or "Brain

Taker," guards the bridge on the trail to the afterworld. He attempts to dash out the brains of all passing souls, who must escape him to win their way to the other world. A somewhat similar notion is found among the Menomini, where the souls are robbed of a pinch of their brains by "Na'xpatão the ruler himself, before they enter the Land of the Dead.

It is quite probable that there are a number of other deities, spirits, monsters, and hobgoblins known to the Sauk, whose names and characteristics still remain unrecorded.

THE HEREAFTER

No person is possessed of more than one soul, and this leaves the body at once for the Afterworld as soon as a person dies. It follows the Milky Way (Wabise'pu, the White River), until it arrives at the river which all Sauk must cross before entering the Afterworld, which is controlled by Ya'patä, brother of Wi'sakä. A log serves for a bridge, and this is guarded by a being called Po'kitäpawä, "Knocks-a-hole-in-the-head," or "Brain Taker." Brain Taker has a watch dog who barks the alarm whenever a new soul approaches, and the fleeting spirit must be swift indeed to avoid having his brains dashed out. If this happens, he is destroyed or lost forever, but if he eludes Brain Taker he darts across the log to the abode of the dead, where there is everlasting feasting and rejoicing.

MORTUARY CUSTOMS

When a person dies, the mourners blacken their faces, dishevel their hair, and fast, eating only at night, and, rising early in the morning they face the east and wail. This is continued for from four to ten days, although the late Mëshê'bêkwa is said to have once mourned in this manner for forty days.

If the deceased is a chief or belongs to a chief's family, his face is painted green (equivalent of blue, the holy sky color) at once. Wm. Harris, as a member of a chief's family, was once called upon to paint the remains of a woman of equally high lineage. With green paint he made an oblong square across her breast, and another across her forehead, reaching from ear to ear. An ordinary man is always painted by his uncles, a woman by her aunts. No clan or moiety customs were found in connection with the dead.

The night following the death, a feast is held, and next morning the corpse is dressed for the grave. The body is then placed in a blanket and carried out, usually through the side or back of the wigwam or through a window if in the house. No reason for this could be gathered, but, judging by the cognate belief of the more conservative Menomini, this is done to confuse the spirit of the dead person so that it will not be able to come back and haunt the survivors. Among the Sauk the hopelessly sick are taken outside to die. If a person dies indoors, the house is abandoned and later burned.

The body is carried to the grave, feet forward, the blanket being knotted at the ends and slung over a pole supported by several men. The grave, narrow and shallow, is excavated by women, who use wooden bowls as spades. The body is lowered into the grave, and tobacco is thrown upon it. An old man is now elected to address the corpse and tell it how to reach the other world. After he has finished, all those present approach the grave and sprinkle tobacco on the corpse. Those who carry him to the grave are usually of the moiety, Oskú'sh or Kí'shko, to which the deceased belonged.

After the ceremony, the widow, in returning home, makes a wide circle from west to east. Next day all the mourners rise especially early to wail.

In burying the dead, the people of the Turkey Clan have certain peculiar customs. Their fellow gens members are always buried sitting upright, as a turkey sleeps. They are not buried in a general cemetery, but on some isolated knoll under a tree suitable for a turkey roost.

The Handbook of American Indians states that among the Sauk both tree and scaffold burial were practiced, also complete burial in the earth, and surface burial in a sitting posture in several forms. These may have been styles in vogue in different gentes, but inquiry shows that these are now forgotten.

NOTES ON THE MEDICINE DANCE

The following data were secured from the Reverend Wm. Harris, who stated that he had never been made a member of the Medicine Lodge, but that he had for many years been one of the native police who were charged with maintaining order at the public performances, preventing the near approach of spectators, and the like. He had heard

the recitation of the rituals, was familiar with the rites, and knew some of the songs. The data here presented are therefore no doubt entirely correct, so far as they go, but lack the detail which can only be obtained from a master of the craft. Owing to the complete mystery with which the Sauk rites are enshrouded, and the need of further light on the ceremony from this important tribe, no apology is made for publishing this incomplete fragment.

THE ORIGIN MYTH

The world had already existed for some time when Wi'sakä was born, and the hero lived alone with his brother Ya'patäo and their grandmother Mäsükûmigo'kwäo, the Earth Woman.

Wi'sakä roamed about over the earth's surface and slew many great serpents, until at length the survivors all convened in a council. To this meeting they invited the grandmother of Wi'sakä.

"Grandmother," said the Underworld Serpents, "Your eldest grandson is abusing us so that we want to destroy him in some way."

"It is useless to try it," answered the old woman, "Wi'sakä is immortal. Yet maybe you have power to kill his younger brother." So, in revenge, the Serpents planned to end Wi'sakä's younger brother, Ya'patäo, in the following way: They challenged Wi'sakä to race with a three-year-old buffalo. The course was to encircle Kêtcikûm (Lake Michigan). As soon as the contestants had rounded the opposite shore, the Serpents attacked Ya'patäo. Even where he was, Wi'sakä could hear his younger brother crying for assistance. It seemed to him as though Ya'patäo had called, "Oh, my elder brother, they are killing me!"

Then Wi'sakä ran all the faster, and as he drew towards home, he passed the buffalo. Still he ran faster, and as he got nearer home he could hear his younger brother plainly calling: "Oh, my elder brother Wi'sakä, they are killing me!" But when Wi'sakä arrived at the place, it was too late. They had already killed his younger brother Ya'patäo, and skinned him and carried the skin away.

Then Wi'sakä went into mourning. He blackened his face, then he attacked and killed the Underworld monsters with redoubled fury, until the Great Serpents relented and feared him. At last they appealed to Gêtcî Mû'nito^a, the Great Spirit. They counceled with him and at his advice decided to build a Medicine Lodge Structure, a Mitä'wigan. Then they sent a hawk to call Wi'sakä.

Three times the hawk carried the invitation to Wi'sakä, but he was lying there weeping, with his face blackened, and did not look up. When the hawk appeared for the fourth time, Wi'sakä raised his head, "What do they want me for?" he asked.

"Gêtcî Mû'nito^a sends for you," replied the hawk.

When Wi'sakä heard that the Great Spirit himself had sent for him, his heart dropped down, and he became less angry than he was formerly. So he arose and followed the hawk. But when he arrived at the Mitä'wigan, he saw that they had stretched his brother's hide and were using it for a door, and again his heart rose into his mouth and almost choked him. Yet, when the door was opened for him, Wi'sakä went in.

The lodge was long and low, it was placed so that the ends, in which there were doors, were faced east and west. In the northeast corner sat Gêtcî Mû'nito^a, and Wi'sakä was given a seat on his right, with his back against a burr oak pole. Gêtcî Mû'nito^a led the ceremonies himself, and when he saw this, all Wi'sakä's anger left him.

Now all the Munêtu'wuk, or Spirits, were called into the Lodge—that is, all except the Thunderers, who were not invited. Otherwise all the Spirits were there, including the black bear and the grizzly bear. Then they instructed Wi'sakä and appointed a time, four days later, for him to return for initiation.

Then Wi'sakä went home to his grandmother, Mäsükûmigo'kwäo, the Earth Woman. He lay down to rest, but no sooner had he done so than his younger brother, Ya'patäo, approached his wigwam, crying:

"Here am I, my elder brother! Let me in!"

"No," responded Wi'sakä, "I cannot admit you!"

Again Ya'patäo begged him. "Let me in, my elder brother!"

"No," answered Wi'sakä, "I cannot admit you."

Still his younger brother besought him. "Admit me, elder brother." And still Wi'sakä refused him entrance.

Then for the fourth time Ya'patäo pleaded, "Let me in, oh elder brother!"

This time Wi'sakä responded: "It cannot be, my younger brother, I must not let you in—but here is a little drum and here is a sacred whistle. Go west through the Heavens to the other world where the Dancing Ground (of the dead) is located. Every time you beat your drum our uncles and aunts will come to you" (i. e., new persons will die).

Then Ya'patão took the whistle and blew upon it, and struck his drum. Lo, at once there were five or six souls of newly dead persons standing beside him. These accompanied him on his journey to the other world, where he remains forever as chief.

At the end of four days' time, the lodge was ready and Wi'sakä went there, where the Manitous were gathered. There were present all kinds of serpents and beasts who had been invited to the Mitä'in.

The drum was placed in the northeast corner of the structure, where Gêtcî Mû'nito^a was, and he commenced the ceremony. The guests were seated beside him beginning with Wi'sakä on his right and running in order towards the left. That is the order which we follow today, and, in the initiation the candidate, male or female, impersonates Wi'sakä and takes part in the re-enactment of the ceremony of his initiation.

THE CEREMONY OF INITIATION

The lodge is placed so that the doors in its ends face east and west, and the candidate is seated in the northeast corner beside the Master of Ceremonies, to whom he has applied for admission. His back is to a burr oak stake, and the drum is in the same corner before the Master of Ceremonies. The others present range around the lodge beginning on the candidate's right, going to the left. The sacred drum circulates in this order, each person using it to accompany four songs, and when it gets back to its starting point, the first part is over and the feast commences. A gourd rattle is also used, which is struck against a pillow carried on the left arm.

When the members enter the Medicine Lodge structure, they sing a song known as the "Entering Song," which is, of course, four times repeated. It is:

Nipa'nina-a-a kiwise' woho asowakumike hojisewo nepanina'.

"My arrow (the migis shell) is flying round, it even came from the other world."

As they chant this song the members hold their "otter skins" out before them at the level of their shoulders, and shake the heads of the animals. While this is going on the younger members from several bands, led in each case by an older man, go to the west end of the lodge and face the east where they all stand and sing the same song again. Then they circle the lodge, holding their "otter skins" out in front of them, making them move as though swimming, and crying "Tcû ihihi'."

without limit. On the fourth round they circle the fire and return to their starting point, where all the younger members shoot themselves and fall over. When the leader of each group is shot, he falls over the drum and lies while this song is sung:

Ho' kutakami, kutakami, tci'paipa kutakami.

"Dead man's lungs."

This is kept up four times, when the leader revives. The leader then takes charge once more. He sings:

Yuhähä'hä, Yuhähä'hä, münipapiyuni kätayutänänä.

"This real medicine, I am using it on you."

Another shooting song is as follows:

Hamwa'kani, hamwa'kani hanimohä nakwita, hamwa'kani, hamwa'kani, Watäsä' hamwa'kani!

"Eating, eating, a fat dog, eating. A brave man to eat. eating."

When this performance is over the two leaders go to the east end of the structure and sing while the rest sit still. The drum has been left in the center of the lodge, but one of the leaders carries the rattle and pillow. He motions with his gourd to all to bow their heads. The song is:

Wapikonä woho', wapikonä woho', nakapäkwä piwatci, yohaniyä, wi hi hi hi hi!

"That place, that place, where you are going to stay."

When this has been repeated four times, the leader and his assistant go to the other end of the lodge and repeat the song. After this they take up the drum and circle the lodge, the drummer in the rear, drumming, while both cry "Djü' hi hi hi hi!" This likewise is done four times. They then take the drum to the next band leader and whisper to him that he must be quick so that they can all be through by eating time.

When this is over, the waiters are sent out to fetch in the pots of food, which they sling on a pole between them. This food they give to other groups than their own. No salt or condiments are permitted. Each brave who has served as a guard gets a kettle containing a whole boiled dog to eat with his own friends. By the way, neither braves or waiters are necessarily members of the lodge. Our informant, as a member of the Bear gens and an experienced waiter, served in that capacity at Medicine Dances for years, yet was not a member.

The principal ingredients of the feast are a dog or dogs, singed, cut up, and boiled; pumpkins, and sweet corn. If the giver of any part

of the feast wishes to invite a friend among the members to eat with him and his party, he must circle the lodge to the right until he comes to him, even though that person may be close to him on the left. The servants who bring in and take out the food must do the same, circling the fire with the utensils on entering and leaving.

After the feast the drum again starts with the leader in the north-east corner, and makes its regular circuit as before. With this difference: now the singing must be faster, for now the candidate must be initiated before the drum gets back to its starting point, where it is carried across the eastern doorway.

Directly after the feast, the following songs are sung:

Henêni muhwä'wa onäpi kaio'ni nanotakwatoni.

"The male wolf's ribs are howling."

Mûkûtä muhwä'wa hênäpi kaio'ni nanotakwatoni.

"Black wolf's ribs are howling."

The order of the next performance is as follows: Several songs occurring in sets of four are sung, the younger members rising and dancing before the leaders, who, with the older members stand and point the heads of their "otters" toward the singers. After the dance, all circle back and sit down. The musicians then announce that they will sing dancing and shooting songs, and beg all present to overlook any mistakes should they be made. They sing a short song which is:

Winapima, winapimi.

Of this, no translation, if indeed there is any, was secured. The new member is cautioned to shoot only his uncles, aunts, brothers and sisters-in-law. At this time they also sing:

Säsakwitähä'.

"Bad heart" or "Crushed heart."

The words of this song refer to the feeling of the candidate as he is shot, when it is said "he feels as though he were about to vomit."

While these things are going on, some of the older men among the members hold up their medicine otters above their heads shouting, "Woha! Woha!" and daring the others to shoot them. The candidate's face is now painted, and this song is sung:

Hanamona keminanaha.

"I am giving you red paint."

Waiters spread a new blanket on the floor at the eastern end of the building, under the ridge pole from which are suspended the can-

didate's blankets, calicoes, and other fees of admission. The candidate, attended by a monitor, is placed on the blanket, facing west.

Now two old Masters of the Craft circle the lodge, otterskin medicine bags in their hands, bending over, singing, and pretending, dramatically, to track the candidate down. At the west end they halt. They face the candidate, and make a speech, telling what they are about to do. Then they hold their "otters" outstretched before them, with their heads toward the candidate, and shake them in a serpentine manner as though they (the otters) were swimming. As they do this, they utter the medicine cry.

In this manner they sing four songs, after which they turn and point their bags east, south, west and north, crying "Hohohoho!" as they do so, and singing four sacred songs to each point of the compass.

The leader now remains standing, and makes a speech, telling the members what his powers are, of his sacred dream, and dream guardian, and promises to use all his powers to strengthen the candidate and give him long life. As he does this, his assistant goes to the western door and seats himself.

The leader now circles the lodge with his otter skin held before him, crying "Yihihihhi," until he gets in front of the candidate, where he stops and addresses him. Attendants now approach the neophyte, and stand by to place him in readiness to be shot.

The chief initiator, who is facing the candidate, now suddenly jerks the head of the otter bag upward, pointing it into his own face, and "shooting" himself. The term implies that the essence of the power contained in the bag itself and all the medicines it contains shoots into his body. He falls heavily, and lies for a time apparently unconscious.

After a time he quivers, moans, revives, and finally rises to his feet. He addresses the members and tells them that he will now produce from his body the medicine or sacred shell, which is supposed to be the missile of the medicine bag. Retching and groaning he places his hands on his sides, rubbing them slowly upward while he writhes and contorts himself, still retching. His hands reach his shoulders, throat, chin, and mouth, and then the shell (*mi'gês*, in Sauk) flies into his hands.

Holding the *mi'gês* in the palm of his hand, he circles the lodge again, showing it to each member, and crying: "Yuhuhuhuhu!" as he does so.

When the leader arrives at his starting point, he claps his hand to his

mouth, swallows the shell, and again falls down, unconscious. In a short time he is up again, ejaculating "ini!" to signify that all is in readiness.

The attendants now step up to the candidate and throw a blanket over his head, covering his face so that only his eyes can be seen. This is done, it is said, so that the neophyte will not dodge the missile about to be shot into him.

The leader now raises the head of his otter bag to the level of his chest, and points it at the candidate. Holding it before him he trots swiftly with pattering feet from the east end of the lodge to the west. Arrived before the neophyte, he blows on the head of his otter and jerks it forward with the medicine cry. The mystic essence contained in the *mi'gès* is now supposed to shoot into the candidate, who falls unconscious.

The leader now returns to the east and sings this song:

Ni'na nēmishwa'n ni'na.

"I am the one who shot him, I am."

After the fourth repetition, he returns to the west end beside the candidate, and there sings four more songs. Four entire circuits of this nature are made in all. Then he circles the lodge and salutes each member, giving him or her greetings and addressing each by some appropriate term of relationship.

The attendants now strip the candidate (the members were all formerly naked to the waist, it is said, a custom wholly at variance with Menomini and Ojibway ideas, where all are overdressed, if anything), and the garments and also the goods on the sacred ridge pole are handed over to the leader.

Four attempts are now made to raise the candidate who regularly faints, but the last time he is given a revivifying drink called *nasä'tcikūn* (the reviver) and he comes to life once more.

The leader now takes a pillow on his left arm upon which he strikes a gourd rattle, after shaking it a moment, and, while his assistant accompanies him, carrying the drum, they sing: *winapimä winapimi*.

All now rise and dance in place, and later the younger members circle the lodge for a half hour's time, all shooting. The candidate is the particular target for his "Uncles and Aunts," who scarcely allow him to rise to his feet, they shoot him so much. He in turn may now use his bag to shoot them.

Finally all sit down again save the Leader, Host, or Master of

Ceremonies, as he may be called, and his assistants. These two officials walk to the east door, turn, and face the west. They sing four songs, then they take the drum to the starting point in the northeast corner, where they beat the drum furiously with cries of "i hê hê," and "i hi hi," "to drive out the Evil Spirit." They then kneel and present the drum and rattle to the next couple on their right, whispering to them to make all possible haste, as the hour is late.

The new pair takes the instruments, circles the lodge regularly, and comes back to the front where they sing their song, making four circuits, after which they return with the drum to the next two members on the right of their starting point, where they pass the drum and rattle on and drop out themselves.

The last couple to receive the drum finishes and carries it to the center of the lodge. All now rise and dance about the circuit, shooting each other promiscuously. An attendant accompanies the candidate to aid and advise him. The candidate is shot down almost continuously, however. At last the drum is carried to the south side—presumably in the southeast corner opposite the starting point, where the dancing and shooting ceases. An intermission of about two hours for feasting follows.

After supper the ceremonies proceed in a similar manner until sundown. At this time the leader takes the members out of the lodge building into the open through the east door and circling it around the north side, all shooting each other promiscuously. This is twice repeated, then all enter the west door, circle the fire in the west (?) end of the structure, and sit down along the sides of the building in their old places for a half hour's rest.

After this, they discuss among themselves who will first enter the sweat lodge, close at hand, which the attendants have meanwhile prepared.

The sweating takes place on the following day, and is regarded as an act of spiritual as well as physical purification. First, that night, the medicine lodge building is torn down by the attendants, as soon as the ceremony is over. The members sleep all night, not rising until about 10 or 11 o'clock on the following day, when the next and last feast is nearly ready.

Young members, of both sexes, accompanied by one old member who is to sing for them, strip themselves naked and enter. A hole is made in the ground in the center of the lodge, and hot stones are placed

therein by the attendants after the covers of the lodge are battened down tight and the members all present. Mesquite or sagebrush twigs¹⁸ are thrown on the hot stones as incense, and the leader pours water on the stones. As the stifling steam rises, he sings twelve sets of four songs each, and, though they faint, as often happens, from the effect of the steam, none may leave until it is over.

At length, when the forty-eighth song has been sung, all hastily leave, and once outside, attendants douse them with pails of cold water. The ceremony is now concluded with a feast.

Persons are generally initiated to take the place of dead members. The group which they join provides the initiation fees, except the blanket, which is given by the candidate, and afterwards another is returned to him. All fees go to the leader or initiator.

INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN TO MEDICINE DANCE GUARDS

The leaders of the Medicine Dance were accustomed to instruct the guards who keep order at the ceremonies as follows, these being the rules laid down for the informant in 1896 on the occasion of his first undertaking these duties:

"Let no outsiders come in. Watch the members and see that they circle the fire before they go out. Keep those who enter circling from left to right. Keep the spectators back at least ten feet from the lodge, drive them away from the east door, and herd them to the north as much as possible, using a long pole to hold them back, regulate the curtain and the lodge covers, see that the drum-heads are tied with raw-hide lariats."

PARAPHERNALIA

The articles used by the Sauk during the Medicine Dance are by no means as varied as those utilized by the other Central Algonkian tribes. Medicine bags of otter skin, and of the skins of fox squirrels in the usual rufous, and in melanistic, and albinistic pelage were obtained. It is said that in former years wolf and bear cub and eagle skins were also used, but no snake, mink, or weasel skins were seen or heard of. Besides these, gourd rattles, a modified modern form of the water drum made from a keg, and the usual cowrie shells are used. The Sauk

¹⁸In their old home they presumably used cedar, as this is still employed by the northern tribes.

generally thrust colored ribbons through the nostrils of their otter and squirrel-skin bags instead of the colored down used by the other Central Algonkians and Southern Siouans.

A detailed description of the objects used in the Medicine Dance will be given under the heading of Material Culture in another of this series of papers.

CEREMONY ON SELLING AN OTTERSKIN MEDICINE BAG

A fine antique otter-skin medicine bag, ornamented with quill-work in red and yellow, was obtained with two quilled fox squirrel skins from a Sauk named Frank Smith, residing near Shawnee. Mr. Smith, who is one of the leaders of the Medicine Dance, explained that this particular otter was very ancient, having been made in the old Sauk home in Wisconsin. It was his special bag as leader, and was used particularly in the initiation of new members. It was always the first bag to be hung on the ceremonial ridge pole of the lodge, at the eastern end, with its head to the north. It was always likewise the first to be taken down, and was carried on in advance of all others by the leader. It was always the first to be put away in the common receptacle used for the bags of Smith's band after ceremonies, and the last to be taken out of the storage receptacle, when again needed, for the reason that all the rest of the medicine bags were placed on top of it.

When the leader enters the Medicine Lodge structure at the head of his followers at the commencement of the ceremony, the leader stops just inside the east door with his otter in his hand, and there waits until all of his party have entered, the next person to enter being his assistant who carried the drum.

After the candidate has been slain and brought to life again, this bag plays an important part in the promiscuous "shooting" which follows while the drummer keeps up a lively song.

For these reasons, as it was to pass out of the tribe, Smith was particularly anxious to placate the bag before turning it over to the writer, and therefore he addressed a very long and earnest prayer to it, sprinkling Indian tobacco on its head, begging it meanwhile not to be offended, as it was going to a place where it would be far better kept than in his possession, and where it would be cherished forever.

Smith presented some tobacco to the writer for use in future sac-

rifices to the otter, explaining that it was given to the Sauk by Gêtcî Mû'nitu^a, the Great Spirit, and therefore its fumes, when thrown on the fire, were sure to carry messages skyward. Native tobacco is called anên'otäowa sãmâ.

THE BUFFALO DANCE

This ceremony is held by the buffalo gens during June or July, this being the time of year when the buffalo shed their hair, or, more rarely, in September when the deer are fat. It is a mimetic rite derived from the bison.

The night before the performance, waiters to the number of eight or ten, chosen from the Bear gens, repair to the appointed place, and make a fire with the bow drill or flint and steel, never with matches. Kettles are put on to boil, dogs are killed, singed, and butchered, while venison, wild turkey, and, especially dedicated to the Buffalo, pumpkins and corn are also boiled. As the food seethes in the kettles the waiters sing from ten to twelve songs, each four times repeated, and these are supposed to last until the food is well cooked. The preparation of the food takes practically all night.

In the morning the rest of the officers and participants in the rite appear. The leader is selected and appointed by the head waiter, and must be a man who on some occasion was the first to take a scalp when out with a war-party. The head waiter invests him with a headdress made of a buffalo scalp with the shiny black horns attached, a buffalo tail is attached to his belt in the rear, an anklet of buffalo dew-claws that tinkle as he moves is attached to his left leg, and a cane or reed whistle is also given him. After the leader, three more men of importance are selected and invested with headdresses made from the heads and horns of domestic steers or cattle. They also wear cowhide necklaces and carry cane whistles, but have no tails or anklets. The fifth person in line is a woman selected because at some time one of her uncles was the first man on a war-party to kill an enemy. After this as many can take part as desire to do so. Mr. Harris has seen as many as twenty dancing.

When all is ready, the drummer gives four sharp strokes on his drum, and the dance commences. The leaders of the participants first whoop, then they blow on their whistles to invoke the buffalo, and all bellow, paw the earth with their feet, and hook at each other in imita-

tion of the animal in whose honor the rite is held. The songs are sung very rapidly, and are in sets of four. The first of these sets is as follows:

1. Hiniwe' tcepasä kwe'ani, kwe'ani!
"At the place where I got up from."
2. Kina'ne mêtü nikwe'sä
"I am getting up a dance for you my boy."
3. Patäwenäna kwa'ta
"I am tasting the (gun) smoke."
4. (a) Tcakemena' kwatone
"I am even swallowing all the clouds."
(b) Tcake näno'sokake
"All the young buffalo."

Between the sets of songs, the dancers rest. There are three feasts held during the day—at morning, noon, and night. At the concluding set of four songs before each feast, the drum stays are loosened, so that the sound of the strokes become feebler and feebler, and finally die away, then all commence to eat.

The Buffalo Dance was started by a man who was lost and nearly starved to death. The bison took pity on him, fed him, and taught him their dance. They said that the feast at the dance must consist at least in part of vegetables and things that they like to eat. They taught him their medicines, and ordered him to wear the woolly head of a buffalo bull when he led the performance. A buffalo bull was his chief instructor. Spotted domestic cattle also talked to him and instructed him at this time, hence they, too, furnish headdresses for the dance and are included in it.

WOLF GENS CEREMONY

The Wolf gens "owns" what is called Muhwä'wük Winimitchikäwük, or the "Wolves Give Their Dance," also known as the "Summer Dance of the Wolf." This is a religious feast not connected with any other. All the gens bundles are present and open, and the bundle owners fast all day till night, when they are given a special feast, which does not, however, include dog meat. Some of the songs are as follows:

- Nêwi nêwi täma, nêku'te tcämoša.
"I am going with one mate."

This song refers to one of the characteristics of the wolf, which, say the Sauk, is a strictly monogamous animal.

Hanikwa'ya ma'nêtuwiwa.

"Squirrel skin has a great spirit in it."

The informant stated that this song refers to the private war medicine of a member of the Wolf gens. He heard it sung when the Sauk were paying a visit to the Osage, and the individual in question desired to be well received and obtain many presents. He, therefore, called upon his guardian, the squirrel, to help him "charm the enemy," i. e., the Osage. The informant added that personal guardian songs of this type belonging to members of the Wolf gens were sung at the Wolf gens ceremony.

SMOKING PONIES, OR ANOHIWÊTIWATC

When a visit was being paid to another tribe, the first gens to lead the pilgrims was generally the Fish. Five or six miles would be covered, and then the tribe would camp, and the next day some other gens would take the lead, changing each day. On the last day when within three or four miles of the tribe which was to be their host, two Ki'shko and two Oskû'sh were sent over to the strangers to announce the arrival of the Sauk. These heralds carried with them a few scraps of calico and some tobacco to show that their people were bringing presents, and each also carried a red stone pipe. The messengers would deliver their messages, talk, and smoke, until a place to camp was assigned for the Sauk by their hosts. Then, accompanied by one of the host tribe as a guide, they would return, and as the Sauk proceeded, a large party of the other people would intercept them on the way to receive the gifts they had brought.

On their arrival the Sauk would go into camp, and then their hosts would feast them and set a time three or four days ahead for the return of the gifts. The first night and the next morning after their arrival there would be a big dance, a so-called "war dance," and this might be kept up as much as two days before the return presents were made.

When the great day arrived, the host tribe started early in the afternoon, after an hour's work they stopped and passed the pipe. On such occasions it did not even have to be lighted, or to possess a bowl. This seems to be an idea derived from the calumet ceremonies of the Southern Siouan tribes, where the pipe stem in such matters is all important.

If the pipe stem was offered to a man, it meant the gift of a horse. If the stranger meant to give a blanket only, he came and shook hands. Sometimes instead of passing the pipe, sticks were given out, each representing a horse. The writer has himself seen this done by the Menomini at the Dream Dance.

After the distribution of the presents there was one more farewell dance, and then the visitors returned.

THE DREAM DANCE, GHOST DANCE, PEYOTE

This ceremony, of the Central Algonkian form, is beginning to die out. One of the great drums was offered for sale to the writer. The Ghost Dance, though said to have been prevalent among the Ioway and Pawnee, did not affect the Sauk.

Peyote has strong vogue, and occurs in a semi-Christian type.

CONDUCT OF FEASTS

The night or day before any feast or before any ceremony involving a feast, the waiters or servants gather at the place appointed and prepare the food that is to be served, tidy the spot, and put everything to rights. When all the guests have arrived, each waiter takes a bundle of short sticks or reeds called *pamakwo'mikwûnûn*, "measuring, or scoring, sticks," and goes out and hands one to each member of his moiety present as an invitation to come and eat, each stick representing a piece of meat in the kettles, there being one or more bundles of sticks for each variety of food offered. When the guests come in, the Master of Ceremonies or host, who takes no part in the feast, makes a speech of dedication and welcome placing tobacco on the fire. It is his function to do all the singing and speaking for the occasion.

When the food is duly dedicated, it is served, while the Master of Ceremonies sings, and the representatives of the moieties eat in contest. The waiters collect the sticks from the guests as they are served. When all the food has been portioned out, the guests eat, and the waiters start to prepare more food.

At each of the four corners of the lodge are guards or officials who are called *gäkinawatû'pijik* who represent the four mythical serpents who uphold the four corners, north, east, south, and west, of the earth island. They do nothing but smoke during the rites.

The waiters themselves are entitled to eat the head, feet, and brisket of each dog killed.

After the feast is over, the waiters gather the bones together in a pile in the east corner of the lodge—by the “east post,” while the sticks are bundled together. The bones are then carried 100 yards or more to the east of the place and there cast away.

Sometimes, in the case of the Feast of the Dead (Tci'bä Ku'kwän) the bones are saved till night and then burned. At this feast, instead of having individual wooden bowls, each invited guest bringing his own, four or five people eat out of one large bowl, and some meat is thrown in the fire for the dead.

ORDER OF FEAST SERVICE

In the Medicine Lodge ceremonies and all other sacred functions, the food used for feasting is dedicated, by the Master of Ceremonies or Leader, to the Gods in the order of their importance, as follows:

First, a kettle of singed and boiled dog to the Great Spirit, Gêtcî Mû'nito^{a, 19}

Second, a portion of the food to Wi'sakä.

Third, a portion of the food is set aside for the Thunderers.

Fourth, all birds are dedicated to the Water Spirits (snakes and panthers). Pumpkins are the perquisite of the buffalo, and sweets of the bear.

FEAST OF THANKSGIVING FOR THE CROPS, OR THE GREEN CORN DANCE

This ceremony was called Nipäniwithêniwîn or Summer Food Feast, and was held every year before the people commenced to eat vegetables from their gardens. The feast was given successively by the different gentes, first the Fish gens, then the Ocean, Thunder, Bear, and Buffalo, etc., the Wolf gens coming last.

The host, who was generally the chief of the gens, gave a talk and thanked the Great Spirit for the corn, beans, melons and other garden products, and for His ever present help. Indian tobacco, called “The Messenger of the Gods” by the Sauk, was used for incense. The people who had been fasting, then washed the charcoal from their faces, and

¹⁹Dogs were killed by giving them food and clubbing them while eating it, as none of their blood should be shed.

all the members of the gens might eat fresh vegetables without stint from then on.

After the Wolf gens had had its feast, it was customary in the old days for the warriors of that body to shave their heads. It was not possible for them to do so otherwise without giving a special feast. Tradition states that the other gentes formerly made this requirement of their warriors, but that the custom was abandoned.

FALL FEAST AND FALL HUNT

In the fall a feast called Tukwagikigä'nowin was held, in order that the hunters might be successful. After this, in October, the families separated and scattered throughout the forest. The old people stayed behind all winter to keep the house and goods. In modern times at least, the hunting lasted four months, the people returning in March to trade their furs.

NIGHT FEAST

The name of this ceremony, Ninipap'iwûk, means "Sitting up all night." It is held in a bark house of the usual large square type. The east and west doors are guarded by female officials called Manitu'-okwä'ûg, or "Serpent Woman," who guard against the entrance of evil spirits. Old women are always selected for this office.

At intervals the dancers get down from one scaffold which flanks the north and south walls of the ordinary Sauk house (for sleeping and sitting purposes) face each other, and dance in position, occasionally whooping. In the center of the floor near one end is a spot (altar) dedicated to Skutänä'si^a or "The Fire Keeper" and another devoted to the moon, Tepä'ki-gi'shûs (night sun) the patron of the rites. A banner, bearing a representation of the moon upon it, is raised in the center of the camp.

Certain men who attend are seated one at each corner of the house. The sacred bundles of the gens giving the ceremony are all opened and displayed facing the fire, but at dawn they are closed, the flag taken in, and the ceremony ended.

THE BARK HOUSE FEAST AND WINTER QUARTERS FEAST

When a new bark house was built, the sacred bundles or mi'shâm^{an},

were first moved in, and then a feast was given before the family could occupy it. After the feast the bundles and the invitation sticks were hung up and then the people came in to stay. It is also said that the entire village could not change from summer to winter quarters or vice versa without first holding a feast. After this the bark houses could be patched up, and the people could move in.

TYPES OF SHAMANS

Sisa'ki'eûk: These are "Doctors" who ascertain what ails their patients by making a small cylindrical house of poles and bark which they enter and then call upon the Underworld Spirits, especially the snakes and turtle, to aid them. The spectators can hear the doctor calling upon his familiars by name, for in addition to snapping turtle, who is the principal helper of this class of seers, the following manitous are also invoked:

Kwägwäshiwä°, the Chief Underworld Serpent.

Mä'sakomigo'kwä°, our Grandmother, the Earth.

Wi'sakä, the Culture Hero.

Shawa'natäsiu, the Southern God.

As the various deities invoked arrive at the conjuror's lodge, the onlookers hear them land on the floor within with a flop. Then the doctor is heard to inquire: "When will my patient get well?" The answer will be, "She will get well (or die, as the case may be) in four days." It may be that the crisis will be reached in less time if the doctor is very powerful, but it cannot take longer. After some further conversation the visiting manitous may call for a pipe to smoke, so a huge pipe is filled and lighted and shoved into the tent from beneath by relatives of the patient. It will be smoked to the end in an instant. Finally the spirits leave, but, although they go out as they came in, through the roof of the structure, they are invisible. The doctor comes out by raising the covering and crawling forth beneath it.

Sometimes in order to show his power the doctor will allow himself to be tightly bound before commencing his performance. Men will take thongs and tie his arms above the elbows and behind his back and thus thrust him into his lodge, yet he will succeed in untying himself almost immediately, and the ropes will come hurtling out of the lodge.

Doctors of this class can also cause the winds to blow while they are at work. They are also the practitioners who suck out disease with

bone tubes, and make incisions with flint chips and bleed the patient with a cupping horn.

One of the practices of the Sisa'ki'eûk is divination by the use of a powder. A quarter of a teaspoonful of pulverized root medicine of some secret sort is taken and thrown in a wooden bowl full of water. If it all floats in a single mass in the center the patient will recover, if it sinks, the patient will die. In such a case the fees paid in advance for the divination and treatment are returned. The doctor makes no further attempt to cure.

Wä*kaji'hûk: These are doctors of a different class from those just described. They have the power to slap their hands on the earth and shoot evil into a person. These men meet in public contests in which they vie with one another to run through fires, throw hot ashes at each other, etc., while they bellow like buffaloes. If there is any food boiling on the fire they strive to see who can snatch it out of the kettle and eat it without being scalded. They have certain songs that, when sung, render them invulnerable. It is said that the people were more afraid of these doctors than they were of witches in former days, saying of them, "They are like ghosts." However, these men, unlike the witches, who performed in secret, did all their rites openly.

From the foregoing descriptions it can be plainly seen that these two classes of doctors correspond with the "Je'sako" or "Jesakaid," and "Wabano" cults of the other Central and Northern Algonkian tribes.

Manitu'-we'siu are human beings who practice witchcraft, turning themselves into various animals, such as bears, fowls, dogs, wolves, turkeys, or owls in order to accomplish the destruction of their enemies by means of black magic. This is a very common belief among all the Central Algonkians, Southern Siouans and even the Iroquois and Algonkian tribes of the east.

GAMES

Lacrosse: This game, called Pâgaha'toän, was the great athletic sport of the Sauk in former times, but has now fallen largely into desuetude. It was customary for one village or one band to play against another, the "Poker Players" against the "Dry Bones" for example. On one occasion, the informant remembers that when there was a dispute over the ownership of fourteen head of cattle, it was settled

by having the contesting parties play a game of ball with the cattle as a prize. The tribal moieties of Ki'shko and Oskú'sh did not figure in such games except in minor games held in the same village.

Before commencing a game the ball sticks were collected from the players and shuffled, then they were matched in parallel rows, as is still done among the Menomini. They were then counted by the Braves, who saw to it that the sides were equal in number and who threw out the odd man, if there was one. The actual number of players did not matter so long as the numbers were balanced. These rules and the method of selecting players also apply to the woman's shinny game.

The ball was thrown up in the center of the field, and the first side to score four goals won. The goals were from 200 yards to a quarter of a mile apart. The man who throws the ball for the players had to be a Brave and a member of the Ki'shko division. Before tossing it in the air he counted a coup, saying, for example: "I brought home a Commanche head, and that is the way you should bring home a trophy now!" He whooped and threw the ball, whereupon all the players whooped and charged for it. There had to be two mounted men on each side to urge on and encourage the players. The winners gave their prizes, of cloth, etc., as a rule, to their nieces.

Woman's Shinny Game: The rules of this game and the manner of playing it are very similar to the man's game of Lacrosse. It is called Ko'nûnohûk and is played with a double ball and a straight stick. The women divide according to moiety, and the prizes when distributed are given to the uncles of the winners. In this game the prizes are generally sacks of flour.

Arrow Shooting Contest: Archery contests, Aia'witcihiwatc, were held in the spring, the men dividing moiety against moiety. Two small sticks about the thickness of a finger and a yard in length were peeled, and set up close together across a hollow about one hundred yards in width. The contestants, standing on the opposite side of the hollow, tried to score eleven points. To shoot an arrow between the two sticks counted one, to hit either stick counted two, to split a stick counted five. Deer antler points were used. Horses, saddles, and guns were bet upon the outcome.

Bowl and Dice: This is a woman's game, called Ko'sikâwin. A knot bowl and eight dice, six round, and two carved like thunderbirds or turtles, made of antler or bone, white on one side and dark on the

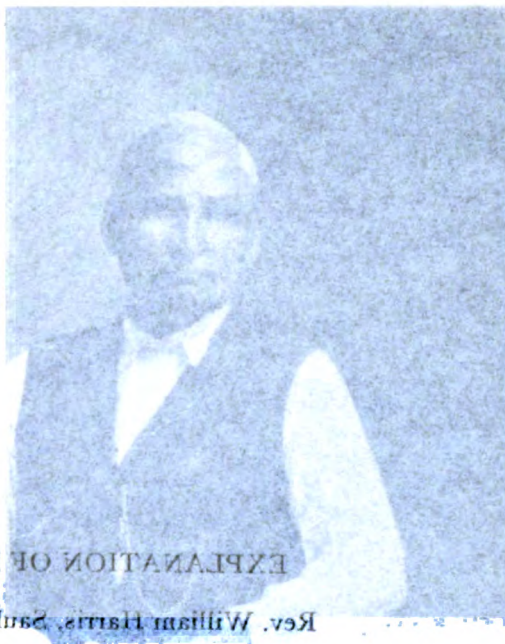
other, are used. The winning score is eleven points, but the count differs with different individuals.

Moccasin Game: The native term for this play is Papano'tcihiwin Mamakäsähi'wün, or "Long Distance Moccasin Game." The players, four on a side, are set twenty-five or thirty feet apart. One man being called over each time to guess. The guesser strikes at the moccasin wherein he thinks the bullet is concealed with an elk-horn quirt. If he gets it right he scores four points, if he fails he loses four. There are eight points to the game. The winner of a guess takes the moccasins back over to his side. Each side has two drummers and singers who try to distract the attention of their opponents by singing funny songs, mostly obscene, such as: "Black Testicles;" or, when playing against the Múskwaki', "Kenaponaiya asian," which means "Breech clout in front, bare back." The songs are often of this nature, twitting upon the personal or tribal peculiarities of the other side.

Moccasin was often played against members of some visiting tribe, such as the Ioway.

Ice Game: The implements used in this game, called Mëshkwä'pi, of which each player has two, are slender hickory wands about a yard long, with heavy swollen heads. These can be thrown over smooth ice to a distance of half a mile. Betting is heavy, and twenty consecutive points must be scored. The moieties, as usual, play against each other, and sometimes the game is played tribe against tribe, the Ioway being frequent rivals.

Rev. William Harris, Bank interpreter.
EXPLANATION OF PLATE I.



EXPLANATION OF PLATE I.

Rev. William Harris, Sauk interpreter.



BULLETIN
OF THE
PUBLIC MUSEUM OF THE CITY OF MILWAUKEE

Vol. 5, No. 2, pp. 59-95, Plates 2-12

May 11, 1925

**Observations on the Ethnology
of the Sauk Indians**

Part II, WAR CUSTOMS

By
Alanson Skinner

MILWAUKEE, WIS., U. S. A.

Published by Order of the Board of Trustees

**Printed at the
AETNA PRESS, INC.
Milwaukee, Wis.**

**Engravings by the
HAMMERSMITH-KORTMEYER COMPANY
Milwaukee, Wis.**

Observations on the Ethnology of the Sauk Indians

Part II, War Customs

CONTENTS

| | PAGE |
|--|------|
| Introduction..... | 63 |
| Sacred Bundles..... | 65 |
| War Parties..... | 66 |
| Prisoners..... | 71 |
| War Honors..... | 72 |
| Scalp Dance..... | 73 |
| Coup Counting at Adoption Feasts..... | 74 |
| Names of Enemy Tribes..... | 74 |
| Origin of the Sacred Bundles..... | 74 |
| The Culture Hero Myth..... | 81 |
| Observations on the Use and Care of War Bundles..... | 84 |
| Present Status of the Belief in the Efficacy of War Bundles..... | 85 |
| Contents of the Sacred War Bundles..... | 85 |
| Notes on Weapons..... | 93 |
| Miscellaneous..... | 94 |

ILLUSTRATIONS

- Plate**
- II. Typical Sauk war bundles.**
 - III. Trophies from war bundles.**
 - IV. Medicine otterskins from a bundle of the Bear-Potato Gens.**
 - V. Medicine animals from war bundles.**
 - VI. War kilts from bundles.**
 - VII. War trophies and amulets.**
 - VIII. Exceptional amulets from Sauk war bundles.**
 - IX. Objects from Sauk war bundles.**
 - X. Sauk war charms.**
 - XI. Part of the contents of a Kickapoo war bundle.**
 - XII. Ancient stone-headed war arrows.**

INTRODUCTION

As all the Central Algonkian and Southern Siouan tribes derived a great part of their sustenance from the chase, they required a large territory for their range. Such a district they were able to maintain only through the force of arms. Else it would have been overrun by their neighbors and the game supply materially decreased. Thus, in order to protect themselves against encroachment, each adult male was of necessity a warrior, prepared either to resist intrusion or to invade, and, as raids led to counterstrokes and reprisals, every tribe was often in a more or less continuous state of war with one or more of its neighbors. War for the mere conquest of new territory was rare or even unknown.

The fickle character of the natives, their lack of a sense of cohesion, the nature of the country itself and the uncertainty of the food supply, made standing armies impossible. There was no such general military organization as found among the Iroquois and perhaps some other more eastern tribes. A sort of guerrilla warfare was carried on by temporary volunteer parties, seldom of large size. As rewards in the way of insignia and public recognition were granted successful warriors, warfare became a game with certain more or less fixed rules. Indeed, it was the greatest of all gambling games, for in it one man staked his life against that of another, growing great in the eyes of his own people in ratio to the number of war honors or scalps that he wrested from his foes, while his own scalplock was cultivated both to wave defiance at the enemy, and to reward with a tangible trophy the foeman who was man enough to slay him.

To some extent the old methods were changed with the introduction of firearms and the growing encroachment of the whites. War became more deadly, more people were killed in battle, and the enforced migration of whole nations brought on desperate struggles for mere existence. Often, too, one tribe was set against another for reasons of white policy. Moreover, in many cases, the white-men themselves appeared as a new enemy, and although they were less formidable in some respects than the native peoples, who combined the forest lore of wild animals with the intelligence of men, they were immensely formidable because of their incomprehensible numbers. What opportunity indeed had a native American tribe, numbering a paltry few thousand souls, however brave or skilled, against the steady

influx of hordes of whites with the incalculable numbers of Europe behind them, and armed with the most modern weapons of destruction?

Except for a certain ferocity and aggressiveness, rare among Indians of the Algonkian stock, the Sauk closely resembled their neighbors in all the foregoing matters. From the earliest known times however, their truculent spirit involved them in difficulties. Their entire history up to recent years has been one of continuous warfare and enforced migration, for with all their martial ardor they suffered defeat after defeat, and, while esteemed for their bravery by most of their enemies, they have never been able to hold their own against their foes for any length of time. Their fate was largely shared by the Meskwaki or Foxes, their kindred and ancient allies, from whom they have been for some time estranged, but with this people the present paper has no dealings.

Among the earliest records of Sauk history is the tradition of their expulsion from Saginaw, Michigan, by the Ojibway, in pre-historic times. There is considerable evidence that they once lived still farther east, and were forced to Michigan by the Iroquois. We next find them domiciled on the Door County peninsula of Green Bay, Wisconsin, whence again they were driven by a related Algonkian tribe, the Menomini. That the Sauk were forced from Michigan by the numerous Ojibway is not surprising, but their overthrow by the Menomini, who were certainly no greater in numbers, and decidedly less belligerent in disposition, is somewhat remarkable. Next we find the Sauk and the Foxes involved in war with the French and again defeated by the whites and their Menomini allies. They were once more driven from their seats near the west shore of Green Bay inland to the Mississippi, in northwestern Illinois and southwestern Wisconsin. Here, though at war with the Illinois and Pawnee, the greater part of the Sauk still dwelt up to the time of the Black Hawk War, in 1832. In this new location they battled on the north with the Santee Dakota, who still admire their individual prowess, and also with the Comanche on the south. After the Black Hawk war, the story of which is too well known to need repetition here, ended in their final overthrow by the United States troops, aided again by the Menomini, the Sauk withdrew to Kansas, and, except for Kwaskami's band, eventually were removed to Oklahoma, where they are still to be found.

In spite of their lust for fighting, the Sauk, like all the other Central tribes, were an intensely religious people, who believed that no one could succeed in any undertaking without divine or super-

natural help of some kind. This help, in the case of warfare, was vested in certain portable shrines, or war bundles, which were carried to, but seldom in, battle.

SACRED BUNDLES

While all bundles of a sacred sort are called by the Sauk *mi'shâm*, plural *mi'shâman* (equivalent to the Menomini *pe'teikunau*, *petci-kuna'tian*), the proper name for the war bundle is *natopa'ni mi'shâm*, or "war-sacred-bundle." (See plate II, fig. 2.) Unlike the Menomini war bundles, which are strictly personal property, Sauk bundles, although claimed and operated by individuals, belong to the gens. The so-called "naming" or "namesake" bundles are said to be really a variety of war bundle which is opened when a man's name is changed in the field because of an exploit on the warpath, "so that men may hear and know." The partizan always has the right to take a new name before the rest of his men.

The chieftainship of each gens of the Sauk was hereditary in the leading families, the chief always being the eldest lineal male descendant of the gens ancestor. Each chief in later times was custodian of the sacred war bundles of his gens, which, though formerly kept by private individuals, are now stored in a separate bark house set aside for that purpose. In this repository the rest of the gens' ceremonial articles, such as rattles, invitation sticks, and the like, are also stored. When the eldest descendant of the chief was a woman, it was customary to transmit her title and the gens properties, such as the war bundles, to her younger brother or her nearest male relative in the gens.

Generally, bundles were given to young men after the end of the puberty fast, by their relatives, who presented the bundles to them even if they had not dreamed concerning war powers. In this manner *Mê'siwûk* received his. When, however, a man had dreamed the right to have a bundle, it was made up according to the instructions given him in his dream. As a matter of theory, only such individuals as had dreamed the right could own war bundles, whereas actually, it is said, every head of a household had one or more. These often came to him either by gift after his puberty fast and consequent assumption of manhood, or by inheritance from deceased relatives of his own gens, but never, so far as could be learned, by purchase. When a bundle owner dies today and there are no near relatives in his gens to take over the shrine, it remains in the gens ceremonial bark house and is

cared for by the chief or an officer appointed by the gens council for that purpose.

Among the war bundles was a special variety called the "Charging Bundle" or *mai'nake mi'shám*. These are miniature war bundles which are tied to the belt on the left side and worn over the left hip when charging, whereas, with ordinary *mishá'man*, the partizan stays behind "making medicine" and does not take active part in the battle himself. The warriors, when using a charging bundle, discard all other clothing, even the breech-cloth, because the bundle magically serves both for protection and garment. Two of these belonging to the Wolf gens were obtained from Austen Grant. One shown in plate II, fig. 1, holds a duck-hawk and a few amulets in a skin-tight envelope of deer hide. It was said to have been a partizan's talisman, and was especially used in leading forlorn hope attacks. Usually, however, while very small, these bundles are miniatures of the larger type, and are complete with representative paraphernalia, for the idea was to compress all the powers of a regular *mi'shám* into small compass and thus get greater protection than if carrying a single charm. In the case of the hawk bundle, above described, the bird was faced towards the foe before attacking, and its bearer said, "Now we are going after your meat!" If he himself was the first to take a scalp, after the return, he would stop the drummer in the midst of the scalp dance and announce, "My hawk has fed his brothers. He has laid so many bodies on the ground for the Almighty Crow." Then the bearer would make a present to the four singers of tobacco or a dog, the latter being for them to eat.

The charging bundle of the Bear gens is said to be a wildcat skin used as a belt, split so that the head is worn in front. On this account the members of the Bear gens never kill wildcats.

WAR PARTIES

War parties were made up of volunteers under a bundle owner who acted as their leader or partizan. Sometimes all the members of the war party were of one gens, but frequently several gentes were involved. The united warriors of the entire tribe seldom, if ever, went out at one time, as, for example, among the Iroquois. In some instances more than one bundle was carried, in which case that of the gens chief took precedence. At other times the partizan carried only

selected medicines and amulets from his bundle, and not the entire shrine. Old and renowned warriors, who had had much success as partizans, and whose bundles were credited with correspondingly great powers, usually drew to them large numbers of young men who aspired to social elevation through reputation for military prowess.

After word had been sent through the community that a war party was about to take the field, the warriors would gather under their leaders at some appointed place, where a council was held and the possibility of "hunting for the enemy" and "finding one or two scalps" was discussed. If all were agreed, a feast was made a few days later and sacrifices offered for victory. Each warrior was equipped with war club and knife, for although bow and arrows were frequently taken, they were not considered indispensable, especially as greater credit redounded to a man who killed an enemy in hand-to-hand conflict than to one who shot a foe at a distance. Each also carried several pairs of moccasins, if the way was to be long, and a deerskin bag containing pounded parched corn, dried meat, and maple sugar, mixed in equal parts and weighing two to five pounds. This was carried in his belt, and was his only ration, a very little sufficing for a meal. If any warrior lacked personal or horse equipment, he was usually able to borrow it, but, it is said, could impress what he needed, if the owner was not willing to lend it.

In olden times the war party set out on foot for the enemy's country, but more recently the men departed mounted on horseback. The partizan went ahead, leaving several hours before the rest, attended by two or three servants, who were often his nephews. He bore the bundle on his chest between him and the enemy, in order that its power might protect the party and on the return, for the same reason, carried it on his back. He was obligated not to lay it down, or to turn back or step aside, although if a change of course was absolutely necessary, his own nephew or uncle might take him by the shoulders and turn him. An uncle or nephew of the partizan might at any time go to him and take the bundle from him, after which he had the privilege of changing course at will. However, any deviations from the straight path were considered unlucky, and the warriors usually tried to start out on the open prairie, where trees or streams were not likely to interfere with their going.

According to Galland, if the departing warriors happened to meet a member of their own people while still within their own tribal boundaries, he was treated to a severe beating unless he was a runner

on an errand, or himself returning from a war excursion. Each member of the war party would strike him with his ramrod, arrow, or some other weapon as he passed. This the unfortunate man was obliged to stand and receive quietly, "as a tax levied upon him by his country men for protecting him and his family from the common enemy."

At nightfall the party went into camp, usually making their beds in a circle or hollow square. The partizan and his seasoned warriors smoked and talked while the fresh recruits made the evening meal by mixing the pounded corn with water in the proportion of an ounce to a pint of liquid, unless far from hostile ground, as they dared not make a fire when near the enemy lest they be discovered. All are said to have eaten out of the same bowl with the same spoon. When the war party was at a greater distance from the foe, the young men sometimes cooked a meal for the warriors. Each partizan was accompanied by servants from the gens or gentes which bore reciprocal functions with his own. These men cooked for him, and, if the party was mounted, cared for his horse. Youths, on their first warpath, never sat down or slept in the presence of their superiors, and did sentry duty at night, posting their own guards. When the older warriors were sleeping the recruits formed an outer circle, within the ring of sentinels, and slept there, relieving those on watch from time to time.

When a war party had been gone for four days, the women of the home camp would race out a half mile in the direction that the party had taken, there halt, throw tobacco after the warriors and make speeches, of which the following was given the writer as a sample:

"My uncle, hold fast to your gun, and don't drop your sacred bundle."

After this, the women would whoop and race back to the village. The winner, it was thought, would cause her uncle to count first coup, the most coveted war honor.

When camp was made, on the second or third day out, the warriors would sing boastful songs about what they were going to do, and, at the conclusion of each song, call out the name of their bundle owner. After three or four days of travel, the war party would halt for a day and a night. If they were but a few miles from the enemy, two men were sent out as scouts to observe whether or not the enemy's camp was well guarded, and the best way to approach it without being seen. The scouts were expected to be gone from half a day to a day or more.

When the partizan began to think it time for the return of his scouts, he would take his *mi'shâm* and, facing the direction whence he

expected them to come, he would lay it crosswise in front of him. The scouts, if they had seen the foe, would return on the run and spring over the bundle feigning to walk on the partizan, thus letting the war party know that they had seen the enemy and at the same time taking oath, according to custom, that what they were about to tell would be the truth. Else the *mi'shâm* would bring disaster on their heads.

As the scouts stepped over the bundle, they would exclaim, "We have seen elk feeding along," or "We have seen buffalo grazing," which was a set formula for announcing that they had discovered the enemy. The variety of animal symbolizing the foe apparently being chosen to correspond with the gens of the speakers. The partizan would ejaculate "*Henêkohe'*," or "All right," and at once another war council would be held to decide the particulars of the attack. The rest of the day and night would be spent in preparing, and for three or four hours war songs would be sung. These songs, of course, were parts of the bundle ritual. Then they would wait until nearly dawn when the partizan and his waiters or assistants would sing a short but important song intended to lull the fears of the unsuspecting foe and cause them to sleep more soundly. Then the partizan remained behind, with his bundle open on the earth before him, and sang and conducted the ceremonies while his men, who carried amulets (see plates VII to IX), from the bundle, went mounted or on foot and attacked the camp of the foe. The signal for the charge was given with the reed war whistles, which were usually attached to the outside of each bundle.

A typical song sung by the partizan while the attack was commencing was collected with a war bundle of the Deer gens from an old Sauk named "Jesse James," *Mamiâ'shikum* or "Ugly Nose," of the Deer clan, who resided near Avery, Oklahoma. It ran, four times repeated:

"*Mai'näpano tûkwûnosa motcikanâmokumî ki' heha piyani.*"

It is said to mean, "Die on the surface of the ground, you will be under the earth some day."

As might be expected, the war customs of the various gentes differed slightly from each other. A war bundle, differing from all the others obtained or seen, was collected from the Bear-potato gens. This war bundle formerly belonged to an old man named originally *Apwä'osä*, "Walking-in-a-pack," of the Wolf clan. This man was later adopted into the Bear-potato clan, and was given the name (or nickname?) of *Tci'katu*, or "Coffee pot," and was awarded custody

of the bundle. He died in 1889, and the bundle was purchased from Franklin Harding, one of his descendants, who resided near Cushing, Oklahoma.

As usual, the bundle has an outer wrapper of tanned deer skin to which are attached a pair of cane whistles. Inside are the skins of two otters, shown in plate IV, a large one and a small one, both stuffed with native tobacco. To the larger otter (fig. 1) are attached no less than eighteen fragments of human scalps or wisps of human hair, representing scalps taken from the enemy. To the smaller otter (fig. 2) are attached eight similar scalps. These are fastened to the head, in the neighborhood of the mouth, and to the feet of these animals with sinew threads. The tails are apparently missing. There is also a stick carved like a human mentula, to which are attached three wisps of human hair. This stick with the scalplocks is said to represent old men taken prisoner by the Bear-potato clan war parties. There are also four forked sticks and two straight cross pieces to make a small rack upon which the otter skins were supported when the bundle was opened. Nothing else occurs in the bundle with the exception of a few feathers dyed red which seem to have been at one time attached to a war pipe.

In war parties of the Bear-potato gens, when the scouts were expected back, near the hour of dawn, the partizan set the four forked sticks in the ground in the form of a rectangle. He removed the sod for about two square feet, the area covered by the rectangle outlined by the sticks, so that the earth was bare. He squatted behind this, and set up the small rods with the otters lying upon them, their heads somewhat raised and pointing in the direction of the enemy, "for otters, when on the watch, lie with their heads a little higher than their bodies." The sharpened sticks which accompany the rack, and the wooden mentula, were stuck in the ground slanting towards the enemy. There should be in the bundle a plaited potato vine strand of six or eight strings braided together which the partizan should wear as a symbol of his gens, and it was said by my informants that the bundle of each gens should have a talisman of some material representing its symbolic animal or object.

As the partizan awaited the return of the scouts, he untied a package of native tobacco and made it ready, holding some loose in his hand. As the scouts came in Indian file, walking fast, they held their bows with the arrows strung, toward the enemy's camp. They stepped over the shrine, and the partizan exclaimed: "Henêkohe'," while the

scouts remarked, (if they discovered the enemy asleep) "We saw a big pile of potatoes heaped together in one place."

The partizan now commenced sprinkling tobacco on the four stakes and on the otters, beginning at the tails and working forward to the heads. He dug a little hole in the center of the square plot beneath the grill and placed tobacco there for *Masakumigo'kwä°*, "Our Grandmother," the earth. He covered this and then spoke and told his men that they would attempt an early morning attack about dawn, when human vitality is at its lowest ebb. He then begged Our Grandmother, the earth, for help. While the fight was going on, similar prayers were repeated by the leader, who stayed behind with the bundle, and when the warriors returned with their scalps, the usual ceremonies of name changing and the like were held. After the return home, the scalp dance was held and a wisp of hair taken from each scalp was tied on one of the otters.

Warriors of the Bear-potato gens, when in action, wore only their belts and leggings, and no breech-cloths. Indeed, this custom was apparently general, for the Sauk believe that should one of their number be killed and his ceremonial clothes fall into the hands of the enemy, the whole nation would soon suffer disaster. In general, the breech-cloths found in the bundles (see plate VI) were worn in front when charging and in back while retreating, "to be between the wearer and the foe." The warriors carried their knives on their belts at their backs, and their quivers were bound tight to the left side, the mouths being near their arm pits, and not over the shoulder, in the way they were carried for hunting. In drawing the bow, the first and second fingers were used to pull back the string.

Should the scouts not see an enemy, they did not return in a straight line, but circled around on the right side, coming in on the left of the partizan. Often such a failure sent back the war party as ill omened. When this happened, all came home weeping. The scouts when deployed on their business, signalled to each other with cries of owls, or wolves, and it is said in derision by the Sauk, that the Osage, when scouting, cried like quails even though it was in the night.

PRISONERS

When the warriors returned from a raid, their captives were bound with prisoner ties which are found in many bundles as shown in

plate IX, figs. 1-3. These are called t'sûpap when made of plaited Indian hemp, and when made of leather thongs, pisha'gûn. They are often ornamented with porcupine quill tassels. The prisoner's arms were folded behind his back and tied fast with rope at the elbows, while another, usually light and ornamental, was placed around his neck to lead him by, his captor going in advance shaking a gourd rattle and singing. The method of tying captives and the hempen ties themselves strongly suggest Iroquois or other eastern influences. When a successful war party neared the home village, that is, when the warriors were about three-quarters of a mile away, those who had taken scalps or captives would whoop "Ho hau! Ho hau!" At once all those who had stayed behind would race to the spot, the first four to touch the scalps or the captives being allowed to count coup. Sometimes a scalp was given to the first to touch it, especially if it was a woman who won the race. A custom somewhat similar to this was once found among the Menomini.

Although consistently accused of atrocities by other Central tribes, the Sauk deny that they ever tortured their prisoners. It is true that adult males were seldom taken captive, as they were not likely to accept the conditions of captivity, and were dangerous to their captors. They were generally slain at once. Young men or women were presented to the chief or to famous warriors and the males were kept as slaves to chop wood or attend to their persons, light their pipes, etc. Women or young girls became the wives of the chief or partizan. Apparently the captor did not keep his prisoners himself, under any circumstances, but always gave them to his superior officers in the gens. Young boys were brought up as slaves, but when grown, were given presents of clothes, etc., and then allowed to choose whether they would join the tribe of their captor or go back to their own people. It is said that insubordinate slaves were turned over to the warriors for execution. It is certain that among all the Central tribes, the treatment of captives was infinitely milder even at its worst than among other tribes of the east, particularly the Iroquois.

WAR HONORS

The first four warriors to count coup upon an enemy in battle were entitled to have their names changed at once by the partizan in charge, without further ceremony, providing only that some name "belonging" to the gens of the bearer was used. The man who actually

killed an enemy or scalped him was entitled to wear jinglers or bells on his moccasins and scalp-fringed leggings at ceremonies and councils.

A pair of deerskin leggings was obtained from a Sauk named Albert Moore, who had been a soldier in the late World War, and who was reputed to have killed several of the enemy. In addition to fringe and tassels, he wore small bells attached to his leggings.

Each of the four men who counted coup on an enemy and were thus entitled to change their names, were also given the right to wear an eagle feather for each exploit (see plate III, figs. 2-5), but war bonnets of the type common among the Sioux, Cheyenne, and other Plains tribes, were never used. The native title for a brave is *Wa-tá'sā*^o, and a similar term survives as a personal name in Menomini.

Coups were also counted by the first four men or women, to race out from the village and touch each scalp and prisoner brought home by the war party. Galland¹ gives some interesting data on the subject of war honors. He says: "This rule also obtains in war; he who wounds or kills an enemy, has a right to the scalp, but if another strike him with his hand before the first does, he is not only entitled to wear the painted hand upon his robe blanket, but also to the spoils taken from the body of the fallen foe."

SCALP DANCE

After the return of a war party, the scalp dance or *mi'sê^xkweⁱ* was held, the whole community—men, women, and children taking part. In it each warrior showed his trophies, sang songs lauding himself, recounted his deeds in detail at intervals, and called himself by the new name he had earned by his bravery, while boasting of his prowess. One of these songs connected with one of the principal bundles of the Wolf gens is simply: *Pa'toka n'ma'yaha'*, "Comanche, I made him cry."

A typical boast, heard from Rev. Wm. Harris, was: "In this manner I shot him down! He cried out and begged for mercy, but I had no pity for him, he was my enemy!"

After the coup counting, an eating race was held between four selected warriors from each of the moieties of the tribe, *Oskú'sh* and *Ki'shko*.

¹Galland, Dr. Isaac, "The Indian Tribes of the West," *The Annals of Iowa*, Vol. VII, No. 3, p. 275.

COUP COUNTING AT ADOPTION FEASTS

At adoption feasts braves were sometimes chosen to take the place of dead warriors. At such a time all the accredited braves of the tribe, regardless of gens or moiety, were invited. All sat in a row and beat upon a wooden bowl instead of a drum for their music. The first one in line would rise and count his coups, dramatizing his deeds, and concluding with a well known saying that was called "Feeding the Raven," *Kakakiu wisê'iu*, and consisted of the words: "At this time I fed the Almighty Crow on human flesh." Then all would dance, after which another would rise and speak.

In the Buffalo gens a man who counted first coup was given a buffalo tail to wear at the scalp dance. In the Turkey gens the prized trophy was an ornamented deerskin breech-clout. Sometimes plain or scarlet dyed eagle plumes with quilled shaft ornaments were awarded.

NAMES OF ENEMY TRIBES

| | Singular | Plural |
|----------|-----------|---------|
| Comanche | Pa'toka | (hûk) |
| Sioux | Asha' | (hûk) |
| Menomini | Mûno'mîne | (kajtk) |

ORIGIN OF THE SACRED BUNDLES

Mr. M. R. Harrington, in his paper entitled "Sacred Bundles of the Sac and Fox Indians,"² gives a lengthy myth, purporting to account for the origin of these shrines among the Sauk. This he obtained from the late *Mêshê'békwa*, who was at that time the keeper of the Wolf Gens Bundle House near Cushing, Oklahoma. The tale relates the fasting and adventures of a man named *Pitoshkah'*, who was said to have been the first to receive a sacred war bundle from the Powers Above. Later, Mr. Harrington's assistant, William Skye, a Peoria Indian, collected a variant of the same myth. Curiously enough, the present writer was unable to obtain any confirmation of this story. Without exception all the Sauk with whom he conversed upon the subject, including the late Austen Grant, son of *Mêshê'békwa*, who had succeeded his father in charge of the Wolf Gens Bundle House, declared that they had never heard any such legend,

²Anthropological Publications, University Museum, Univ. Penn., Vol. IV, No. 2, Phila., 1914.

adding that the first bundle came to the tribe through the Culture Hero, Wi'sakā, who obtained it by tricking Turtle, as is related in the well-known Algonkian myth.³

As all the references to the origin of the Sauk bundles that occur in earlier literature corroborate the statements that the bundles originated with Wi'sakā, the writer is forced to the conclusion that Mr. Harrington's data relate, not to the origin of all the bundles in the tribe, but to the personal experiences of some individual bundle owner, perhaps a member of the Wolf gens. In this connection it is significant that the Prairie Potawatomi at one time attributed the origin of their bundles, especially those for war, to Wi'sakā.

Mr. Harrington himself quotes an account by the Rev. Cutting Marsh⁴ which was furnished him by the writer, and in which the origin of the sacred bundles is traced through Wi'sakā.⁵

A still better and fuller account, paralleling the statements of the Rev. Marsh, is to be found in Galland's writings.⁶ As these articles are rather difficult of access to most students, the writer will paraphrase or quote the greater portion of the parts dealing with the origin myth of the sacred bundles.

In the beginning, after the creation, the universe was inhabited by vast numbers of supernatural beings, prominent among whom were the Ai-yam-woy (Aiyūmowā, plural—wōk) or giants, the Mah-she-ken-a-pek (Mishkine'btk) or great horned serpent, and the Nah-me-pa-she (namipēshi) or underneath panther. These monsters were placed by the Great Spirit in the sea, while Wi'sakā the culture hero, was put on the land to govern it, and to him was also given control over the powers of the water. Mankind were made in the likeness of Wi'sakā and placed on this island, the earth, and given the knowledge of fire, since they were devoid of fur or feathers.

In course of time the giant Aiyamwoy overran both earth and sea, and threatened mankind with extinction. At this juncture, according to Marsh, Wi'sakā sent his brother Nah-pat-tay to the gods of the sea to remonstrate, whereupon they slew him. In the Galland version the underworld powers prepared a feast to which they invited

³Skinner, Alanson, "Folklore of the Menomini Indians," *Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., Anthropological Papers*, Vol. XIII, Pt. 3, N. Y., 1918.

Jones, William, "Fox Texts," *Publ. Am. Ethnological Soc.*, Vol. I, Leyden, 1907.

⁴Marsh, Rev. Cutting, "Documents Relating to the Stockbridge Mission," 1825-48, *Wis. Hist. Coll.* Vol. XV, pp. 129-138, 1900.

⁵In a letter to the writer dated February 18th, 1923, Mr. Harrington says: "I am sure you are right about the origin of the Mishāman. The tales I collected are doubtless the origins of individual bundles to which the tellers attributed a greater importance than they deserved."

⁶Galland, Dr. Isaac, "The Indian Tribes of the West" *The Annals of Iowa*, Vol. VII, No. 4, p. 350 et seq.

Wi'sakä in order to slay him, but were frustrated by his brother, whom they discovered among them, and whom they killed in his place.

Wi'sakä mourned for his brother for ten days, which accounts for the fasting of the Sauk in modern times. The gods sent back his dead brother after the tenth day, but Wi'sakä refused to receive him, and sent him on to the other world to rule the souls of the dead. Thus death came to mankind, and resurrection of the body was prohibited.

Wi'sakä then destroyed the Aiyamwoy with fire, and was attacked by the other netherworld powers with the aid of Papoan-a-tes-sa, the God of the North, who tried to freeze Wi'sakä, but failed.

Next they caused a flood, but Wi'sakä and certain animals and men escaped by means of a raft or a bubble which floated on the surface. When the storms were over, Wi'sakä caused the tortoise and then the muskrat to dive for earth. The muskrat, although drowned in the attempt, yet clutched earth in its paws, so that with this as a nucleus, Wi'sakä built another world.

Wi'sakä then divided the ancestors of the Sauk into two groups, one called O-ke-mau-uk, or chieftains, the other Us-kaup-a, servants, or Mam-ish-aum-uk, Cooks, or Bundle Keepers (?).⁷ The first division he divided into the following six gentes:

- | | |
|--------------------|--------------|
| 1. Pau-kau-hau-moi | 4. Great Sea |
| 2. Sturgeon | 5. Bear |
| 3. Eagle | 6. Thunder |

The second group was divided as follows:

- | | |
|----------------|-----------|
| 1. Water | 4. Turkey |
| 2. Deer | 5. Wolf |
| 3. Bear-potato | 6. Fox |

The priests and attendants for ceremonies were to be chosen only from the latter group. (Probably this is a reference to the division of the gentes for reciprocal ceremonial functions, rather than a division of the tribe into moieties.)

According to Marsh, at this time Wi'sakä gave a mîshâm to the head of each family, in which the story of the world's origin is recorded in songs. Later, Wi'sakä, forgetting that he was a creature of the Great Spirit, boasted that he had himself driven the evil spirits from the world, but the Great Spirit opened his own sacred bundle and showed Wi'sakä his origin. This shamed Wi'sakä, who fasted ten

⁷The writer suspects that this should be Mâmishiwûk, Attendants.

days in expiation, but the Great Spirit banished him to the end of the earth and placed the God of Winter between him and mankind.

The Galland version is fuller, and says that after the rehabilitation of mankind, Wi'sakā ordered them to give sacrifices and feasts in his memory and to the Great Spirit, specifying that they must sing the sacred song of the gens to which the master of ceremonies upon that occasion, belonged. He further gave minute instructions as to how to give feasts.

"After this manner ye shall make sacrifice to Monato-kush-a, and observe a feast in the memory of Wis-uk-a, through all your generations hereafter. When any one belonging to your tribe shall determine to observe this sacred ordinance, after providing a clean animal for his feast, he shall first send forth from his wik-e-aup (i. e., house or lodge,) his women and children; he shall then call a few of his own clan to the feast, and when these shall have come into the lodge, and the mam-ish-aum-uk having returned, he shall command him to kill the victim which he has provided for the sacrifice, and also to cook, prepare, and arrange the feast.

"Then he shall bring forth his mish-aum, and shall open it in the presence of his companions. The mam-ish-aum-uk shall then bring into the lodge the victim slain for the sacrifice, and lay it before the mish-aum, and shall take some incense (tobacco) from the mish-aum, and dividing it into five parcels, he shall tie to each leg a parcel, and one parcel to the neck of the victim, and being appropriately painted, it shall remain before the feast fire until the close of the feast.

"The master of the feast shall then take some incense from the mish-aum and cast it into the fire to make a sweet, savory perfume unto Monato-kush-a. He shall also make two holes in the earth, one at each end of the feast fire, and into these holes he shall cast tobacco and fire to make the earth smoke. And, having done this, he shall speak to Monato-kusk-a thus:

"O, thou who hast made all things, both upon the earth and in the sea, it is unto thee that I have fasted and cried; the trees of the forest have witnessed my sorrow and affliction; and I trust that the mountain's echo has borne my supplications to thine ears. This feast which I have prepared is in memory of thee and Wis-uk-a; accept therefore in this victim, my best beast, the animal most admired by me, and the especial favorite of my family. In offering it unto thee in sacrifice, I follow the ordinance of Wis-uk-a. Grant me this favor, that I may live long upon the earth. Make me strong in

the day of battle, and cause the terror of my face to spread confusion in the ranks, and dismay and trembling through the hearts of my enemies.

“Give me, in dreams, a true and faithful warning of every approaching danger, and guard me against the evils to come.”

“Then the master of the feast shall commence the feast song, and shall invite his companions to join him in singing the sacred song of his clan, and they shall continue to sing until the meat provided for the feast is thoroughly cooked. He shall then send for all whom he chooses to come to his feast; and when they shall have come into the lodge the us-kaup shall divide the whole of the festive animal into equal portions, according to the number of invited guests, who shall always bring with them to feast each man his own dish, in which the us-kaup shall serve the meat; and he shall direct the us-kaup to place the whole head of the festive animal upon the dish of that man whom he desires to honor, and whom he esteems as the most valiant among his guests. When every man's dish, with his portion thereon, has been set before him, and sufficient time has been given for the food to cool, the master of the feast shall give a signal to the guests to commence eating; each man shall then devour his portion in the shortest time possible; meanwhile the master of the feast and his companions shall resume and continue to sing their sacred song, until the guests have consumed the food. And when they have finished eating, the us-kaup shall collect all the bones and cast them into the fire, or a stream of running water, that the dogs defile them not.

“The feast now being ended, some one of the guests shall now address the assembly thus:

“To all who are here assembled to participate in the commemoration of Wis-uk-a, around this sacred food—know ye, that it is the good will and pleasure of Wis-uk-a that we should in this manner celebrate his memory and observe his holy ordinance. Our worthy entertainer, in whose lodge we have just now feasted, and who is our brother, has opened in our presence his most holy mish-aum, and he and his companions have sung in our ears the delightful sacred song of his forefathers, which has been handed down from generation to generation, since the days of Wis-uk-a, to our present respected brother.

“In this most holy mish-aum are not only the symbols of all our sacred songs, but it also contains all the necessary rules for the Government of our lives and the regulation of our conduct. Our

duties to Monato-kush-a, and to each other, are herein represented by signs prepared by Wis-uk-a himself, and which have been collected from the purest and most wonderful portions of the whole creation. Remember, therefore, to teach your children faithfully to observe all things which are taught by the sacred symbols of this holy mish-aum, that Monato-kush-a may look on us with pleasure, and prosper our journey in the path of life.' "

"The mam-ish-aum-uk shall then take up the sacrifice victim from before the Mish-aum and carry it forth from the lodge to some convenient place beyond the limits of the town or encampment, accompanied by all the assembly; there they shall hang it up, by the neck, upon a tree or pole, painted red with red clay, its face looking towards the east. The ordinance of the feast and sacrifice being in this manner observed and accomplished, every man shall return to his own lodge."

"Then Wis-uk-a called the band of O-ke-mau-uk-a, and delivered to the head man of each clan the holy mish-aum and charged them as follows:

"WIS-UK-A'S CHARGE TO THE O-KE-MAU-UK-A

" 'Keep this in memory of grey antiquity. This holy depository contains the symbolic memorials of Wis-uk-a, his history of the earth, and his commands to the human race. In this sacred repository ye shall find the signs which represent all your duties to Monato-kush-a, your obligations to each other, and a confident promise, which will assure you of prosperity in this life, and happiness and glory beyond the dark forest of that river which ye must cross soon after death. If ye will have a due respect to the teachings of these sacred symbols, and strictly observe the sacred ordinances, and do them, then ye shall retain the vigor of youth even to old age, ye shall increase in the land, and your multitudes shall cover the whole earth. Ye shall eat the fat beasts of the forests, the fish of the waters and the fowls of the air; and ye shall be clothed in warm garments of wool and fur skins. Your young men shall return victorious from battle; your young women shall come in at evening loaded with the rich fruits of the earth; and at night young children shall rejoice in the dance. Ye shall be clothed with strength all the days of your lives; your faces shall be a terror to your enemies, and in battle they shall not be able to stand before you. Your lives shall be prolonged upon the earth;

and when ye die, you shall pass joyfully over that horrid mountain and awful river which separates this earth from the spirit home. And ye shall be in no danger of falling into that gloomy gulf where the wicked and disobedient are punished; but with rejoicing ye shall join your ancestors (who observed the ordinances) in that happy land where pleasures and glory are prepared for you, of which you can now form no correct estimate, and where sorrows and afflictions never shall come.' "

At the conclusion of this harangue, Wi'sakā opened the misham and took out the various articles contained therein, and explained them as rules for the guidance of mankind. The rules given by Galland are six in number, and are:

1. Youths are required to fast each day of winter for twenty winters.
2. Young men are required to fast for a vision when twenty years old.
3. Women are required to be secluded during menstruation.
4. Women are required to undergo purification after parturition.
5. Children are to be named at a ceremony held six months after birth.
6. Lying is forbidden.

To these the Rev. Marsh adds the following:

7. To fast when vengeance is desired upon the enemy.
8. To hold a ceremony whenever a bear or other large game is killed.
9. To be generous to the poor.

These evidently correspond to the rules of life said to be part of the teachings of the Medicine Lodge Society.

It is very evident that the rites and myths of the origin of the sacred bundles form only a part of the great Culture Hero Cycle of the Central Algonkian people, which is the fundamental sacred myth of the entire area, and especially connected with the myth of origin of the medicine lodge. The importance of this cycle and the part which the Culture Hero plays in the life of the Central Algonkians cannot be overemphasized.⁸

That present day Indians ascribe the origin of the sacred bundles to Wi'sakā through the deception of Turtle, is probably but a recent

⁸Skinner, Alanson. "Social Life and Ceremonial Bundles of the Menomini Indians," *Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., Anthropological Papers*, Vol. XII, pp. 1-165.

Skinner, Alanson. "Observations on the Ethnology of the Sauk Indians," *Bull. Milw. Pub. Mus.*, Vol. V, pp. 1-57.

degeneration of old ideas. Sauk life and beliefs have disintegrated so much in the past century through their ignorance of the true beliefs of their ancestors, that the garbling of what they do know is not at all remarkable. Another generation of the Sauk will likely be wholly ignorant of the mythology of their forefathers.

THE CULTURE HERO MYTH

With the above facts in mind, it is plain that there can be no doubt but that the Culture Hero Cycle is the great fundamental religious myth of the Central and Northern Algonkians, perhaps of all the Woodland members of the stock. In its pristine form it consisted of the following parts:

1. The creation of the earth by the Great Spirit (The Sun).
2. The personification of the earth in the Earth Mother.
3. The magic birth of her daughter.
4. The virgin birth of the Culture Hero as a child of the primal forces.
5. The destruction of evil powers and the obtaining of benefits for the races of men by the Culture Hero, including for example the theft of fire and the capture of tobacco.
6. The murder of the Culture Hero's brother by the Gods of the Nether World.
7. The wounding of the principal Nether World Gods by the Hero.
8. The killing of the Nether World Gods by the Hero disguised as a doctor.
9. The deluge sent in revenge by the surviving Powers Below.
10. The escape of the Hero and the recreation of the world with earth brought up by the diving animals.
11. The return of the slain brother of the hero, who is refused by him and sent to govern the Realm of the Dead. (The prohibition of resurrection of the body.)
12. The council of the Powers Below with Those Above resulting in the offering of the rites of the Medicine Lodge to the Hero.
13. The initiation of the Hero into the Medicine Lodge. (Thus securing long life on earth and resurrection of the spirit.)
14. The Hero obtains the sacred bundles for mankind, assuring success in war and the chase.

15. Having taught mankind how to live, and prepared the earth for them, the Culture Hero withdraws to the north, where he now remains.

To this heroic epic have been added a series of coarse and vulgar tales originally part of a trickster cycle concerning the Great Hare, an animal that figures widely as a buffoon in other areas. This has happened largely by the degeneration, through word of mouth, of the original name of the Culture Hero, the Great Dawn, into the Great Rabbit or Hare, because these two names are extremely similar in many Algonkian dialects, for example, in Menomini, *Mātc Wapan* means Great Dawn, or Light, whereas *Mātc Wapus* means Great Hare, which is now given as the correct form for *Mā''nābus* (or *Mā''nāpus*) the name of the Culture Hero.

This seems the more probable because the Eastern Dakota, the Ioway, Oto, and Winnebago, who were in close contact with the Central Algonkians, and whose culture has been most strongly influenced by them, but who do not have such similar terms for the Culture Hero and the Trickster, still possess both cycles as separate series.

At the present time no Algonkian tribe of the region under discussion is known to have the great Culture Hero epic in its entirety. The long and determined destructive teachings of the missionaries have so broken down and confused the original traditions that we are obliged to glean remnants here and there and thus piece together the whole. For example, probably the best recorded version of the segments concerning the origin of the Medicine Lodge is that of the Menomini⁹ who also present the best account of the origin of certain portable shrines, the sacred hunting bundles. On the other hand, the beginning of the still more important war bundles is best derived from the Sauk, as has just been demonstrated. The latter also give a better general account of the teachings of the Culture Hero with regard to other matters than can at present be found in print, although the writer has heard many similar statements made by the Menomini during his residence among them.

That Harrington found that some of the Sauk attributed the origin of their war bundles to Pitoskah' and the writer that the Menomini supposed theirs came from Wata'kwūna, another hero, is no doubt due to the habit of the modern Indians in associating the names

⁹Skinner, Alanson, "Medicine Ceremony of the Menomini, Iowa, and Wahpeton Indians," *Mus. Amer. Indian*, Heye Foundation, Indian Notes and Monographs, Vol. IV.

of famous individuals with certain particular bundles, and hence eventually attributing the origin of all bundles of that type to the personal adventures of these persons. What makes this more probable is that Harrington in his brief study of the Ioway heard from even as well informed an Indian as the late Chief David Tohee that all their war bundles were obtained by a man named Wanethû'ng'ê. But the writer, in the course of his more protracted work discovered that this Wanethû'ng'ê was a person who lived but a generation ago, who was indeed, the uncle of one of his informants.

But, Wanethû'ng'ê was a person of most extraordinary supernatural powers. He was known not only to the Ioway and their immediate neighbors, but even to the Eastern Dakota, several of whom were acquainted with him, as the writer has learned through his Wahpeton friends. Wanethû'ng'ê had a very famous bundle, which Mr. Harrington was fortunately able to secure for the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, but the bundle itself, from the mere evidence of its contents, must far antedate the period of Wanethû'ng'ê's life, since even in his time scarcely more than a generation ago, porcupine quillwork, for example, was a thing of the past among the Ioway. The truth of the matter is that the Ioway have a real origin myth concerning the provenience of the sacred bundles which has nothing whatever to do with Wanethû'ng'ê, and which was already hoary with antiquity when he was born. In the story of Dore and Wahredua we are told that these heroes, the familiar "Lodge Boy and Throw Away" of the Plains, secured all the known types of bundles successively from the gods of the four corners of the universe.

Thus we have abundant proof that the Marsh and Galland versions of the origin of the war bundles of the Sauk through the Culture Hero, backed as they are by the Menomini hunting bundle myths¹⁰, are substantially correct, even if not now known to the natives.

In other words, the real traditional origin of the sacred bundles of the Central Algonkians goes back to the great fundamental epic of the Culture Hero Cycle, upon which all their ancient religious beliefs and rites, and, as mentioned before, perhaps those of all the Woodland Algonkians¹¹ are founded.

¹⁰Skinner, Alanson, "Social Life and Ceremonial Bundles of Menomini Indians," *Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., Anthropological Papers*, Vol. XII, Part I, pp. 1-165.

¹¹Brinton, "Myths of the New World," pp. 194 et seq. (note footnote p. 200, for reference to belief of Virginia Algonkian), *Phila.*, 1905.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE USE AND CARE OF WAR BUNDLES

When a war bundle is to be taken from its repository to another lodge on the occasion of a feast or other ceremony, it must be re-wrapped and tied. This also requires a feast for the purpose. Again, after having been used in a successful campaign, especially if a portion of a scalp is placed inside, the roots and herb medicines contained in any bundle, and the tobacco sacrifices therein, must be renewed. In any event the medicinal part of the contents should be renewed every three to five years. A new reed whistle is added to the outside of a bundle after each return from a successful war party. When the bundle is opened at the next buffalo dance the leader uses the new whistle.

All sacred bundles should be opened at least four times a year at the Spring feast, Roasting Ear feast, Autumn feast, given when the leaves fall, and Winter feast, about the first of January.

Most bundles are merely opened and their contents exposed as they lie upon the deerskin wrapper, but the Bear-potato Gens war bundle receives somewhat different treatment. The two scalp trimmed otters are taken and placed with their heads towards the fire, and slightly raised, the bundle of sticks which forms the rack upon which they are supported when in use, being laid under their necks.

At a Bear-potato Gens war bundle feast the waiter keeps the head, brisket, and feet of the dog that is eaten, and calls his own particular friends of the Bear and Fish gentes, which furnish the waiters for Bear-potato ceremonies, to eat with him.

Ordinarily Sauk war bundles are treated with the greatest consideration. They are kept sacredly, away from all intruders, especially from women who may be menstruating, and are carried and handled only when necessary, and then with the greatest reverence. Tobacco sacrifices are made to them at intervals, and the feasts are religiously given for them. On the other hand, Mě'siwŭk once knew a warrior who, before going into battle, always used to throw his bundle on the ground with all his force, and thus "infuriate it so that it would fight the better for him." When the bundle was thus enraged, he would demand of it the life of the bravest man among the enemy.

PRESENT STATUS OF THE BELIEF IN THE EFFICACY OF WAR BUNDLES

At the present writing the Sauk have all but abandoned their belief in the efficacy of the sacred bundles. Few, if any, know the rituals entire, but many regard them with superstitious awe, even though they may not keep up the feasts or use the shrines themselves. This is true of Indians who have abandoned the native mode of living and who follow the customs of the peyote eaters or of the various Christian sects. Many an Indian who has sacred bundles hanging in his bark house or the loft of his barn will allow them to fall to pieces rather than care for them, yet will not sell them to an alien lest their disposal bring on "the end of the world."

The more conservative Menomini in the forests of northern Wisconsin still regard the bundles with much of the same awe as in olden times. A letter from the writer's Menomini Uncle by adoption lies before him, and reads in part:

"Änä'mekût Osake'wûk! Änäma'wûk! The Dog-like Sauk! All dogs! Our ancestor's bundles conquered them so that they (fled and) left their breech cloths too soon, as our old war song has repeated until it went to dust!"

The passage of nearly a hundred years has neither erased the memory of Sauk raids from the minds of the Menomini nor softened their rancor towards their ancient enemies, for when the writer told his Menomini relatives that he had been among the Sauk lodges in Oklahoma, they asked if he had seen any of the scalps of their women and children there. When he told them that he had obtained Sauk bundles for the Museum, they replied in scorn that he had doubtless bought them cheap, since they had no power anyway!

CONTENTS OF THE SACRED WAR BUNDLES

In Mr. Harrington's admirable study of the "Sacred Bundles of the Sac and Fox Indians" so often referred to in this paper, he lists and describes the contents of twenty-two Sauk bundles obtained by his efforts in Oklahoma. Inasmuch as the work has been well and painstakingly done, no attempt will be made to go into full details in this paper, and the writer will confine himself to figuring and describing that material obtained for the Public Museum of the City of Mil-

waukee which differs from or supplements that collected by Mr. Harrington.

In theory, at least, the bundles are supposed to differ in contents according to gens. Mr. Harrington does not record the gentes represented by the bundles which he obtained, although those collected from the late Mêshê'békwa are undoubtedly of the Wolf gens and those from the late Cokwiwa of the Bear-potato gens. Mr. Harrington gives a partial tabulation of the commoner articles in the bundles which he gathered, and we find that of the twenty-two that he describes, twenty held parts of the buffalo, eighteen eagle feathers, eighteen birdskin amulets, fourteen fawnskin wrappers or amulets, and twelve amulets of swan's down.

The commoner articles in the bundles obtained by the writer, are listed in the tabulation on the following page.

Unfortunately no Fox bundles are at hand for comparison. Two from Tama, Iowa, in the possession of the Field Museum of Natural History at Chicago, examined by the writer some time ago, agreed remarkably in appearance and general contents with those of the Sauk. Both, it is interesting to observe, contained tanned deerskin breech clouts or war kilts, with some slight porcupine quill ornamentation.

Dr. Truman Michelson of the Smithsonian Institution of Washington, D. C., has written a very interesting paper entitled "The Owl Sacred Pack of the Fox Indians."¹² As the bundle seems to be most unusual in contents, judging by the bundles of the Sauk and the two Fox bundles in the Field Museum, and, as the vendor of the bundle and informant as to its rites, the late Alfred Kiyana, was of very dubious reputation, the writer hesitates to use the material for comparison.

The general outward appearance of the sacred bundles of the Sauk is quite well known, and no one can spend any length of time among this tribe without becoming familiar with them. They are oblong packages wrapped in smoke-blackened and crackled deerskin, bound with leathern thongs, with reed whistles, gourd rattles, and, occasionally, war clubs, lashed to the outside. They usually hang in groups in the gens ceremonial bark house and strangers are not allowed to approach and examine them too closely. In plate II, fig. 2, may be seen an ordinary war bundle of the Wolf gens, and in fig. 1 of the same plate the charging bundle of the same gens, elsewhere described.

¹²Bur. of Am. Ethnology, Bull. 72, Washington, 1921.

ANALYSES OF 25 WAR BUNDLES

General Characteristics: All have one or more tanned deerskin wrappers. All have one or more cane whistles attached.

| No. of Bcls. | Gentes | Objects of Buffalo skin or hair | Eagle plumes or shafts | Prisoner Ties | Objects of Otter fur | Weasel skin amulets | Bird skin amulets | Fawn skin amulets | Swan's down amulets | Yarn and bead amulets |
|--------------|-------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------|---------------|----------------------|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|
| 10 | Wolf | 51 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 8 | 13 | 9 | 3 |
| 5 | Turkey | 0 | 9 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 15 | 6 | 11 | 1 |
| 4 | Bear-potato | 10 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 4 | 5 | 3 | 0 |
| 1 | Elk | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 1 |
| 2 | Beaver | 1 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 2 | Buffalo | 14 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 3 |
| 1 | Deer | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 25 | | 79 | 13 | 6 | 7 | 2 | 31 | 28 | 27 | 8 |

Two bundles, one from the Fish and one from the Bear clan, have been examined by the writer since the above tabulation was made. Both were badly mixed together, but apparently contained articles of buffalo fur, fawn skin, swan's down and otter fur.

In plate III, fig. 1, is shown a war belt from a bundle of the Bear-potato gens. It consists of a girdle of tanned buckskin, handsomely embroidered with porcupine quills in scarlet, black, yellow, and white. At the rear depends an ornament made of raven feathers, to some of which deer's hair dyed scarlet and tabs of weasel skin are attached. The central part of the ornament, however, is a wolf's tail, from which depend quilled ornaments and metallic jinglers. It is an unusually fine specimen, although not equal to that figured and described by Harrington¹³. Native opinions differ as to whether it was worn by the partizan before and during battle, or given to the first warrior to count a coup to wear during the ceremonial return of the war party, and the subsequent dancing.

There is no difference of opinion among the Indians about the use of the eagle plumes with quilled shaft ornaments shown in plate III, figs. 2-5. These were awarded to the first four warriors of the Turkey gens to perform deeds of valor in any action in which the bundle that contained them was used. They were worn on the return of the party and were emblems of their exploits. Three of the four feathers are dyed red, and this is said to signify that the wearers actually killed and scalped foemen with their own hands. The white or natural feather merely represents some other form of valor.

In plate IV are shown the stuffed skins of two otters, adorned with wisps of hair and fragments of human scalps. These have been described in some detail elsewhere in this paper. In plate V are shown two similar articles, fig. 1 being the skin of an adult beaver to which are fastened fragments and wisps of no less than forty separate human scalps. One eye is missing, but the other is formed by a bone or shell disk bead of ancient type, the material being difficult of determination. The use of this remarkable object by the warriors and partizans of the Beaver gens, to which the bundle belonged, was no doubt similar to that ascribed to the scalp otters of the Bear-potato gens. The war bundle which held this specimen contained practically nothing else, with the exception of numerous tobacco offerings. It is of interest to note that a number of the scalps, especially those attached to the nose or mouth, are of light brown hair and are probably those of white-men.

Fig. 2, plate V, shows the skin of an animal resembling, but not certainly, an otter, which was the chief contents of another Beaver

¹³Ibid, p. 197, plate XXVII. Also in "A Bird-quill Belt of the Sauk and Fox Indians." *Mus. Am. Indian*, Heye Foundation, Notes and Monographs, Vol. X, No. 5, N. Y., 1920.

gens bundle. It has three wisps of human hair, not properly scalps, but so considered by the Sauk, attached to its mouth. Its legs are ornamented with spirally wrapped narrow woven bands of scarlet, yellow, and black porcupine quillwork in alternate bands.

In plate VI are shown two deerskin war kilts from different war bundles of the Turkey gens. The first, fig. 1, is rather plain, but has an upper border folded over and embroidered on the edge with a line of brightly colored porcupine quills in yellow, black, and scarlet, and some pendant metallic jinglers with quill-wrapped fringe. There are three short horizontal lines of scarlet quills, and a row of metallic jinglers filled with scarlet deer's hair along the bottom.

Fig. 2 of the same plate, shows a more highly ornamental war kilt. Quilled deerskin thongs with metallic jinglers are attached at intervals along the upper border, and from the center depends a quilled thong pendant terminating in a tuft of hair from a buffalo tail. The quillwork is in the usual yellow, scarlet and black. Three crosses in yellow and red quillwork appear on the face of the kilt, and the bottom is fringed with metal jinglers. The corners, as in the preceding specimen, are elongated, and, in this instance, there occur tufts of raven feathers, quilled at the base, the point of attachment.

These kilts are said to have been worn by successful partizans of the Turkey gens on the return of the victorious war party.

In plate VII, fig. 1, is a headdress made of a split raven skin, worn with the head over the owner's forehead. It is from a war bundle of the Beaver gens, which contained two of these headdresses. These are the only examples of raven skin which the writer has noted, although hawk skin headdresses are frequent.

Figs. 2 and 4 of the same plate, represent hawkskin headdresses of the same type as the raven above mentioned. The first example comes from a war bundle of the Bear-potato gens. The ornamental strips on the wings with porcupine quill decoration in black, yellow, and scarlet, are well preserved. In fig. 4, a hawkskin hat from a bundle of the Wolf gens exhibits the same phenomenon of the handsomely quilled wing strips.

Fig. 3, plate VII, displays a very remarkable buffalo horn headdress, also from a war bundle of the Wolf gens. To a foundation of deerskin and red blanketing have been added two buffalo horns, or perhaps, portions of the same horn split and shaved thin. The crown of the headdress has been covered with bunches of deer or antelope hair attached with sinew, but the most unusual feature is the band of

blue and white cylindrical glass beads, imitation wampum, which crosses the crown. It is woven on the style of a wampum belt or short band, on blanket ravellings twisted into yarn. Such examples are very rare, even in the collections of the largest museums, there being on record far more examples of actual wampum than of the imitation article.

Plate VII, fig. 5, shows one of the most remarkable specimens from the Sauk in the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee. It is a war kilt made of a long broad belt of red blanketing to which is attached a fringe of cut rawhide carefully wrapped with porcupine quills in dingy yellow, with some irregular square figures in rusty brown, now faded almost beyond recognition. A little more than midway to the bottom are attached many dew claws of the deer, probably the forerunners of the metal jinglers so often seen on later specimens. The specimen seems to be very old and no doubt antedates the red cloth belt to which it is attached. The dyes are obviously native, and the quillwork itself resembles much of the old work on the dance and society paraphernalia of the Arapaho. It comes from a bundle of the Buffalo gens.

In plate VIII, figs. 1-3, are shown three buffalo tail amulets, figs. 1 and 3 being head ornaments, and fig. 2 an arm band ornamented with porcupine quill decoration. The designs in fig. 1 are done in red, yellow, and green; in fig. 2 in red and yellow with small black specks; and in fig. 3 in red, yellow, black, blue, green, and white. All are amulets worn into battle by the warriors of the Wolf gens (figs. 1 and 2), and the Bear-potato gens (fig. 3) in order to give them the power and ferocity of the angry buffalo.

In fig. 4, plate VIII, is shown a shoulder throw or garter made of netted thongs wrapped in porcupine quills dyed crimson, with a central figure of hourglass shape in yellow and black concentric lines. The very long fringe is completely wrapped with quills in crimson, yellow, and black, except the extreme tips. To the specimen are tied numerous small packets of medicine wrapped in buckskin, and an antique small or toy razor with tortoise shell handles. It may be a war belt, but information was not to be had of the natives as to its use, as the owner of the bundle from which it was taken had long been dead. It was a shrine of the Turkey gens.

In plate IX, figs. 1 and 3, are shown two ties for prisoners taken from war bundles of the Bear-potato and Wolf gentes, respectively. They are made of braided Indian hemp fibre with pendants ornamented

with red and yellow porcupine quillwork in the case of fig. 3, and with a number of strands of braided human hair in the case of fig. 1.

Fig. 2 of the same plate represents a prisoner tie from a war bundle of the Beaver gens that is braided from yarn made of the undyed wool of the buffalo.

Fig. 4, plate IX, represents a buffalo tail amulet to be worn on the rear of a warrior's belt while in combat. It is adorned with the scalp of an Ivory-billed woodpecker, and some thong bangles quilled in red and yellow. It is from a war bundle of the Bear-potato gens.

The buffalo tail and swan's down head ornament or amulet shown in fig. 5 of the same plate, is from a war bundle of the Wolf gens. It is decorated with several long thongs of buckskin wound at intervals with faded yellow porcupine quills, the effect being somewhat like strung beads.

Fig. 6 of plate IX, represents a small medicine pouch, similar to those of beadwork found in sacred bundles and medicine bags among all the central western tribes. It is, however, made of a netted thongwork, the thongs being wrapped with crimson quills, with a border design and diamonds in yellow. It was obtained in a medicine bag made from the skin of an animal resembling an albino raccoon. Fig. 8 on the same plate is an antique example of the same type of pouch made of old time "pony-trader" beads, the coarse beads, which tradition says were one of the early varieties packed in to the Indian settlements of the interior on horseback by adventurous white traders. The colors are white and blue, and it was found in a war bundle of the Wolf gens.

Fig. 7, plate IX, is a buffalo tail head amulet with a pennant of red blanketing upon which is embroidered the conventional outline of a thunderbird in yellow quillwork, with lightning symbols beneath in the same material and color. It comes from a war bundle of the Bear-potato gens.

Plate IX, fig. 9 shows a buffalo tail amulet wrapped in a band of woven yarn mingled with coarse white "pony trader" beads. The yarn is mottled with reddish and yellow dyes. It is from a war bundle of the Wolf gens.

In plate X, fig. 1, is represented a warrior's personal charm necklace made of braided sweet grass with ornaments of twisted strips of otter fur. It is not from a war bundle, and was the property of an old Sauk Indian named Jesse James.

The extraordinary medicine pouch shown in plate X, fig. 2, is

made from the skin of one of the legs of an albino buffalo. It is ornamented with thongs quilled in red and yellow, and metallic jinglers containing hair dyed scarlet. It held, among other objects, a small metal box supposed to contain portions of the dried tongues of infants, slain by magic by the owner of the bundle, who, it was said, was able to use his bundle for witchcraft as well as war, an unusual state of affairs. It was obtained from a member of the Wolf gens.

A part of the contents of a war bundle obtained in the Wolf gens bundle house of the Sauk, but said to have been the property of the Wolf gens of the related Kickapoo, is worthy of consideration in this section of this paper. When the writer saw this bundle hanging in the Sauk ceremonial house, and attempted to purchase it from the then bundle keeper of the Wolf gens, the late Austen Grant, son of the late Mëshê'békwa, he was told that it was not the property of any Sauk. Years ago, Grant said, a Kickapoo war party, on their way home from a raid, presumably on some other tribe of Oklahoma or Indian Territory, came to the members of their own clan among the Sauk, and explained that as they had taken four scalps, they were afraid of Government punishment, and begged permission to hang their war bundle with the Wolf clan bundles of the Sauk until the trouble blew over. This the Sauk permitted, but the Kickapoo had never dared to reclaim it.

The writer's Sauk interpreter, the Reverend Wm. Harris, later went to the Kickapoo near McCloud, Oklahoma, and succeeded in finding the sole surviving relative of one of the men of the war party, a woman, who claimed the right to the bundle. He purchased it of her, went to the Wolf gens house of the Sauk himself, took down the bundle, and forwarded it to Milwaukee. It is of interest as being the only authentic war bundle of the Kickapoo which has ever passed out of the keeping of the tribe, so far as the writer's knowledge extends.

It does not contain the four scalps ascribed to it by Sauk tradition, but there are therein a number of imitation scalps of buffalo skin and hair. It has the usual deerskin wrappers, reed whistles, and other paraphernalia found in Sauk bundles. Worthy of especial mention, however, are the articles shown in plate XI.

Fig. 1, plate XI, is an antler spatula, designed for the mixing of medicines. Fig. 2 is an amulet made of weasel skin in the white winter coat, to the nose of which are attached two rattlesnake rattles and a wisp of a human scalp. Fig. 3 shows a very fine antique prisoner tie of Indian hemp made with a broad woven band to pass around the neck

of the captive, like an Iroquois burden strap, and with false embroidery in dyed deer hair. The colors are the usual crimson, yellow, black and faded blue or green. The design, which is not very well brought out in the plate, because of the difficulty in obtaining the full color values, is divided into two bilaterally unsymmetrical zones, reminding one of the lack of symmetry in the decorated flaps of Sauk, Fox, and Prairie Potawatomi moccasins. The portion to the left has a crimson background, with three yellow lines at the end, and a geometrical figure in black with a yellow border in the center. The middle of the design area is cut by several closely set vertical lines, and then come three groups of oblique linked rectangles in several colors, while the right end is finished off with another group of three vertical lines. There are metallic jinglers and the usual quilled fringe on this fine specimen.

Fig. 4, plate XI, shows an ordinary prisoner tie of braided Indian hemp fibre with quilled attachments in red and yellow, and metal jinglers.

NOTES ON WEAPONS

In plate XII, figs. 1 and 3, are shown several ancient flint tipped arrows which, with some pointed headless arrows, and the original bow, are said to have been brought from Wisconsin by the Sauk ancestors of Mëshé'békwa who kept them as heirlooms. The bow itself is said to have seen service against the whites in the Black Hawk War, now nearly a century ago. The points are of dull grayish flint, and of a common coarse notched Wisconsin type. The bow is a plain notched stave with twisted sinew string. The paintings on the arrow shafts are reminiscent of those on some old antler and bone tipped arrows from the east in the Peabody Museum of Harvard University at Cambridge, Mass. These latter are figured and described by Willoughby in the *American Anthropologist*.¹⁴ The third arrow, fig. 2, of the same plate, was obtained from a brother of the vendor of the others at a different locality, but is likely one of the same set, although the Sauk owner was ignorant of its history.

War clubs, both of the flat and ball headed variety, were in use by the Sauk, and while one of the former was seen attached to a war bundle of the Fish clan, it could not be obtained. A very fine example of the ball headed variety is in the American Museum of Natural

¹⁴Willoughby, C. C., "Antler-pointed Arrows of the Southeastern Indians," *Am. Anthropologist*, N. S. Vol. 3, p. 431, 1901.

History at New York, and is said to have been captured by a white soldier during the Black Hawk War. War clubs of any kind are now very rare among the Sauk.

In spite of the pictures made by Catlin of the Sauk met by him during the early part of the nineteenth century, many of which show them carrying buffalo hide shields, the Indians of today deny that they ever used shields. Of course it is possible that the custom has died out and left no recollection among the people.

War spears or lances, called *tcima'gûn*, were used extensively, but cannot now be found. They had cedar shafts about seven feet long, it is said, which were covered with red list cloth, to which eagle feathers and beaded ornaments were attached, while scalps were fastened near the point or blade. Some examples are said to have been fourteen feet in length, but these had plain uncovered handles. Few of the Woodland Indians used lances, but to this rule the Sauk, Fox, Prairie Potawatomi, and perhaps the Kickapoo, were exceptions.

MISCELLANEOUS

From Jesse James, a Sauk Indian residing near Avery, Oklahoma, was obtained a personal war medicine (*sagasu*), or "preventative." It consists of a small woven yarn bag in which are a number of small packets of medicine, which are taken, chewed, and sprayed over the body to render the user invulnerable. A small box, made of metal, and no doubt an old fashioned snuff box, is lined with white down, and contains merely some small pieces of white earth. The down is said to symbolize the earth, and the pieces of clay the sky or heaven.

This, with the exception of the sweet grass and otter fur necklace obtained from the same individual, and shown in plate X, fig. 1, was the only personal war charm obtained. Indeed, the Sauk seem to prefer the large war bundles rather than the small individual charms used by others of the Central tribes, such as the miniature war clubs and lacrosse sticks, etc., which the Menomini and Potawatomi, for example, frequently carry on their persons for protection.

Another object of interest, connected with the use of the sacred bundles that were obtained from the Sauk, is a small reed mat of plain design obtained from an Indian named Fred Grant, another son of the late *Mêshê'békwa*. It was hung up with the sacred bundles of

the Wolf gens, and was spread in the host's place in the lodge for him to sit on while the guests feasted at gens ceremonies.

The host sat in the rear of the lodge in the place of honor on this mat, facing the east, with the gens bundles open and spread out before him. Three assistants sat beside him, and neither he nor they took part in the eating of the feast, but sang the sacred songs until he saw the first streaks of dawn in the eastern sky. When this occurred, the host threw back his head and howled like a wolf, after which his followers joined in a chorus of howls.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE II.

TYPE OF SLK WATER BLENDED.

Figure 1. Photograph of the *W. off. borealis* (Catalog number 20100).
Length 17.5 inches.

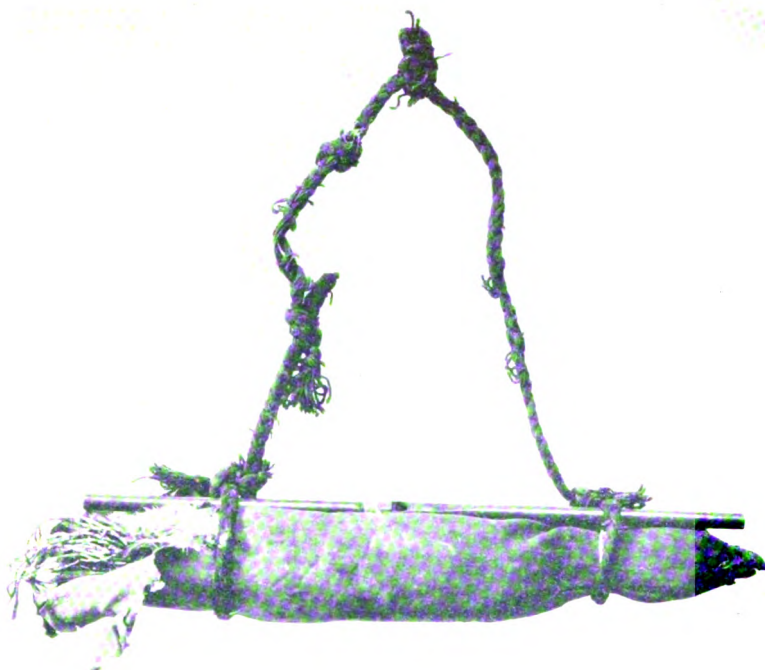
Figure 2. *Off. borealis* was blended *W. off. borealis* (Catalog number 20100).
Length 17.5 inches.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE II.

TYPICAL SAUK WAR BUNDLES.

**Figure 1. Charging bundle of the Wolf gens. Catalog number 30432
Length $17\frac{3}{4}$ inches.**

**Figure 2. Ordinary war bundle, Wolf gens. Catalog number 30406
Length 17 inches.**



THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

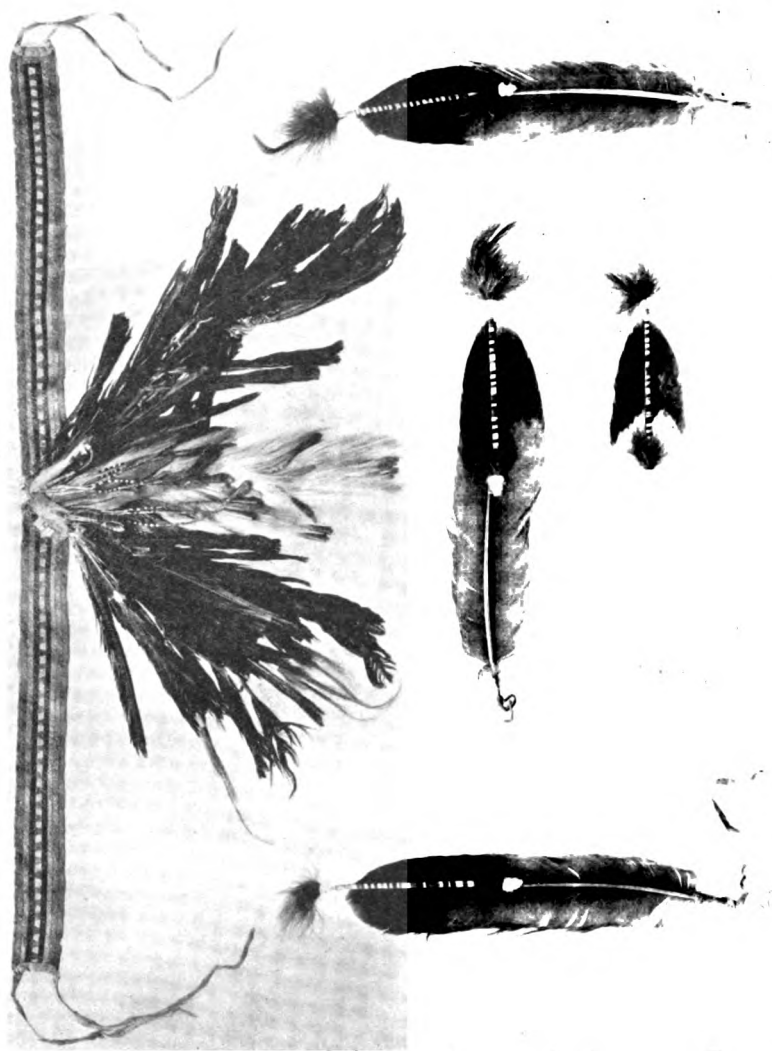
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

EXPLANATION OF PLATE III.

TROPHIES FROM WAR BUNDLES.

Figure 1. Quilled war belt with wolf tail and raven feather pendant.
From a bundle of the Bear-potato gens. Catalog
number 30779a. Length 32 inches.

Figures 2-5. Eagle plumes with quilled shaft ornaments. From a
bundle of the Turkey gens. Catalog number 30436a-d
Length 15 inches each.



THEORY OF THE

THEORY OF THE

THEORY OF THE

THEORY OF THE

EXPLANATION OF PLATE IV.

**MEDICINE OTTERSKINS FROM A BUNDLE OF THE BEAR-
POTATO GENS.**

Figure 1. Skin of a large otter with wisps of 18 human scalps attached. Catalog number 30504. Length 23 inches.

Figure 2. Skin of a small otter with wisps of 8 human scalps attached. Catalog number 30505. Length 16 inches.



EXPLANATION OF PLATE V.

MEDICINE ANIMALS FROM WAR BUNDLES.

Figure 1. Beaverskin, with forty human scalps attached. Catalog number 31806. Length 32 inches.

Figure 2. Otter (?) skin with three wisps of scalps attached and quilled ornament on feet. Catalog number 31796. Length 33 inches.



THE HISTORY OF THE

AMERICAN PEOPLE

AND THE HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE
AND THE HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

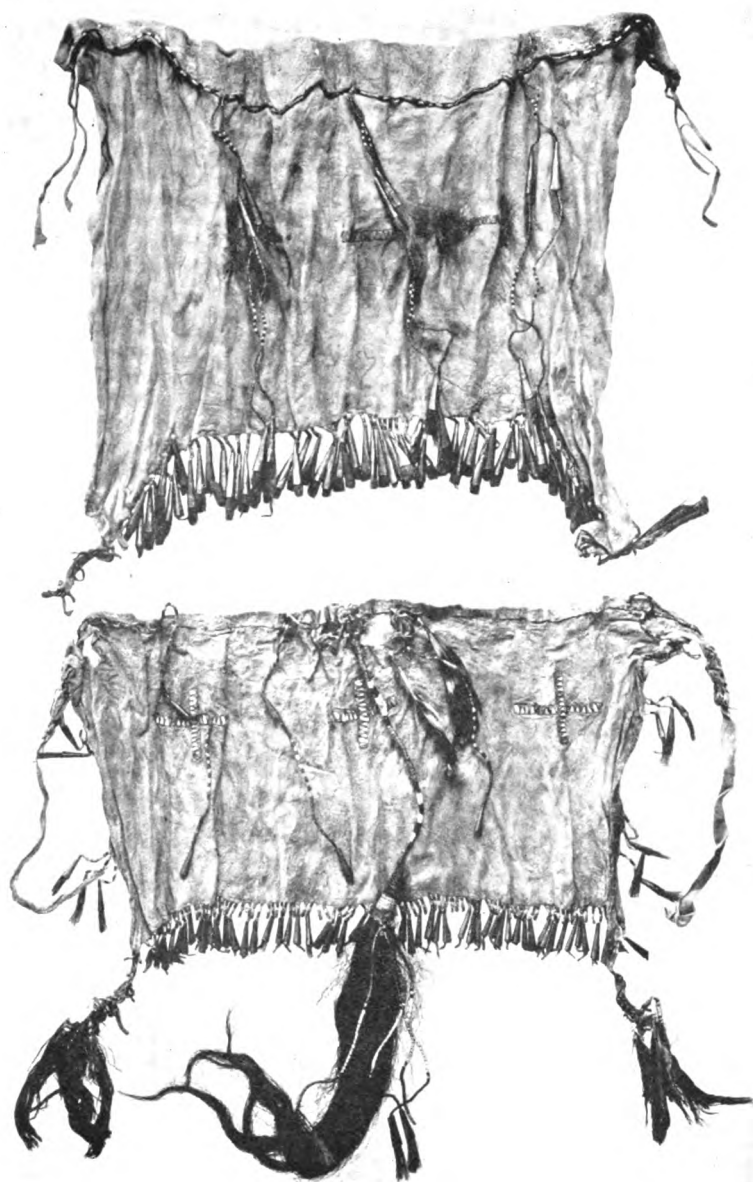
AND THE HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE
AND THE HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE
AND THE HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

EXPLANATION OF PLATE VI.

WAR KILTS FROM BUNDLES.

Figure 1. Deerskin war kilt from a bundle of the Turkey gens.
Catalog number 30459. Length 22 inches.

Figure 2. Deerskin war kilt with porcupine quilled ornaments and
buffalo tail pendant. From a bundle of the Turkey
gens. Catalog number 30439. Length 19 inches.



EXPLANATION OF PLATE VII.

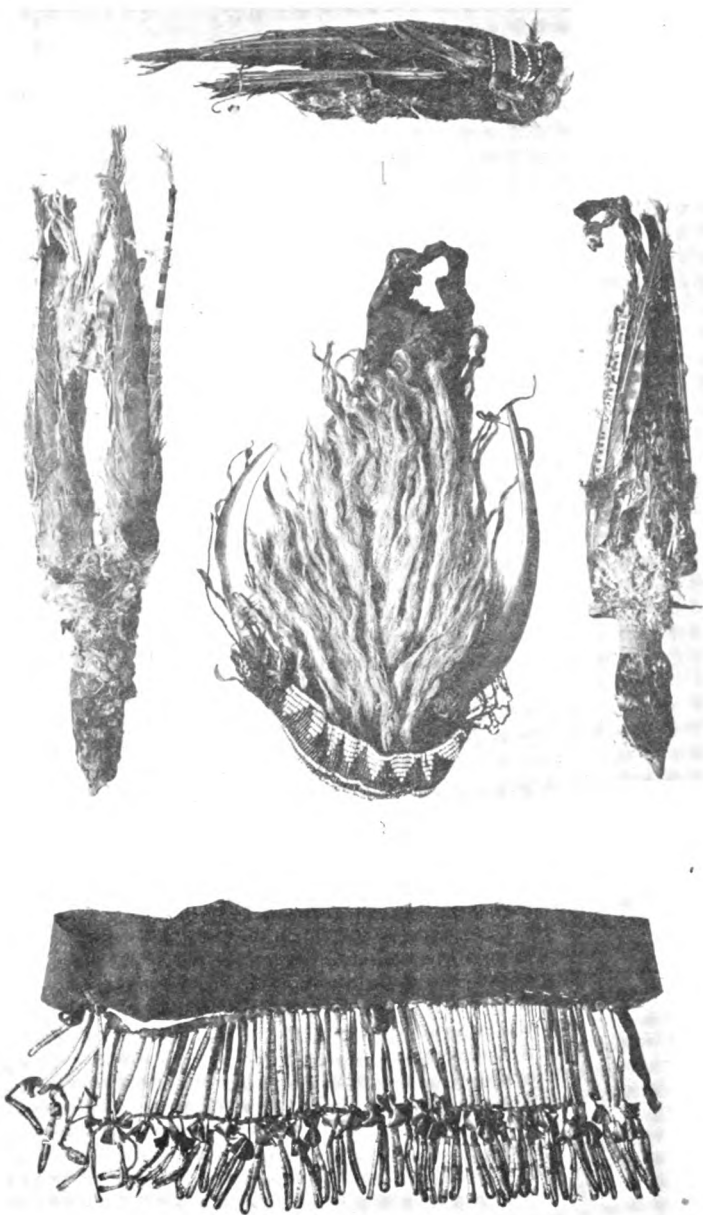
WAR TROPHIES AND VICTORIES.

- Figure 1. Length of war trophy. Catalog number 31201. Length 12 inches.
- Figure 2. Length of hawk's wing. Quilled wing trophy. Catalog number 31707. Length 23 inches.
- Figure 3. Length of horn. Indian war trophy. Catalog number 31608. Length 22 inches.
- Figure 4. Length of horn. Quilled wing trophy. Catalog number 31730. Length 21½ inches.
- Figure 5. Quilled war trophy. Catalog number 31612. Length as shown in figure.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE VII.

WAR TROPHIES AND AMULETS.

- Figure 1. Headdress of raven skin. Catalog number 31801. Length 12 inches.
- Figure 2. Headdress of hawk skin. Quilled wing strips. Catalog number 31705. Length 23 inches.
- Figure 3. Buffalo horn headdress, imitation wampum headband. From a war bundle of the Wolf gens. Catalog number 31668. Length 22 inches.
- Figure 4. Hawkskin headdress. Quilled wing strips. Catalog number 31720. Length $21\frac{1}{2}$ inches.
- Figure 5. Quilled war kilt. Catalog number 31645. Length as shown, 19 inches.



EXPLANATION OF PLATE VII.

EXPLANATION OF FIGURES FROM PLATE VII.

Figure 1. (Left) A small, dark, oval-shaped object, possibly a seed or fruit, shown in a bundle of the *H. glabra* (Catalpa number 30475). (Right) A small, dark, oval-shaped object, possibly a seed or fruit, shown in a bundle of the *H. glabra* (Catalpa number 30475).

Figure 2. (Left) A small, dark, oval-shaped object, possibly a seed or fruit, shown in a bundle of the *H. glabra* (Catalpa number 30475). (Right) A small, dark, oval-shaped object, possibly a seed or fruit, shown in a bundle of the *H. glabra* (Catalpa number 30475).

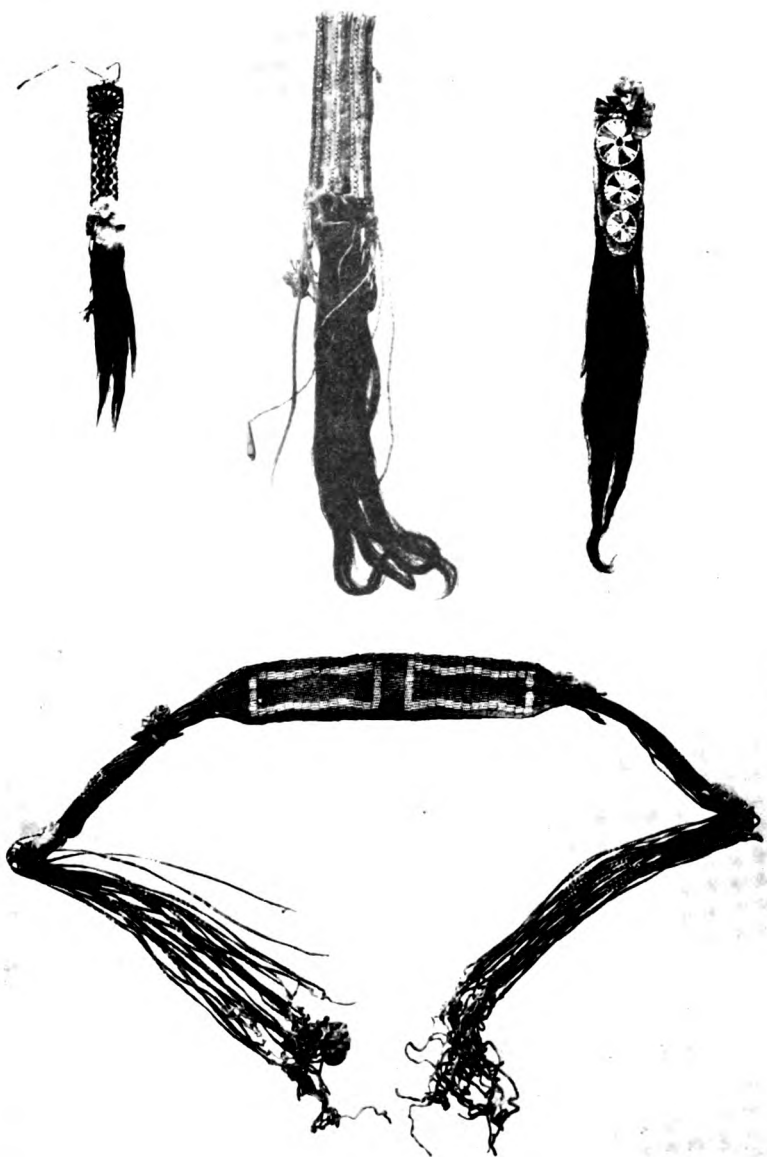
Figure 3. (Left) A small, dark, oval-shaped object, possibly a seed or fruit, shown in a bundle of the *H. glabra* (Catalpa number 30475). (Right) A small, dark, oval-shaped object, possibly a seed or fruit, shown in a bundle of the *H. glabra* (Catalpa number 30475).

Figure 4. (Left) A small, dark, oval-shaped object, possibly a seed or fruit, shown in a bundle of the *H. glabra* (Catalpa number 30475). (Right) A small, dark, oval-shaped object, possibly a seed or fruit, shown in a bundle of the *H. glabra* (Catalpa number 30475).

EXPLANATION OF PLATE VIII.

EXCEPTIONAL AMULETS FROM SAUK WAR BUNDLES.

- Figure 1. Quilled buffalo-tail head ornament. From a war bundle of the Wolf gens. Catalog number 30407b. Length 13 inches.
- Figure 2. Quilled buffalo-tail armband. From a war bundle of the Wolf gens. Catalog number 30383. Length 17½ inches.
- Figure 3. Quilled buffalo-tail head ornament. From a bundle of the Bear-Potato gens. Catalog number 30780. Length 9 inches.
- Figure 4. Thong and quill netted garter or belt. From a bundle of the Turkey gens. Catalog number 30435. Length 39 inches.



Generated at University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill through HathiTrust on 2025-07-05 13:34 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/inu.32000002901595 / Public Domain, Google-digitized

OBJECTS FROM THE MUSEUM

number 37567, length 11 inches.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE IX.

OBJECTS FROM SAUK WAR BUNDLES.

- Figure 1. Prisoner tie of braided Indian hemp, with human hair pendant. Catalog number 31702. Length, as folded, 20 inches.
- Figure 2. Prisoner tie of braided buffalo wool. Catalog number 31800. Length as folded, 16 inches.
- Figure 3. Prisoner tie of braided Indian hemp fibre, with porcupine quilled pendants. Catalog number 31670. Length as folded, 16 inches.
- Figure 4. Belt amulet made of a buffalo tail with the scalp of an Ivory-billed Woodpecker, medicine packets, and porcupine quilled pendants attached. Catalog number 31714. Length 16 inches.
- Figure 5. Amulet of buffalo tail and swan's down, with porcupine quilled thong pendants. Catalog number 31677. Length as shown 14 inches.
- Figure 6. Medicine pouch made of red dyed porcupine quills woven over a thong foundation. Catalog number 31684. Length 3 inches.
- Figure 7. Amulet of buffalo tail with cloth pendant upon which is embroidered the figure of a thunderbird in porcupine quills. Catalog number 31715. Length 8 inches.
- Figure 8. Medicine pouch made of coarse blue and white 'pony trader' beads. Catalog number 31672. Length 2½ inches.
- Figure 9. Buffalo tail amulet, yarn and bead ornament. Catalog number 31657. Length 17 inches.



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



9

THEORY OF THE

THEORY OF THE

Figure 1. Theoretical model of the system. The system is composed of two parts: a central part and a peripheral part.

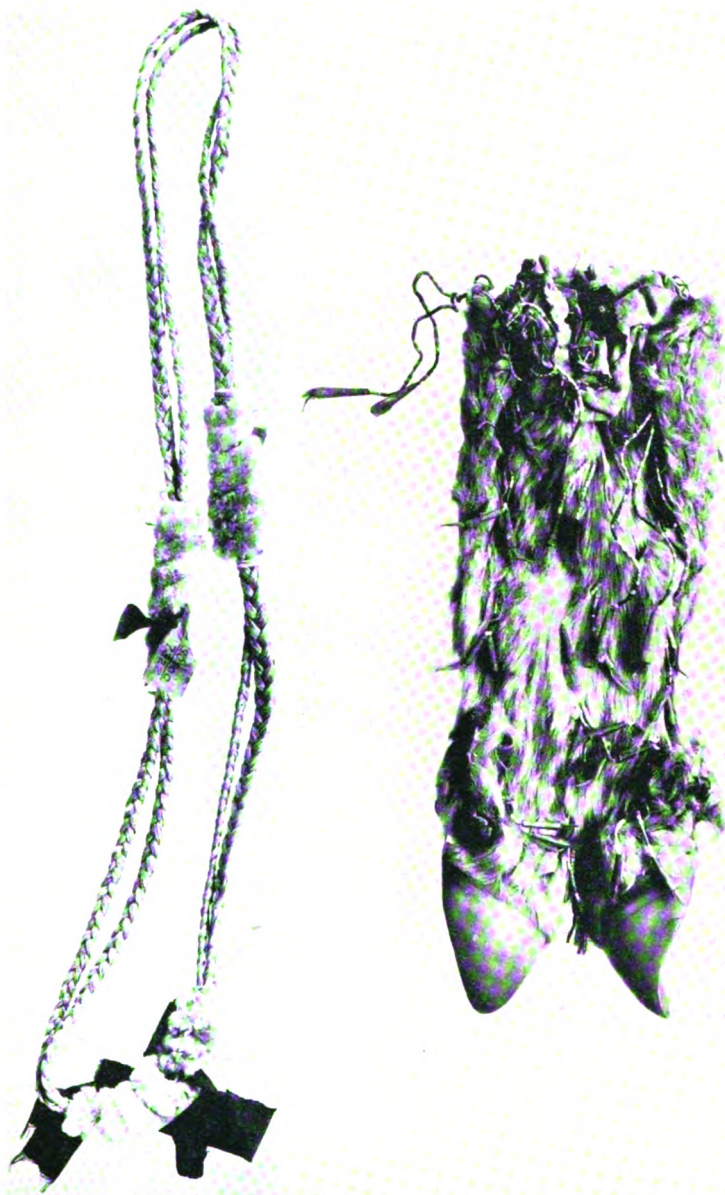
Figure 2. Theoretical model of the system. The system is composed of two parts: a central part and a peripheral part.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE X.

SAUK WAR CHARMS.

Figure 1. Warrior's necklace of sweet grass and otter fur. Catalog number 30500. Length 61 inches.

Figure 2. Medicine packet of the skin of the leg of an albino buffalo. From a war bundle of the Wolf gens. Catalog number 3068a. Length 18½ inches.

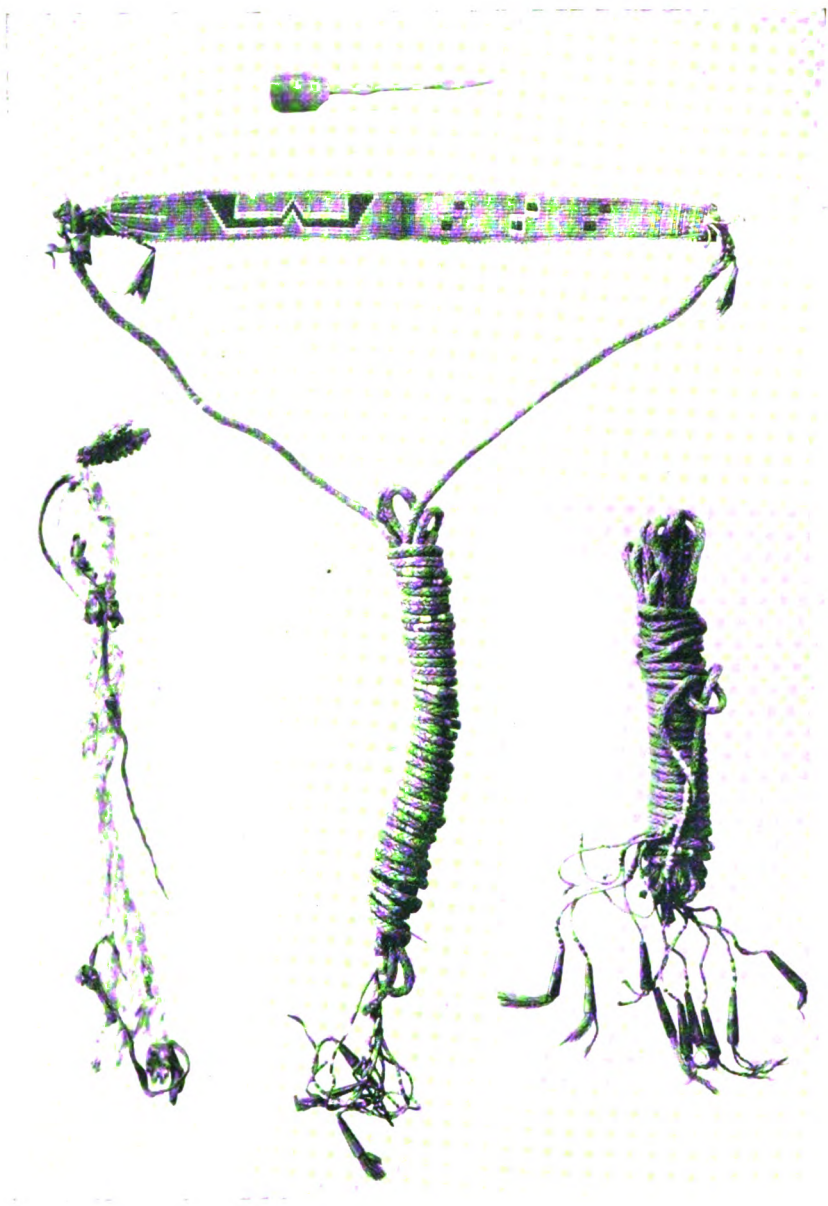


THE
HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF
NEW YORK
FROM
THE
FIFTH
CENTURY
TO
THE
PRESENT
TIME
BY
JOHN
B. HOGAN
IN TWO VOLUMES
VOL. II
NEW YORK
PUBLISHED BY
J. B. HOGAN
1898

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XI.

PART OF THE CONTENTS OF A KICKAPOO WAR BUNDLE.

- Figure 1. Carved antler medicine spatula. Catalog number 30833. Length $4\frac{7}{8}$ inches.
- Figure 2. Prisoner tie of Indian hemp, with false embroidery in dyed deer hair. Catalog number 30836. Length 25 inches as folded.
- Figure 3. Weasel skin amulet with rattlesnake rattles and a portion of a human scalp attached to the nose. Catalog number 30838. Length 15 inches.
- Figure 4. Ordinary form of Indian hemp prisoner tie with porcupine quilled ornaments. Catalog number 30837. Length 17 inches, as folded.



EXPLANATION OF PLATE XII.
ZONAL STONE-HEADED WATER ARROW.

Figures 1 and 2. Stone-headed arrows formerly the property of
176966, a party of the *Wolfe* party. (Plate number
302101. Length 27.54 inches.)

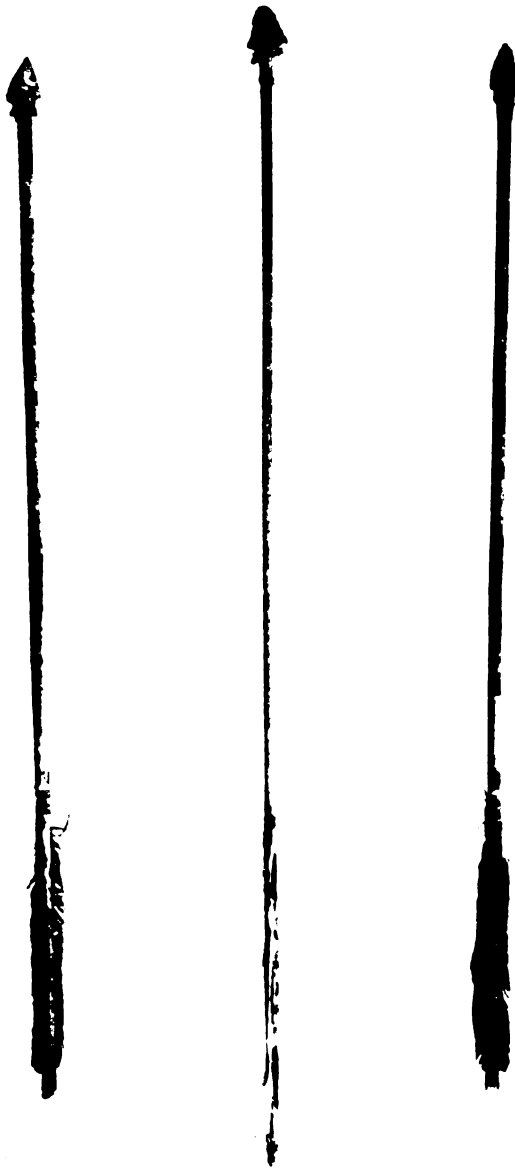
Figures 3 and 4. Stone-headed arrows formerly the property of a party of the
Wolfe party. (Plate number 302101. Length 27.54
inches.)

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XII.

ANCIENT STONE-HEADED WAR ARROWS.

Figures 1 and 3. Stone-tipped arrows formerly the property of Mêshê'békwa, a Sauk of the Wolf gens. Catalog numbers 30243a-b. Length $27\frac{7}{8}$ inches.

Figure 2. Stone-tipped arrow formerly the property of a man of the Wolf gens. Catalog number 30246. Length $30\frac{7}{8}$ inches.



BULLETIN
OF THE
PUBLIC MUSEUM OF THE CITY OF MILWAUKEE

Vol. 5, No. 3, pp. 119-180, Plates 13-26

October 3, 1925

Observations on the Ethnology
of the Sauk Indians

Part III, NOTES ON MATERIAL CULTURE

By
Alanson Skinner

MILWAUKEE, WIS., U. S. A.

Published by Order of the Board of Trustees

**Printed by
AETNA PRESS, INC.
Milwaukee, Wis.**

**Engravings by
HAMMERSMITH-KORTMEYER COMPANY
Milwaukee, Wis.**

Observations on the Ethnology of the Sauk Indians

Part III, Notes on Material Culture

CONTENTS

| | Page |
|--|------|
| Introduction..... | 123 |
| Lodge Types..... | 124 |
| Costumes..... | 126 |
| Men's Garments..... | 126 |
| Glossary of Native Terms..... | 131 |
| Women's Garments..... | 132 |
| Glossary of Native Terms..... | 133 |
| Household Utensils..... | 133 |
| Industries..... | 134 |
| Tanning..... | 134 |
| Woodworking..... | 135 |
| Native Dyes..... | 135 |
| Vegetable Fibres Used in Bag Making..... | 136 |
| Transportation..... | 136 |
| Canoes, Snowshoes, Packstraps..... | 136 |
| Vegetal Foods..... | 137 |
| Garden Products..... | 137 |
| Pumpkins..... | 137 |
| Maize..... | 137 |
| Beans..... | 138 |
| Wild Potatoes..... | 138 |
| Dried Yellow Water Lily Root..... | 138 |
| Sugar Making..... | 138 |
| Wild Rice Gathering..... | 139 |
| Tobacco Culture..... | 139 |
| Hunting and Fishing..... | 140 |
| Buffalo Hunting..... | 140 |
| Deer Hunting..... | 142 |
| Bear Hunting..... | 142 |
| A Hunting Medicine..... | 143 |
| Fishing..... | 143 |
| Preparation of Animal Foods..... | 144 |
| Names of Mammals..... | 145 |
| Names of Birds..... | 146 |
| Names of Reptiles..... | 147 |
| Weapons..... | 147 |
| Clubs and Spears..... | 147 |
| Arrow Point Making: Bows and Arrows..... | 147 |
| Miscellaneous Data..... | 149 |
| Medicine Dance Drum..... | 149 |
| White Paint for Leggings..... | 149 |
| Roaching the Hair..... | 149 |
| Articles Used in the Medicine Dance..... | 150 |
| Notes on Gens Affiliations of Individuals..... | 151 |

ILLUSTRATIONS

Plates

- Plate XIII.** Present day Sauk lodge types.
- XIV.** Men's garments.
- XV.** Men's garments.
- XVI.** Articles of apparel.
- XVII.** Articles of men's wear.
- XVIII.** Articles of Sauk women's dress.
- XIX.** Women's hair ornaments.
- XX.** Miscellaneous articles.
- XXI.** Sauk woven yarn and fabric bags.
- XXII.** Household utensils.
- XXIII.** Sauk wooden bowls and ladles.
- XXIV.** Reed mats.
- XXV.** Medicine bags with porcupine quill decoration.
- XXVI.** Articles used in the Medicine Dance.

INTRODUCTION

Generally speaking, the material culture of the Sauk was closely similar to that of the other Central tribes, that is the Fox, Kickapoo, Potawatomi, Menomini, and Winnebago, finding its closest relationship with that of the Fox. In fact, Sauk and Fox material cultures seem to be nearly identical in many details. Resembling the Sauk also in this respect were the tribes of the Miami-Peoria-Illinois group. The Southern Siouans, the Ioway and Oto, Osage, and even the Caddoan Pawnee, wore articles actually obtained from the Sauk or made in imitation of them by their own less skillful hands.

It is certain that at the time of the first arrival of white explorers, when the Sauk were still situated close to the Great Lakes, they shared the maritime culture of the Ojibway and Menomini, and were great users of birchbark. With their withdrawal westward across the Mississippi they came more and more under prairie Indian influence. The horse fell into their possession, for Peter Pond says in his journal that¹: "Sometimes they Go Near St. Fee in New Mexico and Bring with them Spanish Horseis. I have seen meny of them." With the horse they took over a number of features of horse culture that are not found among all the Central tribes; for example, the use of the elkhorn-handled quirt. It is quite probable that the Winnebago and Menomini may have received the horse and such features of cavalry culture as they possess through the Sauk.

It was the original intention of the writer of these notes to amplify them by further research in the field, and by a visit to the closely related Meskwaki or Fox. Since circumstances have prevented this it has been decided to publish them as they are, with the hope that they will supercede, in a slight degree, the general lack of printed data on the Sauk. The articles that are here figured are those in the possession of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, collected in Oklahoma and Kansas by the writer in 1922 and 1923. Other Sauk material, gathered by Mr. M. R. Harrington, is in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, at New York. Meskwaki collections are to be found in the Field Museum at Chicago, and the American Museum of Natural History at New York, and especially, in the private collection of Mr. Milford G. Chandler of Chicago. All of these collections will well repay further study.

¹Pond, Peter, Journal, 1740-75. Wisconsin Hist. Coll., Vol. XVIII, p. 335, Madison, 1908.

LODGE TYPES

For summer use the Sauk made large square houses of elm bark with ridged roofs. Those observed by the writer were of unusual size, hence considerably larger than those of the Menomini, often measuring forty to fifty feet in length and thirty to thirty-five feet in breadth. Although it is now difficult for the Oklahoma Sauk to obtain bark, some of these houses are still to be seen (plate XIII, fig. 1), usually closely adjacent to their comfortable modern frame buildings. Other houses of exactly similar type are now built of planks and sometimes even these have a bark roof. They are used as places of residence by the older and more conservative people, as ceremonial meeting places, as storage rooms for sacred bundles, and the like.

About a yard above the floor, on each side, a broad platform extends the full length of the lodge. It is spread with reed mats, and is used both for storage of household utensils and as sleeping and sitting quarters. The rafters are cluttered with mats of cattail flags used to cover the winter lodge and other utensils. In the northwest end (in some cases at least) hang the sacred bundles. The relatively narrow passageway can be used for a fire in bad weather, but most of the cooking is done out of doors, if necessary, under a bough arbor.

These large square houses are called *anagawikan* (-*wikanan*). Formerly several related families lived in each. Certainly, as observed above, they are unusually large buildings for the Central tribes, and suggest the possibility of Iroquois influence, although such sizable residences were occasionally used by the Central Algonkians. In this connection it must not be forgotten that an entire village of Meskwaki (Fox) was once moved bodily to central New York by the Seneca Iroquois, and, while many were absorbed by that tribe, others returned to Wisconsin after a period of years and may well have carried Iroquoian ideas back to their old homes.

For winter use, the Sauk preferred the usual Algonkian round wigwam made of cattail flag mats, and called by them *pūkwe'gan*, (plate XIII, fig. 2). Small houses of this type, for the seclusion of women during their periods, may be seen today adjoining the residence of many families, even some not otherwise conservative. In late May, 1922, several dome-shaped lodges were in use near Cushing, Oklahoma, although most families had abandoned them for the summer and moved into the square wigwams.

All lodges should be set up with the door to the east, the square

lodges, having a rear door facing the west. In Sauk the door is called *skua'idm*, the fireplace *awasiu pota'wan* or "warming place."

Each of the four corner posts of a square lodge has its name as follows: the east post is called *wātcimo'kahak* "where daylight appears;" the west post *wātcipūgē'shimuk*, "where the sun goes down;" the north post is entitled *wajina'kwāk*, or "noon;" and the south post *wājigāsiū'k*. The scaffolds are called *ota'sanūn*.

Winter villages were situated in the sheltered bends of streams, where the people remained until about the middle of April, when they went to their summer farms.

There is inferential evidence that, even in early days, the bark houses of the Sauk were of unusual size for members of the Central tribes. Jonathan Carver, writing of his travels in 1766², says: "On the 8th of October we got our canoes into the Wisconsin River, which at this place is more than a hundred yards wide; and the next day arrived at the Great Town of the Saukies. This is the largest and best built Indian town I ever saw. It contains about ninety houses, each large enough for several families. These are built of hewn plank, neatly joined, and covered with bark so compactly as to keep out the most penetrating rains. Before the doors are placed comfortable sheds, in which the inhabitants sit, when the weather will permit, and smoke their pipes. The streets are regular and spacious; so that it appears more like a civilized town, than the abode of savages."

As Carver had recently visited the towns of the Winnebago and Menomini, and was quite familiar with Indian lodges in general, it is evident that his account that the village was large and well built and the houses big enough to shelter several families was not the haphazard remark of an unseasoned observer. His statement that the houses were of hewn plank covered with bark is, however, unquestionably a slip of the tongue or a poor observation, probably the former. The houses were without doubt merely built of bark slabs as is, and was, the universal custom in the Woodlands. The Sauk still use sheds or arbors like those mentioned by Carver, attached, or adjacent to, their Oklahoma residences.

On the other hand, Peter Pond³, in his journal, written a few years subsequent to Carver's visit, remarks on the use of planks, though he possibly refers to square beams, judging by the context, and also testifies to the extraordinary size of the Sauk houses at this same

²Carver, Jonathan, "Three Years Travels Through the Interior Parts of North America, etc.," Philadelphia, 1796, p. 29.

³Pond, Peter, *Ibid*: p. 335.

village. He says: "Thare Villeag is Bilt Cheafely with Plank thay Hugh Out of Wood—that is ye upright—the top is Larch (arched) Over with Strong Sapplins Sufficient to Support the Roof and Covered with Barks which Makes them a tile roof. Sum of thare Huts are Sixtey feet long and Contanes Several fammalayes. Thay Rase a Platfoarm on Each Side of thare Huts About two feet high and about five feet Broad on which they Seat & Sleep. Thay have no flores But Bild Thar fire on the Ground in the Midel of the Hut and have a Hole threw the Ruf for the Smoke to Pas."

There is a possibility that the Sauk of this period may have been able to obtain planks from the white traders, but this seems very doubtful. At the present time many of the Oklahoma Sauk substitute planks for the bark covering of their lodges, otherwise built in the old fashion.

It seems more probable that Carver had reference to axe-squared upright posts or beams, used in house construction, which he, through a slip of the pen, or, perhaps, due to a change in usage of the term, called planks, and Pond, who remarks several times on his familiarity with Carver's journal, fell into the same terminology through his recollection of Carver's description.

Painted tipis made of buffalo hide were constructed for winter use, after the Sauk moved into the prairie country. Details concerning their structure were not obtainable, as they have long been out of use.

COSTUMES

MEN'S GARMENTS

In former years the dress of the men of the Sauk tribe was the most gorgeous of all the Central Algonkians, yet it conformed to the general ancient patterns widely spread among the forest Indians.

Men formerly wore, as they do still on rare occasions, fillets or head bands made of the fur of wildcats, bears, squirrels, or, for ceremonies and especially dressy functions, otter. Those of bear fur were made of the skin of the animal's neck, where the hair grows most luxuriantly. When otter was used, sometimes the entire skin was taken and folded over to make a head band. Again, a simple strip of the fur was used, ornamented along the upper edge with scarlet cloth or a strip of beadwork, and with beaded medallions at intervals. An especially elaborate variety (plate XIV, fig. 1), added to these features the entire skin of a second otter with the legs trimmed off. This

was folded over to make it narrower and attached to the rear as a pendant or trailer. This like the head bands was also adorned with bead medallions and a longitudinal band of silk applique or beadwork, attached where the two sides of the folded skin came together.

Two old otter fur headdresses were collected in war bundles of the Turkey Gens. In these the skin is apparently cut narrower and sewed together at intervals with buckskin thongs, and tiny leather bags bound to it hold war medicines. These are ornamented with scarlet down and metallic jinglers.

Headdresses were made of hawkskin with short otter fur streamers and owl and hawkskins were also split and worn with the bird's head over the forehead. Several different types of buffalo headdresses were known. One which was collected is a mere strip of fur taken from the head of a buffalo calf, retaining the nubby spike horns, one of which is painted with red ochre, the other being left in its natural black. This headdress was evidently bound transversely across the head, and tied on under the chin so that the horns stood upright on the wearer's head. It was taken from a war bundle of the Wolf Gens. A more elaborate form consists of two split buffalo horns attached to a fabric (red flannel) headcovering, fringed in the rear. Across the forehead passes a broad band decorated with coarse porcupine quillwork. There is also a fringe of deer's hair dyed scarlet. This headdress was in a bundle of the Deer Gens, and has been damaged by fire, so was probably saved from the Sauk village in Oklahoma when burned some years ago by Government orders because of infection from a smallpox epidemic.

Buffalo headdresses of a still more elaborate character are said to be used in the performance of the buffalo dance, but none were seen.

Besides these fur fillets, the dyed deer's hair, turkey or porcupine bristle roach was also highly prized. It was skillfully woven by hand of one or more of the materials named, with usually an outer fringe of natural black hair and was kept carefully rolled upon a stick till wanted. Such roaches are now so highly valued owing to the amounts which the neighboring Osage are willing to pay for them, that, while a few were seen, none could be obtained from the Sauk. However, a specimen from the Fox of Tama, Iowa, exactly similar to the Sauk type, is shown in plate XVI, fig. 7. The roach is attached to the head by passing the scalp lock through a small aperture left in the broad or upper end of the roach for that purpose, and running a small wooden peg through the narrow braid. These roaches

were noted among tribes as far east as the Atlantic coast by many of the early writers.

They are kept open by a spreader carved of elk antler, plate XVI, fig. 7, which is often elaborately ornamented with carved designs. To the smaller end of the spreader is attached a bone tube, at the base of which is a spike upon which is impaled an eagle plume, which revolves upon its pivot in the breeze. The plume itself often bears a beautiful shaft ornament, plate XVI, figs. 6 and 8, which is made of carefully wound porcupine quills, or, as in later examples, horse hair. War plumes were sometimes dyed scarlet, and to the tips of the eagle feathers tufts of scarlet colored down, bits of white ermine fur and rattlesnake rattles were often attached. A deerskin cap covered with split hawk, owl and eagle feathers was obtained at Nemaha, Kansas.

Sometimes the warriors wore no headdress other than their own carefully roached hair, the head being shorn except for a ridge that passed from forehead to nape, with the narrow braid of the scalp lock cultivated at the crown. Often again a man added the deer hair roach to his own bristling locks, and even then sometimes wore a fillet of fur. His social and military standing were evident in the number of his eagle plumes, each proclaiming a coup or blow struck against the enemy.

Facial and body painting was frequent, the commonest sort being the white or black pigment denoting the moiety, Oskú'sh or Kí'shko, of the wearer. This has been largely discarded in recent years.

The ears were pierced for pendants of wampum or metallic earbobs, and necklaces of wampum were employed. Other necklaces were made of cylindrical bone or shell beads, tapering towards the ends (commonly called "wampum pipes," "hair pipes" and, by archeologists, for they are found on historic sites in the east, "baldric beads"). These were strung in two transverse parallel rows, hanging down on the breast, or strung end for end in more usual necklace form. As these beads seem to be wholly of white origin, and were obtained by the Indians from the traders, no further notice need be given them. Necklaces or bands woven of yarn and beads to which medicines in small leather bags are attached are found in many war bundles.

Wolf skins were slit so that they could be put over the head, with the head of the wolf hanging over the breast and the tail pendant down the back. They were especially worn by warriors of the Wolf Gens.

Collars of scarlet colored deer hair, made somewhat like the roaches but thinner, were also used.

The favorite necklace of the Sauk, however, is that made of the long yellow striped claws of the grizzly bear and otter fur. These are of two varieties, the commoner of which is composed of claws strung through perforations near the base on a foundation of cloth or skin which is closely wrapped with otter fur cut in strips. Each claw has a second perforation midway to the point, by which it is strung again, and they are held separate at this point by means of large globular glass beads, often of blue color. A pendant composed of the entire skin of an otter hangs down the back, and this is adorned, as is often the rest of the necklace, with beaded medallions attached at intervals. The other type has a similar appearance to the first, except that the otterskin between the claws, instead of being wrapped spirally about the foundation, is folded over it lengthwise and sewed together beneath. An example of this type, from the Fox of Tama, Iowa, is shown in plate XIV, fig. 3. Twenty to forty claws are needed to make such a necklace.

These grizzly bear claw necklaces are now not only very rare, but exceedingly prized by the Sauk, who can scarcely be induced to part with one. In fact, none was found by the writer in Oklahoma in 1922, although undoubtedly some existed. In recent years the Osage have bought them at enormous prices, and they are greatly desired by all the neighboring tribes, such as the Pawnee, Iowa, Oto, and Ponca. In former times, they were not only regarded as beautiful ornaments, but were prized because of the difficulty of obtaining the claws, even when grizzly bears were abundant. An old Sauk once told the writer that they had but two ways of obtaining the coveted talons. The first, and most obvious way, was to journey to the parts of the plains where grizzlies were then abundant, daring hostile tribes and risking their lives in slaying the formidable animals. The other was to venture into the country of the Santee Dakota and there find and kill a Dakota warrior who had a necklace of the plain strung claws, an exploit no less dangerous than the former. A grizzly bear claw necklace, therefore, silently proclaimed to all who saw it that its wearer was a man and a warrior of distinction.

Similar necklaces are reported to have been worn by the Menomini in ancient times as the especial insignia of the braves and, indeed, the writer has collected among this people a few individual claws showing the double perforation characteristic of this type of necklace. The Menomini personal name Oskt'sh, which means literally, "A claw," is often translated as meaning "Brave." It seems probable therefore,

that the wearers of these necklaces were popularly called "Claws," just as the dome-shaped mat wigwams of the tribe were often called simply "mats." Something of the same significance seems to attach itself to the Sauk tribal moiety called likewise "Oskú'sh," who were not supposed to falter or turn back in any undertaking, especially in war. Bear claw necklaces of this type have been noted among the Fox, Menomini, Ioway, Oto, Osage, Pawnee, and Arikara.

Little is known or remembered about native-made shirts. Old people say that perhaps these were not worn in the earliest times, a buffalo robe, or the skin of a bear, wolf, or wildcat being thrown over the shoulder on the windward side, as among the Algonkians of the Atlantic Coast. For ceremonial purposes, even up to recent years, the warriors of the Sauk often went naked to the waist, the grizzly claw necklace being regarded as sufficient dress. In the years subsequent to the removal of the tribe across the Mississippi deerskin shirts, made in imitation of those of the Plains tribes, were sometimes used.

Breech cloths are now made of broadcloth, strips about four feet long and from a foot to eighteen inches wide being passed between the legs and allowed to fall over the belt in front and rear. The outer sides of these flaps are embroidered with conventional floral or scroll figures, as is shown in plate XVI, fig. 11. This type was formerly made of tanned deerskin embroidered with the dyed quills of the porcupine. The Sauk ridicule their Méskwaki' relatives because they declare that the latter wear only an apron flap in front and expose the bare buttocks behind. Nevertheless in two of the war bundles of the Turkey Gens collected by the writer in Oklahoma, aprons of exactly this type occur. These are shown in plate VI, figs. 1 and 2, in this volume, Part II, and are ancient pieces ornamented with porcupine quill work in simple bars and crosses of yellow, black and red. One has an elaborate buffalo tail pendant in front and both are fringed and have metallic jinglers made from bits of old trade brass and copper kettles. In cold weather the old time Sauk men wore breech cloths of the tanned skins of the raccoon. They relate that when they dwelt in their old homes in Wisconsin, where it is much colder than in Oklahoma or Kansas, they were obliged to turn the fur side in in winter to keep their testicles from freezing. The same statement was made to the writer by Eastern Cree residing on Hudson Bay who use loia cloths woven of twisted strips of rabbit fur for the same purpose.

An example of the hip length leggings of the general Woodland

style still worn by the men, is shown in plate XV, fig. 2. Another type, now obsolete, was made like the leg of a modern white-man's drawers, but skin tight and with flaps expanding at the base to cover the foot. This sort was fringeless. Another type had a narrow beaded or quilled strip along the seam, which was worn in front, and a short pendant flap above or at the knee, which was ornamented. This type was frequently fringed with locks taken from the scalps of enemies. Similar leggings were once in vogue among the Fox, Kickapoo, and Winnebago.

Garters were woven of yarn, yarn and beads, or beads alone, and were worn outside the leggings below the knees. Some of these are shown in plate XVI, figs. 10 and 12. Another type, found also among the Ioway, was of otter fur with a square beaded medallion pendant at one end, and a longer one, the shape of the otter's tail at the other. A pair of these was found by the writer in Oklahoma and is illustrated in plate XV, fig. 3.

Beaded belts were also made (plate XV, fig. 1), and were worn around the waist or over the shoulders, as were the beaded shoulder pouches or bandoliers, shown in plate XVII, fig. 2. Yarn sashes of several weaves were worn as turbans around the head, or as shoulder or waist belts (plate XVII, figs. 1 and 3).

Moccasins had soft soles of one piece with the uppers, as is customary everywhere in the Woodlands. They were made with a seam running over the instep backward from the toe, and with huge ankle flaps that were decorated heavily with quill or beadwork. Plate XVI, figs. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 9, show examples of Sauk moccasins, and it will be noted that the decorations on the flaps are not bilaterally symmetrical. That is, each flap of the same moccasin has a different design, but the designs are duplicated on the corresponding part of the other moccasin of the pair. The designs nowadays run to small geometric figures, preferably diamonds or triangles, but formerly floral scrolls prevailed on one of the flaps of each shoe. This custom is found elsewhere only among the Fox and Kickapoo.

GLOSSARY OF NATIVE TERMS

| | |
|-------------------------------|----------------------|
| Fur fillet | <i>pêshi'magwe</i> |
| Otter fur fillet | <i>pêmitênikûn</i> |
| Otter fur fillet with trailer | <i>kâtôtâwo'ia</i> |
| Deer hair roach | <i>wawî'âpé'nwan</i> |

| | |
|----------------------------|---------------------------|
| Wampum | <i>pt'tsmikuk</i> |
| Bone or wampum pipe beads | <i>shoska'gānwāk</i> |
| Deerskin shirt | <i>asdi pisāka</i> |
| Deerskin leggings | <i>matāte'han</i> |
| Leggings with hanging flap | <i>anēshdtāhan</i> |
| Breech cloth | <i>nāpane'a'sian</i> |
| Wolf skin shoulder throw | <i>nipigo'skahut</i> |
| Belt | <i>kētcip^m</i> |
| Garters | <i>nāgakiga'pikāk</i> |

WOMEN'S GARMENTS

It is said that in ancient times the Sauk women wore two piece dresses, in winter the waist being made of raccoon skin and sleeveless, but in summer of thin tanned deerskin. Bearskin robes served as blankets and skirts. The summer skirt was made of thin dressed fawnskin, and, while some are said to have been beautified with painted designs like those on the leathern trunks, others were ornamented along the front and bottom borders with bands of porcupine quill embroidery, or even strips of woven quill work.

Although the deerskin shirt or waist was sometimes worn by the women in summer, in hot weather, at least, they often went naked above the waist except for a necklace plaited of inner basswood bark, and painted red, so worn as to cover the breasts. In ancient times their headdress was merely plaited leathern thongs.

Marrow from the shin bone of the deer was used for hair oil. The bones were broken open and heated until the marrow melted and ran. Skunk oil was also used on the head to expel lice.

In more recent times, that is, since the coming of the whites into their country, materials of white-man's manufacture have taken the place of most of the old stuffs used by the women of the Central tribes for their dress. The garments of the women of the Sauk were extremely similar in appearance to those of the Fox, Menomini, Miami, Winnebago, Ioway, Oto, Osage, Ponca, Omaha, Santee Sioux, Wyandot and several other tribes. The waist was of calico and was usually ornamented with brooches of silver or flash metal. The skirt was made of a square piece of broadcloth of black, blue, or scarlet, ornamented along the bottom and side borders with silk ribbon applique, and wrapped around the waist, where it was held in place by means of a belt, but was allowed to remain open in front or at one side

(plate XVIII, figs. 1 and 3). The leggings were of the same material handsomely beaded (plate XVIII, figs. 2 and 4) and of knee length, being held below the knee by a plain string garter. The moccasins were like those of the men, except for size, but were, perhaps, less boldly ornamented. Necklaces of strung beads and silver or flash metal earbobs were commonly worn. The hair was braided in a single plait and folded back, being then wrapped in an oblong cloth wrapper, the ends of which bore rectangular beaded ornaments. From the center depended a long streamer of beautiful beadwork, often woven on the bias. In plate XIX, figs. 1-8, may be seen typical examples of these hair ornaments.

GLOSSARY OF NATIVE TERMS

| | |
|----------------------------|--|
| Woman's raccoonskin waist | <i>ā'sipunē pi'sāka</i> |
| Deerskin skirt | <i>asaiēko'tā</i> |
| Broadcloth skirt | <i>mūnito'waigan</i> |
| Deerskin moccasins | <i>asa'i makā'sinūn</i> |
| Hair dress (cloth part) | <i>a²pā²ho'n</i> |
| Hair dress (bead trailers) | <i>nishāgipū'nwan</i> |

HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS

In ancient times, and even down to the present, the mortar and pestle for pounding corn were indispensable parts of the equipment of every primitive family. The usual Central Algonkian style of mortar is constructed from the horizontal short section of a log, hollowed by fire, and with two lugs or handles, one at each end. It is probable that the Sauk formerly used this type, instead of the vertical form employed in the East and Southeast. However, the variety in vogue today is the vertical sort, with a pestle having a heavy and considerably enlarged upper end (plate XXII, figs. 1 and 3). The Central Algonkian pestle is usually rather light, short, and double-ended, giving it a modified "dumb-bell" style. The type of both the mortar and pestle, now used by the Sauk, is decidedly southeastern, resembling those in use among the Muskogean peoples, and doubtless was derived from the neighboring Creek and Yuchi of Oklahoma.

Formerly buffalo rawhide trunks, like those still used by the Meskwaki, were commonly found among the Sauk. An exhaustive search revealed only one among the Oklahoma contingent in 1922 and

1923. It is shown in plate XXII, fig. 4. In spite of the declaration of the old Sauk at Cushing that these trunks were made for them by the Ioway and Osage, the method of shaping them by clever folding, and the painted designs are utterly different from those used by the southern Siouans, and similar, if not identical with the methods of the Meskwaki, Kickapoo and other Central Algonkians. A buffalo hide trunk is called *nano'swa muski'mutā*.

Wooden bowls and spoons (plate XXII, fig. 2, and plate XXIII, figs. 1-12) are still commonly used, although more often for ceremonial than ordinary occasions. Although sometimes well made and bearing handles with human effigies upon them, the bowls and ladles or spoons of the Sauk are not as a rule as skillfully fashioned as those of the average Central Algonkian tribe.

Mats made of reeds were and still are used as floor and bench coverings in Sauk wigwams. Plate XXIV, fig. 2, shows a typical example, while plate XXIV, fig. 1, reproduces a photograph of a Meskwaki effigy mat, a close inspection of which will bring to light the conventionalized figures of four underworld panthers.

INDUSTRIES

TANNING

A deerhide is first soaked in water two or three days. Then it is thrown over the upper end of a split log driven obliquely into the ground, which comes about waist high and is carefully smoothed over the rounded portion. The hair is then removed by scraping with a drawshave-like implement or beaming tool called *plē'shkwākikunau*. A wooden handle with a horizontal metal blade is now used. The skin is then turned inside out by reversing it, and the adhering flesh is taken off in the same manner.

Next the hide is soaked in warm water mixed with deer's brains—the brains having previously been boiled in the water—where it is allowed to stand all night. In the morning the skin is taken out of the brain water and wrung out by twisting it around a post or sapling by means of a wooden spatula used as a tourniquet or lever. It is then stretched on a rectangular form, called *mānē'sētcikun*, by means of cords or thongs passed through holes at intervals along the borders. These cords are termed *pish'akānān*. While on the stretching frame, it is rubbed all day with the blade of the wooden spatula.

Next day the edges are trimmed, and it is folded over to make a bag which is sewed up along the side where the edges come together. In this condition it is held with the opening down over a shallow hole in which a smoky fire made of sumach or cottonwood is built, the upper end being fastened in the elevated crotch of a split stick driven obliquely in the ground, and the border of the mouth of the bag pegged down. In one or two hours the smoke has saturated the skin and it is done and ready for use in garments, and so forth. Very little of this work is now done by the Sauk, who rely almost wholly upon the Kickapoo for their supply of tanned deerskin; the Mexican band of Kickapoo being able to obtain deer in their place of voluntary exile.

WOODWORKING

The Sauk say that their ancient grooved stone axes were very dull, and made the work of cutting down trees laborious. They were forced to hack continuously at the same place, and it took a whole day to sever a knot suitable for making a bowl.

Fire was the active agent, which they say they employed in work of this sort. The trees were felled by first burning, then hacking out the charcoal, then applying fire again. When at length the tree was down, it was cut in sections suitable for making canoes or mortars by similar means.

When a section was intended for a canoe, the next step was to level off the bark on the upper surface as much as possible with the stone axe. Then hot coals were laid along its length, and when these had died out, the charred wood was scraped away with a mussel shell, the process being continued *ad infinitum* until the log was hollowed. It was also shaped in the same way.

For firewood, bark and such dry limbs as could be battered off were used. The old Sauk maintain that sometimes a broken stone having a sharp fracture was far more efficacious for wood working than one of their carefully made grooved axes.

NATIVE DYES

Yellow: Obtained by boiling articles to be colored, such as reeds, with the roots of the sour dock (*Rhumex acetosella*).

Black and dark blue: Obtained in the same manner from black walnut bark (*Juglans nigra*).

Red: Likewise obtained from the blood-root (*Sanguenaria canadensis*).

Green: This color is said to have been obtained from the whites, and not to have been an aboriginal dye. The same is true of most shades of blue.

In digging all roots for dyes or medicines, the Sauk placed tobacco in the hole whence the root was taken, with thanks to our earth mother whose hairs they are.

VEGETABLE FIBRES USED IN BAG MAKING

The Sauk were familiar with the following fibres from which they made twine for bags, etc.

Nettle called *a'sa²piak*

Basswood inner bark, called *wikopinu*

Cedar inner bark, called *mëskwa^{wa}*

In plate XXI, are shown a number of typical Sauk woven yarn and vegetable fibre bags of characteristic designs. The two broad faces almost invariably bear entirely different designs.

TRANSPORTATION

CANOES, SNOWSHOES, PACKSTRAPS

Canoes were made generally of trees felled with fire and stone axes, shaped and hollowed by burning and scraping with mussel shells as described in an earlier section. Boats were also made of hickory and yellow elm bark sewed with basswood. The seams were caulked with shredded slippery elm bark fibre and pitch. If the Sauk ever had birch bark canoes, these have been completely forgotten. Doubtless none have been seen among them since they were expelled from the Green Bay, Wisconsin, region by the Menomini. Elm bark canoes were called *wikopimish*.

Round "bull-boats" of buffalo hide stretched over a bowl-shaped wooden framework, were made in later times for crossing prairie rivers. Someone swam ahead and pulled the boat by a thong held between the teeth.

The Sauk elders have only the vaguest memories of snowshoes. These, too, have become obsolete since their migration from their northern homes.

Packstraps of leather, for carrying burdens on the back, the strap passing over the forehead, are still sometimes used, especially by old women gathering wood.

Cradle boards of the general Central Algonkian type, with movable foot boards, were used to carry children. They were made from the wood of living trees, just as are the falsefaces of the Iroquois. The idea seems to be that of a sympathetic connection between the life of the tree and that of the child. Cradle boards made of cut or seasoned wood, or of white-man's boards, are deemed unlucky.

VEGETAL FOODS

GARDEN PRODUCTS

Pumpkins (*wa'ptkonun*) are eaten when cut in chunks and boiled. They are also cut in circular slices and the slices braided, dried and suspended over poles for storage. Dried pumpkins are called *wápihon*.

Maize. Sweet corn, *wisko'pimtnák*, is eaten green after boiling or roasting in the embers. It is also prepared by parboiling, drying over night and scraping from the cob with a mussel shell, the left valve of the animal being most convenient for the use of the ordinary right-handed person. It is then dried on mats spread in the hot sun on the ground. Two days exposure are enough to cure it for winter use. In this condition it is called *pagaswahuk* and is ready to grind with mortar and pestle (*pota'hagún* and *pota'hagún háskwan*) to make corn meal.

When ground, the meal is (or rather was formerly, as sifting baskets are said to exist no longer) sifted with a native-made basket. The coarser part which was retained by the mesh, was used for corn soup, the finer meal was made into dumplings which were boiled in the soup. Hominy is called *tú'kwahan*.

Green corn, while still somewhat milky, is scraped free from the cob with a deer's jaw. A little flour and sugar with an abundance of grease is then added, and it is patted into cakes to be baked in the ashes. These are called *papá'kêna^z*.

Sometimes the scraped green corn, as above described, is mixed with beans, made into loaves, wrapped and tied with cornhusks. The loaves are then dropped into a kettle and boiled for two hours, kept over night to cool, and eaten thereafter. This is regarded as an especially palatable dish, and is called *wiwa'pisut papá'kêna^z* or "Wrapped up bread."

"Lye Hominy," (*panúki'hák*) is made of shelled corn boiled with "one-half a kettle full" of wood ashes, until the hulls begin to slip.

The corn was then placed in coarse sacks of nettle fibre of open twined weave, which are now said to be obsolete, until freed of lye, when it was ready for eating. Owing to the lack of hulling sacks, lye hominy is seldom made now, as burnt fingers too frequently result.

Raw lye hominy is regarded as a specific against worms in children, and as a general health food. It is more usual, however, to cook it with marrow bones, which greatly add to its palatability.

Parched corn (*kaka'wāsuhūk*) is pounded into meal, and as among many other Indian tribes, it is used as a refreshing stimulant on journeys. About a quart of the sifted meal is carried in a deerskin bag by hunters and warriors, and a few spoonful or mouthful taken in water, constitutes enough for a meal. The coarser meal is more used for home eating.

Pop corn, called *papagesuhuk*, is known to, and used by, the Sauk. Beans. There are five or six varieties of beans recognized by the tribe, and the generic term for this vegetable is *mūskojs*.

Wild Potatoes. The tuber (*Apios tuberosa*) called "Indian potato" or, in Sauk, *manotāo p'āniāk*, is much used, and one gens is named for the plant which is also called *muko-pāniāk* or "bean-potato."

Dried Yellow Water Lily Root, wakepīn or *yakepīn*, is abundantly utilized as food, when boiled.

It goes without saying that all varieties of berries, both fresh, and dried when out of season, are eaten by the Sauk. Naturally under modern conditions the scope of their vegetable diet has been greatly widened. Nuts of all available species are also relished.

SUGAR MAKING

Although it has not been possible for the Sauk to make maple sugar for many years because of their removal from the region where maple trees abounded, some details of the manufacture of the sweet are still remembered. In the late winter or very early spring the Bear gens held a special feast, during which prayers were offered to the Great Spirit for permission to tap the maple trees, four days later. During the intervening time the men busied themselves in making sap spouts of box elder wood, or slippery elm bark, and elm bark receptacles to catch the sap. When all was in readiness the sap was collected and boiled all night. Finally it was all poured into one large receptacle and about one fourth of a pound of beef tallow was added. It was boiled until it reached a stage where it popped when it bubbled. Then some was placed in a knot bowl and stirred with a heavy wooden ladle until

it was crystallized. No one was so much as allowed to taste the sugar before all were ready.

When the entire batch of sugar was prepared, a dog feast and thanksgiving ceremony were held before any one partook of the sugar. At length, all being in readiness, eight people were invited to eat out of one large bowl in which a quart of the sugar was placed. This they had to finish without attempting to drink any water. After this all might eat all they desired. Probably this was a form of the usual eating contest between four selected members of each moiety.

Sugar cakes made in moulds as well as powdered sugar were prepared.

| | |
|--------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Sugar cakes | <i>Māsiwā'ahūn</i> |
| Maple sugar (Real sugar) | <i>Pakisi'sēbak</i> ^w |
| Maple tree | <i>Shishikimā'hishā</i> |
| Sugar bush | <i>Sisibkukadjik</i> |
| Elm bark sap receptacle | <i>Anep onagan</i> |

WILD RICE GATHERING

The Sauk have been so long absent from the wild rice country that they only vaguely remember that it was harvested in canoes with two sticks held in the hands. They have completely forgotten the shelling and winnowing processes. They call wild rice *mūno'mīn*, and the Menomini Indians they term *Mānominewē'kajik*, or "Wild-rice-gatherers," a variant of the Menomini tribal name for themselves.

The Sauk have long been noted as agriculturists. Pond remarks⁴ about 1765: "The Women Rase Grate Crops of Corn, Been, Punkens, Potatoes, Millans, and artikels—"

TOBACCO CULTURE

The Sauk throw tobacco seeds on the ground somewhere near the house. They also set on fire a brush pile in the woods, to which they return a few days later and walk over the resultant pile of wood ashes in their bare feet to see if they are cold. If this is the case, they sprinkle the seed on the ashes and let it grow. This is done in May, the tobacco is gathered for use in July and August, some being left for seed.

Native Tobacco is very highly prized for all ceremonial purposes, being much more valuable to the Sauk than "store tobacco."

Both pipes (plate XX, fig. 5) and tobacco pouches (plate XX,

⁴Pond, Peter, *Ibid*, p. 335.

fig. 2) are now rarely seen among the Sauk. The tobacco pouch figured here is of typical tribal style, and is much more elongated and capacious than those used by the Menomini, Forest Potawatomi, and their other neighbors. In size and shape but not in ornamentation it resembles somewhat more closely the pouches of the various Plains tribes. Native tobacco is called both *anenotawi* and *anenotaowa sama*.

HUNTING AND FISHING

BUFFALO HUNTING

The Sauk in earlier days ventured quite far out on the prairies in pursuit of the buffalo, and their removal from their homes in Wisconsin and Illinois to west of the Mississippi gave an added stimulus to this quest.

In the month of June when the corn and beans had a good start, the whole tribe, with the exception of the old people who remained to watch the crops, went out on the buffalo hunt. When they approached the vicinity in which they expected to find the herds, the leader would attempt to have a prophetic dream which he would report to his head men, who called in the scouts and gave them instructions to kill a few buffalo near at hand so that all the people might have a mouthful. Then the scouts were each given a little tobacco and dismissed.

When the scouts returned successful, "with meat shot with arrows," as the saying is, the leader sang as he saw them approaching with the meat. Next day the camp was moved to within two miles of the main herd.

When on the hunt, the chiefs and the *nānawi'xtuwāk*⁵ or braves (the latter acted as hunt and camp police) held the people together on the march to prevent straggling, and fixed the location of the camp, (see Marston). The lodges were not pitched in a circle but in a row or straight line. When a herd was located, the warrior-police held the hunters in check until the herd had been circled and all were up wind from the buffalo. The Sauk men were then placed in line ten feet apart. When all was in readiness the signal was given and the charge made on an even basis. An old man was appointed to watch and see that no one beat the starting signal. If any one did, that man was severely beaten by the police after the day's hunt was over.

⁵Note the occurrence of this term which is regularly found in Menomini. The usual Sauk term for braves or police is *watā'sāo* which occurs as a personal name in Menomini.

Urging their horses alongside of the fleeing bison, the hunters would rap on their bowstrings with their arrows and cause the herd to scatter so all would have a better chance. They endeavored to drive their arrows through the buffalo's kidneys, for when so shot, a bison usually lived only five or six minutes. If not successful in reaching a vital spot, the hunter endeavored to ride up along side the wounded animal and push his arrow into its vitals with his feet. The old bows were made of bois d'arc, and while without sinew backing, were very powerful. The strings were of twisted squirrel rawhide. With such bows an arrow was often driven up to the nock in a buffalo.

When plenty of buffalo had been killed, the chief would order out some fifteen or twenty men to hunt alone and bring in meat for the widows and headless families of the tribe. These unfortunates responded by cooking some of the best meat they received and feasting their benefactors. This was repeated until all were provided for, and meat might be seen drying in front of every lodge.

There were generally two chases a day, one just about dawn, and one late in the evening, yet early enough so that the meat could be brought into camp by dark. Hunting was not done in the middle of the day, because the old bulls were then hot and cross and likely to charge.

When every one was plentifully supplied with meat, the Sauk would start back and when four days' journey from their permanent village, the whole party blackened their faces and fasted part of each day, missing their breakfasts so as to be ready to eat vegetable food without further delay when they returned.

The day that the party broke camp on the buffalo hunt, four men were sent back ahead of the rest to report that the tribe was returning. Those who had remained at home would load up their horses with packs of flour, sugar, and lard, and set out to meet the main body. When they met on the prairie these people would measure out a little to each family, so that all would have a taste. All then camped together for a day, after which they all raced home to see if the crops were fit to eat. Then the feast of thanksgiving was held.

That seasonal hunts of this type are of some antiquity with the Sauk is shown by the journal of Peter Pond, writing of the period about 1763⁶. Pond says: "In the fall of ye Year thay Leave thare Huts and Go into the Woods in Quest of Game and Return in the Spring to thare Huts before Planting time."

⁶Pond, *Ibid.*, p. 335.

DEER HUNTING

It is not recalled that the Sauk ever hunted deer by night with jacklights placed in canoes. They did, however, make ample use of the wooden deer call which is manipulated in early summer to imitate the cry of a young fawn and thus attract the nearest doe to the spot.

Like the Menomini, the Sauk regard deer calling as dangerous, as wildcats, wolves, and panthers were likely to be lured to the concealed hunter and attack him. It is said that their present Oklahoma habitat was formerly infested with panthers. A Shawnee is said to have been seized by a panther which he attracted by his calls, but that the animal was as frightened as he when it found out its mistake, and fled incontinently.

When hunting, if a Sauk kills a deer, his companion, or anyone coming up to him at that moment skins it, taking all but the head and brisket. If his companion is his father-in-law, he is entitled to take it all.

According to Galland⁷, "When one hunter wounds the game and another kills or finds it, and first lays his hands on it, each have a right to his share of the game, i. e., the former takes the skin, the latter the flesh."

When it is to be taken home on a pack saddle, a deer is cut into three pieces with great dexterity. First it is skinned, and then gutted. The belly, from tail root to chin, and including the ends of all the ribs, is cut out and one side is detached, leaving the head and neck on the other. The leg joints are cut, and it is flung over the saddle lengthwise of the horse, a ham and shoulder on each side. The freshly removed skin is thrown over all as a cover, and the hunter may ride home sitting on it. The liver, lungs, and heart are left in the carcass.

When it must be carried on the hunter's back, the deer is gutted, the lower leg bones skinned out and thrown away, and the leg skins tied together, making a natural forehead strap which does not readily untie because the dewclaws which are left on, catch in the knot. The hunter now kneels before a small sapling, works the load on his back, gets the tied leg skins over his forehead, and rises to his feet by pulling himself erect with the sapling.

BEAR HUNTING

Bear were usually pursued only in early fall when there was enough

⁷Galland, Dr. Isaac, "The Indian Tribes of the West." *The Annals of Iowa*, Vol. VII, No. 3, p. 275, Iowa City, 1889.

snow for tracking. When one was located in its den, an adventurous member of the party, relying on Sauk tradition that bears at that season are too inert to attack, would take a rawhide rope, crawl in, tie the bear's forepaw and drag it out, one of their number clubbing it as soon as its head emerged.

At other times bears were attacked on foot, and stabbed with butcher knives before they could rise erect. A bear on his haunches was avoided as being quicker than a man, and, though "left handed," better able to care for himself than an Indian.

When a Sauk is about to kill a bear, he addresses it as *Pāsh'to* or "Old Man," or "Old Buffalo," rather than call it by its real name of *Mākwa*. He then says, "I am going to kill you," and, having thus warned the animal he may fire and it will not be angry, even though painfully wounded.

A HUNTING MEDICINE

The Sauk do not seem to have developed the hunting bundle concept nearly so highly as the Menomini. However Mr. M. R. Harrington has recorded some hunting bundle rituals obtained from the Sauk in his volume on, "Sacred Bundles of the Sac and Fox."

The only article of the kind seen or collected by the present writer is a cap or fillet of otter fur which was regarded as a powerful hunting charm.

FISHING

Undoubtedly when in their ancient homes near the Great Lakes, the Sauk were as maritime in their life as their other Central Algonkian neighbors, but they have today little recollection of the methods of taking fish that they then employed beyond that of sturgeon spearing.

Today the favorite method of fishing is one which they themselves avow that they have learned from the neighboring Creek, since their residence in Oklahoma, the well known water-poisoning method of the Muskogean tribes of the Gulf states.

A long threadlike root of the bean family called "Devil's shoe-string," (*Cracca virginia*) is made into bundles, and taken to good fishing water. Here a stake is driven in the bottom, with a good square top remaining about at the surface. On this the bundles of roots are placed and beaten with a mallet. The exuding juices soon make the water milky in appearance and when from ten to twenty pounds of the stuff have been beaten up, the juice saturates the water of the pool where the current is sluggish, and the fish, numbed and dull, come

gasping to the surface. The fishermen now gig them or shoot them with bows and arrows. The work must be done quickly, as the fish usually recover completely within an hour.

An early account of one of the Sauk methods of taking fish while in their ancient Wisconsin forest habitat is given by the Jesuit Father Allouez in his letter concerning the Mission of St. Francois Xavier⁸ in 1669-71. He says, "On the 17th, we ascended the River Saint Francois (Fox), which is two, and sometimes three, arpents wide. After proceeding four leagues, we found the village of the Savages called Saky, whose people were beginning a work that well deserves to have its place here. From one bank of the River to the other, they make a barricade by driving down large stakes into two brasses of water, so that there is a kind of bridge over the stream for the fishermen, who, with the help of a small wier, easily catch the sturgeon and every kind of fish, which this dam stops, although the water does not cease to flow between the stakes. They call this contrivance Mitihikan, and it serves them during the Spring and a part of the Summer."

The location of this wier is said by Thwaites to have been at the De Pere rapids of the Fox.

PREPARATION OF ANIMAL FOODS

Venison was usually boiled, as were all small animals, such as raccoons, wood-chucks, squirrels, birds, and fish, for the Sauk, like all Woodland Indians, relished "*napop*," or soup, above all foods. Indian soup, it should be explained, is often a thick stew, composed of odds and ends of everything of animal or vegetable nature in camp, but especially fresh game.

Deer meat was also often cut in collops and spitted on a dogwood wand which was set up obliquely before the fire. In this manner venison was soon dried and could be preserved for some time. It would be eaten as it was, or boiled.

This dried deer meat was often pounded fine in a log mortar of the horizontal style, a type not used by the Sauk for corn grinding, by the way, the vertical form being in favor for that purpose. The pulverized meat was called *noka'hán wias*, and was preserved in woven sacks of bark fiber. When desired for food, it was mixed with tallow flavored with slippery elm bark, and was greatly prized as a delicacy.

For holding this mixture, and for storing lard or tallow, elm bark bowls and mussel shells of large size were used.

⁸Jesuit Relations, Thwaites Edition, Vol. 54, p. 217.

Paunch boiling. Buffalo hunters, when without utensils, would remove a bison stomach, clean it, turn it inside out, gather up the ends, and, putting in water, hang it over the fire. Meat was then cut into small dice or cubes, and boiled in this improvised kettle. It is said that the kettle had to be constantly turned so that it would not burn through, and when the meat was done, each in turn drank his share from the natural dish.

Preparation of Fish. Fish were generally boiled, but in olden times, when in the north, tradition has it that they were often dried a little and then smoked. In this condition, they were fit for food, or they could be boiled. No fish have been smoked since the Sauk have lived in Oklahoma.

NAMES OF MAMMALS

| | |
|----------------------|---|
| Otter | <i>Ké'totāo</i> |
| Mink | <i>Wi'nêpishkwā</i> |
| Weasel | <i>Shego's</i> |
| Skunk | <i>Shégák</i> |
| Spotted Skunk | <i>Kêta'gi Shégák</i> |
| Beaver | <i>Omāk^w</i> |
| Muskrat | <i>Asashk^w</i> |
| Squirrel | <i>Hánikwa</i> |
| Fox Squirrel | <i>Sawánik^w</i> |
| Gray Squirrel | <i>Shanigo'</i> |
| Ground Squirrel | <i>Muskotewaník</i> |
| Chipmunk | <i>Go'weno</i> |
| Rat | <i>Wápikwúno</i> |
| Raccoon | <i>Ä'sêpûn</i> |
| Raccoon (small var.) | <i>Wisa'gäsêpûn</i> |
| Opossum | <i>Aiyê'ni</i> ("Laughter") |
| Wildcat | <i>Pêshiu</i> |
| Panther | <i>Kânwasuāo</i> , ("Long Tail") |
| Black Bear | <i>Múkwa</i> |
| Grizzly Bear | <i>Kagonwî'kishāo</i> ("Long Claws") |
| Dog | <i>A'nêmo</i> |
| Wolf | <i>Muhwā^w</i> |
| Deer | <i>Pêshigisiwa</i> or <i>Pishikisiu</i> |
| Doe | <i>Mâtçä'mok</i> |
| Young Doe | <i>Oko^a</i> |
| Buck | <i>Ya'pāo</i> |

| | |
|--------------------|----------------------------|
| Small Spotted Fawn | <i>Katûkāna</i> |
| Fox | <i>Waku'sha</i> |
| Hare | <i>Mê'shwāo</i> |
| Porcupine | <i>Oká'k^w</i> |
| Buffalo | <i>Nano's^{wa}</i> |

NAMES OF BIRDS

| | |
|-----------------------|--|
| Eagle | <i>Kê'tiwa</i> |
| Crow | <i>Kakági^{wa}</i> |
| Chicken Hawk | <i>Siká'ninā^o</i> |
| Marsh Hawk | <i>Mêshkwākinwā</i> |
| Small Red Tail Hawk | <i>Witikanupîkwā</i> |
| Blue-Jay | <i>Ti'tiwa</i> |
| Goose | <i>One^zk'a</i> |
| Swan | <i>Hāhā^{wa}</i> |
| Mudhen | <i>Shākata^o</i> |
| Loon | <i>Nishkātāpāhūk</i> |
| Turkey | <i>Pānāo</i> |
| Blue Heron | <i>Sa'giwa'</i> |
| White Swan | <i>Asik^w</i> (Pelican?) |
| Prairie Chicken | <i>Mêshisā^o</i> |
| Buzzard | <i>Windkā</i> |
| Raven | <i>Mané'sino Kaka'gi^{wa}</i> ("War Crow") |
| Owl | <i>Witeko^a</i> |
| Red Tail Hawk | <i>Mêskwi'tcito^w</i> |
| Duck Hawk | <i>Kākāk</i> |
| Duck | <i>Shi'ship</i> |
| Brant | <i>Gānē'kihūk</i> |
| Helldiver | <i>Shêkaho</i> |
| Wood-duck | <i>Wikikwā</i> |
| Canada Goose | <i>Onāk^w</i> |
| Sandhill Crane | <i>Wātāpihuk</i> |
| Bittern | <i>Wiká'musi^a</i> |
| Quail | <i>Pokwi</i> |
| Partridge | <i>Pa'kiwa</i> |
| Red-headed Woodpecker | <i>Mā'māo</i> |
| Blackbird | <i>Sú'kanak^w</i> |
| Curlew | <i>Muskute' Watuwa'</i> ("Prairie Shouter") |
| Mourning Dove | <i>Manitu Mi'mi^{wa}</i> |
| Plover | <i>Nānē'kinêkwā</i> |

| | |
|------------------|-------------------------------|
| Flicker | <i>Mtsha'mondo</i> |
| Snipe | <i>Tcinishki^{wa}</i> |
| Prairie Chicken | <i>Kiwa'ni</i> |
| Passenger Pigeon | <i>Mi'mi^{wa}</i> |
| Cardinal | <i>Mtshkwiri'shkano'</i> |

NAMES OF REPTILES

| | |
|-----------------|----------------------------|
| Rattlesnake | <i>Shi hikwa</i> |
| Snake | <i>Munito^a</i> |
| Snapping Turtle | <i>Mishika^a</i> |

WEAPONS

CLUBS AND SPEARS

Both the flat and the ball-headed war clubs were formerly used, but the Sauk, in spite of Catlin's pictures, deny that they ever used buffalo hide shields. The bow with flint, bone, or antler-tipped arrows was extensively used in hunting, especially for buffalo in later days, it being considered more suitable for this purpose than the rifle. The custom of shooting fish with the bow and arrow, the Sauk claim to have adopted from the Creek of Oklahoma, from whom they also acquired the custom of poisoning the streams.

The usual war spear or lance had a cedar wood shaft about seven feet long, covered with red list cloth. Scalps were tied on at the point, and it was ornamented throughout its length with feathers and bead-work. Some had handles fourteen feet long, but these were plain. Few of the Woodland Indians used spears or lances, but to this rule the Sauk and the Fox, at least, were exceptions.

| | |
|-------------------------|--|
| War club (generic term) | <i>k'jtmisi'higun</i> ("Brain Splasher") |
| Ball-headed war club | <i>pé^zkwiki^{wa}</i> |
| Flat war club | <i>papú'ke'kiu</i> |
| Tomahawk | <i>papú'ká'hiwtt</i> |
| War spear | <i>tcimágun</i> |

ARROW POINT MAKING: BOWS AND ARROWS

Flint arrowheads were formerly much used. Two still attached to their shafts (plate XII, figs. 1 and 3, this volume, Part II), and said to be of ancient Sauk make, and from their old home in Wisconsin, were collected. Certainly the flint tips are of true old notched Algon-

kian style, and made of one of the silexes common on Wisconsin sites. They would not excite comment if found on any prehistoric site of the Wisconsin Algonkians. The shafts, too, bear every indication of age, and, when compared with the ancient antler-tipped arrows described by Willoughby and now in the Peabody Museum of Harvard University, seem authentic. There is therefore no reason to doubt the word of the Sauk from whom they were obtained. With them were several headless arrows equally old. All are feathered with turkey feathers and wrapped with deer sinew. With these arrows came an old bow of bois d' arc, simple, but very powerful, and possessing a twisted string said to be made of squirrel rawhide. It is perhaps the best bow of the very many the writer has seen from the Central tribes. It is said to be contemporary with the arrows, and its appearance bears out this contention.

Plate XII, fig. 2, this volume, Part II, represents another stone-headed arrow. The Sauk who sold it knew nothing of its history, but presumed that the head was an archeological one picked up and re-shafted by the relative who formerly owned it. Its appearance is new, and the wrappings are of stout commercial thread and not sinew.

Billy Harris states that he frequently made antler-tip arrowheads when he was a youth. The antler was boiled in plain water for several hours, the addition of wood ashes being wholly unnecessary, until it softened so that it could be easily whittled into shape. The prongs were detached by girdling and breaking, and a conical opening was made in the porous base for the reception of the naked distal or striking end of the arrowshaft. The gluey substance which had been removed was then replaced, and the shaft thrust in. As it cooled, the joint became very hard and firm and stuck tenaciously to the shaft. When hard once more, it was usually sharpened by grating on a rough stone, such as a block of sandstone.

Arrows were formerly carried in quivers, but no such receptacle can be found in Indian hands today. A fine example of painted rawhide, a conical quiver without fringe, from the Fox, is in the collection made by the late Dr. Wm. Jones in the American Museum of Natural History of New York.

Wm. Harris thought that old Sauk quivers were provided with a special receptacle for the bow, but this is no doubt an error in judgment based on recollections of those seen among the Ioway and neighboring Plains tribes, as all Woodland quivers seen by the writer lack this feature, which is, however, characteristic of the Prairies.

The native names for weapons of this type are:

| | |
|---------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Bow | <i>mā^xtāo</i> |
| Headless arrows | <i>kitākwānon</i> ("Naked Arrows") |
| Wooden (blunt) arrows | <i>melē^xkwānon</i> |
| Deer antler-tipped arrows | <i>wiwishkwānon</i> |
| Quiver | <i>pito'nwan</i> |

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

MEDICINE DANCE DRUM

It seems probable that the Sauk have lost the art of making their own hollow log drums, since they now take a two gallon wooden keg and stretch a piece of deerskin over it. The corners are twisted tight with a stick, and knots tied in them, with small sticks thrust through so that they will stay.

Two inches of water are left in the bottom, and charcoal is added to the water "to make the drum sound louder." Plate XX, figs. 3 and 4, show old style drumsticks.

Nānā'kwā^a, a flute (plate XXV, fig. 1).

WHITE PAINT FOR LEGGINGS

White clay, called *wabi'wēn*, of the same variety that the Kishko moiety uses for paint, is mixed with water until a thoroughly saturated solution is obtained. In this they place a pair of dirty deerskin leggings and thoroughly work them with the hands. They are wrung out, dried, and then worked till soft, the white clay cleaning the leggings and imparting a beautiful white color to them.

ROACHING THE HAIR

In olden times this painful process, called *mondgēshāwūg*, or "pulling out the hair," was accomplished as follows: The hair was collected in locks about the thickness of the little finger, and the ends knotted. The warrior or boy was held by his uncles, and his mother or father seized the knots one by one and pulled out the locks by pushing away the victim's head. A standing roach was left from forehead to nape, and this was evened up by grating with mussel shells or burning off with a glowing brand. The bare portion of the head was then painted with vermilion. When a man's hair was growing out again, he was much teased by his joking relatives.

The process of roaching the hair after this manner was looked upon as a very painful one, and the Sauk, like their relatives, the Menomini, declare that the tenderest place was just behind the ears.

ARTICLES USED IN THE MEDICINE DANCE

In plates XXV and XXVI are shown a number of the characteristic articles that form a part of the paraphernalia of the Medicine Dance. In plate XXV, fig. 1, is shown an ancient medicine bag of otterskin, badly worn from use. It has upon the tail an ornament made of the netted quill wrapped thong work, in faded scarlet and yellow, so commonly found on ancient Sauk, Meskwaki, and Ioway specimens. This differs entirely from the woven quillwork of the Menomini, which, like that of the Algonkians and Athapascans north and west of the Great Lakes, involves a closely woven technique of the quills themselves, without a thong foundation.

Fig. 2 of the same plate shows an old otterskin medicine bag with a rosette and line decoration in quillwork applied to the hide of the otter itself, and not to a separate piece of attached deerskin, as is so often the case. Thongs have been brought through the skin of the tail and knotted on the flesh or decorated side, while on the other they hang as attachments for metallic conical jinglers.

Fig. 3, plate XXV, gives an illustration of a very old otterskin medicine bag with quilled foot and tail ornaments attached to pieces of deerskin. The design of this bag is of the open style characteristic of the Menomini, and not at all like the usual Sauk type. The workmanship is, however, much inferior to Menomini work at its best. It is of interest to record that the vendor of this specimen volunteered the information that his ancestors had brought it with them from their ancient home in Wisconsin, and that family tradition stated that it was not of Sauk make, but was obtained from a tribe to the northward, perhaps the Menomini. It was purchased of Aveline Givens.

In plate XXV, fig. 4, is reproduced the likeness of an old otterskin medicine bag obtained from Frank Smith, a Sauk living near Shawnee, Okla., at the time of the sale. It was considered one of the principal bags of a number in his possession, and was made the object of a rather lengthy ceremony on its sale (see Part I of this volume, pp. 47-8). The quilled ornaments in coarse red and yellow work are not attached to the tail of the otterhide directly, but to the feet by means of rectangular pieces of tanned deerskin.

The custom of spirally wrapping the feet of the otters and other animals used as medicine bags, with long strings of braided quills, as among the Ioway and other tribes to the westward, is common among the Sauk, but is not known to the Menomini.

In plate XXVI, figs. 1, 3, and 5, are shown three otterskin medicine bags bearing beaded ornaments. These bags are of respectable antiquity, although not so old as those with the porcupine quill work. A much more modern specimen, that is, an ancient bag with very recent beaded ornaments attached, was obtained, but was not considered worthy of illustration. The design was that of an often repeated swastika, no doubt derived from ideas picked up at some Government boarding school for Indian children, as it is not a native design among the Central Algonkians. However, since 1909, the writer has seen and collected three specimens from the Central tribes bearing this figure; this Sauk bag, a pair of Menomini beaded garters, and a lacrosse bat from a Winnebago. For the last few years the Forest Potawatomi in particular, and to some extent the Menomini, have been incorporating into their beadwork the popular figure of the "Bluebird for happiness" so frequently seen on modern wallpaper and paper napkins.

Plate XXVI, fig. 2, represents a piece of rawhide a few inches square, bound at the ends with red and yellow quill work, and bearing metal tinklers of conical shape with dyed horsehair in their interior. This is one of a pair that were fastened over the instep on the mocasins of members of the Medicine Dance, to make a pleasant sound during the performance of the rites. The writer has obtained similar examples among the Ioway and the Forest Potawatomi.

Figs. 4 and 6 of plate XXVI represent two bundles of invitation sticks used in summoning members to the Medicine Dance, Clan ceremonies, and other rites. The sticks in fig. 4 are cut reeds, in fig. 6 they are sections of cane.

NOTES ON GENS AFFILIATIONS OF INDIVIDUALS

The following brief table of the personal names and gentes of certain individuals among the Oklahoma Sauk with whom the writer had dealings or from whom information was obtained, was gathered in 1923, and is here given as being of some interest.

| English Name | Gens | Native Name or Names | Wife's Gens |
|-------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Jesse James | Deer | Mamiáshiko, Ugly-Nose | ? |
| 2. Aveline Givens | Deer | Mésháts, Young-elk | |
| 3. Albert Moore | Fox | Sisiá', White-tail | Fish |
| 4. Frank Smith | born Bear but adopted Thunder | Sánoá'shkáut, Rattling-brush | Thunder |
| | | Piá'teisát, Flying-over | First wife Thunder |
| | | | against old rule |
| | | | Name Po'noá. Present |
| 5. William Harris | Bear | Mé'siwók, Tree-stripped-of-limbs | wife, Fish |
| 6. Tom Brown | Bear | Kwák-wánäpi'kwäo, Winking-eyes | Ojibway, clan unknown |
| 7. Jackson Ellis | Fish | Pémithiá, Stick-in-water | Thunder |
| 8. Isidore Nail | Fish | Kwák-wäpowäo, Floundering-fish | Bear |
| 9. Billy Grayeyes | Fish | Á'pitók, Lives-in-water | ? |
| 10. Robt. Davis | Turkey | Nä'po', short for 'Péminknā'po' | ? |
| | | Lives-in-tree | Kickapoo, gens |
| 11. ? | Turkey | Wapágunāshkók, Tracks-in-snow | unknown |
| 12. Austen Grant | Wolf | Á'némiho, Sneaking-off | ? |
| | | | Washtshinuk, |
| | | | Appearing-deer |
| | | | daughter of No. 1, |
| 13. James Scott | Wolf | Me'kika°, Barking-at-you | Deer gens |
| 14. Andrew Conger | Thunder | Ukimawátépä, Chief's-head | Thunder |
| 15. Obi Franklin | Bear-potato | Sakijasi°, Sticking-out | Deer |
| 16. Henry Hunter | Buffalo | Kishkitápi°, Cut-head | Bear |
| 17. Paul Gauthier | Duck | Wigusaka°, Follows-the-flock | Bear |
| | (Menomini descent) | | Peoria, gens unknown |
| 18. ? | ? | Tukwāgi, Fall, or Agona'no | ? |

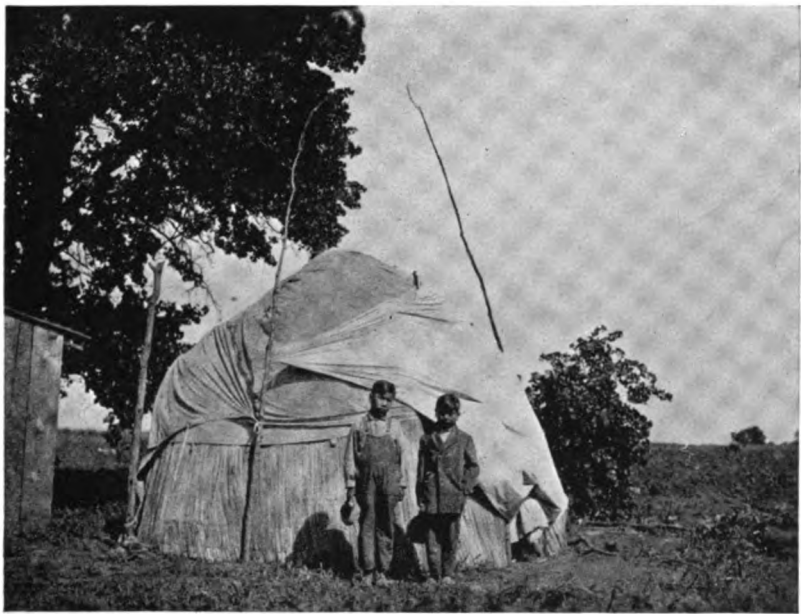
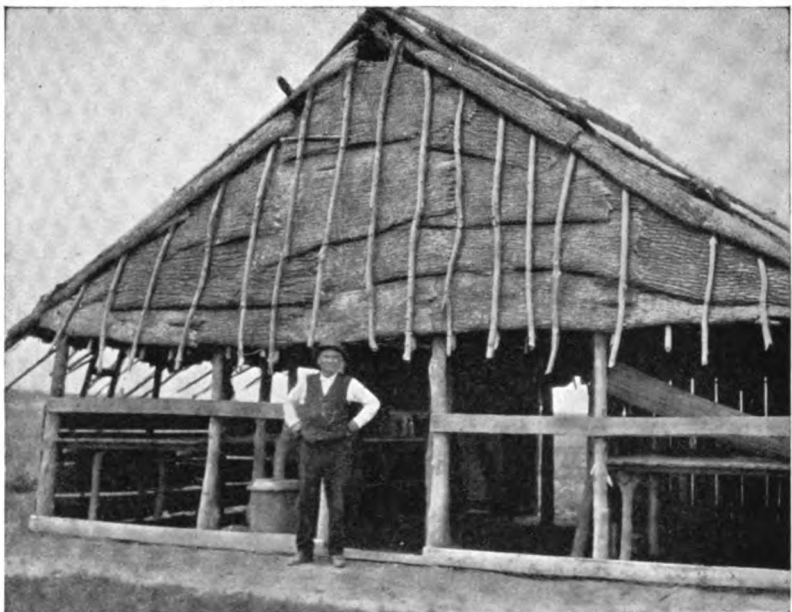
EXPLANATION OF PLATE 111
PRESENT DAY STATE HOUSE, 1892
Figure 1. A bank square bank house with gable roof and chimney.
Near Avery, Oklahoma.
Figure 2. A bank round cellar for a square house near
Avery, Oklahoma.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XIII.

PRESENT DAY SAUK LODGE TYPES.

Figure 1. A Sauk square bark house with gable roof, summer type.
Near Avery, Oklahoma.

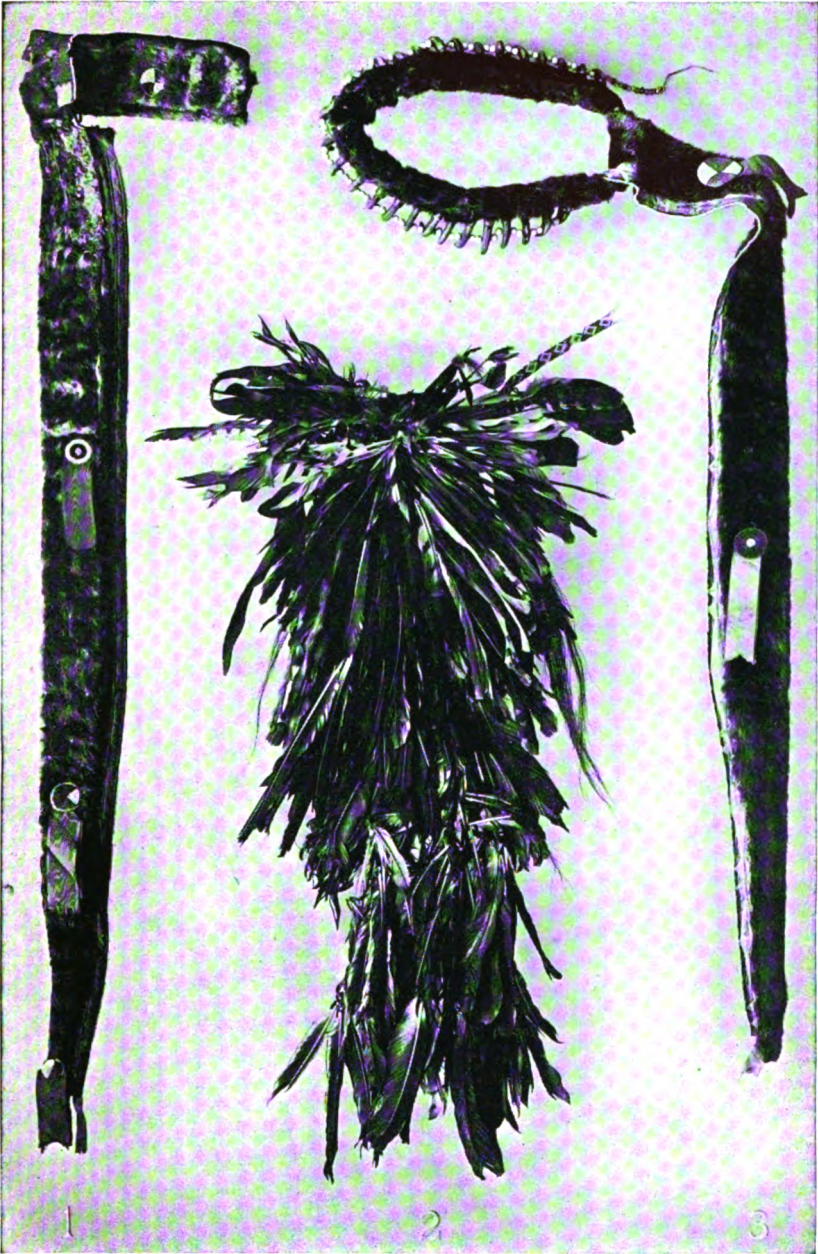
Figure 2. A Sauk round cattail flag wigwam, winter type. Near
Avery, Oklahoma.



EXPLANATION OF PLATE XIV.

MEN'S GARMENTS.

- Figure 1.** Otter fur hat, with streamer. Catalog number 30254.
Length 5 feet, 2 inches. Trailer measures 48 inches.
- Figure 2.** Warrior's feather headdress. Catalog number 31466.
Length 40 inches.
- Figure 3.** Warrior's necklace of grizzly bear claws and otter fur.
Obtained from a Fox Indian at Tama, Iowa. Catalog
number 30739. Length 5 feet, 6½ inches. The tail or
streamer being 4 feet, 4 inches in length.



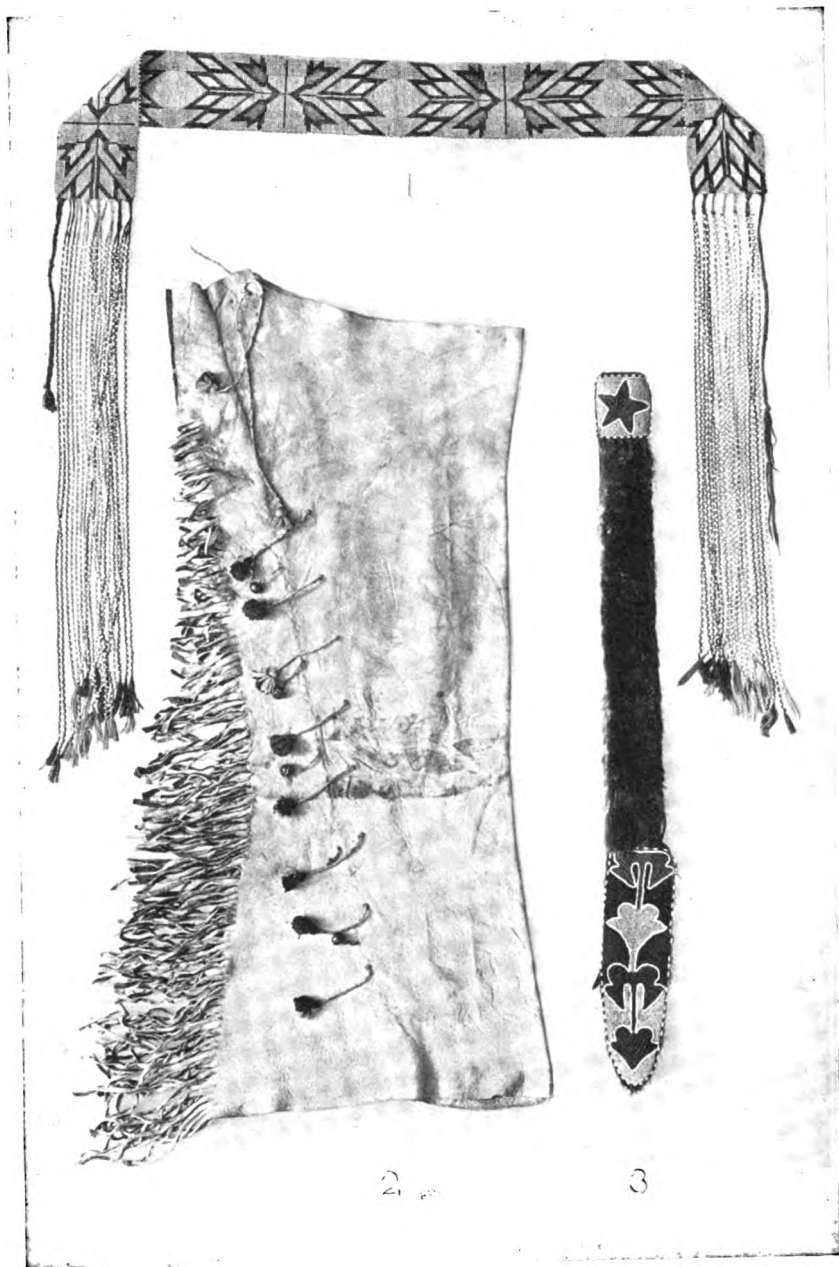
STANDARD FORM

Figure 3. Other parameters: Outlog number versus Inlog number.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XV.

MEN'S GARMENTS.

- Figure 1.** Woven bead belt. Catalog number 30220. Length without fringe, 32 inches.
- Figure 2.** Man's deerskin legging, usual type. Catalog number 30251b. Length 32 inches.
- Figure 3.** Otter fur garter. Catalog number 30518a. Length 29 inches.



EXPLANATION OF PLATE XVI.

ARTICLES OF APPAREL.

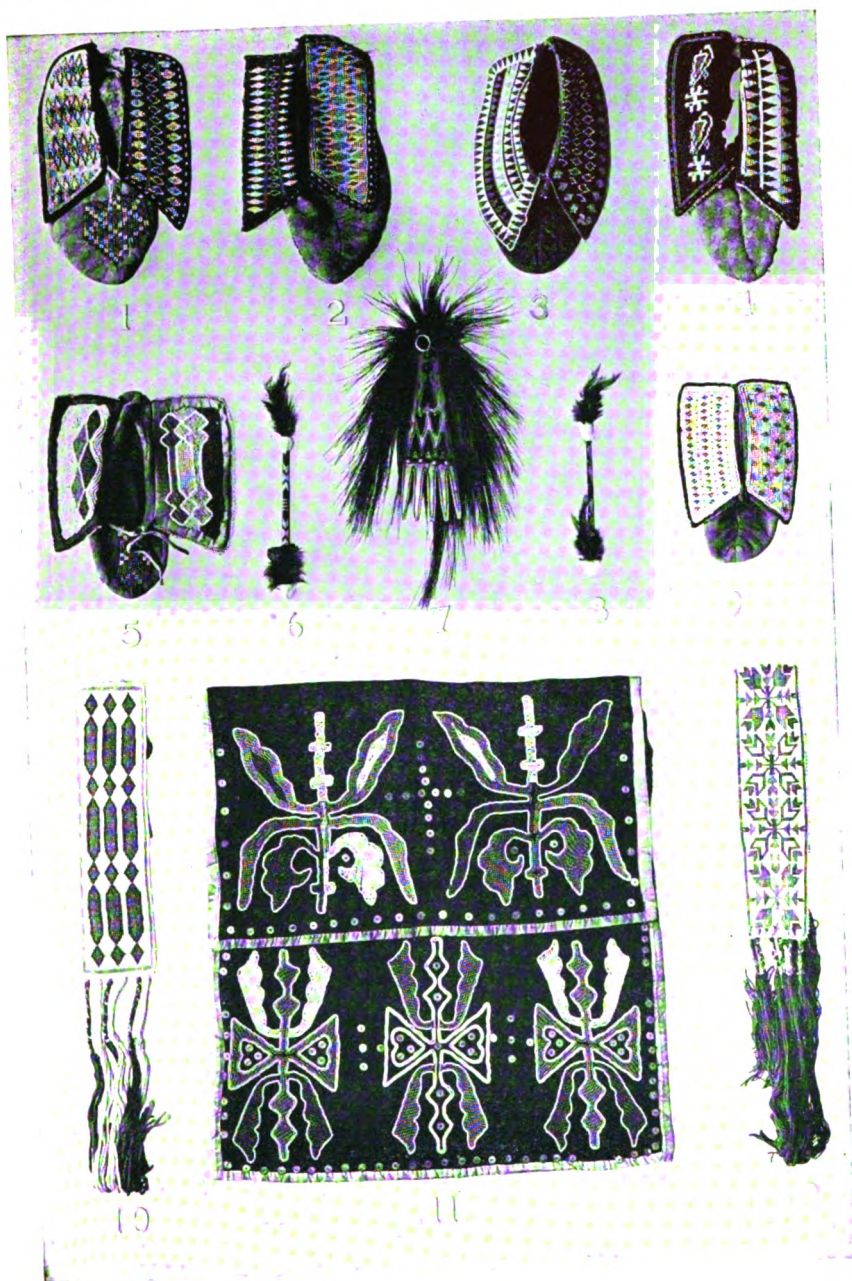
Figures 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 9. Moccasins. Catalog numbers 30206b, 30207b, 30209b, 30210a, 30211b, 30208b. Length 10, $10\frac{1}{2}$, $9\frac{1}{2}$, 10, $8\frac{1}{2}$, and $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches, respectively.

Figures 6 and 8. Quill and horsehair plume shaft ornaments. Catalog numbers 30230, 30229. Length $9\frac{1}{2}$ and 9 inches.

Figure 7. Deer hair and turkey bristle roach and antler spreader. Catalog numbers 30742 and 30232. Length of roach 11 inches, spreader $7\frac{7}{8}$ inches.

Figures 10 and 12. Man's beaded garters. Catalog numbers 30221 and 30222. Length without fringe, 12 inches and $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches, respectively.

Figure 11. Man's breech clout. Catalog number 30258. Length, folded as shown, $20\frac{1}{2}$ inches.



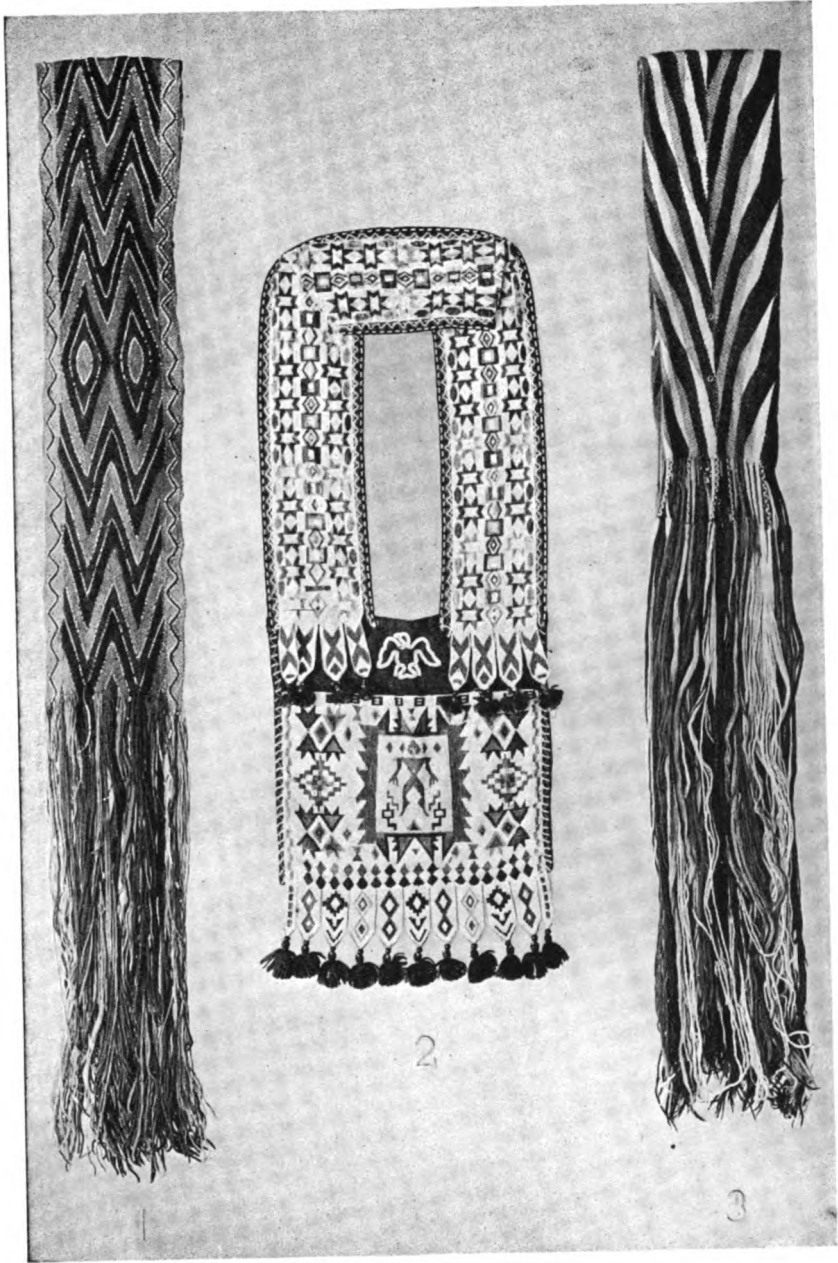
EXPLANATION OF PLATE XVII.

ARTICLES OF MEN'S WEAR.

Figure 1. Man's yarn and bead sash. Catalog number 30234.
Length 5 feet, 10 inches.

Figure 2. Woven bead bandolier. Catalog number 30224. Length
38 inches.

Figure 3. Man's yarn sash. Length 8 feet.



EXPLANATION OF PLATE VIII.

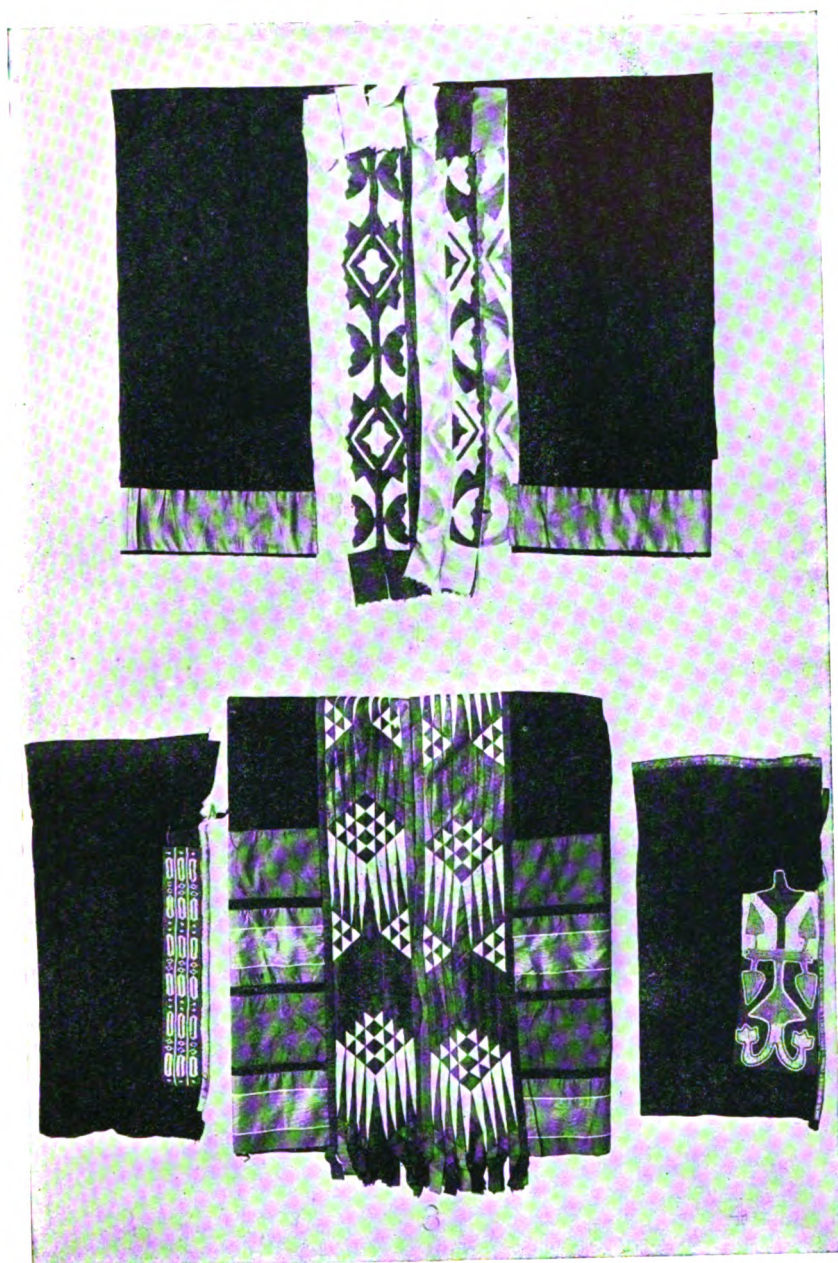
ARTICLES OF SILK WORKING IN 1822.

- Figure 1. Broadcloth robe with silk ribbon appliqué. Catalog number 86204. Length of vertical ornamental strip 26½ inches.
- Figure 2. Woman's knee length with broad ornamental. Catalog number 862394. Length 22 inches.
- Figure 3. Broadcloth robe with silk ribbon appliqué. Catalog number 86210. Length of vertical ornamental strip 26 inches.
- Figure 4. Woman's knee length with broad ornamental. Catalog number 862134. Length 20 inches.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XVIII.

ARTICLES OF SAUK WOMEN'S DRESS.

- Figure 1.** Broadcloth robe with silk ribbon applique. Catalog number 30236. Length of vertical ornamental strip $26\frac{1}{2}$ inches.
- Figure 2.** Woman's knee legging with beaded ornament. Catalog number 30239a. Length 22 inches.
- Figure 3.** Broadcloth robe with silk ribbon applique. Catalog number 30519. Length of vertical ornamental strip 29 inches.
- Figure 4.** Woman's knee legging with beaded scroll ornament. Catalog number 30517a. Length 20 inches.



EXPLANATION OF PLATE XIX.

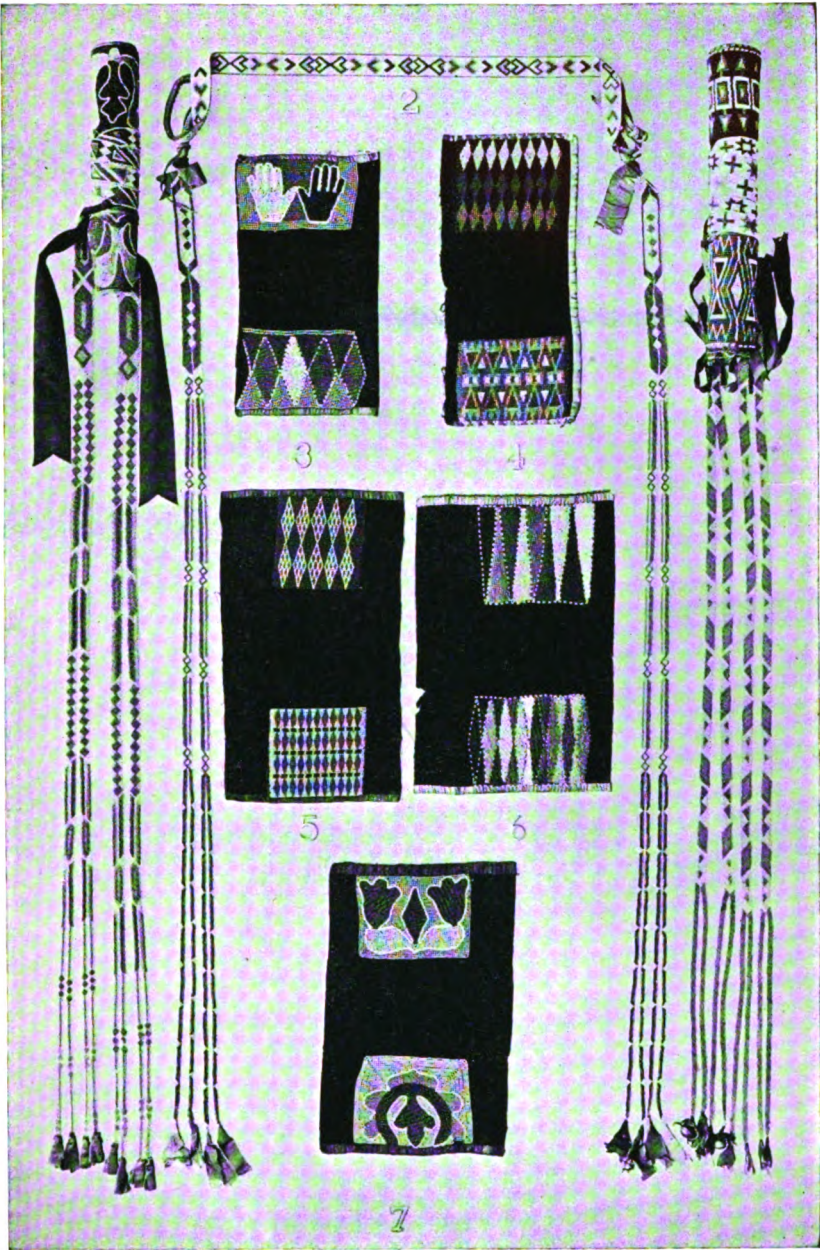
WOMEN'S HAIR ORNAMENTS.

- Figure 1. Hair ornament complete as worn. Catalog number 30213a-b. Length 18½ inches.
- Figure 2. Woven band tie for hair ornament. Catalog number 30213a. Length 10 feet 9 inches.
- Figure 3. Cloth hair wrapper with beaded ornament representing human hands. Catalog number 30212c. Length 11 inches.
- Figure 4. Cloth hair wrapper. Catalog number 30214b. Length 12½ inches.
- Figure 5. Cloth hair wrapper. Catalog number 30212. Length 13 inches.
- Figure 6. Cloth hair wrapper. Catalog number 30210. Length 12½ inches.
- Figure 7. Cloth hair wrapper. Catalog number 30217. Length 12 inches.
- Figure 8. Hair ornament complete as worn. Catalog number 30213a-b. Length 4 feet 7 inches.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XIX.

WOMEN'S HAIR ORNAMENTS.

- Figure 1. Hair ornament complete as worn. Catalog number 30213a-b. Length $48\frac{1}{2}$ inches.
- Figure 2. Woven bead tie for hair ornament. Catalog number 30214a. Length 10 feet, 9 inches.
- Figure 3. Cloth hair wrapper, with beaded ornament, representing human hands. Catalog number 30212b. Length 11 inches.
- Figure 4. Cloth hair wrapper. Catalog number 30214b. Length $12\frac{1}{4}$ inches.
- Figure 5. Cloth hair wrapper. Catalog number 30218. Length 13 inches.
- Figure 6. Cloth hair wrapper. Catalog number 30219. Length $12\frac{1}{4}$ inches.
- Figure 7. Cloth hair wrapper. Catalog number 30217. Length 12 inches.
- Figure 8. Hair ornament complete as worn. Catalog number 30215a-b. Length 4 feet, 7 inches.



EXPLANATION OF PLATE XX.

VERGILIANUS AETHIOPIA.

Figure 1. Lower's 1000 number of 1000. (Order number 30602)
 10000 10000

Figure 2. Upper's 1000 number of 1000. (Order number 30602)
 10000 10000

Figure 3. Lower's 1000 number of 1000. (Order number 30602)
 10000 10000

Figure 4. Upper's 1000 number of 1000. (Order number 30602)
 10000 10000

Figure 5. Lower's 1000 number of 1000. (Order number 30602)
 10000 10000

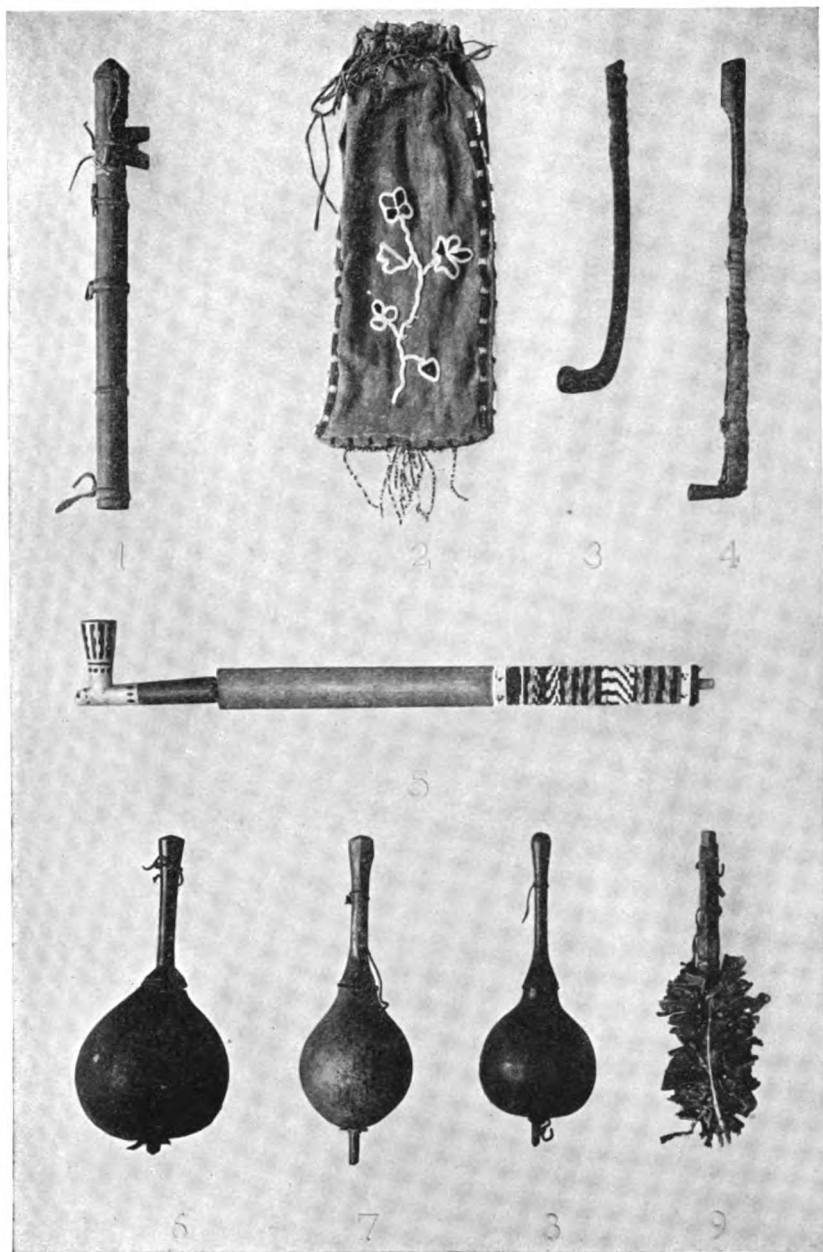
Figure 6. Upper's 1000 number of 1000. (Order number 30602)
 10000 10000

Figure 7. Lower's 1000 number of 1000. (Order number 30602)
 10000 10000

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XX.

MISCELLANEOUS ARTICLES.

- Figure 1. Lover's flute, made of cedar. Catalog number 30302.
Length 18 inches.
- Figure 2. Tobacco pouch. Catalog number 30225. Length 16
inches.
- Figure 3. Drumstick from a war bundle. Catalog number 31798.
Length 13 inches.
- Figure 4. Drumstick from a war bundle. Catalog number 31667.
Length 17 inches.
- Figure 5. Catlinite pipe, inlaid bowl. Wooden stem with wound
bead decoration. Catalog number 30247a-b. Length
23 inches.
- Figures 6 - 8. Gourd rattles. Catalog numbers 31461, 30524, 31462.
Length 11½, 12, and 11 inches, respectively.
- Figure 9. Deer dewclaw rattle, Ioway style. From a war bundle.
Catalog number 31799. Length 11 inches.



EXPLANATION OF PLATE XXI.

SARK WOVEN YARN AND FABRIC BAGS.

Figure 1a. Typical yarn bag. Catalog number 30207. Length 1.54 inches.

Figure 2a. The reverse of Indian hemp string and fibrous envelopes. Catalog number 30201. Length 2.1 inches.

Figure 3a. Typical yarn bag. Catalog number 30202. Length 2.14 inches.

Figure 4a. Yarn bag of basswood bark with string design in yarn of buffaloe wool. Catalog number 30204. Length 12 inches.

Figure 5a. Typical yarn bag. Catalog number 30205. Length 1.54 inches.

Figure 6a. Cedar bark fibre bag. Catalog number 30207. Length 2.14 inches.

Figure 7a. Typical yarn bag. Catalog number 30208. Length 2.0 inches.

Figure 1b. Reverse side of fig. 1a, plate XXI. Catalog number 30207.

Figure 2b. Reverse side of fig. 2a, plate XXI. Catalog number 30201.

Figure 3b. Reverse side of fig. 3a, plate XXI. Catalog number 30202.

Figure 4b. Reverse side of fig. 4a, plate XXI. Catalog number 30204.

Figure 5b. Reverse side of fig. 5a, plate XXI. Catalog number 30205.

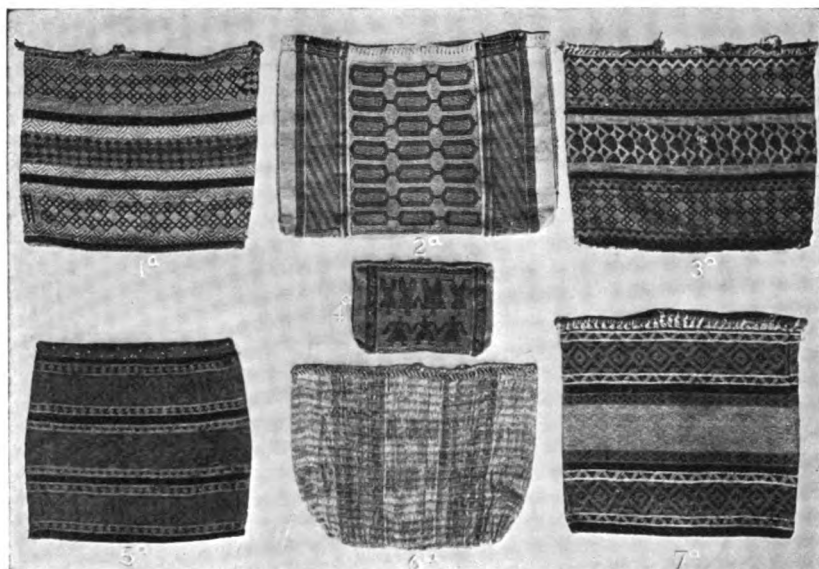
Figure 6b. Reverse side of fig. 6a, plate XXI. Catalog number 30207.

Figure 7b. Reverse side of fig. 7a, plate XXI. Catalog number 30208.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XXI.

SAUK WOVEN YARN AND FABRIC BAGS.

- Figure 1a. Typical yarn bag. Catalog number 30265. Length $20\frac{1}{2}$ inches.
- Figure 2a. Bag made of Indian hemp string and blanket ravelings. Catalog number 30261. Length 24 inches.
- Figure 3a. Typical yarn bag. Catalog number 30262. Length $21\frac{3}{4}$ inches.
- Figure 4a. Antique bag of basswood bark fibre with designs in yarn of buffalo wool. Catalog number 30260. Length 12 inches.
- Figure 5a. Typical yarn bag. Catalog number 30266. Length $18\frac{3}{4}$ inches.
- Figure 6a. Cedar bark fibre bag. Catalog number 30267. Length $21\frac{3}{4}$ inches.
- Figure 7a. Typical yarn bag. Catalog number 30263. Length 20 inches.
- Figure 1b. Reverse side of fig. 1a, plate XXI. Catalog number 30265.
- Figure 2b. Reverse side of fig. 2a, plate XXI. Catalog number 30261.
- Figure 3b. Reverse side of fig. 3a, plate XXI. Catalog number 30262.
- Figure 4b. Reverse side of fig. 4a, plate XXI. Catalog number 30260.
- Figure 5b. Reverse side of fig. 5a, plate XXI. Catalog number 30266.
- Figure 6b. Reverse side of fig. 6a, plate XXI. Catalog number 30267.
- Figure 7b. Reverse side of fig. 7a, plate XXI. Catalog number 30263.



EXPLANATION OF PLATE XXII.

HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS.

- Figure 1. Dish. Catalog number 30242. Length 16 inches.
- Figure 2. Large cooking ladle. Catalog number 30280.
- Figure 3. Mortar. Catalog number 30243. Length 22 inches.
- Figure 4. Painted rawhide trunk. Catalog number 30326. Length 12 inches.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XXII.

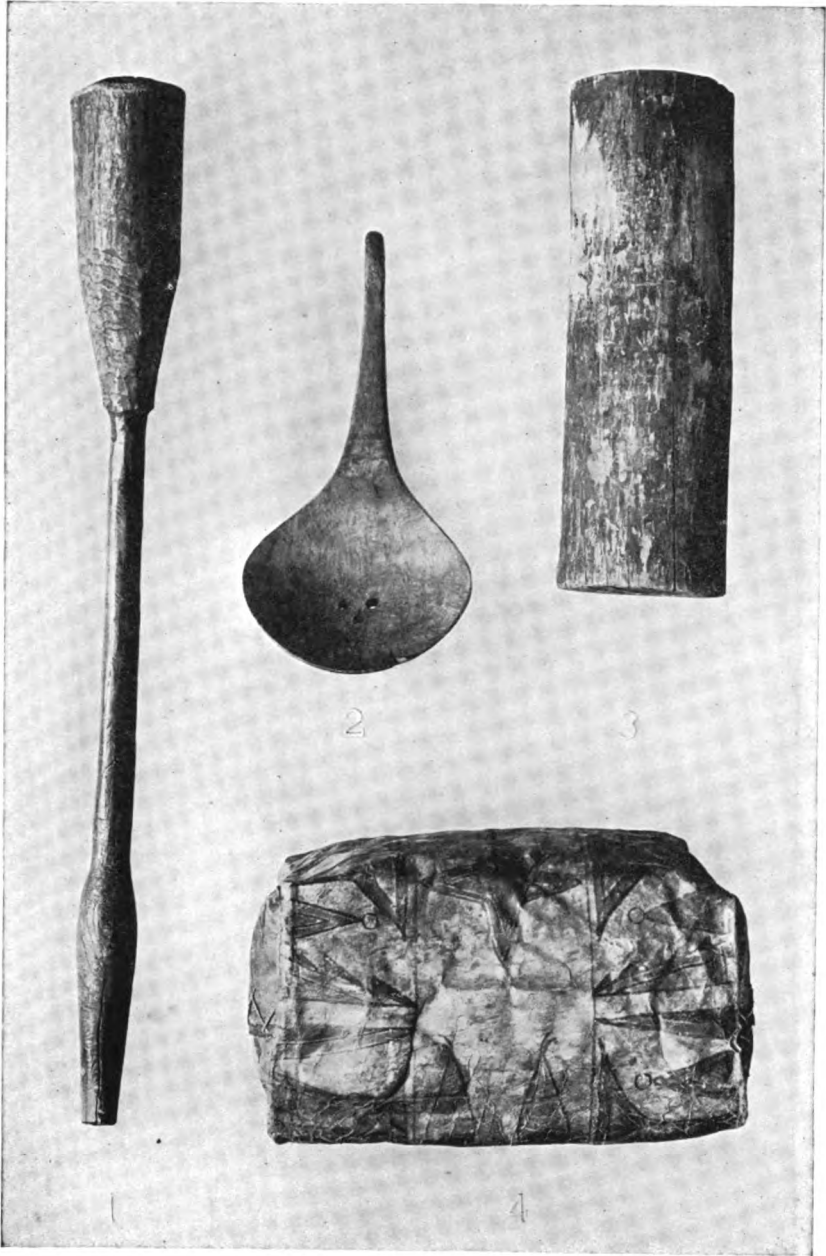
HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS.

Figure 1. Pestle. Catalog number 30242b. Length 46 inches.

Figure 2. Large feasting ladle. Catalog number 30280.

Figure 3. Mortar. Catalog number 30242a. Length 22 inches.

Figure 4. Painted rawhide trunk. Catalog number 30526. Length 18 inches.



Generated at University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill through HathiTrust on 2025-07-05 13:34 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/inu.32000002901595 / Public Domain, Google-digitized

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XXIII.

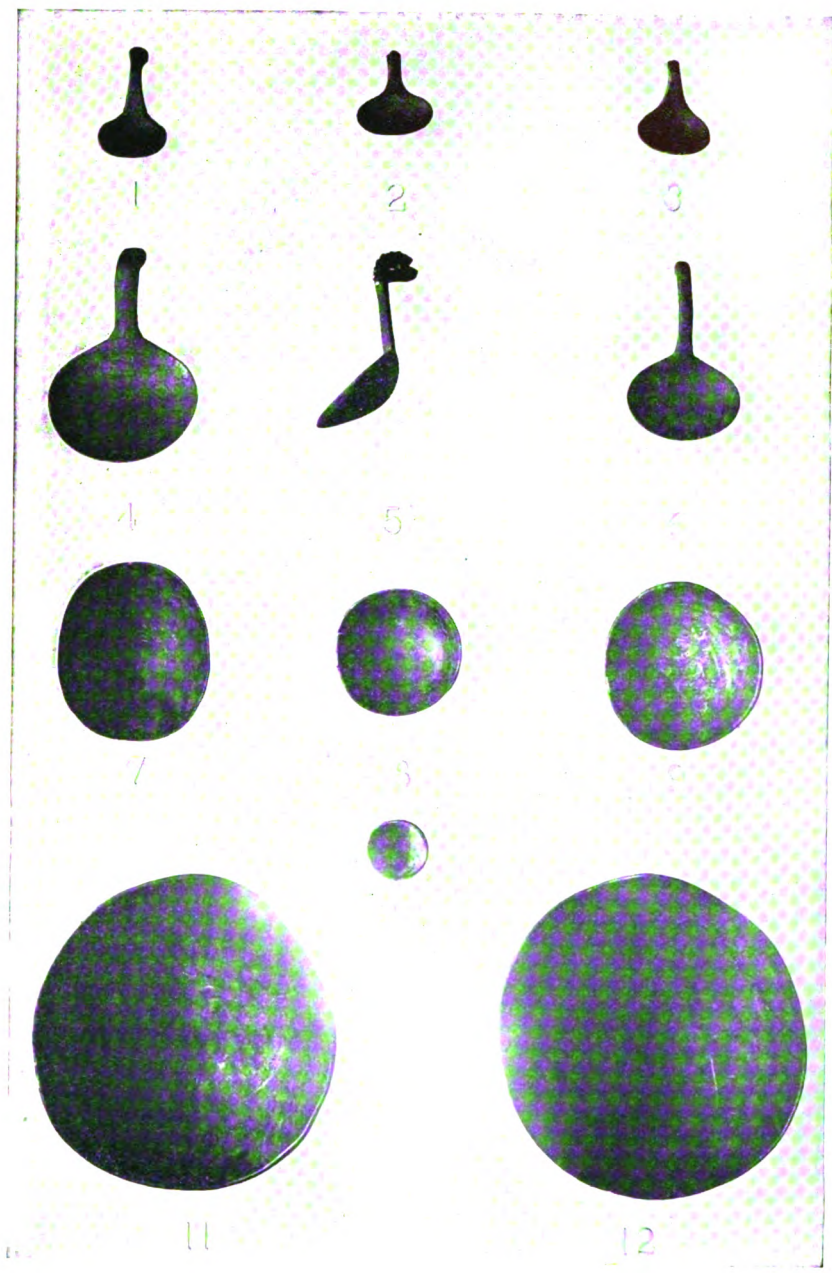
STICK WOODEN BOWLS AND SPOONS.

- Figure 1. Small eating spoon. Catalog number 30288. Length 0½ inches.
- Figure 2. Small individual spoon. Catalog number 30290. Length 7 inches.
- Figure 3. Small individual spoon. Catalog number 30287. Length 7½ inches.
- Figure 4. Large serving ladle. Catalog number 30281. Length 12½ inches.
- Figure 5. Large individual spoon. Edging handle. Catalog number 30282. Length 11½ inches.
- Figure 6. Large individual spoon. Catalog number 30283. Length 10 inches.
- Figure 7. Small wooden bowl. Tortoise shell shape. Catalog number 30285. Length 9½ inches.
- Figure 8. Small wooden bowl. Catalog number 30277. Length 6½ inches.
- Figure 9. Small wooden bowl. Cracked and mended by the Indians. Catalog number 30272. Length 9 inches.
- Figure 10. Thick, mending dose bowl. Catalog number 30278. Length 2½ inches.
- Figure 11. Large wooden feasting bowl. Catalog number 30275. Length 17 inches.
- Figure 12. Large wooden feasting bowl. Catalog number 30273. Length 17 inches.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XXIII.

SAUK WOODEN BOWLS AND LADLES.

- Figure 1. Small eating spoon. Catalog number 30288. Length $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches.
- Figure 2. Small individual spoon. Catalog number 30290. Length 5 inches.
- Figure 3. Small individual spoon. Catalog number 30287. Length $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches.
- Figure 4. Large serving ladle. Catalog number 30281. Length $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches.
- Figure 5. Large individual spoon. Effigy handle. Catalog number 30282. Length $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches.
- Figure 6. Large individual spoon. Catalog number 30283. Length 10 inches.
- Figure 7. Small wooden bowl. Tortoise shell shape. Catalog number 30523. Length $9\frac{5}{8}$ inches.
- Figure 8. Small wooden bowl. Catalog number 30277. Length $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches.
- Figure 9. Small wooden bowl. Cracked and mended by the Indians. Catalog number 30275. Length 9 inches.
- Figure 10. Tiny medicine dose bowl. Catalog number 30278. Length $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches.
- Figure 11. Large wooden feasting bowl. Catalog number 30272. Length 17 inches.
- Figure 12. Large wooden feasting bowl. Catalog number 30522. Length 17 inches.



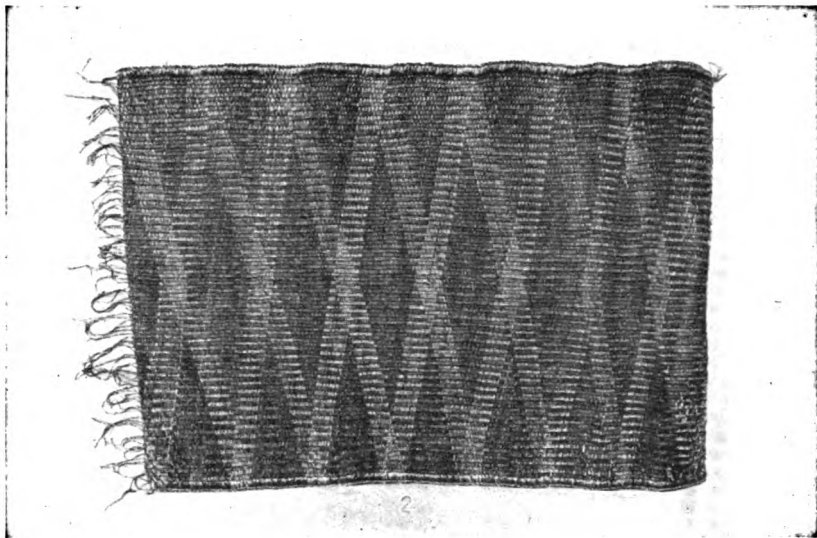
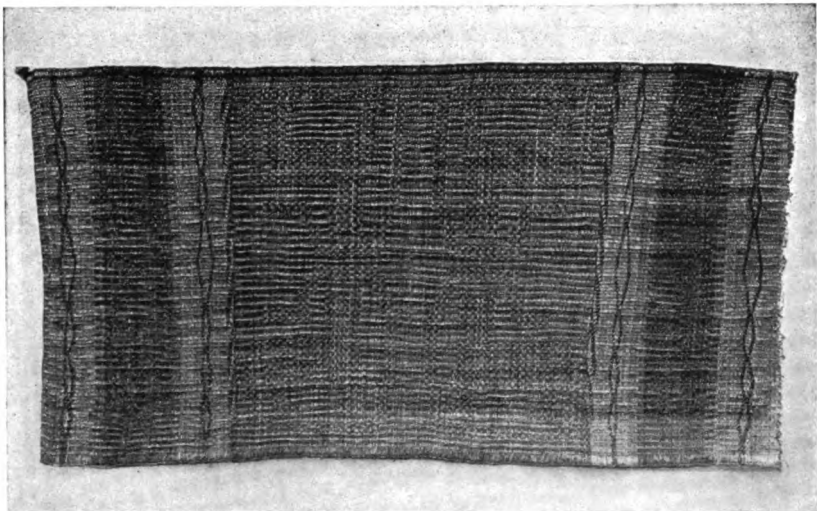
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA AT CHAPEL HILL
LIBRARY
100 SOUTH CHURCH STREET
CHAPEL HILL, N.C. 27514-7001
TEL: 919/957-1234 FAX: 919/957-1234
WWW.UNC-CH.EDU

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XXIV.

REED MATS.

Figure 1. Meskwaki effigy mat.

Figure 2. Sauk mat. Catalog number 30270. Length 4 feet, 3 inches.



EXPLANATION OF PLATE XXX.

MINERAL BLUES WITH PORCELAINE GLAZE (FRONT).

Figure 1. (Front) Mineral blues with porcelain glaze. Catalog number 107571. Length 33 inches.

Figure 2. (Back) Mineral blues with porcelain glaze. Catalog number 107572. Length 33 inches.

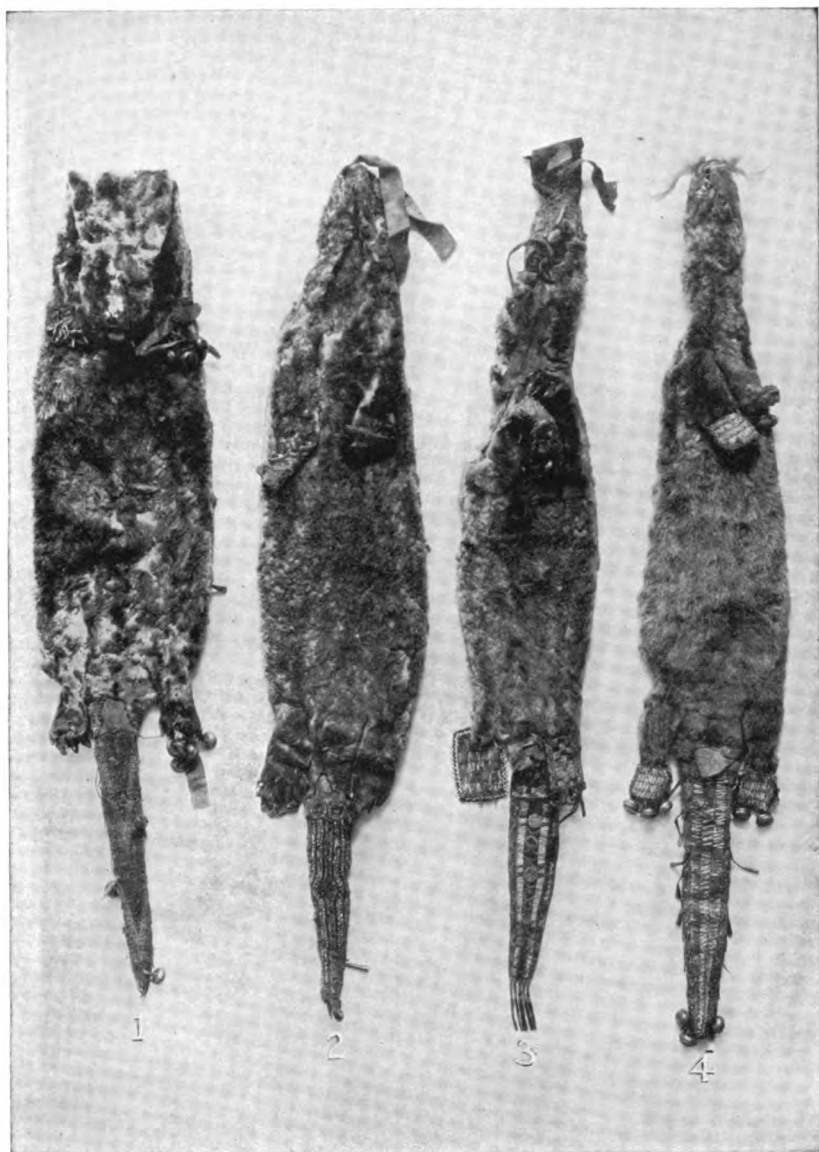
Figure 3. (Front) Mineral blues with porcelain glaze. Catalog number 107573. Length 32 inches.

Figure 4. (Back) Mineral blues with porcelain glaze. Catalog number 107574. Length 32 inches.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XXV.

MEDICINE BAGS WITH PORCUPINE QUILL DECORATIONS.

- Figure 1. Otterskin medicine bag with porcupine quillwork ornaments. Catalog number 30751. Length 33 inches.
- Figure 2. Otterskin medicine bag with porcupine quillwork ornaments. Catalog number 30362. Length 30 inches.
- Figure 3. Otterskin medicine bag with porcupine quillwork ornaments. Catalog number 30361. Length 28 inches.
- Figure 4. Otterskin medicine bag with porcupine quillwork ornaments. Catalog number 30360. Length 28 inches.



EXPLANATION OF PLATE XXVI.

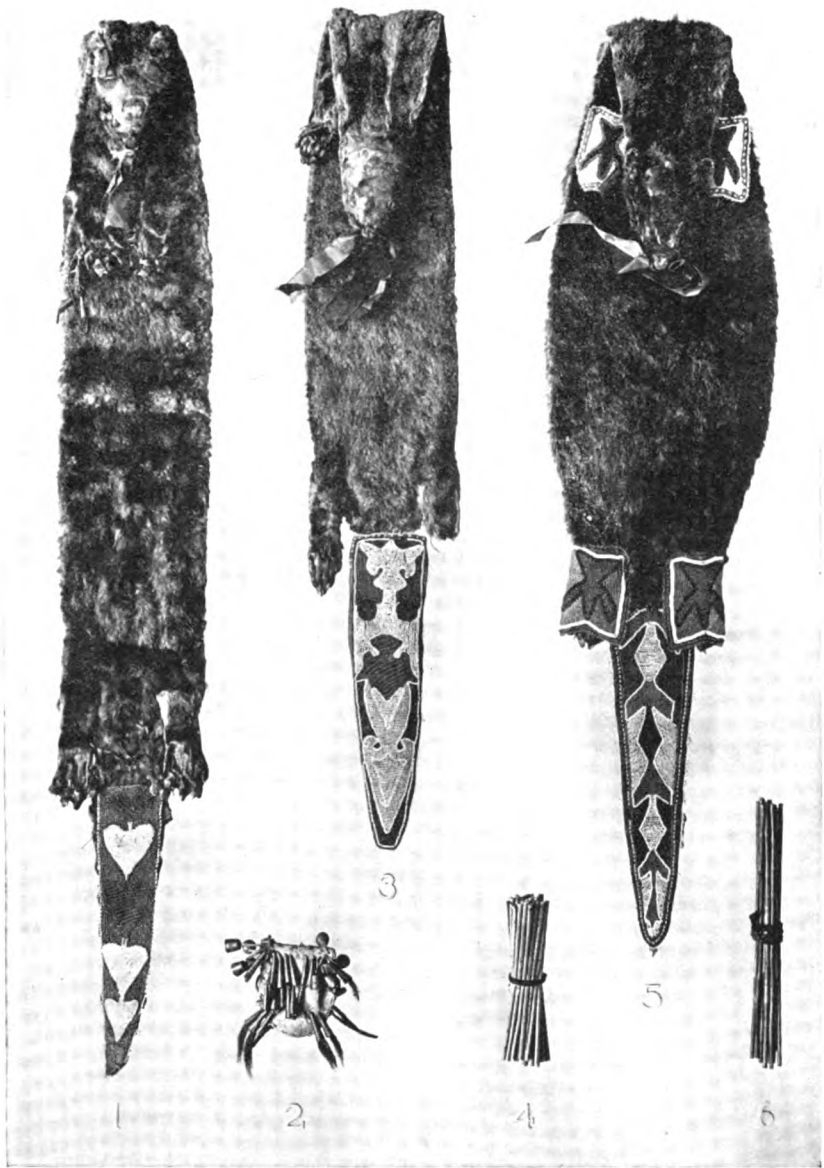
ARTICLES USED IN THE MEDICINE DANCE.

- Figure 1. Quawskin medicine bag. Beaded ornament. Catalog number 30378. Length 3 feet 11 inches.
- Figure 2. A pair of moccasins of rawhide with metal jingles. To be worn on the feet. Catalog number 31085b. Length over all, 2 inches.
- Figure 3. Quawskin medicine bag. Beaded ornament. Catalog number 30377. Length 3 feet 6 3/4 inches.
- Figure 4. A bunch of invitation sticks made of reed. Catalog number 30380. Length 6 1/2 inches.
- Figure 5. Quawskin medicine bag. Beaded ornament. Catalog number 30377. Length 3 feet 10 1/2 inches.
- Figure 6. A bunch of invitation sticks made of cane. Catalog number 30381. Length 10 3/4 inches.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XXVI.

ARTICLES USED IN THE MEDICINE DANCE.

- Figure 1. Otterskin medicine bag. Beaded ornament. Catalog number 30358. Length 3 feet, 11 inches.
- Figure 2. Ornament of rawhide with metal jinglers. To be worn on the foot. Catalog number 31685b. Length over all, 5 inches.
- Figure 3. Otterskin medicine bag. Beaded ornament. Catalog number 30355. Length 3 feet, $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches.
- Figure 4. Bundle of invitation sticks made of reed. Catalog number 30530. Length $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches.
- Figure 5. Otterskin medicine bag. Beaded ornaments. Catalog number 30357. Length 3 feet, $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches.
- Figure 6. Bundle of invitation sticks made of cane. Catalog number 30531. Length $10\frac{3}{4}$ inches.



BULLETIN
OF THE
PUBLIC MUSEUM OF THE CITY OF MILWAUKEE

Vol. 5, No. 4, pp. 181-354, Plates 27-55, Figs. 1-2

June 12, 1926

**Ethnology of the
Ioway Indians**

By
Alanson Skinner

MILWAUKEE, WIS., U. S. A.

Published by Order of the Board of Trustees

Printed by
AETNA PRESS, INC.
Milwaukee, Wis.

Engravings by
HAMMERSMITH-KORTMEYER COMPANY
Milwaukee, Wis.

Ethnology of the Ioway Indians

CONTENTS

| | PAGE |
|--|------|
| Introduction..... | 189 |
| Social Organizations..... | 193 |
| Living Gentes..... | 193 |
| Extinct Gentes..... | 194 |
| Personal Names..... | 195 |
| Gens Names for Dogs and Horses..... | 198 |
| Gens Properties..... | 198 |
| Political Organization..... | 199 |
| Civil Government..... | 199 |
| Military Government..... | 201 |
| Conduct of a War Party..... | 202 |
| Coups and War Honors..... | 204 |
| A War Custom..... | 205 |
| The Braves..... | 205 |
| Privileges and Duties of Braves..... | 206 |
| War Bundles and their Rituals..... | 207 |
| Sacred Pipe Bundles of the Ioway..... | 215 |
| Mythical Origin of the Pipes..... | 218 |
| How the Sacred Pipe Bundle was Opened..... | 220 |
| Peace Making Ceremony..... | 220 |
| Tattooing Ceremony..... | 221 |
| Supplication for Relief from Pestilence..... | 222 |
| Niuta ^a ha, or Smoking Horses..... | 223 |
| Description of the Pipes..... | 223 |
| Ceremonial Organization..... | 238 |
| Military and Social Societies..... | 238 |
| The Heloshka..... | 238 |
| The Tukala..... | 239 |
| The Mawatani..... | 239 |
| Braves' Dance..... | 239 |
| Acting Dead Dance..... | 240 |
| Fire Dance..... | 240 |
| Bone Dance..... | 240 |
| Bouncing Dance..... | 240 |
| Night Dance..... | 241 |
| Leader's Pipe Dance..... | 241 |
| Calumet or Pipe Dance..... | 241 |
| Turtle Dance..... | 241 |
| Bone Shooting Dance..... | 241 |
| Societies Connected with Sacred Bundles and Their Rituals..... | 242 |
| The Buffalo and Bear Doctors..... | 242 |

| | PAGE |
|--|------|
| The Buffalo Tail Society..... | 244 |
| The Grizzly Bear Doctor's Society..... | 244 |
| Fork-tailed Kite Dance..... | 245 |
| Eagle Dance..... | 245 |
| Red Bean Dance..... | 245 |
| The Medicine Dance..... | 247 |
| Origin Myth..... | 247 |
| Initiation..... | 247 |
| Other Rites..... | 248 |
| Names of Paraphernalia for the Medicine Dance..... | 248 |
| Modern Religious Cults..... | 248 |
| The Ghost Dance..... | 248 |
| The Chief's Drum Dance..... | 248 |
| The Peyote..... | 248 |
| Naming Customs..... | 249 |
| Puberty Fasting..... | 249 |
| Marriage Customs..... | 251 |
| Divorce..... | 252 |
| Joking Relationship..... | 252 |
| Mother-in-law Tabu..... | 252 |
| Religious and Mythological Concepts..... | 252 |
| Mortuary Customs..... | 254 |
| The Hereafter..... | 256 |
| Material Culture..... | 256 |
| Costumes..... | 256 |
| Men's Dress..... | 258 |
| Women's Dress..... | 263 |
| Moccasins..... | 264 |
| Buffalo Robes..... | 264 |
| Tattooing..... | 264 |
| House Types..... | 271 |
| The Earth Lodge..... | 273 |
| Wattle and Daub House..... | 276 |
| Square Bark House..... | 276 |
| Oval Bark and Mat House..... | 277 |
| Buffalo Hide Tipi—Camp Circle..... | 277 |
| Household Utensils..... | 277 |
| Bowls..... | 277 |
| Spoons..... | 278 |
| Mortars..... | 278 |
| Corn Crushers..... | 278 |
| Pottery..... | 278 |
| Stone Axes..... | 279 |
| Bone Awls..... | 279 |
| Hair Brush..... | 279 |
| Transportation..... | 280 |
| Baby Carriers..... | 280 |
| Rawhide Trunks..... | 281 |
| Woven Reed Mats..... | 285 |
| Woven Bags..... | 285 |

| | PAGE |
|--------------------------|------|
| Leather Pouches..... | 287 |
| Bows and Arrows..... | 287 |
| Shields..... | 288 |
| Vegetal Foods..... | 288 |
| Hunting..... | 289 |
| Fishing..... | 290 |
| Meat Foods..... | 290 |
| Musical Instruments..... | 291 |
| Tanning..... | 291 |
| Games..... | 292 |
| LaCrosse..... | 292 |
| Woman's Shinney..... | 292 |
| Hoop and Javelin..... | 293 |
| Bowl and Dice..... | 293 |
| Months and Seasons..... | 293 |

ILLUSTRATIONS

Plates

- Plate XXVII.** Ioway specimens in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation.
- XXVIII.** Objects from an Ioway war bundle.
- XXIX.** Ioway gens pipes.
- XXX.** Reverse sides of Ioway gens pipes.
- XXXI.** Bowls of Ioway sacred pipes.
- XXXII.** Ioway clan peace pipes.
- XXXIII.** Stem of the Owl gens peace pipe.
- XXXIV.** Missouri gens pipes.
- XXXV.** Missouri gens pipes.
- XXXVI.** Ioway ceremonial objects.
- XXXVII.** Calumet dance paraphernalia.
- XXXVIII.** Articles selected from Ioway Buffalo doctor's bundles.
- XXXIX.** Contents of a Grizzly Bear doctor's bundle.
- XL.** Ioway specimens in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation.
- XLI.** Animal skin medicine bags.
- XLII.** Specimens from the Ioway Indians.
- XLIII.** Peyote ceremonial paraphernalia.
- XLIV.** Old-time Ioway Indians in costume.
- XLV.** Modern Ioway man's garments.
- XLVI.** Man's decorated legging.
- XLVII.** Ioway moccasins.
- XLVIII.** Ioway yarn sash or belt.
- XLIX.** Woman's garments and other articles.
- L.** A tattooing bundle and part of its contents.
- LI.** Household utensils.
- LII.** Household utensils.
- LIII.** Miscellaneous articles.
- LIV.** Ioway baby carriers.
- LV.** Rawhide trunks.

Text Figures

- Figure 1.** Incised decoration shown on elkhorn scraper illustrated in plate LII, fig. 1.
- 2.** Incised decoration shown on elkhorn handle illustrated in plate LII, fig. 2.

INTRODUCTION

The Ioway Indians are a little known people of the Tciwere branch of the Siouan stock. They are particularly worthy of interest in that while they belong to one linguistic family, their material culture and folklore are largely identified with those of the component peoples of another group, the Central Algonkian. In other words, the Ioway, like their close relatives, the Winnebago, once possessed a material culture wholly based upon that of the Central Algonkians, with only a few radical departures towards the Plains type. Some features, such as decorative art, are developed to an exuberance seldom seen among the founders of the parent culture.

So far as the mental life of the Ioway is concerned—that is, with regard to their political and social organization, societies, etc., perhaps excepting their religion—they show more originality, and are identified strongly with their close linguistic relatives, the Winnebago, Oto, Missouri, and even the Omaha, Osage, and Ponca. This group of Siouans, contrary to the evidence of material culture, seem to have reacted upon the Central Algonkians, among whom those tribes closest in contact with them have experienced a certain tightening up of social life, a remodeling of customs after the pattern of the more definitely organized Siouan type, and quite different from that of the uninfluenced Algonkians. This seems more probable because in the east those Algonkians who came in contact with the Iroquois have also abandoned their ancient ways and adopted the matriarchal system of the Five Nations, as can be readily observed in studying the customs of the Delaware and Mahikan.

In their religious life, the Ioway and their Tciwere relatives, have bodily taken over the great rite known as the Medicine Dance, which after some modification according to tribal standards or patterns, has become the principal religious ceremony of these tribes.

In common with the Central Algonkians, the Ioway learned the art of weaving thread of inner basswood, cedar, and nettle fibre. They made knot bowls and spoons of wood and buffalo horn. Stone corn crushers and metates were utilized, and rawhide was freely used for the making of receptacles. They had buffalo hide shields and separate soled moccasins, dwelt in earth, wattle and daub, bark and mat houses, and even used rawhide tipis.

The social system of the Ioway was founded firmly on caste, rank being according to birth or, quite secondarily, according to achievement. These cleavages were very important in their social and ceremonial life, and are even reflected in their folklore and mythology. Probably nowhere in North America, unless it may have been among the Natchez or on the Northwest Coast, were social classes more strongly emphasized.

When at the height of their power, the Ioway must have been wealthy, for an Indian tribe, and personal property must have accumulated to the point of cumbersomeness, when one considers the extraordinary number of Ioway societies and cults, to a number of which each tribesman of importance belonged. Each of these clubs had its own prescribed paraphernalia and often a special costume. In the extraordinary profusion of these associations, the Ioway far outstrip any of their Central Algonkian associates.

Practically speaking, Ioway native culture, in all its branches, is dead. Of the seventy-nine survivors of the tribe in Oklahoma or the one hundred sixty-two less primitive members in Kansas and Nebraska on the Nemaha Reservation, not one today keeps up the ancient rites, or even believes in them. The last pagan was the late Chief David Tohee, who died during the great influenza epidemic a few years ago. The rest of the tribe are either Peyote devotees or Christians. At the present writing, hardly an object of native manufacture remains in their hands, and the data presented in this paper have been gleaned from the memories of the older men and women of this once important tribe, or from specimens collected by the writer or in several museums. The writer has visited the band in Oklahoma in 1914, 1922, and 1923, and the Kansas-Nebraska band during the last two years named.

In order to thoroughly understand Ioway culture, it is necessary to glance at the history of their migrations, which makes it apparent that they began as a people of true Woodland culture, derived from surrounding tribes of the Central region. They were later subjected to a very strong influence from the Plains, so that in the latter part of their existence, before the complete destruction of their native life, they were in a process of transition from Woodland to Plains habits. Being conservative, however, they clung tenaciously to many of their old customs. This transition of the Southern Siouan peoples from Forest to Plains culture may be traced in successive steps from the Winnebago, who still maintain a true Woodland culture of Central Algonkian form, through the Ioway, who are somewhat modified, to

the Oto, who are still more Plains-like, thence to the Omaha, and finally to the Ponca, who have, in recent years, become typical Plains people, taking over a culture based upon that of the Ogalala Sioux, their Forest traits being now only vestigial.

According to the "Handbook of American Indians", the traditionary history of Ioway migrations, which is well authenticated by documentary and other records since the arrival of the whites, first locates them somewhere north of the Great Lakes, at one with the Winnebago. Migrating southward, the Winnebago were fascinated with the wealth of food about Lake Michigan, and remained where they were later found, in Wisconsin. The Ioway, however, pushed forward, going southwest through Wisconsin to the banks of the Mississippi, settling for a while on the east bank near the mouth of the Rock River in Illinois. Thence they pushed on to the Des Moines, and then northward into Minnesota, where they stopped for a time near the famous catlinite quarries. Thence southward to the Platte, leaving there for the headwaters of the Little Platte in Missouri. From here their restless spirit drove them to the west bank of the Mississippi above the mouth of the Des Moines, then up the west bank, then southwest, stopping again on Salt River and following it to its source, thence to the upper Chariton River, on to Grand River, and finally to the Missouri River opposite Fort Leavenworth.

In 1824 they ceded their lands in Missouri, and in 1836 they withdrew to Kansas, where some of them still dwell on the Great Nemaha Reservation on the Kansas-Nebraska line. Some withdrew to Oklahoma a generation or more ago, and are to be found today near Perkins on the Cimarron River, where they were allotted in 1890.

In 1676 Father Andre says of the Ioway that they then resided two hundred leagues west of Green Bay, Wisconsin, and that they were poor, their greatest wealth consisting of buffalo hides and red calumets¹. These calumets may indeed be the veritable specimens described in this paper, jealously guarded these many years in their buffalo hide wrappers.

The Ioway call themselves "*Ai'yuwe*" or "*Ai'yue*," which is translated by the "Handbook of American Indians" as "Sleepy Ones," but according to Little Elk, the term has some connection with "marrow." In this paper, the writer has preferred to use the spelling "Ioway," as it more nearly approximates the native pronunciation of the name, whereas the term in common usage, "Iowa" is pronounced

¹Jesuit Relations, Thwaites Edition, Vol. LX, p. 203, 1900.

"aiowa," and is as much of a barbarism as the vulgar term "Ojibwa" or "Chippewa," which is far indeed from the true native name "*Odjibwe*." Moreover, there is, in Oklahoma, a tribe wholly unrelated to the Ioway, the Kiowa, whose anglicized name is easily confused with Iowa.

The Ioway also call themselves "*Pahódje*," a term probably adopted from their Oto neighbors. This the Ioway say means "Snow Covered," and refers to the fact that when the Oto first came upon the Ioway, it was winter, and snow lay upon their lodges. However, the usual translations found in literature are "Gray Snow" and "Dusty Ones," both apparently derived in a somewhat similar way from the same tradition, or a variant of it.

In this paper the notation of native words is given as simply as possible. Vowels have their continental values—' indicates a glottal stop, x an aspirant, ^x a whispered aspirant, and ^a a nasal n which is often scarcely heard, [!] is an explosive sound.

There exists very little published material on the Ioway. The principal sources of information being as follows:

1. Article "Iowa," The Handbook of the American Indians. Bull. 30, Bur. Am. Ethnology.
2. Catlin, Geo., The Fourteen Ioway Indians, etc. London, 1844.
3. Catlin, Geo., Adventures of the Ojibbeway and Ioway Indians, etc. London, 1852.
4. Dorsey, James Owen, The Social Organization of the Siouan Tribes. Jour. American Folklore, Vol. 4, p. 338, 1891.
5. Dorsey, James Owen, The Sister and Brother, an Iowa Tradition. American Antiquarian, Vol. 4, pp. 286-289, Chicago, 1881-2.
6. Miner, William Harvey, The Iowa. Torch Press, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1911.
7. Skinner, Alanson, Societies of the Iowa, Kansa, and Ponca Indians. Anth. Papers, Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., Vol. 11, pp. 683-740, N. Y., 1915.
8. Skinner, Alanson, Medicine Ceremony of the Menomini, Iowa and Wahpeton Dakota Indians, etc. Indian Notes and Monographs, Mus. Am. Indian—Heye Foundation, Vol. IV, pp. 189-261, N. Y., 1920.
9. Irvin, Rev. S. M., The Waw-Ru-Haw-a, The Decline and Fall of Indian Superstitions. Phila., 1871. (Printed by Alfred Martien, 1214 Chestnut St.)

There are also some references to Ioway ethnology in Schoolcraft's reports, based on the letters of Irvin and Hamilton, and in Dorsey's "Study of Siouan Cults and the Cegihe Language," in the Smithsonian Contributions.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

According to tradition each gens of the Ioway was founded by four animals, brothers, who became human beings. In consequence each gens is composed of four subgentes, the members of each of which claim descent from one of these four ancestors.

If asked his gens, a man may reply by merely giving the gens name, but, if he wishes to be precise, he may give both his gens and subgens, as, for example, *Mu'njê Wato'gehri*. Again, he may give the gens and the ordinal name of his subgens ancestor. In former times, not only were the subgentes each called for one of the ancestor brothers, but the members of every gens had the right to name children after them, and a feminine form of each existed, made by adding the syllable *me* or *mi* to the masculine: as, *Wato'gehri-me*, *Inu'wahu-mi*, etc. The gentes are exogamic and patrilineal, and the subgentes seem to be without functions.

The gentes, in order of their present importance, are: Bear, Buffalo, Pigeon, Elk, Eagle and Thunder, Wolf, Red Earth, Snake, Beaver, and Owl. The last four are said to be extinct, the Beaver, for example, being now forgotten, though recorded by Dorsey. Data on these gentes were given the writer by the Ioway as follows:

LIVING GENTES

1. *Tuna'pi Kiradji* or Black Bear gens².
 - a. *Wato'gehri*—Four Together.
 - b. *Inu'wahu*—Comes With Him.
 - c. *Wani'tcaki*—Strong Mind.
 - d. *Thigripi*—Good Tracks.
2. *Tce Kiradji* (also called *A'ruwha*)³, or Buffalo gens.
 - a. *Tci'nâkiu*—Village Maker.
 - b. *K^xe'rata*—Clear Day.

²The Bear gens also has a second or common name, *Mânjê*, the term *Tuna'pi* being considered a sacred or ceremonial appellation.

³The second name is a ceremonial title, perhaps once applied to another clan now absorbed by this group. It means "Female buffalo."

- c. *Naoⁿtaⁱ*—Road Maker⁴.
- d. *Mao^rradje*—Mired in Mud.
- 3. *Lutci Kiradji* or Pigeon Gens.
 - a. *Lutciⁿya*—"Mister" Pigeon.
 - b. *Lutcahren*—Old Pigeon.
 - c. *Awemongre*—Up Wing.
 - d. *Miⁿkā^rhingre*—Big Raccoon⁵.
- 4. *Hrodadtci Kiradji* or Elk Gens.
 - a. *Homaki^rrtci*—Elk Bend.
 - b. *Homa^runya*—Big Elk.
 - c. *Homa^rka*—White Elk.
 - d. *Hompe^ra*—Bull Elk.
- 5. *Hra Kiradji* (eagle) and *Wakanda Kiradji* (thunder) Linked Gens⁶.
 - a. *Bashumani*—Storm and Hail or *K[!]owaⁿye*, Thunder.
 - b. *Noto[']we*—Lightning Struck.
 - c. *Ni[']manⁱ*—Always Raining (Walking Rain?)
 - d. *Mangri ta'amani*—Soaring Eagle.
- 6. *Shunta Kiradje* or Wolf Gens⁷.
 - a. *Shuntáthere*—Black Wolf.
 - b. *Shunta'nka*—Big Wolf.
 - c. *Shuntahodje*—Half Coyote (gray wolf?)
 - d. *Maⁿyikathi*—Coyote.

EXTINCT GENTES

7. *Mokátcuze Kiradji* or Red Earth Band.

A band, who, tradition states, first moved westward from a mythical home in the east where the sunrise reddens the land by the ocean. No subgentes are remembered. The next two are from Dorsey, and in his notation.

- 8. *Wa-kaⁿ*—Snake.
 - a. *Wa-kaⁿ-ci*—Yellow Snake, i. e., Rattlesnake.
 - b. *Wa-kaⁿ-qtci*—Real Snake (named after a species of rattlesnake).
 - c. *Ce-ke-yin-e*—Small or young like the Copperhead Snake.

⁴Reference to the old time buffalo trails so deeply worn in the prairie.

⁵No explanation of the fact that a raccoon subgens occurs in the pigeon gens was obtainable.

⁶Though the two names were given as separate, they seem interchangeable, a fact noted by Dorsey. The *Wakanda* (literally "god") gens is also called *Tce^hhida*.

⁷Dorsey gives *Mitciratce* for this gens, which may be the ceremonial title.

- d. *Wa-kaⁿ-go-tce*—Gray Snake (a long snake, which the Omaha call swift blue snake).
9. Beaver. Subgentes forgotten.
10. *Maⁿ-ko-ke*—Owl.

PERSONAL NAMES

Every Ioway individual had an abundance of names. First, there were the fixed ordinal names always applicable in every family and used for both men and women. Then there were the regular gentile personal names. Each family of each gens had the right to call their children, male or female, by a name referring to the ancestor of their father's subgens, or some attribute thereof. In addition, a man who performed an exploit in war might change his name on that account, and could change it on the occasion of every new exploit or supernatural experience. Hence, one man might have half a dozen names during the course of his life, and of these he always had two or three at once; that is, his ordinal name, next his gentile name, given by his parents, and third, his own chosen war exploit, or individual name.

The ordinal names, being the first a man or woman received, are given here before the others. They find parallels among the Sioux and Menomini. They are:

| | Male | Female |
|-----------------------|----------------|-------------------|
| First Born | <i>Henghru</i> | <i>Henu</i> |
| Second Born | <i>Henu</i> | <i>Miha</i> |
| Third Born | <i>Haka</i> | <i>Hatika</i> |
| Last One ⁸ | <i>Hakāinē</i> | <i>Hatika'inē</i> |

The individual names belonging to each gens are many, and may be made up apparently *ad infinitum*. In addition to the names of the subgentes, which are also used as names for individuals, the following are samples. All refer to the gens ancestors and have a mythological reference.

I. Bear Gens.

1. *Hangeskuna*, Not there. Reference to disappearance of the mythical pipe-maker.
2. *Hangeskuna-imi* (female), She's-not-there.
3. *Wita'tai* (male), Hears-pounding⁹. *Witai-imi* (female form).

⁸In any case, where there are more than four children, male or female, all above three are called by the last name given.

⁹Reference to third of the brothers, who heard the pounding of the mysterious pipe-maker, according to tradition.

These names belong by right only to the leading family which owns the sacred pipe, and have special reference to it. The more common bears are named as follows:

4. *Mantrêho'we*, Bear-guardian.
5. *Tunapinjimi*, Real-bear-woman.
6. *Munjêhûnje*, Big-bear.
7. *Thrididuwê*, Four-tracks.
8. *Munta'thredgê*, Long-body.
9. *Wigre^u*, Noticing-them.
10. *Okiwimi*, Female-bear-that-walks-on-another's-back.
11. *Notcêningê*, No-heart-of-fear.
12. *Wa"sikêtcimê*, Real-person (woman).

The names pertaining to bears can only be used by bear gens members, and so on, throughout the tribe.

II. Buffalo Gens.

1. *Nuya'tci*, Forked-corn-sprout.
2. *Ma^zotcera*, Corn-tassel-man¹⁰.
3. *Tceinê*, or *Tcetoye*, Little-buffalo.
4. *Tcedjimi*, Little-yellow-bull.
5. *Tcetoⁿeⁱ*, Standing-buffalo.
6. *Tceimi*, Buffalo-woman.
7. *Abrakoⁿeⁱ*, Buffalo-standing-in-bottom.
8. *Tcedutu*, Buffalo-ribs.
9. *Tcewana'ki*, Buffalo-ghost.
10. *Ahenaskai*, Fetlock.
11. *Tadjeto'wimê*, Four-winds-woman.
12. *Uje'a*, Urinates-in-the-water.

III. Pigeon Gens.

1. *Rutceka*, White-pigeon.
2. *Min^xâ^xû*, White-raccoon.
3. *Rutceinyê*, Little-pigeon.
4. *Maioⁿpi'dgri*, Bird-who-found-land, i. e., the world, a mythical reference.
5. *Lomitcngû*, Island (the earth, another mythical reference).
6. *Lutonyiwimê*, Strutting-pigeon-woman.
7. *Lutonuimi*, Pigeon-on-wing-woman.

IV. Elk Gens.

1. *Xomaiyo* or *Xomaiunji*, Little-elk, also *Xoma-inyê*.

¹⁰Joe Springer was a buffalo gens member and one of his daughters bears the feminine version of this name, Corn-tassel-woman, another is named Four-winds-woman.

2. *Xomashudje*, Red-elk.
3. *Xomaka*, White-elk.
4. *Xompe^zretca*, Filled-out-antlers.

V. Eagle-Thunder Gens.

1. *Dakrahanje*, Big-eagle.
2. *Hkrañnye*, Little-eagle.
3. *Wakandathe're*, Black-god (thunder).
4. *Hkrashudje*, Red-eagle.
5. *Hkradjimi*, Red-eagle-woman.
6. *Wakanda*, God (thunder).
7. *K^zratci*, Original-eagle.
8. *Maⁿgruwe*, Circling-eagle.
9. *Kunzayami*, Soaring-eagle-woman.
10. *Iwbra'tina*, Forcing-its-way-through.
11. *Tcaridatjimi*, Real-eagle-woman.
12. *Tcoda'imi*, or *Tcudrhukimi*, Lightning-in-house-woman.

VI. Wolf Gens.

1. *Shuntaⁿai*, Standing-wolf.
2. *Shuntanka*, Big-(black)-bear.
3. *Shûntunkthewe*, Black-wolf.
4. *Shuntaioⁿyê*, Little-wolf.
5. *Shuntahojê*, Gray-wolf¹¹.
6. *Manyi'hu*, Walks-from-the-creation-on.
7. *Kighru'gra*, Master-of-himself.
8. *Kighru'grami*, Mistress-of-herself.
9. *Nai'iⁿhu*, Standing-up.
10. *Wihozinyê*, Asks-for-instruction.
11. *A^zhe'wehu*, Coming-out.
12. *Maaⁿyi*, Has-arrow.
13. *Naⁿgwaⁿyê*, You-are-afraid-of-me (has no female form).
14. *Wathaⁿyê*, Medicine-dance (this name, like No. 13, has no female form).
15. *Wa'nathungê*, Conqueror.
16. *Mungra'tugêmi*, Gnawing-bones.

VII. Snake Gens.

1. *Wakahandje*, Big-snake.
2. *Wakainye*, Little-snake.
3. *Wakato'imi*, Blue-snake-woman.

¹¹The people of this gens make fun of themselves in their names, and pretend they breed with coyotes.

VIII. Beaver Gens.

1. *Nawimi*, Little-beaver-woman.
2. *Nawinyê*, Little-beaver.
3. *Batha'me*, Real-beaver.

Certain persons in each gens "held" the names of the division, and these they "gave out" to those who bought the right by means of presents, so that they might name their children.

GENS NAMES FOR DOGS AND HORSES

The Ioway formerly possessed a number of names which were given to dogs or horses belonging to members of each gens. These names were founded principally on mythological history, and have now been almost entirely forgotten. According to Mr. Oliver Lemere, a Winnebago, his tribe formerly had the custom of giving gens names to their dogs. A few of the Ioway dog and horse names (they were never numerous) that are still remembered are:

Dog Names (Buffalo Gens).

- Nokrêci*, Talking-to-trees.
- Ne^zkiwaru*, Tree-to-tree.
- Mi^zgrekiskadji*, Plays-with-excrement.

Horse Names (Buffalo Gens).

- Legraki*, Packs-his-member-on-his-back.

These names are all derived from the myth of Ishjinki and the medicine plants.

Dog Names (Wolf Gens).

- Thi'greo'tungê*, Trailer.
- Kugra'tcidahiye*, Soaring.

GENS PROPERTIES

Each gens had its sacred pipe, obtained traditionally by the four ancestor founders. It had also its war bundle and tattooing bundle. No taboos, similar to those of the Omaha and Ponca were learned, but certain gentes had special privileges. There is some connection between the seven gens pipes and the constellation called "Seven Stars" by the Ioway which I do not understand. Seven is a magical number among the Ioway. Tohee remarked to the writer on one occasion, "Everything goes by sevens. There are the seven stars, the seven gentes, and the seven pipes."

The so-called "ghost bundle," which is really nothing more or less than an oath bundle, was the property of the *Wakanda Kiradje* (god or thunder gens). The principal part of this bundle was a "spirit rock" or iron (*maⁿdewatsaⁿsa*), imbued with sacred power, which came from Wakanda. The bundle was used when war honors were contested. Two or more warriors, each claiming the same coup, called upon the bundle owner to open his pack. This he did for them, unwrapping the sacred rock which was said to be enclosed in seven buffalo bladder envelopes. Each contestant who thought himself in the right would take, from the bundle, a slender stick about two feet long and hold it up towards heaven, calling upon the sacred powers to hear his oath that his statement was true. He then dropped the wand upon the rock and if it stuck there he had spoken the truth, if it rolled off he had lied, and was in danger of being struck by lightning or of losing his horses in this way. In consequence, very few were willing to run the risk of such a penalty and it was seldom that the oath bundle was brought into service. Even if a man escaped the wrath of the gods, he was disgraced if his wand rolled off the rock, because the public were all gathered to witness and such a mishap would point to the lack of veracity of the oath taken and would mean social ruin. The bundle was called into requisition just after the scalp dance.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS

CIVIL GOVERNMENT

The civil chiefs of each gens are the eldest male lineal descendants of the four gens ancestors, the descendant of the eldest brother being paramount in each gens. The officers in the group are hereditary. If a chief dies, his eldest living son succeeds him, and if he has no sons his daughter's son or his niece's son follows, but never a female relative. If the heir apparent is a child, another chief or a notable warrior is chosen as his regent. The war chiefs are those who have charge of the gens war bundle. Each chief had a staff or wand of office, one of which, belonging to a chief of the Wolf gens is shown in plate XXXVI, fig. 1. It is called *wirotci paⁿnegr^rri*. The four knobs once had bunches of shavings and each represented a coup. It is adorned with otter fur stubs and braids of sweet grass.

As the ancestors of the Bear and Buffalo gentes were supposed to have been the founders of the tribe, these gentes are most important.

The Bear gens rules half the year, during fall and winter, as bears like the cold, and the Buffalo the remaining seasons. That is, the tribal chief during half the year is the eldest lineal descendant of the eldest Bear gens ancestor, and during the rest of the year, of the Buffalo. This is suggestive of Omaha, Pawnee, and Southwestern customs.

According to Dorsey the camp circle of the Ioway was divided into two half circles composed of two moieties of four gentes each. The first, under the Bear gens, regulated the hunt and other tribal affairs during the autumn and winter, the second under the Buffalo, managed in spring and summer. The order of the camp circle was as follows:

| First Half Circle | Second Half Circle |
|----------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Black Bear | 6. Buffalo |
| 2. Wolf | 7. Pigeon |
| 3. Eagle and Thunder | 8. Snake |
| 4. Elk | 9. Owl |
| 5. Beaver | |

Dorsey gives the Pigeon gens as first in the second moiety, but this is unquestionably an error, as all informants are agreed that the Buffalo gens was the leader in spring and summer. The order of the camp circle is now wholly or nearly forgotten, although it is still remembered that there was once such a custom.

When on the march a leader was chosen each day by the chiefs of the gens leading during that part of the year. This man took charge of the people, saw to it that they were guarded and well cared for during the day, and selected the camp spot at night. When he pitched his lodge no one dared to pass ahead, but all camped behind him in a circle (*watuda*) or semi-circle, if the nature of the land would permit. The camp criers were then ordered to tell the individual bands where to camp, and each gens camped with its chief in its designated part of the circle. The tribal chief camped in the center of the circle. If anyone broke away and camped further on than the tent of the leader of the day, he was treated to a "soldier killing," in this case a ceremonial whipping by the *waia'kida* or soldiers, two of whom were allotted to each chief and lived in his lodge. When all was in order, and night had fallen, the officer of the day invited all the other chiefs of the tribe to his lodge, feasted them, and surrendered his office. At this time the chief's personal pipe or even the gens sacred pipe was smoked. They then chose another leader for the next day.

The Buffalo gens was supposed to "own the corn" and in the spring no one might break the earth and plant corn until after a ceremonial beginning had been made, in which the chiefs of the Buffalo gens planted a few grains. The Buffalo chiefs then gave a feast and announced that the others could start.

MILITARY GOVERNMENT

The military affairs of the tribe were in the hands of the gens war bundle owners and those braves who had made a name for themselves in war. When a young man of importance wished to go to war, he called all the war leaders (or war bundle owners) together, they coming gladly when they heard that a chief's or brave's son wanted to go on the war path. The war bundles of the gens were brought in and opened¹² while songs were sung to the accompaniment of the gourd rattle. No women were allowed to be present under any consideration, and all the men present must be sexually clean. They prepared by taking sweat baths on four successive days before coming and by abstaining from their wives, and, above all things, from contact with menstruating women.

After the bundle songs came the war dance. During the entire performance, the owner of the gens war bundle had charge of all the procedure, but sat back doing nothing.

After the war dance, however, he called for volunteers, and the youths came forward announcing their intention of joining the party. When this was done the leader or bundle owner (*dotuⁿpagre*), presumably the bundle owner of the leading subgens, picked out four assistants (*nikowatha*) and a fifth man (*waruhawekle*) to carry the bundle. He then selected three youths, preferably his own nephews, to act as cooks and waiters (*lexik^ze*), and set the time of departure for eight days later.

Meanwhile, as soon as the meeting broke up, the volunteers informed their families and female relatives that they were going on the warpath. The relatives were proud, and the women prepared many moccasins for the youths to carry and got ready roots, herbs and medicines, preferably those pertaining to the buffalo, to bring him back safely.

Catlin gives some data on the war ceremony known as the "Wolf Song." He says:

¹²This suggests that each gens may have had several bundles, probably one for each subgens. Robert Small declares this to be the case.

"This amusing song, which I have since learned more of, and which I believe to be peculiar to the Ioways, seems to come strictly under the province of the *medicine* and *mystery* man. . . . The occasion that calls for this song in the Ioway country is, when a party of young men who are preparing to start on a war excursion against their enemy (after having fatigued the whole village for several days with the war dance, making their boasts how they are going to slay their enemies, etc.) have retired to rest, at a late hour in the night, to start the next morning, at break of day, on their intended expedition. In the dead of that night, and after the vaunting war party have got into a sound sleep, the serenading party, to sing this song, made up of a number of young fellows who care at that time much less about taking scalps than they do for a little good fun, appear back of the wig-wams of these "men of war," and commence serenading them with this curious song, which they have ingeniously taken from the howling of a gang of wolves, and so admirably adapted it to music as to form it into a most amusing duet, quartet, or whatever it may be better termed; and with this song, with its barking and howling chorus, they are sure to annoy the party until they get up, light the fire, get out their tobacco, and other little luxuries they may have prepared for their excursion, which they will smoke and partake with them until daylight, if they last so long, when they will take leave of their morning friends who are for the "death," thanking them for their liberality and kindness in starting, wishing them a goodnight's sleep (when night comes again) and a successful campaign against the enemies."

CONDUCT OF A WAR PARTY

If a person had one of his relatives slain by the enemy, or if one of his horses was stolen by the foe, or worse, if its mane and tail were cut off (this was considered the equivalent of scalping a person), he had just cause to make war, and went to the bundle owner of his gens with presents and requested his help to obtain vengeance.

The bundle owner then sent out invitations to go to war, which were usually general in their scope, and addressed to "all those who consider themselves men enough to face the enemy." Sometimes, however, these invitations were governed by social considerations, and were restricted to Chiefs, Chief's sons, or Braves.

Contrary to the information given Mr. Harrington, and cited a few pages later, my informants stated that the leader bore the war bundle,

upon his own back, and, as is customary among the Central Algonkians, was not permitted to turn back or step aside, except in the case of great emergencies. When in camp, the war bundle was not allowed to touch the ground, but was hung up. The partizan usually took his nephews with him as assistants, with especial reference to the rites of the sacred bundle. These men were called *dexeki*, and ranked next to the leader himself. Individuals went to war for various reasons, but chiefly for fame. A father might say to his son, "Go out and die so that I may hear of you till the end of my days. Increase your name. If you are shot in the back and fall on your face, I'll be ashamed, but if you are wounded in front and fall on your back, I'll be proud."

For this reason, young men often went to war weaponless, with the intention of being killed. Others carried only whips or light slender sticks, clubs, or spears, but the majority bore bows and arrows or, later, guns. A seer or prophet was taken along to insure success, and to predict triumph or warn the party of impending disaster.

None knew the exact time at which the war party left, they just disappeared together on the appointed day, as a rule, some time early in the morning or after dusk. The advancing war party sent out three or four men as scouts who always reconnoitered before them. If the scouts saw the track of a foeman or a horse, they returned, singing one of the sacred bundle songs expressly made for the occasion. The leader on hearing it at once recognized its import and ordered his warriors to paint and prepare themselves, for one of the scouts had seen an enemy or a track, or whatever it may have been. These songs ran: "I see men," or, "I see a track."

The men now painted and rubbed themselves with the sacred bundle medicine intended to deflect the arrows and weapons of the foe, and armed themselves. There was generally, and should always have been a buffalo shaman present with his sacred bundle, its flutes, buffalo hoof rattles, buffalo tails, and medicines calculated to heal wounds, and cause clotted blood to be drained away.

After this preparation the attack commenced. During the fight, the bundle owner stayed behind and sang and rattled to help his men. All trophies were brought back and given to him. He sang about each victor, and at this time gave him a new name if he so desired. He himself took no part in the actual fighting, but got great credit if his party were successful. The special honorary title given a successful partisan was the highest that could be attained.

After the fight, the party returned. If unsuccessful, they stole noiselessly into the village, covered with shame and confusion, and in deep disgrace. If successful, the partisan ordered his band to stop on a hill or knoll some half mile from the village where they were commanded to whoop and fire off their guns to announce the good news.

The relatives of the absent warriors were overjoyed and all poured forth to meet the returning war party and learn what their favorites had done. Each young man rode up to his sister or near female relative and said, "I did so-and-so, and my name is now So-and-so."

The girl scurried back to the village shouting the news that all might hear.

When a successful war party returned, a white oak tree about two feet in circumference was cut down, peeled, sharpened, and set up in the ground to make a war post. It was painted red, and on it, in charcoal, were drawn the exploits of the party. The scalps taken were depicted as stretched on netted hoops and suspended from sticks. Dead enemies were shown as headless bodies. The women and men now took all the captured scalps and a scalp dance was held around this stake. The trophies were spread on netted hoops and fastened to the ends of sticks about a yard long which the dancers held before them. The nephews, uncles, sisters, brothers, and other relatives of the triumphant braves gave horses and other presents to them to be given away.

The dance continued until the war leader ordered it to cease. After this the oath bundle was brought out to decide contested coups. The leader then withdrew and went out of the camp, staying away until he could raise another war party, for most partisans and warriors went out on four warpaths in succession; for to be successful in four warpaths, one after another, was the acme of greatness. It was the partizan's ambition to be able to set up four of these posts, one at each point of the compass, just outside the village.

After the Scalp Dance, no one was supposed to go near it, but from time to time people would clear away the grass and leave the clean, smooth earth about it in a large, bare, circular space. If the family of the partizan or "post owner" caught them at this, they would make them many costly presents.

COUPS AND WAR HONORS

The Ioway warrior strove to obtain as many as possible of a series of graded titles accorded to those who performed certain specified

feats of valor, especially since these carried with them desirable social privileges. Each man tried to be known by as many of these titles as possible, or to have it said by the people that he had earned such a title so many times, and such another so many. Of course the primary titles were most sought for. These titles were of three classes, and are, in order of their importance:

1. *Wacle*, "successful partisan," the greatest title a man could possibly receive, given only to bundle owners who had conducted victorious war parties; a hunt leader (*gixrowatogera*) who was attacked and whose men fought off the foe was entitled to great honor also.

2. *Wabothage*, "foe killer," the term applied to a man who actually killed a foe. This is next in rank to the preceding.

3. The following honors are all third rate and all belong to the same group, being of equal value:

- (a) *Ushkao*, "coup striker," a term applied to the first two men to strike a foe, living or dead.
- (b) *Paruthe*, "head cutter." Galloping up to the body of a fallen enemy a man would make the motions of cutting off the head or nose, or if he had time he would actually do so. For this he received this title.
- (c) *A^odulte*, "scalper" given the man who secured an enemy's scalp. In scalping, the bowstring was tied around the top of the victim's head, a knife cut made under its guidance, and the scalp ripped off.
- (d) *Na^othudille*, "lock taker," was awarded to the warrior who succeeded in cutting a lock of hair, other than the scalp-lock, from a fallen foe.

A WAR CUSTOM

The Ioway braves often ate the heart of an enemy in order to attain the bravery of their fallen foe. Brothers were not allowed to partake of the same heart lest it breed enmity between them. Another custom was to swallow a small turtle alive. If it could be kept down, the warrior would be brave and tenacious of life. This is the same as one of the Menomini and Omaha customs.

THE BRAVES

Various honors were shown those who had achieved war titles. Every chief was entitled to two body guards whom he chose from among the titled braves and who also acted as camp police or soldiers

(*waia'kida*). Very brave men had the right to be tattooed on the breast, which is also true of the Kansa and Osage. Those who were entitled to this honor "had to sit down four days before it was done to them."

If a youth wished to wear an eagle feather in the dance, he repaired to a *waia'kida* or some other brave and gave him a horse or some other rich present with a request to that effect. The brave accepted, saying, "I give you the right to wear an eagle feather and to boast that you did what I did on such and such an occasion."

PRIVILEGES AND DUTIES OF BRAVES

While the writer believes that few of the above distinctions were confined to the *waia'kida*, since the latter, after all, were only appointed officers, but belonged to all braves, the following privileges were the especial prerogatives of the soldiers:

(a) Exemption from vengeance, blood or otherwise, at the hands of those whom they had injured during the performance of their duty.

(b) The privilege of being present even at feasts given by the chiefs. In fact they were always invited to the feasts in the chiefs' lodges.

(c) Whipping ungrateful friends from other tribes. A *waia'kida* who frequently visited some friend in another tribe, say the Oto, without receiving a horse from his host, waited until the Oto visited him, when he had the culprit taken and bound to a tree. Then he would approach and count one of his coups, striking the captive, who was then released and given a horse by his captor amid the whoops, laughter, and approval of the assembled Ioway. Such a gentle rebuke was thought to be conducive to increased friendship between the tribes.

(d) To walk about the village of an evening wearing the "crow" eagle feather bustle. None but braves were permitted to do this. It advertised their position in society.

The following were the recognized duties of the *waia'kida*:

(a) As camp police and protectors the *waia'kida* prevented quarrels, and guarded the camp from the attacks of the enemy.

(b) They kept men in line when charging the foe that none might break away and attack alone.

(c) They kept men in line when surrounding and charging the buffalo herd until the chief ordered the attack.

(d) They prevented people from camping ahead of the tent of the officer of the day when on the move, and assigned the individuals of their band their camping spot.

(e) They kept order during ceremonies. Children were forbidden to ride on horseback during the dance of the buffalo shamans, for example, lest the shamans should shoot them with magic arrows. The soldiers had to restrain the children.

(f) They inflicted punishment. This was the well known flogging or "soldier killing" of the Plains without the common accompaniment of the destruction of property. It was dealt out in two ways: an offender might be flogged on the spot, without ceremony. If he resisted, or afterwards complained, he might be visited by all the *waia'kida*, captured, brought to some lodge or public place, stripped, and bound. Then each *waia'kida* would step up and count his coups, saying: "At such a place and time I hit a man who looked just like this one." Then he struck the victim.

As an example of "soldier killing" the following incident was related: A white man who was married into the Ioway tribe thought that he could over-ride the authority of the soldiers, so when the leader of the day pitched his tent, the squaw man tried to go on ahead to a tempting clump of trees. He had not gone far before he was stopped by the chief's two *waia'kida* who rained blows on his horses' heads with their quirts until he was obliged to turn back. The squaw man was very angry and publicly declared his contempt for the soldiers who, in due course, heard of his threats and repaired in a body to his lodge. When he saw them coming he tried to beg off, claiming that he had only spoken in fun, but his excuses were unavailing and he was severely thrashed.

The *waia'kida* were also scouts, and it was one of their duties to observe the approach of enemies and report it to the heralds, who announced the approach of danger to the village. The *waia'kida* then kept the warriors in line and prevented a premature charge, just as was done on the buffalo hunt. Each band chief had two *waia'kida* allotted to him as assistants, and his own lodge in which the soldiers dwelt with him.

WAR BUNDLES AND THEIR RITUALS

Mr. M. R. Harrington, who had the advantage of visiting the Ioway in Oklahoma some years before the writer, has, with the per-

mission of Mr. Geo. G. Heye, Director of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, in whose behalf the researches were conducted, turned over to the author of this paper his interesting and valuable data on the sacred war bundles of the Ioway. Mr Harrington, who is unquestionably one of the foremost field collectors of ethnological specimens in America, secured nearly all the war bundles of the tribe, and none were left when the writer paid his second visit to the Ioway in 1922, in behalf of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, although several were obtained by purchase of Dr. W. C. Barnard, of Seneca, Missouri, in 1923. Moreover, Chief David Tohee and Joe Springer are now both dead, so that this account probably contains all the information that can ever be obtained from the tribe. There is, however, a little known early account of Ioway war bundles by the missionary Irvin, to which reference is made in the bibliography in the first part of this paper.

The writer believes, from later information gathered from the two informants mentioned above and from Robert Small, that Mr. Harrington's account is not that of the origin of all the bundles, but the personal experiences of Wanathû'n'gê, who was an uncle of Small's, and who died not long ago. The true account of the origin of all the war bundles will be found in the writer's manuscript notes on Folklore and Mythology, where they are credited to the twin heroes, Lodge Boy and Thrown Away, of American Indian mythology, here called Dore and Wahre'dua.

From the Ioway tribe, or rather that branch of the people now living in Oklahoma, were obtained a number of very fine bundles, representing most of the varieties used among them. Two varieties of war bundles proper, one distinguished by the war club tied upon it (plate XXVII, fig. 1), the other by its panther-skin cover, several bundles used by the Buffalo Doctors' Society, a tattooing bundle, a "red medicine" bundle, and a "witch bundle" were among the objects of this class secured.

The first three varieties of bundles are mentioned by Dorsey in his "Study of Siouan Cults"¹³. The name, he applies to them, *Waruzawe*, or as Mr. Harrington recorded it, *Waro' Xawe*, is said by some of the Indians to refer in some way to scalping, but by others to have reference to bravery.

¹³ 11th Ann. Report, Bur. Am. Ethnology, p. 426.

As might be expected from the close resemblance of the culture of the Ioway, especially on the material side, to that of the Central Algonkian peoples, their sacred bundles are very similar to those of the latter, and differ considerably from those used by their linguistic cognates, the Osage and Kansa, in whose culture the Central Algonkian tinge is not so strong. In the use of the bundles also, the customs of the Ioway resemble those of the Sauk and Fox, typical Central Algonkians. In similar fashion when the enemy appeared, the Ioway warriors would open their bundle and put on the amulets it contained, daub themselves with its magic paint, and rub upon their bodies the potent herbs supposed to make them proof against arrows and bullets.

The bundles of the Buffalo Doctors' Society are rather different, however, from anything seen among the Central Algonkians. They are used in doctoring the wounded and in the other ceremonies of the society.

Most of the information concerning the bundles was obtained from Chief David Tohee of the Ioway, and from Joseph Springer, also a member of the same tribe, who had accompanied the Chief as interpreter. When, however, the Chief's English turned out to be sufficiently intelligible without an interpreter, Springer made himself useful by supplying considerable information himself. Between the two of them the following tradition of the origin of the bundles was related:

The bundles were made by Wanathó'njê. "He has them under his feet." He came from above, and traveled a long time through the air, and no one saw him but Wakanda (translated as "God"). He visited various tribes, for instance, the Winnebagoes, but he would not stay with them, because they smelled too much like fish. Then he came to the Ioways, and thought them to be good, clean people, because it was their habit to burn cedar on their fires to make a sweet smell, and because their women, at the time of menstruation, would live by themselves in a tipi off to one side of the camp. So he entered his lodge then (his mother's womb), first pushing aside the bearskin door robe.

Later he was born, and it is said he could talk before he was a year old. As he grew older his (supposed) father used to paint his face black with willow charcoal, and send him out to fast, while he was little, not more than half a day at a time. As time went on he stayed out longer and longer, and after a while he could go four days without eating. He discovered then that he could speak the language

of the beasts and fowls of the air. In his fasts different animal persons came to him, and told him how to get their power. These things he told his father, who began to get together a bundle for him according to his directions. About this time he found out and told his father his true origin. "Do not get angry," he said, "but I am not really your son. I came from above, and have two lives."

He began to go on the warpath very young, before adolescence—maybe when only thirteen or fourteen years old. Once when he had painted black and fasted eight days the Air God had spoken to him, saying, "Do not tell the tribe what you are going to do, but go out and show them how much you can accomplish." That is what started him, for he went out then on the war-path with a party, and killed a number of enemies, coming back with many scalps. But he did not enter the camp, stopping about a hundred paces outside. The smell of the camp, he said, would affect his power. But he called the people out and gave them his scalps, and they had a dance out there. Then he called to his women relations to make him some more moccasins, on receiving which he and his party started back on the warpath without having entered the camp at all. This he did four times.

One time he set out to war with a large party, and their route lay near the Mississippi River. As they passed the river a monster rose up out of the water, a monster which had "all kinds" of heads and horns. This creature, which is called Wakanda Pishkuni, called him by name and said, "I want you. You will never pass this way again. When you turn back to go home I will get you!"

The party went on, nevertheless, and took many scalps, but when they turned back on the homeward path, their leader fell sick. Giving his scalps to the party to take back he said, "I am not going to die—go on back, I will come after a while." So they went on. But Wanathû'njê did apparently die, and two women with wings¹⁴ came and took him to the sky, telling him that they had been sent for him because the horned being was hunting for his spirit all over the world. While in the sky, he saw a lot of beings sitting with their eyes closed, and he thought to himself "Why don't Wakanda let these fellows open their eyes?" At once they opened their eyes, and wonderful lightning flashed all over the place.

As he thought in his mind, "I am hungry," immediately they brought in the body of a man, cooked, on a big sheet of fresh bark, and called to him, "Come and eat with us!" So he shut his eyes and

¹⁴Evidently a modern notion derived from the missionaries.

reached, getting the heart, liver and lungs all connected, which he ate. He used to say afterwards, "I ate with the God-people and got the best they had." Then the women with wings brought him back to the earth.

When he came to, he found himself very weak. As he traveled homeward he could hear the birds talking about him and mentioning his name. "He is back again," they said. At length he became so weak he could travel no further, and in this condition a white wolf found him lying upon the ground. "Rub up against me," said the wolf, "be like me and travel. I have come to help you." So the wolf helped him along until they came within sight of the camp, when the wolf left him, and he fell exhausted. Some people hunting horses found him, and hardly knew him, he was so worn out and thin. They asked him, "Is that you, Wanathû'njê?" "Yes," he answered, and so they took him home.

He had been home but a very short time when he called all the men together and, weak as he was, invited them to join him on the warpath. He urged them to go, all that were willing, and asked their aunts and sisters to make him some moccasins.

When he was coming home sick he had heard the birds talking about him. Now two crows (some say blackbirds) came to him, and told him that they wished to work for him and be his spies. "This," he told the tribe, "proves my power." They slept every night just outside the door of his lodge, on a pole laid across two upright forked sticks, and a similar perch was fixed for them wherever he camped for the night. The crows scouted for him, and helped him get horses and scalps.

About this time they killed the animal they call Shoⁿka wara-wakyä (Carrying-off-dogs) and placed its hide in the bundle. This is how it happened:

One time the people began to miss their dogs. Every morning a few were gone, and no one knew the cause. Some thought it the work of an enemy, so the young men got up a war party and hid themselves so as to surprise and kill the nightly visitor. It turned out to be a strange animal, different from anything they had ever seen before. They named it "Carrying-off-dogs," but it is very like the animal the white people keep in their shows today and call hyena. When it entered the camp, the young warriors attacked it just as if it was a person. Again and again they shot at this creature, and could not kill it, but after following it a day and a half they at last succeeded in

putting it to death. When it died, it cried just like a human being. When they heard this, and thought of the hard time they had in killing it, they decided that it must be a creature of great power. So they skinned it, and painted its hide, and later placed the hide in with the other powerful objects in the war bundle, to wear in battle across the shoulder to turn away flying bullets and arrows. But before the hide was put in the bundle, a big dance was held. Immediately afterward a party set out and were very successful, as they killed a number of enemies, returning with many scalps. Three times this was done under the leadership of Wanathú'njê, but instead of starting out the fourth time he quit, and found him a wife and settled down, for a little while, perhaps four or five years. At the end of that time he gave a big feast, started once more to war, and remained away a whole year. On this trip the party ran out of provisions—it seemed as if the buffalo and other game had left them. Moreover he had just lost three men in a fight. A woman who had accompanied the party became sick then, and told the others, "If we are not careful we will all die right here." At this he replied, "You had better go back, all of you, and I will go in and return the best way I can." So they left him, and he wandered about until he had become very weak and thin, when he came to a hollow in which he saw a wolf killing a buffalo calf. As he had only one arrow left, he waited until the calf was down, then scared the wolf away. He had an old knife, but was so weak he could not cut the meat thin to dry it, so was obliged to saw off chunks, which he cooked on a fire he had built with flint. In this way he lay about the carcass four or five days, eating with the wolf. During this time the buffalo calf appeared to him in dreams, and told him he had been sent to save his life. And the calf said, "I will give you one young buffalo bull—take its tail and make a medicine rattle for doctoring the wounded, and I will tell you how it must be used." This was the beginning of the Buffalo Medicine bundles. And the wolf told him, "I will give you one white wolf. Take its skin and when you are tired, put it on, forget all about your human weakness, and go right ahead like a tireless wolf." (This hide, which is painted, is said to still remain in the hands of the Ioways in Kansas.) He got a wolf tail, too, and put it in the war bundle for the same purpose.

As he was growing to manhood, and as the years passed, Wana-thú'njê had gathered many animals and medicines, all by his own efforts, and put them in his bundle. One time a chief came to him, and said that he, too, wanted a war bundle. "I know there were to be

other bundles," was the reply, "but I said nothing until someone asked me." Then he showed him how to make the kind of bundle known as *Wa'the Waro Xawe*¹⁵, which is interpreted "white head" *Waro' Xawe*, and is so called because it contains a powerful medicine said to turn the hair gray if it touches it¹⁶. "There can be seven of these," said Wanathû'njê, "and seven of my kind in addition to my own" (Some say including his own). This was the beginning of the Ioway bundles.

One day after he had grown old, and had been through many wars, and had raised his four children (which was the number ordained for him from the first), he called the people about him. "All the tribes have a grudge against me," he told them, "because they were never able to overcome me in war. But I am not going to die through any act of theirs, nor shall any disease end my life. Nevertheless, I am tired, and am going to leave you." So saying, he dressed himself in his best, lay down, and died.

As nearly as could be made out from the statements of my Ioway informants, the holders of the war bundles, whether of the *Wanathû'njê* or the *Wa'the* types, formed, together with a few others, a *Wokigo*, or society, properly called *Waro Xawekigo*, which may be freely rendered as "War Bundle Society." These joined in certain feasts and ceremonies every year.

When the owner of a bundle wished to go to war, he gave a feast at which the bundle was opened (plate XXVIII, figs. 1-9). After opening it he addressed it as "Brother" and told it what the party was proposing to do, at the same time promising to "dress it up," by which was meant that they intended to bring back scalps for it. The principal "medicine" in the *Wa'the* bundle really has a few scalps tied upon it, in which case the expression "dressing" seems to have a literal meaning. The bundle was then tied up, and that night the war dance was enacted. Next morning the party started, usually on foot. Certain men had the privilege of carrying the bundle, but the leader, who owned the bundle, rarely if ever, did this. In this particular, the Ioway custom differs considerably from that of most of the other tribes visited, among whom the war leader, if a bundle owner, always carried it upon his person when on the warpath.

When the enemy was discovered, even at close quarters, the bundle was opened, and the amulets contained divided among the

¹⁵*Waci waruzawe*, Dorsey, op. cit., p. 426.

¹⁶Both Ioway and Dakota informants tell me that this name really means "Brave" war bundle.

members of the party who donned them at once, painted themselves and rubbed their bodies with the powerful herbs. While the painting was going on they blew their whistles, and addressing the bundle, prayed for success. Sometimes they would even lie down on a hillside to avoid being seen while putting on their gear, and never started to fight until every one was ready. After the battle, the sacred objects were once more packed in their bundle to take home, where the arrival of the successful party was celebrated by a scalp dance.

It is said that a bundle must never be allowed to touch the ground. When not in use it was kept hanging on a pole just east of the owner's lodge.

When the Thunder Gods are first heard in the spring, and the animals of the bundle begin to wake, the Ioways held a ceremony for each *Wa'ro' Xawe*.

Someone was appointed to call the people for a one-night gathering. When all was ready, the bundle was opened, and addressed as "Brother." Tobacco was sprinkled upon it, and sweet smelling cedar leaves were burned upon hot coals carried on a flat stick, and the smoke wafted about it. "Brother," the speaker, would say, "We are giving tobacco. We want our grandfather, Wakanda, to give us strength and health, and drive away disease, and to lengthen our days four years at least." Sometimes, it is said, they also prayed for good crops. After praying, they sang a number of songs, with gourd rattle accompaniment. These finished, they talked until morning, when a feast was eaten and the meeting broke up. Little if any dancing was seen at these meetings, according to Chief Tohee, another particular in which the Ioway customs differ from those of the Sauk and Fox.

The only song belonging to this meeting that I could persuade Chief Tohee to sing for me was the following, which refers to Wana-thú'njê's trip to the sky.

"Go'tinye anyekê

That is what they told me (Repeat 4 times)

Wakanda!

God!

Ungirayeke

What he told me

Go'tinye anyeke

That is what they told me."

From a bundle of the type called *Wátthe Waru'hawe*, collected for the Museum, were obtained the articles shown in plate XXVIII, figs.

1-9. Fig. 8 of this plate shows the bundle as it appeared before opening, with a gourd rattle attached outside. Fig. 1 is an amulet made of a weaselskin bound with a snake hide. To the tail and head of the latter ornaments of porcupine quill work in red and yellow are attached, while a good-sized fragment of a human scalp is attached to the head. Fig. 2 shows an amulet made of the scalps of a hawk, an Ivory-billed woodpecker and a human being. Fig. 3 is a weaselskin charm attached to a band of plain white beads woven of yarn and fig. 4 an amulet of otter fur with a bear's claw and scalp attached. Fig. 5 is a war whistle of cane, and fig. 6 shows a pair of these with etched lightning symbols in a fawn skin case. Fig. 7, is a hempen prisoner tie with yellow and red quilled ornaments and fig. 9 a wolf and deer-tail amulet for the arms with quilled fringe. Other prisoner ties and snake skin quilled amulets are shown in plate XL, figs. 1-4.

SACRED PIPE BUNDLES OF THE IOWAY

Traditionally, the Ioway had but seven gentes, each of which had its own sacred pipe bundle, called *danuwe wa^honita*, or "Pipe, Holy." This pipe was held by the hereditary chief of the gens, and was kept in the "Holy Place" outside his lodge, that is, on a tripod, one hundred feet in the rear, where it remained with other sacred bundles all the year round and was protected by a deer hide.

As a matter of fact, considerable confusion exists both as to the actual number of gentes in former times, as discussed elsewhere (p. 193), and as to the number of sacred pipes. The writer has himself collected two pipes credited to the Bear gens, two from the Buffalo gens, one each from the Wolf, Pigeon and Elk gentes and one from the extinct Owl gens. This would give two of the gentes more than their quota and leave out the Thunder and Eagle, the Red Earth, and the Snake gentes, the last two gentes, like that of the Owl, being extinct. Indeed, the modern Ioway deny that a Snake gens ever existed among them, although Dorsey gives a circumstantial account of it. Inquiry among the present day Ioway, from whom the pipes were collected, elicited the following statements.

Frank Kent, from whom was obtained a Buffalo gens pipe, formerly belonging to a chief named "Wild Plum," declares that there should be four pipes in each gens, one for each gens ancestor, these being four brothers who in each case founded the gens. Certainly, it is plain that so many pipes never existed.

The late Joe Springer, or "Little Elk," from whom another so-called Buffalo gens pipe was purchased, stated that there were but seven pipes, one for each gens, except in the case of the Buffalo gens, which had two pipes, and the Raccoon gens which had none. All other informants claim, however, that there never was a Raccoon gens but that there is a Raccoon subgens of the Pigeon gens. Springer further stated that on one occasion long ago, the Buffalo gens, then known as the *Tce Kiradji*, was rent by a quarrel, the revolting party taking the name *A'ruhwa Kiradji*, which is still extant, though now used as an alternate term for the Buffalo gens. This group was subsequently defeated in battle by the Tce people, to whom they submitted, retaining only their separate peace pipe, while delegating all other authority to their conquerors. As other Indians besides Springer agreed to this, it may be an accepted tradition, and would thus account for the existence of two sets of Buffalo gens pipes. However, Springer's name, "Little Elk," certainly belongs to the Elk gens and not to the Buffalo, so possibly the bundle obtained from him really belongs to the Elk gens pipe. This seems more probable, as Mrs. Springer also claims to be a Buffalo gens member and as the gentes are exogamous, their union would be a direct violation of tribal rule.

Robert Small, or "Walks From the Creation On," told that there were originally but seven sacred pipes, one to each gens, but that false pipes were made from time to time by lesser chiefs. He gave as his authority a reference to a myth, which he recited, in which Turtle tried to claim the victory in a race by making a short cut and appearing at the finishing point with an imitation of one of the real gens pipes which the contestants were carrying. Since then others are said to have followed in Turtle's lead and made false gens pipes.

The writer believes that while all of these theories are plausible, the dying out of customs and the extinction of the gentes of the Ioway may well have caused the origin and ownership of the pipes to be confused and forgotten, and that pipes have sometimes crossed over to other gentes than those in which they belonged, through inheritance after the death of their accredited keepers. In 1914 the late Chief David Tohee told us that there were but seven gentes, connected in an unexplained way with seven stars, and but seven pipes. He insisted that never had there been any other, and David Tohee, or, to give him his native name, "Holy Bear," was by all means the best informed man among his people on all subjects of native lore. He was also keeper of the Black Bear gens pipe himself, and told me that other.

pipes remained in his charge at that time because of the death of their owners. Moreover, while no woman is ever supposed to have anything to do with an Ioway gens pipe under any circumstances, the writer obtained pipes of the Buffalo, Pigeon, and Wolf gentes from women who had inherited them. He also bought the long missing bowl of the Ioway Black Bear gens pipe from Mrs. John Hudson, an Oto woman living at Red Rock, Oklahoma, who had inherited it from some Ioway living among her tribe. Another pipe bowl, this time of a bona fide Oto pipe, was offered him by an Oto woman married among the Ioway.

Moreover, it is possible that pipes of the Oto and Missouri may have been taken into the Ioway tribe, for a Buffalo gens pipe was purchased from Fred Big Soldier, a Missouri married to an Ioway woman. The identity of the pipe was not discovered except by accident, as Big Soldier, due to the extinction of his people as a tribe, considers himself an Oto.

Since the death of the late Chief David Tohee during the influenza epidemic a few years since, no Ioway has made the slightest pretext of keeping up any of the ancient customs of the tribe, either in Oklahoma or Nebraska. All interest, even in the ancient ways and rites, has been abandoned, and the Ioway live wholly like the whites and follow the Peyote religion or various Christian doctrines. In Nemaha, Nebraska, a final feast was held three years since, and such sacred bundles as remained there, were destroyed at its conclusion. In Oklahoma, the sacred articles have been sold. In one respect only, do the Ioway keep up any old time custom. They still cling to their native garb, or rather a trashy modern form of it, for show purposes. What few antique and fine articles of dress they possess, they vend to the Osage at exorbitant rates, so that what few specimens could be obtained were bought only on payment of the highest prices. However, as sacred bundles and gens pipes found no market among either the wealthy Osage or well-to-do Oto, they were easily obtained by the writer, who happened to be on friendly terms with the tribe, and who was present when the psychological moment came at which they were willing to sell the gens pipes. Hitherto, the pipes had been held with most unusual tenacity. In 1914 Little Elk showed me the Buffalo gens pipe, which was in the keeping of his wife, as a special favor, stating that no Ioway pipe had ever been seen and handled by a white-man. This statement other Indians corroborated. In 1922 this

was the first pipe obtained, and was the opening wedge which secured the rest of the series for the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee.

MYTHICAL ORIGIN OF THE PIPES

Owing to the death of most of the officers who kept the pipes and who knew their traditions, not one being alive in Oklahoma in 1922, the story of the origin of each gens pipe cannot now be obtained. However, the following data, gathered in 1914 and 1922, are presented.

The pipe of the *A'ruhwa* or (female) Buffalo gens is said to have been given to the gens by Wakanda, the Great Spirit, in the traditional home of the Ioway in the east at *Moka'shutze* or Red Earth, near *Nita'ga*, "Great Waves," or, as the Indians say, the ocean.

Charles Tohee, or "Known-by-God," gave the following data on the pipe of the *Tuna'pin* or Black Bear gens, which, according to his account, was said to have been found by Hênghru, the eldest gens ancestor. It was sticking up out of the ocean, and from it depended a fringe of buckskin bedezined with quillwork and other ornaments. He gazed at it until its likeness was fixed upon his mind, then he made one like it. It had a bowl with two receptacles for tobacco, one being for making peace in internecine brawls, the other for making peace with other tribes. It was placed by him in a bundle or wrapper made of buffalo skin, with several other lesser stems to use for minor ceremonies, personal prayers, etc. From the late Chief David Tohee, the following myth was obtained in 1914.

"In the beginning. *Mao*" (The Earthmaker) made the earth and all the universe. Then there was a man who fasted under an elm tree. His face was blackened with charcoal and he strove to gain a vision. While he was there four bears came out from under the ground. They were the four who became the ancestors of the Bear gens, and whose names are borne by the subgentes of that division. They told the faster that they would give him power and that they would become people. At the time that he saw them they had the appearance of bears, but acted like human beings.

"Then they passed on, and he saw them on their journey as though he were in a dream. As they traveled they heard a distant noise as of someone pounding. Hênghru, the eldest, ordered one of

the others to go on ahead and see what it was. He returned soon and reported that he saw an old man, very old indeed, hard at work at something. Henghru, the first born, sent him ahead to investigate again. This time he returned and said that the white headed one had disappeared. Then all four bears rushed forward and found no one, only a stone pipe bowl lay there. The pipe was made in the shape of a man, for the old person whom they had heard hammering had turned himself into the pipe bowl.

" 'This will be for some good and great use,' said Henghru, and he took and carried it.

"The bears went on and came to a place along the river where they saw a stick floating upright as though it was standing. On it were streamers of green or blue weeds or moss. It looked pretty, so Henghru took it for his pipe-stem. That is why the pipe stem was anciently ornamented with thongs wrapped with dyed porcupine quills, though colored ribbons are now used to represent the moss. All this was told to the man who fasted with darkened face.

"As they journeyed, the four bears met the four ancestors of the Buffalo gens. These brothers also had a pipe, and they offered it in peace to the bears. Each sat on the ground, and crossing the stems, each accepted the mouthpiece of the other's pipe. That peace conference was the origin of the custom of dividing the government of the tribe for the year between the Buffalo and Bear gentes. The chief of each of these gentes is chief of the tribe for half a year. The Bears in the fall and winter, the Buffaloes in spring and summer.

"A feast was being prepared by both bands, but the Henghru bear was so ravenous that he seized the pipe in his mouth with such a grip that he split the stem, hence there has always been in this gens the name Mangrudge or "Splitting the Pipestem." He gave himself the name at the time with a laugh to smooth things over."

The writer wishes to call attention to the fact that not only did he obtain two myths of origin for the Bear gens pipes, but he obtained two pipes as well. The stems of each are somewhat similar, and one ancient bowl has been lost. On the other hand, the bowl of the second, long missing, is the effigy bowl obtained from the Oto. It is of Janus type with a face both in front and rear, and is said to represent a mythical monster with a double face, the old man who transformed himself into this bowl being one of these creatures.

HOW THE SACRED PIPE BUNDLE WAS OPENED

Various informants gave the writer similar data, so that it appears that the formula for the opening of any pipe bundle, no matter what the gens, was the same.

When a pipe ceremony of any sort was to be held, the pipe bundle was lifted tenderly down from its sacred place in the rear of the lodge. Indian tobacco was sprinkled down its entire length with a prayer, and it was placed on a pile of blankets with one of sky-blue, the "holy" color, on top, directly beneath it. After this followed a solemn speech detailing the story of its origin and certain sacred songs were sung, all of which are now forgotten. These songs lasted all night until morning. In the speech it was pointed out that as the sky was blue and friendly, and just as it looked down upon the world, so should the people look upon each other, and resemble the smiling sky. Finally, at dawn, the pipe was unwrapped and a speech was made explaining why it was taken out. The owner then held it down with the mouthpiece pointed upward to Wakanda, in which position it was constantly kept, except when actually offered to some person.

While this latter proceeding was going on, servants brought in a great feast of game and vegetables to be given to the people. First officers took a little of each kind of food in a wooden spoon and poured some of it on *Hi^{na}*, our Earth Mother (also called *Dihoⁿ* or *Hoeihoⁿ*, Mother of All). Then two braves of the gens whose pipe was opened, were chosen to dish out the food. All those present first smeared themselves with fat and grease from the viands, rubbing it on their chests and faces, and the pipe owner also anointed the pipe, all over, in the same manner. Then they ate the food given them.

After the feast, the pipe was filled with Indian tobacco by a servant who gave it to the chief. He first raised the mouthpiece to Wakanda in Heaven, then pointed it down to Mother Earth, then to the four quarters or winds, East, South, West, and North, in the order named. The chief then took a few puffs, and passed the pipe to one of the other chiefs of his gens to take to the assembled people. No member of any other gens was ever allowed to handle the pipe.

PEACE MAKING CEREMONY

When trouble broke out with violence among members of the tribe, the pipe bundle was sometimes hastily carried, wrapped up as

it was, and thrust between the combatants by the chief. Its influence often stopped the trouble then and there. It was customary, if time permitted, to have a house vacated and cleaned, to which the chief of the gens hastened, and there opened the pipe bundle without further ceremony than a hasty prayer. He then ran to the scene of action with the pipe, and the wrappings were left behind. A ceremony was held afterwards at the house, when the pipe was wrapped up again.

In cases of this sort, when, for example, two gentes were quarreling with each other, the chief hurried with the pipe to the warring factions. He carried the pipe first to the chiefs of both sides, and then if they refused, to all the members of both parties, for, should anyone, no matter how humble, accept, all must cease fighting. If the battle was actually going on, the pipe owner was not expected to get in the way of missiles, he being only required to carry the pipe to a certain point, and not beyond. It could be refused, and if the fighters refused it four times, it was final. This was seldom done, however, for it was thought that any one who did not accept a peace pipe would surely be killed almost immediately. The father of James White Cloud of White Cloud, Kansas, is said to have met death because he scorned to accept a proffered pipe.)

TATTOOING CEREMONY

It was a tribal rule that two sacred gens peace pipes had to be present at a tattooing ceremony. (The rite was held in honor of men who had accomplished so many brave deeds that they were publicly tattooed, as is said to be the case among the Kansa. Some say this was done at no expense to the honored ones by the bundle owner of their gens, others, judging by the general custom (this is more probable), say the operation was costly. At a later time tattooing was done for well-to-do men, in honor of their public benefactions, and such persons also had their daughters tattooed. This was a private matter and was very expensive, yet was indulged in as a matter of great social distinction. The ribbon pendants on the Bear gens pipes, it is said, succeed quilled leather thongs, and represent members of the gens who were brave enough to earn the rite of being publicly tattooed, a new ribbon being added for each ceremony of this sort in which the pipes were used.

The night before a man was to be tattooed, he appeared at the lodge of the gens tattooing bundle owner, where the bundle was

opened and the contents were displayed. Two pipe bundle owners were also present, there being one other invited in addition to the pipe keeper of the gens of the applicant for tattooing. A blue blanket of pleasant sky color was spread before the feet of each by the applicant and the bundles laid on that, so that all "could see that the sky was clear." Fifteen other blankets, four or five horses, and fifty dollars in cash were given to the tattooing officer, and the candidate also provided a great feast for all comers.

When all was in readiness, the pipe bundles were opened with a ceremony similar to that recorded above. The pipes were then smoked and, in the case of any pipe having a double bowl, that nearest the smoker was used. The two pipe owners first made the usual ceremonial offering of the pipes to the six quarters of the universe, then crossed the stems and each offered the other the mouthpiece of his pipe to smoke. Then the two pipes were started out in opposite directions along the circumference of the semicircle of people gathered there, so that they passed somewhere near the center. When not in use, the pipes were set up, crossed one over the other, with the mouthpieces raised. The Buffalo gens pipes, and perhaps some of the others, were placed for this purpose upon a slanting support, made of a thin flat piece of wood upheld at one end by a light cylindrical upright.

After the smoking the feast began. Each of the bundle owners talked about the benefits derived from the peace pipes, while one assistant held the pipe and another placed the candidate's fees on public exhibition on a cross bar erected for the purpose.

The actual tattooing of the candidate took all night, the process being interrupted at intervals for singing and prayers, which gave the victim an opportunity to rest. The tattooing, it is said, was confined to markings on the man's breast. The work was supposed to be completed at dawn.

In tattooing the daughters of prominent men, the work was done by day, and the markings were merely a small dot or star in the center of the forehead. For further information see p. 264.

SUPPLICATION FOR RELIEF FROM PESTILENCE

In case of a severe epidemic, or pestilence, the pipe bundle owners went through a ceremony similar to that used for general opening purposes, but added prayers to Wakanda or Maoⁿ to abate the course of the disease.

NIUTA*HA, OR SMOKING HORSES

This ceremony was sometimes held when some visiting tribe was expected with whom the Ioway were especially friendly. The chief called upon his men before the visitors arrived, and asked how many horses were to be given to the guests. The warriors would volunteer, and, if as many as ten were pledged, it was considered important enough to get out the pipe bundle. When the visitors arrived, water was heated to represent a feast, and tobacco was thrown in it. Then this was poured out as an offering to Mother Earth. The pipe bundle was then opened, and the pipe set up on its slanting standard. The horses that had been donated were then presented to selected members of the visiting tribe. After the ceremonies were over and all the visitors had gone home, the chief himself gave a feast to his followers, who at its conclusion rubbed their faces and chests with the grease from the food. The chief then anointed the pipe in the same way, and it was wrapped up and returned to its place without having been smoked at all.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PIPES

Each of the Ioway gens pipes is furnished with a cylindrical cover of buffalo leather, into which the stem or stems fit. This cover is tied at intervals with deerskin thongs, or, in the case of the Buffalo gens pipe, thongs made of tanned buffalo skin. Attached to the outside of each case, under the thongs, are several pipe cleaners made of baling wire, which are, of course, modern additions. The pipe bowls, which are much less highly regarded than the stems, are kept separately, generally wrapped in many folds of calico of bright colors, or, in the case of the Bear gens pipe, in calico and bandanna handkerchiefs, heavily fended with felted buffalo hair. The pipe bundles were suspended by a thong attached at the center and terminating in a large loop for this purpose, the bowls being kept elsewhere, generally tucked away in a rawhide trunk. In olden times, if a pipe was needed in a hurry, and its bowl was missing or inaccessible, any bowl, or even none at all, was used, the stems being regarded as holy by themselves, although the bowls were regarded as a dignified adjunct to the stems.

The Buffalo (*A'ruhwa*), or Elk gens pipe bundle, obtained from Little Elk contained two beautifully decorated stems, one of which was said to be very much older than the other (plates XXIX and XXX, figs. 1 and 2). The elder stem measures forty and one-half inches in

length by one and three-quarters inches in breadth at the point nearest the bowl. It tapers thence to the mouthpiece, where it measures three-fourths of an inch across. The stem is flat and thin, slightly oval in cross section, as it bulges in the center along the median line.

The first fourteen inches of the stem above the bowl are bare, then comes a two and one-half inch wrapping of faded red silk ribbon from which projects a pendant of scarlet dyed deer or fine horse hair. The rest of the stem to the mouthpiece is covered with porcupine quill work, but, at the mouthpiece there is attached with sinew wrappings the bill and scalp of a female Ivory-billed Woodpecker. The inside of the upper mandible is outermost, as the bill has been bent over backwards, according to my Ioway informants, "in order to hold down the crest, for these birds erect their topknots when angry, and this is a peace pipe, and hence removed from wrath of all kinds."

This phenomenon has been observed on all the Ioway pipes collected, and also may be noted upon the calumet dance "pipe" stems now used by the Ioway, Oto, Osage, Kansa, and other tribes of the region. The writer has also heard the same explanation wherever he has made inquiry, even among the other tribes noted.

The quillwork on the pipe stem is apparently that described by Orchard¹⁷ as a somewhat uncommon form of plaited wrapping employing two quills used on the stems of ceremonial pipes. The design differs on the upper and under surfaces, that above representing the crooked trail of the buffalo (or elk) running the full length of the decorated portion except for the first four or five inches (plate XXIX, fig. 2). From the beginning of the trail the decorated zones on each side are cut into four portions, each probably belonging to the same unit, and containing four conventional buffalo or elk tracks, except next to the mouthpiece, where a portion of the quillwork is missing. The zones are separated in each instance by nine transverse bars of yellow, black, and crimson, which do not, however, cross the trail in the center. Before the trail commences, at the distal end, there are two unusually large tracks, represented as made by an animal with its hoofs closed, and not spread out, as are all the rest. Beyond this, and concealed beneath the dyed hair and ribbon pendant, are several transverse bars of black, three at least being visible.

¹⁷Orchard, Wm. C., "The Technique of Porcupine Quill Decoration Among the North American Indians," *Cont. Mus. Am. Indian*, Heye Foundation, Vol. IV, No. 1, pp. 32, 33, text figure 33. N. Y., 1916.

The colors are: background, a rich dull tone of orange; bars, black, light yellow and crimson; tracks, black; tail, probably once blue, the holy sky color, delicately outlined with black.

The underside of the stem bears a totally different design. Close scrutiny makes it apparent that the cunning craftsman who fashioned the pipe apparently colored his quilled binding before he applied it, so that the design only became apparent as the binding was wound around the stem. This is not uncommonly the case with more modern pipes where a wrapping of strung glass beads has been attached to the stem in the same manner. The writer has collected one of this type from the Sauk, and it is interesting to note that as the wrapping was unwound at the time the pipe was collected, he had no suspicion that there was a carefully worked out design of geometric pattern. This was noticed only on rewrapping the pipe at the Museum on his return from the field.

The design upon the under surface of the pipestem (plate XXX, fig. 2) under discussion is composed of five decorated zones, each containing a pyramidal or solid triangular figure, the apex of which is pointed towards the mouthpiece. The first pyramid from the bowl is preceded by three black and three yellow cross bars. It is a V-shaped motif composed of a black triangle enclosed with two of white or yellow, the background being solid crimson. Then come three black and three light bars, and a crimson pyramid bordered with what may once have been blue and black. The border lines and the base of crimson are continued to form the zone divisions on the other side, unlike the preceding figure. The three succeeding pyramids and their bases are made in the same way.

When obtained, the dried skin of the penis of a buffalo was used as a cover to fend the quillwork on this pipe. There was also a buffalo tail in the bundle. The bowl, which was of catlinite, is supposed to have been double. It is described as having two bowls of the "locomotive" type, which somewhat resemble inverted cones. One of these was to smoke for peacemaking, the other preceding the buffalo hunt. The bowl is said to have been stolen, long ago.

The second pipestem contained in this bundle (plate XXIX, fig. 1) is forty-three and one-half inches long by one and one-half inches broad near the bowl, and tapers to three-fourths of an inch at the mouthpiece. It is thicker than the other stem, and less flat, a cross section being almost elliptical. The quillwork covers above nineteen inches of the stem, and is of the same technic as in the older

pipe. Nearest the bowl there is a pendant tuft of deer or horse hair dyed crimson, with some pink silk ribbons, then at least five transverse stripes of white or light yellow and black, after which comes three successive solid crimson pyramids bordered with white and black. Then follow two cross bars alternately crimson and orange and what seems to have been a small blue area in which are two hour-glass figures. Two more such decorative areas separated by orange bands follow this, then three solid crimson pyramids on an orange background and a dozen cross bars of crimson, orange and black, end the design. About three inches from the mouth piece is the scalp of a female Ivory-billed Woodpecker with the bill inverted in the conventional manner. This is, as usual, attached with a sinew winding.

The under side of the pipestem (plate XXX, fig. 1) differs entirely from the upper surface so far as design is concerned. At the distal or bowl end, commencing under the tuft of dyed hair, which is bound on by a sinew wrapping, are six transverse stripes of black and white, and one of crimson, the latter connecting with the base of the pyramid on the opposite side. Next comes a faded blue diamond on a white field with borders of black and crimson. Then two crimson bands associated with diamonds of the same type, each diamond corresponding with a pyramid on the upper surface. Above the last diamond comes a double band of crimson and yellow, then a blue field three inches long, divided into three parts by yellow stripes, each part containing two yellow hour-glass figures. These correspond with the red motifs of the same type on the upper side. After these come three more diamonds with red and black borders, which may have been blue at one time, but are now faded almost to white. These are separated from each other by broad crimson bands, followed by narrow blue and black stripes. These diamonds or lozenges are arranged to correspond with the pyramids above. Beyond them, and next the mouthpiece, comes a broad crimson band, eleven alternating stripes of white and black, and a crimson band which runs under the woodpecker scalp.

As in each other instance to be described, the design on the pipe has been studied out and applied by winding, so that the colored areas of quilled strips form the design as it is laid on.

The peace pipe bundle of the Tce or Buffalo gens obtained from Frank Kent and formerly the property of "Wild Plum," contained only a single stem in the buffalo hide container. With it was a long, broad, flat piece of wood intended to support the pipe during cere-

monies, and a perforated round wooden rod, resembling a pipestem, to hold the former in an oblique position. The bowl of this pipe, which will be described later, was kept in a separate wrapper of calico.

The stem of this pipe (plate XXIX, fig. 3) measures exactly forty inches in length, is one and one-half inches broad near the bowl, tapering to seven-sixteenths of an inch at the mouthpiece.

About eighteen inches of the stem are ornamented with beautiful quillwork of the same technique as that of the other two pipes described. Near the mouthpiece on the upper side is attached the scalp of a female Ivory-billed Woodpecker with backturned bill, while a tuft of hair dyed scarlet depends beneath, both held in place by a sinew binding. At the distal end of the ornament is a pendant of green ribbon, dyed hair, and two of the white, black-tipped tail feathers of the Golden Eagle, attached with sinew and split bird quills.

Beginning at the distal or bowl end, the first design area encountered on the upper surface of this pipe is a trifle less than three and one-half inches long. It is bounded by three black and yellow stripes at the bowl end, and at the other by five bands of the same color. The ground area is a rich orange, and upon it are four large buffalo track symbols in black, arranged in groups of two. Following these are four unusually large crimson pyramids each with black and light borders on orange ground, and separated from the next by five black and light stripes, five of which also finish the design. These zones are about three inches long in each instance except the first, which is nearly half an inch longer.

An extraordinary feature of the ornamentation of this pipe is that an incised design of different character, apparently containing diamond-shaped figures, is visible upon the original wood where the loose quill binding can be forced back. These figures occur only on the upper side of the pipe.

The underside of the stem shows a crooked white path or "buffalo trail" with black borders running from the beginning of the design near the mouthpiece for thirteen inches. It ends at a crimson band, bordered on the proximal side by three stripes alternately black and white, and on the distal border by five of the same. The maker of the quillwork on this pipe was less skillfull than usual, for the stripes do not come out evenly on some of the designs on the underside. The "trail" starts in a poorly executed series of five black and white lines and crosses three other crimson bands bordered by black and white

stripes like the ones just described. The last four inches of decorated area next the bowl, are occupied by a large background of the same orange hue found elsewhere on the stem, with four hour-glass figures in pairs.

The bowl of this pipe has been preserved, and is shown in plate XXXI, fig. 2. It measures about five inches in length, and is of a dull red stone, with minute lighter fleckings, resembling the catlinite found in Barron County, Wisconsin, rather than that of Minnesota. The bowl may, however, owe its dull appearance to antiquity. It is stated by all the older Ioway with whom the writer has conversed on the subject, that these bowls are "as old as the Ioway tribe," and were made with stone implements. This really seems to be true of the genuine old bowls, so far as their having been made with stone tools is concerned.

The bowl of this pipe is carved to resemble the head of some animal, very possibly a raccoon, as the eyes, which are in relief, are surrounded by a depressed area of elliptical shape, which even runs up into the backward sloping ears, and may, perhaps, be intended to resemble the facial markings of *Procyon*. Certain it is that the raccoon plays an important part in the mythology of the Ioway, especially with regard to naming customs, raccoon names or at least one such name occurring in the Pigeon gens. In this connection it may be mentioned that the Pigeon gens pipe, to be described later, has a similar ancient effigy bowl, possibly depicting a raccoon.

As is the case in nearly all the truly ancient pipes of eastern North America, the animal carved on this bowl faces the smoker. There is a raised "fin" or ornament near the proximal end of the bowl, which bears three circular apertures, rimmed in from both sides, probably with a stone drill, and which may have been intended for the suspension of ornaments, such as plumes. Around the end of the bowl, encircling the orifice for the reception of the pipe stem, is a carved border of isosceles triangles with indented bases, resembling flint arrow points. In cross section, the base of the bowl is seven-sided.

In plate XXXII, fig. 2, may be seen a representation of the Wolf gens peace pipe, obtained from Mrs. Little Deer, an Ioway woman married to an Oto, and residing on the Oto reservation, not far from Red Rock, Oklahoma.

The stem of this pipe, which, unlike the others described, is ovoid in cross section, measures forty-one inches in length. The quillwork, which is of the same technic as that on the others, and is applied by

wrapping in the same way, bears the same design on both sides. It consists of alternate bands and stripes of black, white (now stained orange, perhaps from grease and smoke), and crimson. The larger light-colored areas are often crossed by a spiral figure of crimson or some other color, perhaps blue or green, that is now lost, with an irregular border of black dots. The entire design is pleasing, but less coherent than that of the other pipes.

The entire quilled area is twenty-one inches long. It starts about four inches from the mouthpiece where it is preceded on the upper side by the scalp of a Pileated Woodpecker, minus the bill, and a tuft of hair dyed red, both bound on with sinew. It ends sixteen and one-half inches from the distal end, where there is attached a tuft of scarlet hair pendant from beneath, and four tail feathers of the Golden Eagle, attached by thongs. Along the shaft of these feathers are fastened little tufts of scarlet hair, bound on near the base with wrappings of sinew and split bird quills. Above these ornaments the stem is encircled by a bunch of split feathers of the Horned Owl, and next, attached by blue and green ribbons, is impaled the skin of a Carolina Paroquet, the head of which is missing but had been pointed toward the bowl.

The Carolina Paroquet is interesting because of its scarcity in modern times. Dr. James P. Chapin, Assistant Curator of Ornithology of the American Museum of Natural History, has furnished the writer with the following data on the species: "*Conutopsis carolinensis* (Linnaeus). This bird was first made known by Catesby from Carolina, and received two names at Linnaeus' hand, *carolinensis* and *ludovicianus*. These have both been used of late, to designate two subspecies of the Carolina Paroquet. The bird of the Mississippi Valley is slightly larger, and slightly more bluish green in color, and is called *C. c. ludovicianus*."

"The range of the species as a whole used to be: From the Atlantic coast of the southeastern United States west to Texas, Oklahoma and eastern Colorado and north to Nebraska, Iowa, Wisconsin, and the southern border of the Great Lakes, and casually to New York and Pennsylvania. The line dividing the two races is supposed to have been the southern Appalachian Mountains, so the Florida birds were all of the eastern race. The species is believed to have been extinct for the last fifteen years, and was last observed in Florida."

The bowl of this pipe also seems to be made of the dull dark red catlinite found in Wisconsin. It is approximately six inches long, and,

as may be seen in the accompanying illustration, plate XXXI, fig. 4, is of an archaic and modified Siouan type, the bowl being square topped with a rounded body swollen in front and rear, but flattened on the sides. The cross section is rectangular, tapering to the front. On both sides near the stem orifice is a raised square occupied by an incised quatrefoil figure. Above, lying along the upper surface, and facing the smoker, is carved, in relief, the figure of a lizard, or perhaps an otter. The flat shape and the position of the legs seem more likely to be intended for the former animal. The pipe bowl bears every evidence of antiquity, and of manufacture with stone tools. A very similar pipe bowl, lacking the effigy but otherwise almost identical, was noted in the possession of an Oto woman. To what gens the latter pertained, could not be learned.

The peace pipe of the Pigeon gens is shown in plate XXXII, fig. 3. It was obtained from Mrs. Elsie Big Soldier, or "Four Winds Woman," an Ioway who is married to a Ni'utatei or Missouri man named Fred Big Soldier, who resides among the Ioway near Perkins, Oklahoma. The stem measures forty-two inches in length, and is round in cross section, as usual tapering somewhat from distal to proximal end. Along the underside a groove is cut, running longitudinally from end to end. This is painted red, and resembles the grooves cut along the pipestems used in the calumet ceremony by this and neighboring tribes.

There is no quillwork on this pipe, the ornamentation consisting of seven scalps of male Ivory-billed Woodpeckers, all with the bills reversed, as before described. As this bird, like the Carolina Paroquet, is now extremely rare, the accompanying description of the species, furnished by Dr. Chapin, is given with an account of the Pileated Woodpecker, a scarce, but by no means as uncommon bird, which is used now and again as a substitute for the Ivory Bill by these Indians.

"*Campephilus principalis* (Linnaeus), the Ivory-billed Woodpecker, was discovered by Catesby in South Carolina. Former range: South Atlantic and Gulf States from Texas to North Carolina, north in the Mississippi Valley to Oklahoma, Missouri, southern Illinois, and southern Indiana. Now restricted to the lower Mississippi Valley and the Gulf States, and of local distribution. It may still occur in Oklahoma.

"*Phloeotomus pileatus* (Linnaeus). First discovered in the Carolinas by Catesby also. Range: Wooded regions of North America,

mainly east of the Rocky Mountains, but also in the southern Sierra Nevada of California."

It is extremely doubtful if there remain any Ivory-billed Woodpeckers in any part of Oklahoma.

Beneath each woodpecker scalp is bound a tuft of scarlet hair, which, in this instance seems from its coarseness indubitably horse hair. These pendants are attached with a sinew wrapping, but the scalps are bound on with very old-fashioned white twine of white-man's make. Under each scalp is thrust a wedge of reed to tighten it. Near the bowl end the stem is encircled with split feathers of the Great Horned Owl dyed red. These seem to have been fastened together at the bases by splitting them above the tip, turning back the base over a cord, and then thrusting the tip into the slit previously made. However, this is not altogether clear, as they are covered with bindings of buckskin thongs, rawhide, and faded green silk ribbon. No doubt the ornamentation on this and other pipes was renewed from time to time, and current materials substituted for old and worn out trimmings, yet even this has probably not been done for fifty years or more. From the underside of the owl feathers swing two tail feathers of the Golden Eagle, attached to buckskin thongs by means of sinew and bird quill wrappings.

The bowl of this pipe is of a dark red catlinite mottled with lighter color, and flecked with lighter dots. It seems to be very old, but it cannot be said with definiteness whether it is from the Wisconsin or Minnesota quarries.

The bowl, which is approximately four and one-half inches long (plate XXXI, fig. 3) is carved to represent some animal. The face looks backward toward the smoker, and areas about the eyes similar to those described on the bowl of the Buffalo gens pipe are observable. There is a long bent angular figure extending backward from the eye ball to the base of the indicated ears that is strongly reminiscent of some of the markings on pipes, shell gorgets and masks, and copper plates, from the mounds of the Ohio valley and especially the Gulf Coast States. This is a strong argument for the antiquity of the specimen in question. There has been a "fin" or projection on the upper surface of the rear of the bowl, but it has long since been broken off. The appearance of the bowl is very archaic. It has a high polish due to much handling, and seems, like the others heretofore described, to have been made with stone implements.

From Charles Tohee, or "Known By God," was obtained the peace pipe of the Black Bear gens, formerly kept by his brother, Chief David Tohee, or "Holy Bear." This pipe has a stem which is over forty-six and one-half inches long. It (plate XXXII, fig. 5) is diamond-shaped in cross section, and tapers a little from the bowl to the mouthpiece. The major portion of the stem is plain, relying for esthetic value upon the grain of the wood, but about midway there is attached a series of ornaments and pendants. Beginning at the distal end is a bunch of white-man's tape and vari-colored ribbons, intended, so I was told by the Tohees, to represent members of the Bear gens who were valorous enough to have earned the right to be publicly tattooed by the gens tattooing bundle owner. Thongs wrapped with colored porcupine quills were originally utilized. These, however, have become worn out, and were replaced by the ribbons. Following the ribbons comes the conventional tuft of split feathers of the Great Horned Owl, while beneath these is a handsome tuft of hair dyed scarlet, and three tail feathers of the Golden Eagle. Two of these are, as is usually the case, from a bird about two years old, and are in consequence white with black tips. The other is from an immature bird, and is dark, with lighter mottlings. Inasmuch as the Indians are not aware of the changes in plumage of these eagles, they usually mistake the dark young birds for females of the species.

Unlike the feather pendants of the other pipes mentioned above, these feathers are not attached by sinews and bird quill wrappings. The tip of each feather has been neatly severed with a sharp instrument, and a hole cut in one side of the shaft half an inch above. The thongs by which the feathers are suspended are passed through the cut tip into the shaft, pulled through the hole in the side and then knotted, so that they cannot be withdrawn by accident.

The bowl of this pipe (plate XXXI, fig. 6) is made of Wisconsin catlinite of the dull dark red variety, flecked here and there with very small particles of lighter hue. It measures about six and one-quarter inches long, and is an effigy of rather remarkable type. The bowl proper represents Janus-like beings called *Itopahi*, or *I²topa²yê*, in Ioway mythology. These beings have a face in the rear as well as in front. They also are supposed to have sharp bones like awls that project from their elbows like daggers. The connection of these personages with the Bear gens is not apparent. There is a raised band encircling the forehead, which appears like the brim of a hat, but this is doubtless an accidental resemblance. Instead of a fin at

the rear of the bowl, there is a standing figure of a horse, facing, as usual, backwards towards the smoker. This pipe bowl, which had long been missing, was apparently stolen by an Ioway who married an Oto woman. It was bought from her daughter, who lives near Red Rock, Oklahoma, among the Oto.

From Charles Tohee was also obtained another pipe (plate XXXII, fig. 4), which Tohee was unable, or more likely, unwilling to satisfactorily identify, but it seems to be rather similar to the preceding. It may be the supposedly missing Thunder gens pipe. The stem is forty inches long, and is oval in cross section, tapering from distal to proximal end. Near the distal end are two clusters of varicolored ribbons, some woven sweet grass, a bunch of Horned Owl feathers, and a well preserved skin of the rare Carolina Paroquet, with the head towards the bowl and the bill bent back. Beneath its tail is a pendant of hair dyed scarlet. Part of the neck of a Mallard Duck is attached to the stem and there are also three Golden Eagle tail feathers, two of adult birds, and one white one of an immature bird. These feathers are attached like those on the Bear gens pipe. Above, almost concealed by the owl feathers, is the scalp of a male Ivory-billed Woodpecker.

At intervals along the stem towards the mouthpiece are attached the remains of four scalps of Pileated Woodpeckers, bound on by sinew. In several instances these have pendants of old fashioned white-man's white string and all seem once to have had scarlet hair tuft pendants. The hair that remains is of very soft texture, and does not seem to be horse hair. The next to last tuft remaining is woven together where it is applied to the stem.

The bowl of this pipe (plate XXXI, fig. 7), while old, is avowedly not the original, and seems to be made of Minnesota catlinite rather than that of Wisconsin. It is of lighter color and finer grain. It is also apparently carved with steel tools. It is of the so-called "locomotive" type, a modified Siouan form, but not one of the most modern. The bowl proper is shaped like an inverted cone, the base resembling the smokestack of an old-fashioned steam engine. This projects a little, and has a very high fin at the rear, ornamented by a scalloped edge and four heart-shaped apertures.

One of the most beautiful of the Ioway clan pipes is attributed to the Owl gens (plate XXXIII, figs. 1 and 2), and was secured by the writer from Mrs. Lucy Curley in Nemaha, Nebraska, in May, 1922. It was kept in the conventional buffalo hide case, which was obtained

with it. The stem, which is rather short for a clan pipe, measures thirty-one and a quarter inches in length, the nipple for insertion into the proximal end of the bowl bringing the whole up to approximately thirty-two inches. The stem, which is flat, is two inches broad at the distal end, tapering to one and one-quarter inches near the mouthpiece. The quill wrapped ornament begins ten inches from the bowl end, and is something over fifteen inches long, being concealed under a strip of parchment tanned skin near the mouthpiece.

The ornamentation commences, at the end nearest the bowl, with a scalp of the Ivory-billed Woodpecker bound on with sinew, followed by a pendant of green ribbon. Next comes the quillwork, first a line of black, then two lines of white, then a line of black followed by a three inch zone with a yellowish white background, containing a hollow pyramidal figure in crimson and black outlines, surmounted by a pair of conventional buffalo or elk tracks in black. It terminates with a double line of black alternating with a double line of white, then black and then white once more. Then follows a three and one-quarter inch zone of crimson, at the beginning of which is a pyramidal figure in faded green or blue, surmounted by a pair of conventional grizzly bear tracks (not well shown in the plate), outlined in black, with the space in the ball of the foot filled with yellow and blue or green, now much faded. Next comes an alternating double border of two white, two black, two white and two black lines, and a three inch zone of white, ending in the same manner. The ornamentation of this zone consists of a black pyramidal or inverted "V" figure, surmounted by two conventional buffalo or elk tracks in black.

Again follows a crimson zone, three inches long, with a repetition of the pyramidal and bear track figures described before, ending in a double white and black border line. This runs under the parchment skin which holds a horse hair pendant dyed scarlet beneath.

As is usual, the ornamentation of the under side, plate XXXIII, fig. 1, is different from that above. Under the woodpecker scalp depends a bangle of horse or deer's hair dyed scarlet. Then comes a decorative zone in white corresponding to that above, and bounded in the same way, but the figures represent an owl's track in black, at the base of an hour-glass-shaped figure in black, with partially double lines. The next space has the same figures on a crimson background, the track being black, as before, and the hour-glass blue with yellow auxiliary lines. The first decorative zone in black and white is now repeated, then the second with the crimson background and poly-

chrome figures. However, in this instance, the owl track is shown in the upper, instead of the lower arms of the hour-glass figure. Beyond the double black and white dividing lines in which the zone terminates, there seems to be an additional series of small black and white pyramidal figures which cannot be well distinguished as they disappear under the parchment with which the stem is here wrapped.

The bowl of this pipe is of dark, slightly mottled or veined catlinite, and seems quite old. It is of the so-called "locomotive" pattern, with the tobacco receptacle shaped like an inverted cone. It has a small serrated "fin" on the upper part of the proximal end, and there is a short projection on the distal end. It is a trifle over five inches long, and two and one-half inches high.

The last existing pipe of the Ioway nation is that shown in plate XXXII, fig. 1, and is probably that of the Thunder and Eagle gens. It was bought by the writer of Dr. W. C. Barnard, the well-known collector of Seneca, Missouri, in April, 1923. Dr. Barnard had purchased it of the late Joe Springer some years previously, and it may be that the interesting bowl which accompanies this specimen was taken by Springer from the Buffalo gens pipe, plate XXIX, fig. 2, obtained by the writer from his wife, as the bowl of this pipe was said to have been double, and was missing. The buffalo hide case that had once accompanied this pipe was missing, and it was wrapped in smoke-stained rags. The stem, which is plain, was ornamented only by a bunch of vari-colored ribbons, tied pendant near the middle. The stem measures thirty-eight inches over all, and is carved so that the first nineteen and one-half inches beyond the bowl are ridged at top and bottom, the remainder being flat and plain. It has been split along more than half its length on the under side, and the crack filled in with tallow or wax, so that it will still draw.

The most interesting part of the pipe is the double bowl, which, as has been intimated, was probably taken by Springer from the pipe kept by his wife. It measures seven inches in length by three and one-quarter high, and possesses two bowls of the "locomotive" type (plate XXXII, fig. 1). McGuire illustrates a pipe of this type copied from a painting by Catlin, and refers to one from Minnesota in the A. E. Douglas collection. The type is unquestionably a very rare one. As a matter of passing interest, it may be observed that McGuire for some reason, perhaps by accident, has failed to make his usual absurd comment that this type of pipe was made for the Indian trade by Europeans, although he attributes nearly everything from the pre-

historic clay pipes of the Iroquois to those of the Ohio mounds to such a source.

From Fred Big Soldier, a member of the nearly extinct Niutatei or Missouri tribe, dwelling near Perkins, Oklahoma, among the Ioway, to one of whom he is married, was obtained the Peace Pipe bundle of the A'ruhwa or Female Buffalo gens of that tribe. The case in which the pipe stems are contained is a cylindrical affair of buffalo hide, identical in appearance with those of the Ioway pipes. It is accompanied by bindings and wire pipe cleaners.

Within this case, wrapped many times in calico of different colors, as is also customary with the Ioway pipes, were two flat stems ornamented with porcupine quill wrappings.

The first of these (plate XXXIV, fig. 2) is thirty-six and one-quarter inches long, and tapers from one and three-quarters inches in breadth at the distal end to one inch at the mouthpiece. It is lenticular in cross section, and bears about thirteen inches of quillwork. The work is of the same technic as that before described for the Ioway pipes, but is of coarser finish. The design on the upper surface consists of four white zones separated and bounded by three lines of alternate crimson, yellow and black. In each zone is a pyramidal figure, not solid, like those of the Ioway pipes, but bordered in red and black in the first and third instances, and in red and yellow in the second and fourth cases. At the distal or bowl end there is a pendant of green silk ribbon and hair dyed red. Another streamer of blue hangs at the mouthpiece end of the quillwork.

Beneath (plate XXXV, fig. 2), the design consists of a zigzag pattern extending from end to end, except for the bounding stripes of crimson and black. This zigzag is made up of a double line of black and crimson squares, out of line with the preceding, giving a "stepped" effect, with a white stripe down the center. Perhaps this zigzag represents the same idea as the wavy line called the "buffalo trail" on the Ioway Buffalo gens pipes.

The second stem (plate XXXIV, fig. 1) is of the same form as the first, and is thirty-six and one-half inches long, the quillwork occupying twelve and one-half inches of the whole. The bare portion next the bowl is ornamented with brass tacks, then comes a wrapping of trade tape under which is a pendant of hair dyed scarlet. The ornament is simple, consisting of alternate transverse stripes and bands of black, white, and crimson. The black in some cases has faded to brown. Near the mouthpiece is a scalp of the Pileated Woodpecker

and another scarlet tuft of horse hair, which evidently had a pendant portion beneath, now missing. The under surface of the quill work on this pipe is entirely white and plain.

The bowl is a modern piece, made of Minnesota catlinite in modified Siouan form (plate XXXI, fig. 5). It is five and three-quarters inches long, and rectangular in cross section. It is obviously made with modern steel tools, and bears along the sides a design of lanceolate figures, and a spray of leaves or a vine on the upper surface of the base.

An ancient Missouri pipe bowl of dull red Wisconsin catlinite was obtained by Mr. M. R. Harrington from a member of that tribe residing among the Oto near Red Rock, Oklahoma, in 1912. It is now in the collection of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, at New York City. It is an effigy pipe, having a human face carved on the rear of the bowl and is of unusually fine workmanship, though archaic, and made with stone tools. The raised band resembling a hat brim which has been described as occurring on the Ioway Black Bear gens pipe bowl, may also be seen, but here it is obvious that it is an ornamental motif and by no means intended as a representation of a white-man's hat brim. There is the usual "fin" in the rear, perforated and otherwise ornamented.

Data is lacking as to the gens to which this pipe belonged. The bundle wrapper was missing, and a long stem, circular in cross section, was all that remained of the contents of the bundle proper, the bowl, as usual, being kept separate. There was no ornamentation on the stem when it was acquired by Mr. Harrington, the decoration having been removed long before.

Two Ioway chief's personal pipes (*Wanegi²hi ranowe*), which are not the property of the gens, were collected by the writer, and are figured in plate XXXVI, figs. 2 and 3. (The stems measure twenty-five and eighteen and one-half inches, respectively, and are ornamented in similar manner to the gens pipes, except that the quillwork, though of the old technic, is modern, and brilliantly colored with aniline dyes. The figures are purely geometrical, and in the case of the larger pipe are done in green, blue, scarlet, and purple on a white ground, with ribbon and Mallard Duck skin trimmings. This pipe was the property of the late Chief David Tohee, and was kept wrapped up with his Black Bear gens pipe, but had no connection with it.

The smaller pipe was collected from Robert Small, of the Wolf gens. The design is plain transverse stripes and bands of scarlet,

yellow and purple. The trimmings are Mallard Duck, red feathers and ribbons.

The bowl of this second pipe (plate XXXI, fig. 1) is of the typical Siouan type which has been so widely disseminated by trade from these people as to have driven out and supplanted the native forms almost everywhere throughout the plains and woodlands. The material, however, is a light, yellowish gray, chalky native limestone from Oklahoma, and the bowl, which is brand new, and shows no signs of use, was likely made by some Ioway who had never even smoked it.

CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATIONS

MILITARY AND SOCIAL SOCIETIES

The Ioway possessed a number of societies, ceremonies, generally performed by societies of different types, such as military, social, animal and mystery, and modern religious organizations. As these have been discussed in detail in another paper by the writer¹⁸ they will receive only brief mention here. They so blend into each other that it is often impossible to separate them into different classes.

THE HELOSHKA

This was a society that performed a ceremony analogous to the Grass or Omaha Dance of the Plains tribes. The dance was held in a round wooden house with a conical roof. The officers of the society were as follows:

- 1 leader or "song starter" who "owned the dance."
- 4 officers, chosen by the leader.
- 4 female singers who were chiefs' daughters, chosen by the officers.
- 4 male singers chosen by the female singers.
- 4 additional female singers chosen by the preceding.
- 2 waiters.

The number of members was indefinite. Only braves could wear the deer's hair roach, the feather dance bustle or the belt called the "crow." They also tied grass on their legs and thrust it in their belts. The ceremony was observed and described by Catlin.

¹⁸Skinner, Alanson, "Societies of the Ioway, Kansa, and Ponca Indians," *Anthropological Papers*, Am. Mus. Nat. His., Vol. XI, part IX., N. Y., 1915.

THE TUKALA

This society corresponds with the Kit-Fox Society of the Dakota and other Plains peoples. It was the rival of the Mawatani Society, and members of either organization tried to steal the wives of the other. They chose opposite styles of paint, dress and regalia, and opposed each other in games. They were pledged not to flee in war, and might not pick up any object that they had dropped. The Tukala, and not the Mawatani, could cause people in whose family there had been a death, to cease mourning. They had a peculiar hair cut. The officers were as follows:

| | |
|------------------|------------------|
| 2 leaders. | 4 assistants. |
| 4 drum chiefs. | 2 waiters. |
| 4 women singers. | 100 (?) members. |
| 4 "tails." | |

THE MAWATANI

This was the rival organization to the Tukala. Among the Eastern Dakota, where the society is also found, the name means "Mandan," but among the Ioway the name has no known meaning. The society had its special regalia, and the members shaved one side of the head and left the hair flowing on the other. The officers of this society were:

| | |
|------------------|------------------|
| 2 leaders. | 2 waiters. |
| 4 drum chiefs. | 4 "tails." |
| 4 assistants. | 100 (?) members. |
| 4 women singers. | |

BRAVES' DANCE

The function of this society, whose membership was open only to those of proven valor, seems to have been to entertain guests from other tribes, hence only those courageous enough to give lavish presents could afford to belong. Generosity and martial braveness seem to bear an equally high regard among most Indians. The membership was:

- 1 leader, who bore a feathered lance.
- 4 assistants, the sons of braves.
- 2 women singers, braves' daughters.

ACTING DEAD DANCE

This society was reputed to have a greater number of braves in its list of members than any other. Its ritual was derived from a wolf who appeared to its founder in a dream, consequently many of the songs were mere imitations of the howling of wolves. Members discarded the usual Ioway hair roach and let their hair grow long. It had the following officers:

- 1 leader.
- 2 pigeon feather bonnet wearers.
- 2 officers who bore crooked staffs hung with feathers (plate XXXVI, fig. 4.).
- 4 waiters.
- 10 members.

FIRE DANCE

This society is suggestive of the Algonkian Wabano and Siouan Heyoka, as the members perform feats of magic with hot food secured by taking it from the boiling kettles with hands which remained unscathed. The officials were:

- 1 leader.
- 4 assistant leaders.
- 4 waiters.
- 10 members.

BONE DANCE

This society was so-called because the members made use of rattles cut from deer or buffalo shoulder blades. It had no functions except social ones. There were no female members, and membership was exclusively among the braves. The officers were:

- 1 leader.
- 4 braves.
- 2 waiters.

BOUNCING DANCE

This was a social dance belonging only to the braves. When members of other tribes visited the Ioway, they were often challenged by members of this group to compete with them for horses.

NIGHT DANCE

As this society was made up of chiefs and their relatives, it was often called the Chiefs' dance. It was given each spring by a different chief as a thanksgiving ceremony, and sacrifices were offered.

LEADERS' PIPE DANCE

This ceremony derived its name from the fact that the leader carried a pipe while dancing. He also had to be a war bundle owner and carry his bundle. It originated in a dream of the sun and was held in the spring. During the rites the master of ceremonies had his bundle open and displayed its contents. A deerskin with a figure of the sun painted upon it was fastened to a pole like a flag and offered as a sacrifice to the sun. The officers were two chiefs, selected for leaders, and with them two women who had been tattooed.

CALUMET OR PIPE DANCE

This was a local variant of the well known Calumet ceremony. Two pipestems, one decorated with white and one with black eagle feathers, a wildcat skin, parchment pouch of tobacco, and a gourd rattle, were the chief paraphernalia (plate XXXVII, figs. 1-7). The ceremony was one of adoption and accompanied with lavish distribution of gifts.

TURTLE DANCE

This was a mimetic dance in which the actions of tortoises were imitated. Its reason for being has long since been forgotten.

BONE SHOOTING DANCE

This dance partakes of the nature of the mystery dances, yet seems to have had officers and an organization similar to the military and social societies, for the writer obtained two crooked staffs in Oklahoma, and saw a third that were represented to him as officer's wands from this society. In plate XXXVI, fig. 4 may be seen a representation of one of these wands wrapped with otter fur, and ornamented with green and white beads at intervals. It is said that in early times these wands were much longer, like lances, but that they have more recently been made shorter for convenience sake. This example measures twenty-nine inches to the apex of the curve, which bends back five inches.

The rites of the society resemble some of the shooting mysteries of the Central Algonkians, and indeed the society is thought to have originated with the Sauk or the Prairie Potawatomi.

SOCIETIES CONNECTED WITH SACRED BUNDLES AND THEIR RITUALS

THE BUFFALO AND BEAR DOCTORS

One of the most important organizations among the Ioway, and for that matter the Oto as well, was the Buffalo Doctors' Society, which also posed as the great, albeit friendly, rival of the Medicine Lodge. It occurs in two forms, one of which is composed of a loose group of shamans, male and female, possessing the *techo'we waru-ha'we*, or Buffalo sacred bundle (also called *tasa'gre waruha'we*, Deer-hoof sacred bundle, from the rattles it contains); the other of those who possessed Grizzly Bear bundles.

The function of the first group is the curing of the sick and wounded, and, as stated above, its members are sometimes associated with others who have had supernatural communication with the Grizzly Bear. These latter seem to have belonged to a distinct and separate society at one time, which has more recently become merged with the Buffalo Doctors. They were called *ma'to'waci* (Grizzly Bear Dance) members, and were esteemed as doctors. They stabbed themselves in the sides and let the blood flow—then healed the wounds. They also devoured live coals.

The Buffalo Doctors were founded by a man named Lone-walker who was befriended by the bison in his youth. The rites were more or less mimetic. Buffalo shamans were taken along on war parties to cure the sick, and, also probably to conjure against the foe.

The following data on the origin and use of the Ioway Buffalo Doctors' bundles were obtained by Mr. M. R. Harrington from Chief David Tohee and Joe Springer, and is here reproduced by courtesy of Mr. Harrington and the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation.

"The origin of the Buffalo Doctors' bundles, as given by tradition, has already been set forth in the story of Wanathûnjê. The Ioways with whom I dealt spoke of them as Tashagreoyu, or 'deer claw rattle bundle,' while the name given by Dorsey¹⁹ in his 'Siouan

¹⁹Dorsey, op., cit. p. 427.

Cults' is Tce waruxawe, which would seem to mean 'buffalo war-bundle.' The bundles of this class were the especial property of the society or order known as TceXowokigo, or TceXoweaswcehi, generally rendered in English as the Buffalo Doctors' Society, whose function was the treatment of those wounded or injured in war, or in the course of their daily occupations, sufferers from gunshot or arrow wounds, broken bones, cuts, and other injuries. The society had a leader, who wore a headband of buffalo skin, with horns attached, at its functions, and carried a staff provided with a buckskin cover to which were attached many hoof-sheaths of the deer, which rattled at every moment. Having no regular time of meeting, the society seems to have met only when called to treat an injured man, or to admit a new member. A man wishing to join the order was obliged to call the whole society to a feast, and make them valuable presents of horses, blankets, and the like. The candidate was then given one of the hoof rattles with buffalo tail handles, characteristic of the order, but he was not considered a full member until he had given four such feasts. On such occasions the members danced to the sound of the rattles and the drum beaten by the head man of the society, the step being described as a series of up and down movements, some of which at least were in imitation of the actions of the buffalo.

"A wounded man found it less expensive to enter the Society, as he had only to give the members suitable presents when they gathered to treat him for his wound, after which he was taken in as a full member himself, and could practice as soon as he had learned the proper formulas and ritual.

"On the war-path, the doctors carried their bundles, and should anyone be wounded, they began his treatment at once. They smudged buffalo hair under his nose to revive him, and staunched the flow of blood from his wounds with felted buffalo wool. After rubbing a mixture of roots and water on the wound, they danced around the patient, blowing upon him a similar decoction in imitation of a shower of rain, and sprinkling him by means of bird wings, brushes and buffalo tails, the tips of which had been dipped in the mixture. The treatment of the man hurt at home differed little from that accorded the injured warrior.

"A little bunch of the matted wool such as the buffalo sheds in the spring, was tied on the scalplock, or a necklace of similar material worn. Sometimes the tail of a buffalo calf would do duty as a head ornament, or that of a great bull might be attached at the back of the

belt, while the leader, as before mentioned, wore a buffalo skin head band with horns attached. In this way, and by their dancing movements in imitation of the bison's step, the dancers impersonated buffaloes, and believed themselves imbued with the power of that mighty animal. While they were going through with their evolutions, the whistles from the bundles were sounded and it was customary to burn sweet grass or certain sweet smelling seeds, and to sprinkle upon the patient a little native tobacco. (A curious belief in connection with this dance was that no children should be allowed to ride horse-back for four days after a buffalo dance for fear of being injured)

"Chief Tohee added that unlike the white doctors he knew, the Buffalo Doctors remained with the patient and talked to him and treated him every little while until he was cured. In the beginning they set a certain even number of days in which to effect a cure, say four, six or eight days, and if he had not recovered at the expiration of that time, they would set another date. The patient was carefully warned at the start to eat no salt in his food and to avoid doing certain other things that were thought to act against the medicine.

"One of the Buffalo songs, sung while doctoring, runs as follows:

Wa"sikā anai"to andare

Man you shot me you see me (twice repeated)

Asheināo andare

I get up you see me (twice repeated)."

THE BUFFALO TAIL SOCIETY

This society performs rites connected more with the reproduction of the herds than with the healing of the sick. It gave a Buffalo Dance with a feast in which the participants mimicked buffaloes. They wore capes of buffalo wool (plate XXXVIII, fig. 3), buffalo robes and buffalo tails in their belts, and the leader carried a tail upright in his head band. There were also rattles made of dried buffalo tails hung with deer hoofs and claws.

Plate XXXVIII, figs. 1-8, shows some of the characteristic paraphernalia of this society.

THE GRIZZLY BEAR DOCTORS' SOCIETY

This society is composed of persons who pretend to have the power to cure the sick through the intervention of the grizzly bear. They are by no means as numerous as the Buffalo doctors, but are even

more notable performers of magic. Possibly some phases of this cult, if not the entire idea of the ritual, are borrowed from the Pawnee.)

In plate XXXIX, figs. 1-3, may be seen the paraphernalia of a leader of this society. The objects shown consist of an armband made from the paw of a grizzly with the claws attached (fig. 1), a cap of the skin of a grizzly's head with the ears left in place (fig. 3), and a ring shaped rawhide rattle decorated with blue spots and a bunch of owl feathers. The rattle is much after the style of some of those used by the Teton Dakota and other Plains tribes, and is most unusual from any people so far east.

FORK-TAILED KITE DANCE

This dance was led by a man who possessed the Fork-tailed Kite war bundle, and was given in the spring. Women took part, and a scalp dance was held in connection with it.

EAGLE DANCE

This is an obsolete dance now known only through the description given by Catlin. It seems to have resembled the Fork-tailed Kite Dance.

RED BEAN DANCE

This is an ancient dance connected with the rites of the Red Bean war bundle. The participants drugged themselves with a brew made of the red beans, or mescal. There was also a sacrifice and feast to "Earthmaker."

The Red Bean war bundle was used for war, horse stealing, hunting and horse racing. It and its accompanying cult are also found among the neighboring and related Oto.

In plate XL, figs. 5-7, may be seen part of the contents of a typical Red Bean war bundle obtained by Mr. Harrington, who has kindly furnished the following data on the Red Bean bundles, which he collected for the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, by whose courtesy it is here reproduced. The informant was the late Chief David Tohee.

"In addition to the two varieties of Ioway war bundles before described, a third sort was found, Maⁿkaⁿshudje oyu, or Red Medicine Bundles (plate XL, figs. 5-7). This was not discussed with the others, for the reason that the Ioways claim that it did not originate with

them, but was derived from the Pawnee, who, in return for many presents, gave them authority to use it, and instructed them in its preparation and ritual. The legend of its origin among the Pawnee was not known to my informants.

"The bundle, says Chief Tohee, belonged to a society, whose annual meeting was held about the time corn is ripe. There was but one main bundle, but each member had a 'flute' or whistle, and a small package of medicine. When the time approached for the meeting, the member who was to give the feast sent a crier or 'waiter' around to the different members, calling them to meet at a certain night at his bark house or tipi, whichever he was using at the time. All painted themselves and fixed themselves up in their best style for the occasion. Music was furnished by a number of singers, who kept time to the sound of drumming upon a tight bow-string, and the sound of small gourd rattles. During the ceremonies the singers seated themselves in four different places at the side of the lodge, corresponding to the four directions, and sung in each one the verses prescribed by tradition, the order being: east, south, west, and north. The dance is said to have consisted of peculiar jumping movements.

"Now, the 'Red Medicine' which forms the basis of the bundle, is the sacred red Mescal bean (*Erythrina flabelliformis*) which seems to have narcotic or perhaps intoxicating properties when taken internally. Formerly widely used by the Indians of the Southern Plains to produce dreams or visions at certain ceremonies, it has now been supplanted by the more powerful 'button' cut from the Peyote cactus, which is sometimes wrongly also called 'mescal', thus taking the name of its predecessor.

"When morning put an end to the dances of the ceremony under discussion, a large number of the red beans were broken up, or 'killed' as the Indians say (regarding the beans as alive) and stirred up with water in a large kettle, together with certain herbs which are said to make the decoction milder in action. Then all the participants drank a cup or two of the mixture. The only description given of the action of the drug was that everything looks red to the drinker for a while, then he vomits, and evacuates the bowels, which the Indians say, cleans out the system, and benefits the health, even in the case of children. The medicine drinking, and the stupor and purging consequent upon it end the ceremony.

"It is said that the bundle has been handed down for a number of generations, since it was obtained from the Pawnee, all in one family,

which must have benefited considerably, one would think, from the valuable presents necessary to join the society. But if the bundle was a source of profit, it was a source of trouble, too, for the taboo was very strict, forbidding its owners to break the bones of any animal under any circumstances. They must never allow the bundle to touch the ground either, but this taboo applies to other bundles, and is frequently found among other tribes.

"When not in use, it was kept carefully wrapped in hides or canvas so as to exclude the weather, hanging on a pole standing just east of the owner's lodge, in front of the doorway. In addressing the bundle, they called it 'Grandfather,' and made offerings to it by throwing tobacco on the ground near the pole where it hung. On festal occasions the sweet smoke of burning cedar twigs was wafted upon it as an offering.

"In time of war, a special man was appointed to carry it, as was the case with most war bundles. Like them, too, it was opened when the enemy was sighted, when its enclosed amulets were put on by the warriors. Tooting their war-whistles, they rushed gaily into battle, confident of the Red Medicine's protection."

THE MEDICINE DANCE

Origin Myth. The Earth Maker, having created the world and all its inhabitants, sent his son to instruct men how to found the Medicine Lodge, but departed without telling them how to obtain "life" (immortality). The leaders whom he had appointed, having searched everywhere, finally decided that "life" was to be found through the medium of the rituals of the ceremony in which they had been instructed.

Initiation. Admission by purchase is the usual form. The candidate approaches one of the four officers or "band leaders" with presents and finally wins acceptance of his petition. He is then initiated in an elaborate ceremony, in which the exhibition of the sacred shells by old members, a sweat bath, instruction of the candidate in a secluded spot in the brush, and the famous "shooting" ceremony so often described in connection with the rites of the Central Algonkian Midewin are very prominent features.

Sometimes a candidate is taken in to the lodge to fill the place of a dead member, instead of by direct application as described above.

Candidates who are members of the Warrior or Brave class, are sometimes admitted by the payment of a scalp instead of the usual

heavy fees. Such candidates appear at the ceremonies naked instead of gorgeously clothed.

Other Rites. There are special spring, autumn, and mourning ceremonies, and a particular dance is sometimes held in which members of the rival Buffalo Doctors association take part²⁰.

Names of Paraphernalia for the Medicine Dance.

Medicine bag, *ma"ka'nye wikudje* (plate XLI, figs. 1-5);
Otter skin medicine bag, *dostu'n'ge wikudje* (plate XLI, figs. 1-3);
Rattlesnake skin belt, *waka"e''pida*;
Gourd face stamp for painting, *ogré*;
Deer claw necklace, *wanupi tatshage*.

MODERN RELIGIOUS CULTS

THE GHOST DANCE

This was a form of the well-known Ghost dance craze that spread over the plains in the early nineties when the coming of a Messiah was widely heralded. It came to the Ioway through the Cheyenne or Arapaho. Visions and ecstatic fits were characteristic of the performance. A Ghost dance rattle is shown in plate XLIII, fig. 1.

THE CHIEF'S DRUM DANCE

This was a rather typical form of the well-known Central Algonkian Dream dance that came to the Ioway through the Kickapoo in 1898. It is too well known to need further mention here.

THE PEYOTE

The Peyote religion was in full swing among the Ioway in 1914, but in 1922 seemed to have died out. It occurred in semi-christian form, and a very complete description has been published by the writer²¹. The principal phenomenon was the inducement of visions through eating the sliced and dried root of the peyote cactus.)

Plate XLIII, figs. 1-4, show some of the paraphernalia of this cult. In plate XLIII, fig. 1, is shown a typical peyote rattle. It is

²⁰For a detailed and lengthy description of this important ceremony, see Skinner, Alanson, "Medicine Ceremony of the Menomini, Iowa, and Wahpeton Indians", *Indian Notes and Monographs, Mus. Am. Indian, Heye Foundation*, Vol. IV, pp. 189-261, N. Y., 1921.

²¹Skinner, Alanson, "Societies of the Ioway," etc., op. cit., pp. 724-728.

made of a small round gourd, with a handsomely beaded handle. The type of beadwork strongly suggests a southern origin, perhaps among the Kiowa or Kiowa Apache, where this religion is especially strong. The same remarks apply to the magpie feather wand or fan shown in plate XLIII, fig. 4, which also bears a typical Kiowa rosette. Figs. 2 and 3 of this plate show a drumstick and whistle, the latter bearing the typical sacred heart and cross. Oddly enough those of the Christian Ioway with whom the writer has come in contact belong to some Protestant Church or other and are not Roman Catholics. The idea may have come up from Mexico with the peyote itself. The drums used in these ceremonies are ordinary metallic kettles with skin stretched over them.

NAMING CUSTOMS

(When the parents of a child wished to give it a name they made a feast, and while the assembled multitude was eating, the father would take the child in his arms, and announce its name. The name of a grandparent of the same sex was generally chosen, and, of course, the name had to belong to the child's gens. Later in life men earned the right to assume new names from exploits in war. In more recent years, war being out of the question, men changed their names for exploits in horse stealing, or even for the recovery of strayed horses. An uncle could nickname his nephew in the following manner. If in a teasing way an uncle called his nephew by some bad, abusive or even obscene name, the nephew could help himself to his uncle's best horse or other valuable property, and announce that he did it to make his uncle's "name stick." There used to be an elderly Ioway in Oklahoma who was called *Wa'ghre*, or "Bug," from an episode of this sort. Several other similar titles still exist, and some are said to be obscene. Nephews sometimes object to these names, but the uncle can insist upon their acceptance. The nephew, however, has the privilege of "naming his own pay." The Oto are said to have the identical custom.

PUBERTY FASTING

Ioway Indian parents desired their children to get as much out of life as possible, and therefore they used to force them to fast until some spirit appeared and promised the child to be its guardian through-

out life. Each father would take a willow stick about as thick as a pencil, or a trifle thicker, and would burn one end. Then he would give it to his son and tell him to go out to some remote place and fast until a spirit befriended him, but girls fasted at home or near the lodge. A quarter of an inch was usually consumed in blacking the face each day during the fasting period. This was usually done with very young boys who merely went without the morning meal until the stick was used up. The fasting season began in early winter and ceased in spring. Many children tried to use up the sticks as fast as possible, or to somehow substitute shorter sticks. They also ate secretly, and then came home with imitation tear marks on their faces. Small boys missed only their breakfast, larger ones ate only at night.

Later on boys were forced to go without meals for longer and longer periods until they became inured to starving, for it was said "it made them smart—an empty belly encourages thought." At about the age of puberty, they were made to undergo a prolonged fast of four days and nights in succession.

The places that were selected as most probable spots in which to come in contact with spirits were bluffs, canyons, or high isolated rocks and hills. The spirits were often animals which appeared as human beings, but which, after speaking to the faster, returned to their natural shapes and disappeared. Many were evil, the grizzly bear being one of these, while the wolf and the buffalo were benevolent. While waiting for his guardian to make himself known, the faster would wail and cry without ceasing and pray for power in battle, many horses, and success in life.

Before going out to fast, the father of a boy would usually make him a set formal address, saying: "Now it is time for you to use the burnt stick and let your tears fall on the Earth, our Mother. Maybe she will pity you and give you help hereafter. Find out your way, Earthmaker will assist you. It may be that he will send a voice to speak to you and prophecy whether you will be of any account to your people. Maybe you will dream of the Thunder or of some one else from above who will give you long life. Weep for help from the Sun, it is one of the greatest of all. If something comes up out of the land or water, don't listen to its words. Pay no attention to it if you want to live, that is the way to do. Be careful, remember that there are both heavenly and evil powers, and the latter will do their best to deceive you. You must be willing to fast, for if Earthmaker helps

you, you will be a great man, famous, and the protector of your people."²²

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS

Among the Ioway of olden times, three grades of marriage were recognized, namely, those of the chiefs, or "royalty," the braves, or "nobility," and the ordinary "commoners." It was customary for the children of chiefs to marry within their class, "in order to keep the blood pure" it was explained. Exceptions were made in the cases of the children of distinguished braves, who were sometimes permitted to marry into the class above.

The negotiations for marriage were usually conducted by the parents of the suitor, or some say the uncles (mother's brothers). They waited upon the parents of the girl, and if successful in their mission, took her with them to their own lodge, dressed her in a splendid costume, and sent her back to her own people with a gift of fifteen or twenty horses, which were provided by the groom's uncles. When she arrived, her father did not appropriate the animals, but sent for his eldest son, saying to him:

"Let your sister present these horses to her brothers and brothers-in-law. If any remain, distribute them among the chiefs and braves."

The father then gave a feast, for which the relatives of the groom provided a large quantity of food. They also brought him lavish gifts of clothing, blankets, and other articles of value. The girl's uncles lectured her on her marital duties and cautioned her not to speak to her father-in-law. Following the feast, the groom spent two or three days with his parents-in-law, after which he returned to his lodge accompanied by many horses and other presents sent to his parents by his father-in-law, in his turn.

The ceremony of marriage in the Brave class was similar except that the groom's parents arranged a feast for the bride's family, after which fifteen or twenty horses were presented to the guests, who were allowed a year in which to return them.

With the commoners, who were often poverty stricken, only one or two horses changed hands, or perhaps none at all were given. No notice was taken by the public of such a ceremony, and the couple began to live together with little or no display.

²²For further particulars, see Skinner, Alanson. "Societies of the Ioway, etc.," *Anthropological Papers, Am. Mus. Nat. Hist.*, Vol. XI, pt. 9, p. 11, N. Y., 1915.

Polygamy was allowed chiefs and nobles.) Generally a man took a family of sisters, marrying first the eldest, then the others as they became of age. In early times berdashes were known.

DIVORCE

Ordinary adultery usually resulted in a separation of the couple, whose children were given into the custody of one or the other set of grandparents. A man who unjustly divorced his wife, or abandoned her without cause, was sometimes forced to pay several head of horses to his parents-in-law before they would give their consent to his marrying another woman.

JOKING RELATIONSHIP

A man might joke with his wife's sisters and brothers, his uncles, and those whom he calls *xintaha*", or brothers-in-law, his wife's brothers' sons, and his nephews. The jests might be obscene in character. A nephew was also privileged to take any of his uncle's possessions and the uncle had to submit. On the war path, it was customary for joking relatives to make fun of each other, often rather cruelly. "Your wife was very sick, maybe she is dead by now" was one "joke"; another was, "Your wife was heavy when we left, perhaps by this time she is delivered." The butt of these jests was obliged to laugh good humoredly and not lose his temper.

MOTHER-IN-LAW TABU

(The mother-in-law tabu was strictly observed.) A man was not supposed to speak to her under any circumstances. On the other hand, women scarcely even addressed their fathers-in-law. A person's wife's or husband's brother's children were considered very close and warm relations, and were treated accordingly.

RELIGIOUS AND MYTHOLOGICAL CONCEPTS

Ma'o", the Earthmaker, is the aboriginal predecessor, so it is said, of the Being whom the Ioway now refer to as *Wakanda*, "The Great Spirit." *Ma'o*" appears in the sacred myths, such as that of the origin of the Medicine Dance, as the creator of the world. In appearance he was visualized as like a human being, so that the transition

from *Ma'o* to *Wakanda*, if it be through missionary influence as the Ioway claim, was a natural and easy one.

Ma'o had certain great natural forces as his assistants, or *Wakanda wa'wai*. Among these were the Thunderers, who appeared both as human beings and as eagles. In the spring a certain time always arrived when the seers of the Ioway knew that it would soon thunder, and they proclaimed "*Ma'o* is coming home." The names of the Thunder beings are:

Kho'manyi or Thunder Man. *I'yomanyi* or Rain Man.

Ukri'manyi or Lightning Man. *Wakandai'inye* or Little God.

K'xo'ina or Little Thunder.

There are also Beings who dwell at the four quarters of the world, the boundaries of which are marked by cracks that alternately open and close.

Beneath the earth, and sometimes appearing on it, are the *Ixtc'he* or Horned Water Panthers, who sometimes assume human shape when it suits their purpose. They prey upon fish and sometimes drown people. They, in turn, are preyed upon by the Thunderers. The underneath serpent concept does not seem to be held by the Ioway.

The being known as "Disease Maker" to the Winnebago is not known to the Ioway.

The *Itopa'hi* or *I'topat'nye*, were a race of beings of mythological origin who are supposed to have dwelt in the world in early times. They resembled human beings except that they had sharp bones like awls or daggers that projected from their elbows, and with which they slew their victims. They were themselves destroyed by the twin brothers Dore and Wahre'dua. The name *Itopa'hi* means "sharp elbows." Some say they had two faces, one in front and one in the rear of their heads, like Janus.

The *Waruska*, were a mythical race of giants and the *Hompa-throlci* were another similar race who had long flat heads, pointed at the top. Both formerly dwelt in the great buttes along the Missouri and Mississippi rivers. They were supposed to force travelers to race with them, the life of the loser being forfeit. In this way they succeeded in killing many people until overcome by the Twin boys. They used to cause people to have fits.

U'ye, the vulva of the Earth, perhaps cognate with the *I'ya* or God of Gluttony of the Dakota, was a great organ situated in a hill

that sucked in and devoured all comers. Two tales account for its destruction, one by the Twin boys, and one by the Great Hare.

Ina'singê'katce'ruka, Wind Controller, was a mythical female being who occurs in the story of Bloodclot boy. She was a cannibal.

Wansha'tadje'ruka, Old Man Wind Chief, was the husband of the female Wind Controller.

The *Ma'daswi'sjê* were a race of low-bodied bears who induced strangers to play lacrosse on the ice with them, and took their lives when they lost. They were destroyed by the Man-with-the-human-head-earrings.

Nashin Wazo'gre, was an ogress who devoured children, and was destroyed by White Plume.

Nu'nwakanda, the Fairy of the Woods, was a being into whom *Thio'grita'mi* or "Created-from-feet," a mythical heroine, was transformed.

Hinäsing'ä wa'xobi, was an old woman with the power of clairvoyance and prophecy.

MORTUARY CUSTOMS

In former years the Ioway practiced scaffold burial, but this they have rarely done since they came to Oklahoma, although a Sauk Indian informant told me that he had himself seen two Ioway scaffold burials after that tribe had moved into the Indian Territory.

At a later period the bodies of the dead were laid on the ground not far from the homes of the deceased, and small shelters or houses built over them, a small door being left at the head of the grave so that food and water might be given to the spirit. (A man who was killed was buried with his head to the east, all others with their heads to the west.) Latterly all are interred with their heads to the north, except those who are killed, who are pointed south. It is now thought that souls go to the north, but formerly the more common Indian belief that they traveled west obtained. Modern burials are in the ground at length in coffins, but the older surface burials were of bodies flexed and sitting upright. Sometimes these were placed thus sitting on hill tops and covered with boulders, as is, or was very recently done among the Kansa and Osage.

Arms were placed in the grave of a man who had been murdered, so that his ghost could haunt and kill the soul of his murderer, who would then die also.

When a man died his face was painted, "so that the Great Spirit would know him for an Ioway." This was done by the oldest surviving male member of his gens, and each gens had its own style of painting, so that when a soul arrived in the other world those of his own gens who had passed on before could recognize and care for him.

After the face of the dead man had been painted the old man who did the work would address a speech to the corpse, saying:

"My relative, you can reach the other world without difficulty. Beware, do not stop at any rivers or other obstacles which you may encounter. Never look back at this earth, but keep on, and when you reach the abode of the Dead, your parents will receive you in happiness."

Usually after this speech, several warriors would arise in turn, that is, if the deceased had been a brave, and tell in detail his brave and memorable exploits, that his survivors and the young men of the tribe in general might hear and emulate his example.

After the painting of the dead, which took place as soon as possible after decease, there was a wake ceremony, which lasted all night. The guests were divided in two parties sitting on opposite sides of the door, and all night the members of the two parties would alternately count coups as to what they had given away during their careers. A person acting as judge sat in the rear opposite the door, the count running around from the left. Each side had a pile of short sticks. When ten coups had been counted by that side, a stick from the pile was sent over to the door, where a servant kept two piles. Every time one side gained an advantage, a stick was set upright by its pile. When four advantages had been gained, a long stick was set up as a substitute. The side having the most credits in the morning won and received horses, buffalo robes, etc., from the losers.

In the morning the body was taken out through the door and carried to the place of sepulchre. The scaffold was erected or the grave prepared by members of another gens. A person's own clansmen or relatives never helped on such an occasion.

At the grave the mourners lacerated themselves and stuck skewers with bunches of shavings on them through their flesh. Women cut off their hair, and entire societies of which the deceased had been a member mourned and mutilated themselves. The best buffalo

horses and race horses of the deceased, if a man, were often strangled at the grave. Eight men, four on a side, would pull on the rope until the animal succumbed.

THE HEREAFTER

Souls of the dead were supposed to travel over the Milky Way which was called *Wanaki Tcina* or Road of the Dead, to a spirit city situated in the western heavens. Just before the soul reached the other world, it had to cross a river, after which it was received by its relatives who were already there. This realm is ruled over by *Wanakihi Warikihi* the Chief of the Dead.

Feasts were made at intervals for the deceased, so that the soul in the other world could have the benefit of the food, though eaten by living beings. These were kept up for four years, or until the soul got used to conditions in the other world. Souls sometimes became dissatisfied and returned to earth, but this very seldom happened. People did not look back when leaving a funeral on this account, however, lest the soul of the dead should be tempted to linger and haunt the living.

MATERIAL CULTURE

COSTUMES

The costumes of the Ioway, with regard both to those of the men and women, present a mixture of Plains and Woodland traits, the latter probably predominating. In Catlin's illustrations for his volume on "The Fourteen Ioway Indians," we see some of the males wearing the war bonnet with the long trailing piece falling down behind, and split buffalo horns on the crown. A similar headdress, but minus the horns, was worn by Chief David Tohee in 1914. Some of the women are shown wearing a deerskin one piece kimona-like gown of Plains type, and others apparently have broadcloth two piece dresses of the Central Algonkian-Southern Siouan form.

Of late years the women seem to have discarded the Plains form altogether choosing the Central Algonkian dress. This may well be due to the influence of the Sauk, with whom the Ioway have been in constant association ever since they dwelt in Wisconsin, but more especially for the last three quarters of a century. The Sauk indeed, with their ornate and gorgeous costumes, seem to have set the fashions

for a number of peoples of alien stocks with whom they have been associated since Black Hawk's defeat. The writer is convinced that the majority of the grizzly bear claw and otter fur necklaces seen upon Ioway, Oto, Osage, Ponca, Kaw, and even Pawnee chiefs and warriors in early photographs, are of Sauk, or possibly Fox manufacture. In collecting specimens, it was found that these are very highly prized by all the tribes in Oklahoma adjacent to the Sauk, and that the specimens in the possession of members of all the tribes in question, can usually, though not always, be traced to a Sauk origin. Certain it is that the Ioway have adapted the interesting and beautiful moccasin flaps which are bi-laterally unsymmetrical from Sauk models, although the structure of the moccasin itself is unlike that of the Sauk. They even conservatively keep up designs once found among the Sauk, but now unfashionable (Plate XLVII, fig. 5).

These comments also apply to a great extent to the art of the Ioway. They have, perhaps, taken over the conventional floral designs of their Sauk friends, with some modification, so far as their silk applique and bead embroidery is concerned, although the old porcupine quill designs seem to have more originality. Ioway paintings on rawhide, and carvings on antler also seem more original, and with a strong flavor of the Plains.

In Catlin's account of the Ioway Indians²³ whom he exhibited in Europe in 1843, is a drawing showing one of the party wearing a buffalo horn and eagle feather headdress (Plate XLIV, fig. 2) while most of the males have shell gorgets, and deerhair roaches. Some have fur fillets, some yarn belt headdresses, several grizzly bear claw necklaces, and one at least a buffalo robe with a sun or star-like figure quilled or painted upon it. On page 30 of the same volume, he describes the costume of Roman-nose, one of his performers: "He had been selected to lead in the Scalp Dance which was to be given that night, and for this purpose, in pursuance of the custom of the country, he had left off his shirt and all his dress save his beautifully garnished leggings and moccasins, and his many colored sash and kilt of eagle's quills and ermine around his waist. His head was vermilioned red, and dressed with his helmet-like crest, and surmounted with a white and red eagle's quill, denoting his readiness for peace or for war. His shoulders and his arms were curiously streaked with red paint, and on his right and his left breasts were the impresses, in black paint, of two hands, denoting the two victims he had struck, and whose scalps

²³"Adventures of the Ojibway and the Ioway Indians," etc., vol. II, p. 14, London, 1852.

he then held attached to his painted tomahawk, which he was to wield in triumph as he had in the Scalp Dance. Thus arrayed and ornamented, he appeared in his 'war dress,' as it is termed; and as he arose from his seat upon the platform, and drew his painted shield and quiver from his back, shouts of applause rung from every part of the hall."

In Wm. Harvey Miner's, "The Iowa"²⁴, there is a frontispiece of perhaps the same group of Indians that accompanied Catlin. However, the picture, plate XLIV, fig. 1, gives many more details than the drawing. All the peculiarities are shown, save perhaps the particular decorated buffalo robe mentioned above. The first figure on the left, in the buffalo horn and eagle feather warbonnet, apparently the Medicine Man of the party, seems to bear on one arm a buffalo robe painted with war exploits, and to wear a deerskin shirt, the pattern of which is obscure. He has leggings that apparently bear a scalplock fringe, and ornamental garters with a large square flap in front. The next warrior is shirtless, but wears a bear claw and otter fur necklace, as do three other warriors. He also has on what appears to be a wolfskin poncho or head throw, and otter fur and bead garters with enormous beaded flaps similar to a Sauk pair obtained by the writer in Oklahoma. He carries a fur wrapped lance, perhaps the insignia of his society. Another lance may be seen in the group.

The women all seem to be clad in deerskin garments of one piece, but two types are visible, the details not being discernible. Several seem also to have broadcloth shawls with silk applique work upon them.

The boy in the foreground on the right, who is also seen in the Catlin drawing, seems to be clad in a fringed deerskin garment, perhaps a kilt, not unlike those shown in the early drawings of the Virginia natives by Johnathan White.

While unsatisfactory, these illustrations seem to show a mixture of Plains and Woodlands traits even at this early time.

MEN'S DRESS

Plate XLII, fig. 2, represents a warrior's headdress in the form of a cap covered with feathers and with cut down buffalo horns attached. More Golden Eagle plumes of inferior quality are attached to a leather strip a few inches long that falls down the back. The entire

²⁴Torch Press, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1911.

cap is a slightly degenerate modern survival of the handsome garments of this type worn in earlier times, as depicted by Catlin (plate XLIV, fig. 2).

A man's deerskin shirt, obtained from Little Elk, and probably the only one in existence from the Ioway, is shown in plate XLV, fig. 1. It is of heavy tanned deerskin, and in pattern seems to resemble closely the form given by Wissler²⁵ as modern Pawnee. As the Ioway and their relatives, the Oto, have long been in contact with the Pawnee, nothing is more likely than mutual influence.

From Wissler's pattern, it is not apparent whether the Pawnee specimen has separate sleeves. This is the case with the Ioway example. The trunk of the shirt is made of two oblong pieces of native tanned leather, folded over and sewed together at intervals along the sides. At the upper edge a roughly T-shaped hole has been made for the passage of the head and thongs are added to tie it together at the throat. A separate piece of beadwork on leather has been added as an ornament both in front and rear, as may be seen in the plate. Fringe has been inserted in the seam along the underside of the sleeves, and some has been added at the cuffs and along the juncture of the sleeves with the trunk at the shoulders. A band of fringe has been added along the skirts or bottom of the shirt. At the rear there is a neatly added patch on the shirt tail, so well applied that it can hardly be seen.

The bead ornaments on this specimen are interesting. Over the shoulders and extending a little more than midway in front and back are two beaded strips, one on each side. These consist of beads attached to pieces of tanned leather and sewn on in short rows, after the style of the Plains tribes, and contrary to that of the Woodland peoples. The ground color is a brick red, in which occurs at intervals figures roughly corresponding to our letters M and H, in green beads. Undoubtedly, however, the resemblance to characters of the alphabet is purely fortuitous, as these geometric devices are to be observed on many an ancient Plains garment. Alternating with the green designs are white oblongs containing stepped diamonds in dark blue with yellow grounds.

Somewhat similar decorative strips occur along the sleeves, the background being the same brick red, with horseshoe-shaped green

²⁵Wissler, Clark, "Costumes of the Plains Indians," *Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., Anthropological Papers*, vol. XVII, part 2, p. 56, fig. 9p, N. Y., 1915.

figures, and white oblongs containing small blue and yellow six-sided figures.

Along the cuffs are narrow beaded stripes almost covered by the fringe, bearing blue and red geometrical devices. A similar but much longer stripe occurs on the inner side of the front of the shirt, just above the separate, attached fringe. This work is done with such neatness and accuracy that its placing where it cannot be seen seems intentional, if mysterious. Perhaps it was done in obedience to instructions received in some dream. The beginning of such a stripe on the rear shirt tail, but outside, may be observed.

Reference has been made to the attached V-shaped throat and rear ornaments which seem to be modern conventionalizations of the old flaps. This work is done in alternate bands of red, green, and two shades of blue.

On the breasts, and over the abdomen are four six-pointed stars, a device frequently observed by the writer on Ioway and Oto moccasins and headdresses and seemingly characteristic of this group of Southern Siouans. These stars are repeated on the rear over the shoulders and the small of the back. They are done in light blue, brick red, and lemon yellow beads, which in this instance are sewed to the leather, being applied in strips or groups and sewed crosswise. This is a Woodland style of beadwork as opposed to the Plains, and it is interesting to find both types on one specimen. This is, however, typical of Ioway culture which is often intermediate in all its branches.

The measurements of the shirt described above are as follows: From tip to tip of the sleeves, across the shoulders, five feet, ten inches; across from shoulder to shoulder, two feet, one inch; length of trunk, two feet, six inches; width at bottom, two feet, three inches. The sleeve fringe is thirteen inches long and that at the skirt or bottom three inches.

A typical Ioway man's legging, collected in Oklahoma by Mr. M. R. Harrington, and in the collection of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, by courtesy of which this photograph is here shown, is presented in plate XLVI. It is made of soft tanned buckskin, smoked or stained in dark brown, and differs from the type used by the Central Algonkians and other Woodland tribes in possessing a cuff at the ankle. It is handsomely ornamented with a floral design. Such leggings have almost disappeared among the Ioway. The writer saw one other very similar pair in the possession of a man on the Nemaha Reserve on the Kansas-Nebraska line, but

was unable to obtain them. The beaded figures are applied in the Woodland way, and resemble somewhat the motifs of the Central Algonkians, but have a character of their own, especially with regard to the application of the colors in zones or stripes to the leaves, etc.

Another pair of leggings of different type is shown in plate XLV, figs. 2 and 3. These were obtained from Robert Small or "Walks-from-the-Creation-on," in Oklahoma, and may be of the modified Kiowa-Comanche type generally affected by members of the Peyote cult among all Oklahoma tribes. A somewhat similar pair was seen at Nemaha in the possession of the same Indian mentioned above, who is a non-Peyote member. Old photographs of Ioways show somewhat similar leggings in use forty and fifty years ago. The leggings are made of very soft tanned deerskin and have a narrow ankle cuff which is slightly fringed. The garment is made out of a single piece of skin, cut according to the pattern shown, and sewed or rather caught together with thongs along the outline of the leg. The thongs do not pass all the way through the outer piece of deerskin, but are pushed through only a part of it, so that they are not visible from the front, when the leggings are worn. On the rear the thongs are brought through and knotted close to where they emerge. The five or six inches remaining at each end serve as ornaments. To one of these thongs, in each case, is attached a perforated scarlet mescal bean, the *maka shutze*, or "red medicine," of the Ioway.

When the legging was sewed up to fit the limb, in the manner described, the residual leather formed two flaps. These flaps were not allowed to remain as they were, as is the case among the Central Algonkian, but were neatly stitched together with thongs about half an inch from the border, so that they now form only a single heavy flap. In addition, separate thongs, ranging from nine inches in length at the bottom to four and one-half at the thigh, were attached individually along the border, further binding the two edges together, and forming a handsome fringe. On the outside, or front of the garment the space between the seams made in the manner described, is filled with a narrow stripe of white beadwork bearing a delicate geometric design in several colors, and a close set row of brass headed tacks.

No typical Ioway breech clout was secured by the writer, but those seen were long narrow strips of broadcloth made to pass between the legs and fall with a flap before and behind. The outer and visible portions of this flap were beaded in ornate floral designs similar to that shown on the leggings in plate XLVI, but often with the addi-

tion of stars similar to those used on shirts. A woven yarn sash from Nemaha, in the collection of Mr. Milford G. Chandler of Chicago, is shown in plate XLVIII.

Besides the garments mentioned, the men of the Ioway used the deer's hair roach, and, in former times, roached their own hair in symbolic patterns indicative of the gens to which each belonged, a custom noted also among the Omaha.²⁶ The missionaries, Irvin and Hamilton, writing in 1848, remark: "These families (the gentes) are known severally in the tribe by the particular manner in which their hair is cut; 1st, the Eagle family, is marked by two locks of hair on the front part of the head, and one on the back part left long; 3rd, Wolf, scattered branches of hair left to grow promiscuously over the head, representing islands, whence this family is supposed to have sprung; 4th, Bear, one side of the head left to grow much longer than the other; 7th, Buffalo, a strip of hair left long from the front to the rear part of the head, with two branches on each side to represent horns.

"The other families, with their peculiar badges, are lost. This manner of cutting the hair is confined to the male children. As soon as they are grown, they adopt the common fashion of the tribe, which is to shave off all the hair except a small braid, or scalp-lock, left near the top of the head, with a small formation of cut hair surrounding it about two inches on the front and sides, and extending down the back of the head. This cutting is usually done about once a year, and is said, by them, to be of great advantage in expelling vermin."²⁷

The scalp-lock is called *a²ho*.

The Ioway warriors formerly delighted in wearing necklaces, made of the great yellow claws of the grizzly bear wrapped with otter fur, called *ma²to shagre wanapi*. These had long streamers of this fur down the back. The writer strongly suspects that most of these claw necklaces were made by, and obtained from the Sauk. Only one of these is now known to be in existence, and is unobtainable, as the owner, Jim White Cloud, regards it as sacred. Claws of the grizzly other than those with a yellow stripe down the front are not so highly regarded by the Ioway and their neighbors. Yarn sashes (see plate XLVIII) were worn twisted around the head, over the shoulder or around the waist.

²⁶Fletcher, Alice, and Francis Lafleche, "The Omaha Tribe." *Bur. Am. Ethnology*, 27th Ann. Rep., Washington, 1911.

²⁷Schoolcraft, H. R., "Archives of Aboriginal Knowledge", vol. 3, p. 269, Phila., 1868.

A necklace made of scarlet mescal beans, the "red medicine" of the Ioway, was collected. It has a shell gorget of small size, with scalloped edges and incised border decoration, as a pendant. This ornament was obtained from Charles Tohee in Oklahoma.

Face and body were tattooed (see page 264) and paints of various colors were used.

WOMEN'S DRESS

No data on woman's headdresses was obtained. Those Ioway women observed by the writer in 1914 and in 1922 wore their hair in either one or two braids, in Plains style. The headdress with long beaded streamers affected by women of the Sauk and other Central tribes does not seem to have been used.

Two types of woman's garments were used. Plate XLIV, fig. 1, shows single piece leather gowns of Plains style in two types, so far as may be judged.

Another type of dress used by the women of the Ioway tribe is the two piece garment of the Central Algonkian and southern Siouan, also described by early writers among the Cheyenne and Pawnee. It consists of a skirt made of a square piece of leather ornamented along the bottom with porcupine quill embroidery, which also extends along the sides. This was gathered around the body, the edges coming together at one side, where they were not fastened to each other but allowed to remain open. The undecorated upper portion was secured about the waist and allowed to fall outward and downward over a belt.

In more recent years, since white contact, these garments were made of heavy broadcloth with a border of silk ribbon applique, as shown in plate XLIX, fig. 6, which represents what is probably the last Ioway woman's dress extant. It was obtained in Oklahoma from an Indian named Frank Kent. Similar dresses are still fairly common among the Oto. They, with the Prairie Potawatomi and the Fox, are the only tribes observed by the writer who sometimes bead the borders of this style of garment instead of using the silk ribbon work.

The writer has seen these broadcloth skirts among the Ioway, Winnebago, Oto, Osage, and Kansas and they are evident in photographs of Ponca tattooed women, who alone maintain the old style, and in those of Omaha women. They are also used among the Menomini, Potawatomi, Miami, Sauk, Fox, Delaware, Kickapoo and Wyandot. He is informed by Mr. Amos Oneroad, a Wahpeton, that

this type was worn by the eastern bands of the Dakota. A variant form is still used by the Seminole and the Iroquois, the latter probably using the typical style in former years. It is not the common or typical Ojibwa form, though possibly used by some southern tribes of this group.

The Ioway women wear, or wore till recently, a short waisted silk shirt with this type of skirt. Such waists, plate XLIX, fig. 2, were usually covered with silver or flash metal brooches. The shirt-waist of this type is generally found wherever the square skirt occurs, although there are variations as to collar, and as to the length of the garment.

No Ioway woman's leggings were seen or obtained. They were probably short, reaching from below the knee where they were fastened with a thong, to the ankle.

MOCCASINS

The typical Ioway moccasin is made according to the pattern shown in plate XLVII and ornamented in floral designs as displayed in the same plate, figs. 1 to 6. The moccasins have separate soles of soft leather, and in this respect resemble the Prairie style, although the true Plains tribes use soles of hard rawhide.

BUFFALO ROBES

In former times buffalo robes were very generally worn. As shown in the two accompanying photographs (plate XLIV), these were often decorated with painted designs or with porcupine quill-work in real Plains style. At the present time, however, none of these remain, although the writer was fortunate enough to obtain two plain buffalo robes from the Ioway residing in Oklahoma. As these show nothing in the way of decoration, they will not be figured in this article. They had survived as head throws used by members of the Buffalo Doctor's Society.

Mr. M. R. Harrington was fortunate in securing a buffalo robe covered with paintings of exploits from an Oto a few years ago. No doubt the Ioway robes were similar to this example in all respects.

TATTOOING

Ioway warriors were marked with two or three bands about the wrists, and it is regarded as likely that in olden times the breasts of

warriors were elaborately tattooed, as was common until recently among the Osage. However, this has long been obsolete, and there is no Ioway living who remembers the designs. Women are still tattooed with diamond and star figures on the back of the hands, and more often with dots, circles, or stars on the forehead between the eyes. Similar figures are also punctured upon their breasts. Formerly women were also tattooed upon the abdomen, the breasts, neck, and legs from the thighs down. The markings are vertical lines or rather bands. These latter markings are no longer used, although something very similar may yet be seen among the Osage.

Men were publicly tattooed in recognition of brave deeds, and women were likewise publicly tattooed when their fathers were seeking social elevation, the tattooing being very expensive. Those so honored immediately ascended in the social scale. Nowadays the Ioway complain that many social upstarts are tattooed and that it is no longer possible to accurately gauge the social standing of a tattooed woman.

A tattooing bundle of very modern origin was secured by the writer through Robert Small in Oklahoma. An account of the customs surpassing by far any data obtained by the writer, is most kindly contributed by Mr. M. R. Harrington through the courtesy of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation.

"One of the most unusual objects obtained from the Ioway is undoubtedly the Tattooing Bundle, *wigrêxê* which differs in content and function from any other sacred bundle collected by the expedition. As its name indicates, the Tattooing Bundle contains the implements used in producing the indelible designs seen decorating the faces, chests and limbs of Ioways of both sexes, marks and symbols which are regarded as the signs of the highest honors, and which, moreover, possess a certain religious significance; for tattoo marks are said to have been given to the people by the Air Spirit, and partake of the nature of amulets for the protection of the health.

"The bundle containing the tattooing outfit measures about fifteen inches in length with a thickness of some five inches, and is covered with a piece of greenish figured calico, which replaces the fawnskin formerly used. Within this, four more pieces of calico must be unwrapped before reaching the contents. The principal objects in the outfit are provided with covers consisting of the skins of very small, possibly foetal, spotted fawns (*tai"egreska*) removed whole, the only cut being between the hind legs, while some of the objects, including

the packages of pigment, were wrapped in a tiny child's shirt of calico, said to symbolize the use of the outfit in tattooing children.

"The most important objects in the bundle as well as the most interesting, are the two sets of points or needles by means of which the pigment was introduced beneath the skin. The largest, which shows signs of long use, consisted of a whittled stick of some hard wood, about seven inches long, and about one-fourth inch thick at the largest end, where it was somewhat flattened to accommodate seven needle-like points of iron or steel bound fast with sinew so as to lie side by side, and project beyond the wood three-eighths of an inch. These were a little over three inches long. At the other end of the stick were fastened five rattles made of the quills of some large bird, said to be the crane, very ingeniously constructed. To form these, parts of the side of each quill had been cut away down to the point, which was then bent back and thrust into the center cavity of the quill, forming a little receptacle in which were placed a few beads. The feathers then being removed the quills were fastened at the distal or feather ends to the stick with a firm wrapping of sinew. To these quill rattles which still show traces of red paint or dye, is attached a small brass bell, while about the shaft of the instrument is wrapped a bit of faded green ribbon. Every movement is accompanied by the rattling of the beads in the quills, the soft clatter of the quills themselves as they strike one another and the jingling of the little bell. The Ioway name of this implement is *maⁿthikûⁿ*. It is thirteen and three-quarters inches long over all. The second *maⁿthikûⁿ*, while similar to the first, is shorter (nine and five-eighths inches), does not appear quite so old, shows no sign of red paint, and, while bearing nine points instead of seven, has only four quill rattles. It is said that in former times the points were made of bone, and that the sole remaining bundle of this kind in the tribe contains points of this sort.

"Resembling the pricking instruments in that they are provided with quill rattles, are two spatulas, or flattened sticks used for laying out the patterns and applying the pigment (*wikuntê*). One of these, thirteen and three-quarters inches long, bears seven quill rattles; the other, a little over eleven inches, only five. Both are well wound with sinew, over which is loosely wrapped faded green ribbon. The largest is much stained with pigment from long use. By the same name are called two pointed marking sticks without quill rattles, measuring about five and one-quarter inches long, also two cylindrical sticks for marking circular dots, respectively four and one-eighth and five and

seven-eighths inches long, with diameters of five-sixteenths and three-eighths inches. For marking small circles a bit of hollow cane was used, called *ma"to"jê*, one and seven-eighths inches long, and printing a circle a little over one-quarter inch in diameter. Another, one and five-sixteenths inches long served as a guide for the needles in tattooing a round spot. These are known as *ikunt'ê*. A little stick, five and one-eighth inches long, with a bit of buffalo hair tied to one end, served as a sort of swab (*iwak!o*), while another swab had a narrow piece of thick dry buffalo hide four and one-quarter inches long as a handle. Several stiff tail feathers of some bird were used for a like purpose, and several matted bunches of buffalo hair seem to have been used in wiping off the blood. The feather rubbing swabs are called *ma"-caiwak!o*, and the buffalo hair simply *iwak!o*. All show signs of much use.

"Wrapped up in the child's calico shirt were several packages covered with paper, which when opened, were found to contain the following: a small piece of braided sweetgrass (*xanami*) which is burned as a sort of incense, a bundle of fine roots, used as a medicine (*ma"ka"*) to deaden the pain of the punctures, a package of blue pigment, (*ma'hato*), dry, resembling "indigo blue," and evidently bought at some trading store, and finally a package containing a very little charcoal, said to be willow, which was the original kind of pigment used.

"Carefully protected, like the tattooing implements, by a fawn-skin cover, was the headless skin of some species of duck (*mi"xe*), which, according to Chief Tohee, was probably put in the bundle in obedience to someone's dream, as strictly speaking it does not seem to belong to the original bundle. The chief's bundle, which is now the only one left in the tribe, contains no duck, although very similar in other respects to this one. The information which follows was related by Chief Tohee himself.

"This is a bundle that only chiefs can handle. The man who started it was *Tâai*", whose name means 'Deer Muscle,' and it was given to him in a dream. He never told just what happened in this dream, but it is said that he looked up and saw a person, supposed to be the Air-god who revealed to him certain things and told him to call together all the chiefs of his people at that time living. So he summoned all the chiefs and gave them a feast, then telling them of his dream and what the Air-god had revealed to him, and asked them for permission to go ahead under the instructions he had received.

This was granted, and he then proceeded to make the bundle as the Above-person had instructed him. His first work was to get together the birds whose quills and bones are used in the bundle. To this end he gave the people a feast, announcing that he was about to make war on the Cranes, speaking of them as if they were a hostile tribe. After killing a few cranes, they also killed some little spotted fawns and brought both to him, the hides of the fawns being used as covers for the things in the bundle. The little band of hunters which had brought these in got up a little lodge or society, for the thing they were trying to accomplish was very important. Only chiefs and the members of this lodge could look at the materials they had gathered. They talked to these things and to Wakanda, sprinkling tobacco upon them, then they fixed them up as the dream had directed. This has been handed down to the present day.

"Tattooing, among the Ioway tribe, was above all the badge or sign of honored and respected people, men or women, and naturally, due to the great expense of the process was seen only among the well-to-do. 'The Ioways wore tattoo marks just as the whites wear diamonds,' as Tohee naively expressed it. Successful warriors were permitted to use distinctive tattoo marks to indicate their exploits, and such marks were frequently reproduced on their grave posts after they had passed beyond. Formerly honor marks depended more on success in war than they did in more recent times, when a man who was wealthy and gave away many cattle and horses was considered honorable, and could display tattoo marks to make the fact known. A boy so young that no hair had yet grown on his pubes was considered very honorable if he succeeded in taking a scalp. If a father thought much of his daughter, and had the means, he might have her tattooed and thereafter she would be highly regarded by the tribe 'noble' or 'like a queen' as Tohee expressed it. No one was permitted to 'call her names,' nor could any common man bother her. If any other little girl quarreled with her, that girl would get a terrific scolding for her temerity. Tattooing was thought to be good for the health in general, and for sore eyes in particular.

"Unlike the highly complex tattoo patterns of the Osage, the designs used by the Ioway were few and simple. Prominent warriors frequently displayed the design of a single eagle feather (*maⁿc^a*) one on each cheek, while stripes, (*agratce grexe*), or spots on the arms signified warlike exploits or scalps. Men could have a stripe, star (*pikaxa*), or cross, (*arameha*) on the forehead, or a spot, a star, or a

cross on the cheek. On the breast they might display a heart-shaped (*natce*) or a diamond-shaped (*rhombus*) figure (*throtce*). Women only had the privilege of wearing the round spot in the center of the forehead (*pekitace*), but they were also permitted to display the diamond or star on the breast and the diamond on the back of the hand, with marks around the bases of the fingers to represent rings. Both the heart and the cross marks are said to signify 'a good person,' while the diamond, Tohee says, meant 'I am here' just as if the mark were speaking to a fellow lodge member. From this and other remarks made by Tohee, it appears that there was a sort of society, embracing the tattooed members of the tribe, but I was unable to obtain anything definite concerning this. (Mr. Skinner, however, learned that the tattooed women of the Ponca do form such an association.) The star, which is four-pointed, represents the Morning Star, and its use is said to be of some help to the wearer, through the supernatural power of the star itself.

(“Girls must be tattooed before they menstruate, or blood will flow from the wound in the forehead and spoil the mark, but boys and men may be tattooed at any time.)

“Suppose a father has decided to have his daughter tattooed and has accumulated enough property to pay for the operation. The first thing done is to send a crier around to notify the people of the different clans to meet together at a feast that night. When they arrive, they find perhaps ten horses tied near together and a rope with, say, ten blankets, and other presents hanging. In each blanket there may be money, say five dollars. During the night little is done, except that the relatives of the girl select, after careful consultation, ten poor people, if possible, one from each gens, but sometimes two or three, to receive the presents. These may be poor old women, orphan children or anyone who is needy. The chief is present at such a gathering, also the keeper of the two sacred pipes, who watch while the bundle with the pipes beside it lies open all night long. The father of the girl also sits near, and he is supposed to speak to no one. At the first appearance of dawn, ten sticks are distributed to the ten poor people selected during the night, who now, on receiving their invitation symbolized by the sticks, come up and seat themselves in a row. Then, when all is ready, and just before sunrise, the chief tattoos the girl. Taking a piece of hollow cane from the bundle, he dips the end in pigment, and tries with one movement to print a circle in the exact center of the girl's forehead, where the tattoo mark is to be made. If

he fails to get it in the right spot, he erases it and tries again. But if he tries four times and fails, the whole project is given up, and the girl is not tattooed at all. Usually, however, he succeeds and the girl is then duly marked by the process to be described later, during which the prescribed ritual songs are sung.

"This done, the crier or waiter, who is sort of master of ceremonies, takes down and hands to the poor people who have been favored with sticks, the presents allotted to them, and gives them their horses. Two men, who must be of blameless life, who never have been known to kill or injure anyone, then light the sacred pipes with hot coals and take them around. Everybody smokes, even little children, for they say this will bring good health to the girl who has been tattooed. This may be because the holes through the pipestems symbolize the 'straight path' of the sun. While this is in progress, the chief makes a speech, or prayer, and talks to Wakanda saying something like the following: 'We have marked a girl, and now we are burning tobacco. We beg that you drive away all sickness and disease.'

"During the ceremony the songs and speeches contain petitions to Wakanda for the girl's future life—that she may be good herself, get a good man, and have good children, and finally that she may live to be old.

"Besides the presents given the poor people, the chief is paid for his services with the best horse, the finest other gifts, and the most money; the crier or master of ceremonies receives something of value, perhaps a horse, while the keepers of the Sacred Pipes are also rewarded.

"If a boy is to be tattooed he can come in 'behind the girl' as the expression runs, and be tattooed with her. In this way he can get in cheaper, because his people do not have to give so many presents. When a warrior is tattooed, he pays part and his mother and other relatives contribute the remainder of the articles to be distributed as gifts. Relatives frequently help in any case.

"The process is substantially as follows: First, the roots gathered for the purpose are chewed into pulp, and rubbed on the spot to be tattooed. This deadens the pain. Then, in the case of the girl's forehead, the chief dips the little cane into the pigment and marks the spot at the exact center as before described. At this point the pigment is laid on thick with one of the cylindrical markers, and one of the cane guide tubes placed directly over it and held firmly, while the

operator repeatedly punches the skin inside its circle with one of the bunches of needles. Now and then blood and pigment are rubbed away with a bit of the buffalo wool to see how the work is progressing, and if not complete more pigment is applied and the pricking resumed. For other patterns the design is first outlined with marking sticks, after which the pigment is applied and pricked in free hand."

The tattooing bundle of the late Chief David Tohee of the Black Bear gens was obtained for the Museum's collection, and is shown, with its contents, in plate L, figs. 2 to 7. Fig. 2 of this plate represents a tattooing instrument made of needles set in a wooden handle, with the shafts of blue heron feathers attached to the top. These feathers have been split longitudinally, their ends bent over and thrust in, small shot being added to make rattles.

Fig. 3 represents some braids of sweet grass (*Savastana odorata*) used as incense. Fig. 4, is a bag of red paint, and fig. 5, represents a set of small bone tubes or cylinders used as stamps to make dots or hollow circles. It is interesting to note that larger circles of green paint applied during the Medicine Dance are stamped on the skin with the hollow neck of a gourd. One of these articles was obtained for the Museum.

Fig. 6, represents a small woven bast fibre bag containing pigments and medicines, and fig. 7, of the same plate, shows the woven mat cover for the bundle as it appeared before opening.

In this same bundle was a scrap of medicine root wrapped in a piece of paper evidently torn from an old patent medicine folder or a newspaper of colonial days, upon which was printed:

"By The King's Royall Patent, Granted To Robt. Turlington For His Invented Balsam Of Life. London Januy. 26 1754."

One may speculate by what chance this paper fell into the hands of a wild Ioway Indian west of the Mississippi. Possibly it was during the French and Indian War, when many Ioways were drafted for the forces of France to fight the English and their Colonials.

HOUSE TYPES

Owing to their position as a border plains tribe, and their former history as a woodland people, it is not surprising that the Ioway have retained an unusual number of house types, including the earth lodge, wattle and daub house, the square bark and oval mat houses, and the

buffalo hide tipi. It is remarkable, however, that they should use structures which seem at first glance typical of at least three separate culture areas, namely the Woodlands, Plains, upper Missouri, and perhaps the Gulf states, or at least the lower Mississippi. It is probable that all of the above types, except the buffalo hide tipi, were found originally in the Woodlands, possibly all of them in Wisconsin, but, owing to our association of certain distinctive forms with well known historic tribes, this fact is apt to be overlooked.

The earth lodge is one of the most interesting forms of habitation used by the Ioway. The rather minute description obtained from the writer's informants, considering the long period which has elapsed since these houses were used by the Indians, shows that it was very similar in form to that used by the Mandan and Pawnee²⁸. The resemblance appears closer to the Mandan form, but that may be due to the fact that our data for the Mandan is much more detailed than for the Pawnee, with whom the Ioway were often in friendly contact.

Earth lodges are reported as having been used by Wisconsin Indians, and are mentioned as archeological remains in that state. The surviving Ojibway and Menomini still have traditions of their use by others than themselves.

The square wattle and daub house at first sight seems to be derived from the southward toward the Gulf or at least along the lower Mississippi, for certainly such houses were used by the peoples of the Caddoan stock, in Arkansas, for example²⁹. Yet Dr. S. A. Barrett, Director of this Museum, found traces of wattle and daub architecture at the famous Aztalan site in Wisconsin, the much discussed "Brickets" from this place proving to be nothing more or less than the clay plastering from houses of this type. Dr. Barrett also found traces of at least one square house, the Ioway type, which, however, was not certainly, though probably, a wattle and daub structure, and another probably of this material, which was round. Other indications show that one group of the occupants of this site, which was evidently a rendezvous for peoples of several cultures, were probably Siouan.

²⁸Morgan, Lewis H., "Houses and House Life of the American Aborigines," *Cont. North Am. Ethnology, U. S. Geol. Surv.*, vol. IV, pp. 126-7, Washington, 1881.
Dorsey, Geo. A., "Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee," pp. 14-15, N. Y., 1904.

²⁹Skinner, Alanson, "An Ancient Town" or "Chief's House of the Indians of Southwestern Arkansas," Appendix to "Certain Caddo Sites in Arkansas," by M. R. Harrington, *Mus. Am. Indian*, Heye Foundation, Indian Notes and Monographs, Misc. Ser., vol. X, pp. 291-297, 1920.

Again Stearns and Gilder³⁰ described the ruins of rectangular earth houses in Nebraska, and mention others of the same type as far south as White Cloud, Kansas, and northern Missouri. Many of these are in what is known to have been ancient Ioway territory, and while Stearns and Gilder seem at a loss as to whom to ascribe the authorship of these ruins, the writer will hazard a prophecy that they are of Ioway origin.

According to Stearns and Gilder, these square houses were thirty-five to forty feet long, and roughly square, whereas my Ioway informants gave the size of their wattle and daub houses, from tradition, as thirty to forty feet long by twenty broad. The Ioways did not believe that either this type of lodge or the circular earth lodge was sunken in the ground by their ancestors, as is the case with the archeological remains, but this may simply be defective memory and oral tradition. Of course further proof must come from the examination of known Ioway sites by archeologists.

The square and oval bark and mat houses need little comment, as they are well known and widely spread Woodland forms. It is noticeable, however, that the oval form, which is more southern in its distribution, was used in preference to the round type, which, as a rule, is northern, and is the usual Wisconsin form.

As for the buffalo hide tipi. The Ioway claim that it was set up with a four pole foundation, and this aligns them with the Omaha, Comanche, Ute, Shoshoni, Hidatsa, Crow, Sarsi, and Blackfoot, as opposed to the Sioux, Assiniboin, Cheyenne, Gros Ventre, Arapaho, Kiowa, Plains-Cree, Mandan, Arikara, and Pawnee. This is the more interesting when we note that in the matter of the painted designs on their parfleche trunks, the Ioway again fall closer to the Ute and Shoshoni.

THE EARTH LODGE

Houses of this type, called *manyi'kitci*, were round, dome-shaped structures with covered passage-ways as entrances, and are said to have been built up on the surface of the ground and not dug into it at all.

When a man desired to build a lodge of this variety he called upon the whole community to help him. First four thick, heavy

³⁰Stearns, Fred H., "Ancient Lodge Sites on the Missouri in Nebraska," Amer. Anthropologist, N. S., vol. 16, pp. 135-7, 1916.

Gilder, Robert F., "A Prehistoric Cannibal House in Nebraska," Records of the Past, vol. XII, pt. III, pp. 107-116, 1913.

poles, crotched at the upper ends, and about twenty-five feet long, were secured. These were set upright in the earth to form the four corners of a rectangle about twenty-five feet across. These uprights were then joined by beams laid in the crotches. After this, a large number of lighter crotched poles fifteen or sixteen feet long were put up about fifteen feet away from the first set in a circle surrounding the rectangle. On these, other poles were laid to reach the sides of the central rectangle, and these bore beams or cross pieces of willow, four or five inches in diameter. On these again willow boughs were placed horizontally and thatched with long grass. On the thatch, sods, hauled by men and women in blankets on their backs, were laid to a depth of four inches. The completed house would be over twenty feet high and some fifty-five feet broad.

At the eastern side of the lodge a passage-way or entrance was built. This was usually ten to fifteen feet broad and fifteen feet long. It was commonly used as a place to store firewood.

The fireplace, or *huntun*, was made in the center of the lodge under the smokehole which served in place of a chimney. Over the fire was a pole, called *thexiskagre*, for suspending kettles. Holes, used as caches, or *woxe*, were dug in the floor either in the center of the lodge near the fireplace, or else along the sides under the bench. The latter location seems to have been favored among the Mandan also. These caches were barrel-shaped, and lined with bark. They are said to have been used especially for the storage of vegetables and dried corn.

A bench of willows, some five or six feet wide, encircled the inside of the lodge two to three feet from the floor. It was called *ai'ya*, and was divided at intervals by hangings or curtains of buffalo hide into bunks or *atha'da*.

According to Robert Small, the place of the master of the lodge was optional with him, but was generally the spot in the rear, behind the fire and opposite the door. It was called *dotû'ng'û omi'na*. On the other hand Joe Springer declared that the master of the house stayed on one of the sides of the door with the elder married people, and that the young people dwelt in the rear. This latter is the Pawnee custom.

It is said that the building of one of these earth lodges often took the whole community four days, during which time they were feasted daily by the owner. Such a house usually sheltered five or six related families, and lasted many years. Joe Springer stated that he had seen

two houses of this type among the Ioway near the mouths of the Platte and Nebraska rivers during his boyhood. The Oto are said to have had two on their Oklahoma reservation near Red Rock up to about 1912. The Ponca are also said to have had one earth house up to about the same time.

Medicines and sacred objects are said to have been kept the year round on a tripod set up outside the lodge, about one hundred feet in its rear. They were covered with deer hide to protect them from the inclemency of the weather.

For purposes of comparison, the following description of an Oto earth lodge observed by Bradbury³¹ in 1810 is given. As the Ioway and Oto are very closely related, this account probably gives an accurate picture of old time Ioway lodges. It will be noted that Bradbury observed that the lodges examined by him had sunken floors. It may be that the last lodges of this type erected by the Ioway were of a degenerate type, and lacked this feature, but it is more likely that the writer's informants had forgotten, and the later earthhouses of the tribe still conformed to the local type. Bradbury says: "I found the village to consist of about fifty-four lodges, of a circular form, and about forty feet in diameter, with a projecting part at the entrance, of ten or twelve feet in length, in the form of a porch. At almost every lodge, the door or entrance was closed after the manner which is customary with Indians when they go on hunting parties, and take their squaws and children with them. It consists in putting a few sticks across, in a particular manner, which they so exactly note and remember, as to be able to discover the least change in their position. Although anxious to examine the internal structure of the lodges, I did not violate the injunction conveyed by this slight obstruction, and after searching some time, found a few that were left entirely open. On entering one, I found the length of the porch to be an inclined plane to the level of the floor, about two and a half or three feet below the level of the ground: round the area of the lodge are placed from fifteen to eighteen posts, forked at the top, and about seven feet high from the floor. In the center, a circular space is dug to the depth of two feet; four strong posts are placed in the form of a square, about twelve feet asunder, and at equal distances from this space; these posts are about twenty feet high, and cross pieces are laid on the tops. The rafters are laid from the forked tops of the out-

³¹Bradbury, John. "Travels in the Interior of America in the years 1809, 1810 and 1811," Thwaites "Early Western Travels," vol. V., pp. 78-9, Cleveland, 1904.

side posts over these cross pieces, and reach nearly to the center, where a small hole is left for the smoke to escape. Across the rafters small pieces of timber are laid over these sticks, and a covering of sods, and lastly earth. The fire is made in the middle of the central space, round the edges of which they sit, and the beds are fixed betwixt the outer posts. The door is placed at the immediate entrance of the lodge. It is made of a buffalo skin, stretched in a frame of wood, and is suspended from the top. On entering, it swings forward, and when let go, it falls to its former position."

WATTLE AND DAUB HOUSE

This type of lodge was called *máhatci* and was rectangular in shape. It was about the same size as the bark house of the same form, that is thirty to forty feet long by twenty feet broad. The walls were made of split "shakes" of wood about ten feet high set up some three inches apart, the shakes themselves being only four or five inches across. The cracks were then caulked or chinked with hay and clay. The roof, which was only slightly arched, was sodded.

SQUARE BARK HOUSE

This kind of building was termed *na^xhêtcí*, and was rectangular about thirty to forty feet long by twenty feet broad. It was some fourteen feet high at the ridge, and had two doors, one at the eastern and one at the western end. There was a bench about eight feet wide, along each of the sides with a passageway down the center. The fire place, which was termed *o^xtu*, was in the center.

In building a house of this type walnut or elm bark (*niske*) slabs were used over a pole foundation. The bark was peeled in the spring and stacked for two years to season. Four poles were laid on the ground and a layer of bark slabs was placed over these, then four more poles and another layer of bark, until the stack was about six feet high. When the bark was sufficiently seasoned, two forked poles about fourteen feet long were peeled and set up to hold a ridge pole. Then a rectangle of four shorter poles to form the sides was erected, and into the crotched tops of these, other poles were laid, blocking in the sides of the house top. Other poles were tied transversely sloping up to the ridge, and were notched to provide places to tie on the bark roofing. The sides were attached in the same way with bark ties. The smoke hole was in the center of the ridge over the fire place.

The draft and the exclusion of the rain were regulated by small slabs of bark called *naha*, which were pushed into position with poles.

OVAL BARK AND MAT HOUSE

The houses of this type that were made of bark were called *icákiduthan* and those covered with cattail flag mats were termed *itháho* or better *itha'ho brake*, meaning "mat house" and "flat mat house" respectively. Sometimes round examples were made for temporary use, but the usual form was elongate or oval.

They were usually fourteen, sixteen, or twenty feet long by ten feet broad, with benches along the side, and the fireplace in the center as usual. While information was lacking, it is probable that these lodges were used in winter and the square bark houses in summer, as among the Central Algonkians.

BUFFALO HIDE TIPI—CAMP CIRCLE

Conical tents of buffalo hide, called *tce'hatci* were used in former years. It took ten hides to make a tent. There was a four pole foundation which was first set up, as distinct from the three pole foundation used in the modern Peyote tipi. Twenty other poles were needed for the lodge, and two others were fitted into the sockets used to adjust the ears, the latter being called *tcíha*. In traveling and on the buffalo hunt, the tribe used to camp in a great circle called *watu'rahai*. There was an order of camping, as will be discussed elsewhere, and the head position, with the command of the hunt, alternated from one gens to another every three moons, this alternation being confined to the limits of the tribal moiety which was in command for the season.

In 1914 the writer obtained from the late Chief David Tohee a set of buffalo hide rosettes ornamented with dyed corn husks in imitation of porcupine quillwork. These were used as ornaments on a buffalo hide tipi in bygone days.

HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS

BOWLS

The ordinary household utensils of the Ioway were wooden bowls, plate LI, figs. 5, 6, 8 and 9, carved from knots by burning and scraping. All those that were seen or collected by the writer were round and

inferior to those of the Central Algonkian tribes in workmanship. They are called *na'wake*.

SPOONS

With the wooden bowls were used rather plain wooden spoons with large wide bowls (plate LI, figs. 1 and 2). Buffalo horn spoons of a plain type, (plate LI, fig. 4) and a slightly more ornamental form (plate LI, fig. 3) were also in common use. They were made by boiling the horn and then cutting and bending it into shape.

MORTARS

Log mortars, called *ho^znyi* once abounded, but are now obsolete, and only one was seen either in Oklahoma or in Nebraska (plate LI, fig. 7). The mortar was made out of a section of log, about three feet long by eight or ten inches in diameter, one end of which was hollowed out by burning and scraping and the other sharpened so that it could be set upright in the ground. This was a custom held in common by the Ioway and other Southern Siouans and Caddoans, especially the earth lodge users, including the Pawnee and Mandan. It was not the custom among the Central Algonkians. In some mortars the hole was made to slant in from opposite sides, it is said, so that two women standing facing each other could strike alternately. The striking end of the three foot pestle was somewhat swollen, then followed a narrower shaft intended for grasping in the hand, and the proximal or upper end was considerably enlarged to add weight to the blows.

CORN CRUSHERS

Stone metates and *manos*, or mullers, are still in use, and are called *i'napa*, or if of local red stone, *i'napa ino'shutze*, or "redstone corn crushers." These are used principally for crushing roots, although they serve to crack corn and nuts. A set of them is shown in plate LII, figs. 3 and 4. They are identical with the archeological specimens found in so many eastern sites.

POTTERY

Pottery vessels, called *ma'ha de^zhutu* were formerly used for cooking purposes and are said to have persisted in use at least until after the removal of the tribe to Nemaha, where one was utilized by

Joe Springer's mother. Robert Small also corroborated Springer's statement that they had been used up to comparatively recent times.

Earthen jars were made of selected clay which was pounded and mixed with burnt stone or fibre for tempering. The process by which they are fashioned is otherwise forgotten. They are said to have sometimes been of great size, and some had small feet or legs, three in number, in order to make them stand upright.

STONE AXES

In former times stone axes were used, and Ioway tradition says that these were of two types. One of these was called *i'no i'ntue*, or "stone axe," which is described as a celt—a wedge-like blade of stone—set in a club-like handle of hard wood. The other was called *i'ntue gito'ke*, or "breaking-down-tree axe." This is described as having a blade like the former, of stone, but thicker and with a groove near the blunt end. Axes of this type were attached to their wooden handles with lashings of sinew and rawhide. They were used largely to break off dry branches for firewood.

BONE AWLS

Bone awls, called *waho'gre*, were used until recently for sewing leather. They were manipulated as shoemakers use their awls, making a hole in the leather through which the sinew thread was pushed. In later times awls with metal points and handles of bone or antler were common. In plate LIII, fig. 4, is shown one of these hafted with the humerus of a beaver. For some reason this bone was very popular among many of the Central tribes, and I have collected or seen similar examples among the Sauk, Menomini, and perhaps the Winnebago.

HAIR BRUSH

An interesting hair brush of native manufacture was observed. It consisted of twenty-one tightly bound little bunches of twisted smilax roots, each held together at the base by a calico wrapping, and lashed in a larger group with string. The brush was compact and very strong, and if such brushes could be turned out in sufficient quantities, would no doubt have commercial possibilities. The brush, which was part of a toilet outfit in the possession of Dr. W. C. Barnard of Seneca, Mo., measures four inches in length.

TRANSPORTATION

Headstraps or tump lines of leather were formerly found among the Ioway, and were used to carry weights upon the back.

When crossing the prairies the Ioway formerly used the travois or *shunga ilci'kê*. It was principally utilized to move tipis bundled on their own poles. Children were also put into rawhide trunks, with their little heads sticking out, and these were fastened to the travois and thus drawn along.

No Indian-made saddles could be found among the Ioway of Oklahoma, although their use, and that of elkhorn-handled quirts, was remembered. In 1923 Mr. Harrington found a saddle of Central Algonkian type among the Nemaha Ioway.

Canoes are not remembered. When rivers had to be crossed, rafts, *wu'ruhinge pa'dje*, were made to ferry the parties over. Logs were cut of even length, and then bound together with bark. These were often large enough, it is said, to transport horses across the Missouri.

Bull boats, which are barely remembered, were called *pâłci'ma*. In 1848, Irvin and Hamilton mention Ioway "skin canoes," no doubt bull boats, as traditional means of river crossing.

BABY CARRIERS

From Four-winds-woman, Tadjeto'wimê, residing near Perkins, Oklahoma, two very interesting baby carriers were obtained. The first of these is shown in plate LIV, fig. 1, and is of regular Central Algonkian type, possessing the typical bent bow and movable foot board seen among the Sauk, Menomini, and Potawatomi. Among the Ioway this type has apparently gone out of style for daily use, but survives, as shown in this example, as a form used when carrying a child on a horseback journey. Unlike the Menomini and Potawatomi, the Ioway do not seem to observe the "extraordinary period" of thirty or forty days, notching the back of the board as the child successfully survives each day. At least this specimen is innocent of such records. It measures twenty-six and three-quarters inches long by ten inches broad.

The regulation every day Ioway cradle is well exemplified by the specimen shown in plate LIV, fig. 2, also obtained from Four-winds-woman. This consists of a simple board thirty-four and a half inches long by eleven and three-quarters inches broad. The bow is

very plain and not recurved as in the preceding example, and there is no foot rest. The upper part of the back, which appears above the baby's head when in use, is carved and painted in a design not dissimilar to those patterns found upon the Plains Indian parfleches. The design is cut into two decorative zones, each of which contains an "X"-shaped figure with triangles between the arms of the "X". The colors, like those found on parfleches, are red, yellow, and green, and are further supplemented by rows of brass headed tacks.

This is eminently a southern Siouan type of cradle, and the writer has seen and collected very similar examples, both as to form and decoration, even to the brass tacks, among Kansa, Osage and Oto.

RAWHIDE TRUNKS

The Ioway, while having no true envelope parfleches, make use of numerous rawhide boxes or trunks, called *oyu'xroke*. These receptacles are small in size, and brightly painted, and are similar in all respects to those made by the Sauk and Fox. But, curiously enough, old members of the Sauk have repeatedly told me that their trunks were not so good as those of the Ioway, and that they got their best ones by purchase from the latter, or at least hired Ioway or Osage to paint their trunks for them. Evidently we have here a case of folk opinion which is accepted as true, but which is by no means the case. The reason for this opinion of the Sauk is probably that they themselves have made no trunks for a long time, but have seen the new and brilliantly colored boxes of the Ioway in constant use. The trunks of the two tribes have nothing in common with each other in either construction or painted design, as we shall presently demonstrate. On the contrary the boxes of the Ioway resemble rather those of the Border Plains and southern Siouan tribes. The writer has seen or collected similar specimens among the Oto, Ponca, Santee Dakota, and Plains Ojibway, and suspects that they will be found among Kansa, Osage, and Omaha. The Sauk type occurs also among the Fox and Kickapoo. Similar forms are found among the Menomini and Potawatomi, although those of the latter are not generally painted. They presumably represent a bark technic carried over into the Plains region where rawhide was substituted for bark.

Sauk and Fox trunks are made of a single oblong piece of buffalo hide ingeniously folded and sewed, and not cut, whereas the trunks of the Ioway and Oto are made from a pattern requiring one or more

pieces cut in irregular shape from a larger hide, and then bent, folded and sewed together. It is very interesting to observe that according to the classification of *parfleche* designs given by Kroeber³², the trunks of the Ioway fall into his second group or square-and-triangular type, which is found among the Gros Ventre, Blackfoot, Sahaptian, and Ute, but which reaches its highest recorded development among the Shoshoni. Lowie³³ describes one Cheyenne piece that is reminiscent of Ioway work as it is completely boxed in and has a scalloped border. Possibly the southern Cheyenne of Oklahoma, who sometimes come in contact with the Ioway, may have influenced the latter. This seems very doubtful to the writer as they are far away and come into Ioway country only as casual visitors, and were probably never in close contact with them.

Plate LV, fig. 1, represents an Ioway rawhide trunk made of thin dressed cowskin. The ends are separate attached rectangles which also give a diagram of the design. The rawhide is sewed into a rectangle with thongs and sinew. The top or cover and the four sides are painted in red, yellow, blue, and green, but the bottom is left blank except that it is boxed in around the edges with a narrow blue stripe.

The cover design consists of a long rectangle conformable with the area of the space to be decorated. It is boxed in with a broad scalloped border in red and green, cut into zones by narrow fields of white. The principal figure consists of two white squares containing in each instance a red and blue maltese cross indented at the end of each cross bar with a triangle of yellow or green.

The sides, which bear identical designs are enclosed in a like manner with a broad divided and scalloped border. Like the cover pattern, the sides are also divided into squares, each square containing a figure in red and green that resembles a maltese cross with the ends of the bars deeply indented, and the indentations filled solid with a triangular figure of red or yellow with a blue or yellow tip. The bars of the crosses flare at the ends, so that a secondary quatrefoil design is cleverly formed between them by the uncolored spaces of the background. It should not pass unremarked that the entire design for the whole trunk had been laid out in black upon the white skin before the colors had been applied anywhere.

³²Kroeber, A. L., "Ethnology of the Gros Ventre," *Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., Anthropological Papers*, vol. I, part IV, pp. 168 et seq., N. Y., 1908.

³³Lowie, Robert H., "Crow Indian Art," *Ibid*, vol. XXI, part IV, p. 285, fig. 1-j, N. Y., 1922.

The ends of the trunk also bear identical designs, the entire square space being covered. Each figure is boxed in with a broad blue and red border cut into zones and scalloped. Inside this broad border is a narrower one of green containing a central diamond, the angles of which are joined above and below with green rectangles containing solid pyramidal figures in yellow and red, and at the ends with flaring pyramids in yellow and green. The central diamond is blue and contains two small concentric lozenges in yellow and red. The trunk measures roughly sixteen inches long, by seven inches broad, by eight inches deep.

This trunk was obtained from Mrs. David Tohee, widow of the late chief, near Perkins, Oklahoma. Another trunk from the same source has been badly gnawed by rodents, but retains the original design in its entirety. It measures a little over fourteen inches long, nine inches broad, and eight and one-half inches deep. Like the preceding specimen, it is made of a single piece of rawhide of white color, neatly cut, folded, and sewed together.

The cover design is entirely different from that of the preceding example. First, there is a border surrounding the entire rim of the cover. This consists of a narrow strip of blue along the edges, then a broad band of yellow indented with red, forming a scalloped figure, the space between the scallops being filled in with green triangles. From each end two pyramidal green figures with red borders project towards the center where they impinge on two blue hour-glass motifs at the median line, which is again indicated in blue, the intervening spaces being in yellow. As in the former specimen, the uncolored space between the figures forms a secondary design, resembling one whole double-ended dart in the center, and opposing halves of another on the sides. As before, the design of the entire trunk has been laid out in black before filling in with colors.

The side designs are, as usual, identical. The border consists of a red band with deep inward pointing pyramidal figures, these containing triangles in green, while the border is red. One of these points occurs in the center of each end, and three on each side. The side points connect along the median line with blue rectangles containing smaller concentric rectangles of yellow with blue centers. Here again we find a secondary unpainted design resembling two double-ended darts in the center with lanceolate figures on the ends, filling in the angles.

The end designs, which are the same in both cases, consist of a blue boxing line enclosing the square end. Within this boundary,

comes a red band inside pointed triangles with green cores as on the cover. The top and bottom points impinge upon the central square of blue, which contains another concentric rectangle of yellow with a rectangular blue center. Each angle of the square, ends in a ball or round spot of blue.

A third Ioway trunk was obtained of the old medicine woman, Mrs. Robideaux, residing at Black Bear Switch on the Oto Reserve. This specimen is more nearly cubical in shape, measuring eleven inches long, eleven broad and eleven deep, but is an inch shorter across the top than at the bottom.

The material is the common white raw cowhide, but the pattern is a little more complicated than usual. The design occurs only on the top and front, though a blue line along each side crosses back and bottom and connects the two. The figures are done in red, yellow, green, and blue pigments, and are similar on cover and front. The cover has a broad inwardly scalloped red border in the shape of a rectangle. The scallops are filled solid with yellow, and bounded by a blue line. The enclosed figure is composed of linked diamonds which coalesce instead of merely touching their apices. The diamonds are divided, one-half of each being blue and the other red. The body of each lozenge contains two triangles of solid green.

The sides of this box are cleverly patched, but the pattern from which it has been cut is a triumph of ingenuity. There are ornamental tie thongs along the front and sides, to fasten down the lid, which overlaps.

A fourth specimen of rawhide trunk was obtained, not from an Ioway, but an Oto Indian, residing near Red Rock, Oklahoma, and is here given as a typical example of Oto rawhide work. In pattern it is a trifle more complicated than the average Ioway box and measures fifteen inches long, eight inches broad, and nine inches deep. The design, as in the last described Ioway specimen, occurs only on the lid or top and the front, but the ornaments are connected by a blue line along each side crossing the back and bottom.

The upper design consists of a rectangle of oblong shape with a heavy border outlined with a blue stripe which bends inwards to form hollow triangles. The rest of the border is painted yellow. Next comes an inner rectangle with a red ground color. This is divided into two parts by a median band, itself cut into zones by blue and white triangles. Each side of the median band is largely filled by a white unpainted lozenge-shaped figure containing a smaller blue

diamond in which are two longitudinal yellow bars. A small square is used to fill in each corner of the design. The design as a whole is repeated on the front of the box.

Several other Ioway trunks are shown in plate LV, figs. 2-4.

WOVEN REED MATS

Until a decade ago, woven reed mats, entirely similar in external appearance at least, to those of the Winnebago and the Central Algonkians, were still fairly common among the Ioway, and a number were seen by the writer when in Oklahoma in 1914. Now, however, they have almost entirely disappeared, except for small examples used to cover the buffalo bundles, or, as is the case with the specimen shown in plate L, fig. 7, as a container for a tattooing bundle. These containers often have one end rolled back and sewed along the sides to make a pocket, a detail seldom seen among the Central Algonkians.

This mat is decidedly smaller than the old time wall or floor mat, as it measures only thirty-eight by twenty and one-half inches. The technic is the common diagonal mat weave over a bark cord foundation, and in no whit differs from the common Central Algonkian style. The design, in gray and white, is a variant of a common diamond motif often seen among the neighboring Sauk. For full details as to the manner of manufacturing these mats, the reader is referred to the writer's articles on Menomini material culture³⁴.

It is very likely that the method of making these mats, the designs, etc., was acquired by the Ioway while they were yet one with the Winnebago, and had not left their old home in Wisconsin where they were surrounded by Central Algonkians. That the arts of the Central tribes as practiced by the Ioway have no doubt received an additional stimulus in recent years through association with the Sauk, is also to be considered. The Winnebago are, however, more closely identified with the Central Algonkians than the Ioway, so far as material culture is concerned.

WOVEN BAGS

Like the Central tribes, the Ioway formerly manufactured a number of types of soft oblong woven bags (*pa'hkre*) a few of which

³⁴Skinner, Alanson, "Material Culture of the Menomini," Mus. Am. Indian, Heye Foundation, Indian Notes and Monographs, Misc. Ser., p. 238, N. Y., 1921.

still survive. (These are of several materials, Indian hemp, modern yarn, nettle fibre, and beads.)

In plate XLIX, fig. 3, a view of a small wallet is shown. It is made of shredded bark string with the design in dark buffalo wool yarn and red blanket ravelings. The technic is that called open twined by Mason, in which the design appears in reverse colors upon the opposite side. This little specimen measures five and one-half inches long by four and one-half broad, and was used as a container of medicines. The reverse of the design represents a human being, but the side shown in plate XLIX, fig. 3, shows a horned water panther. The latter design is not uncommonly found on the old Winnebago and Central Algonkian bags, but the former is a rarity.

Plate XLIX, fig. 1, shows a storage bag which seems to be made of the inner fibre of basswood or nettle loosely twined. The woof strings are not quite an inch apart and serve only to hold the warp together, not really forming part of the fabric. The decoration is formed by transverse stripes and bars in green and purple, and the bag measures eleven and a half inches deep by thirteen long. A larger bag of the same style, said to be made of nettle fibre, was also collected. The design is somewhat similar, and the dimensions are two feet long by a foot and a half deep.

A small bag of different technic from the preceding specimens was also gathered. It is made of red, blue, green and white woolen yarns, and measures about nine by eight inches. The design is a simple zig-zag motif.

This bag is made in an over and under three twilled weave, twisted as twilled, changing at the narrow stripe between figures to over and under two. The narrow stripes are not twisted. These weaves alternate until the bottom is reached where the last few rows are twined instead of twilled.

The writer believes this type of bag to be a direct survival of the woven buffalo wool yarn bags that he has seen or collected among the Oto, Kansa, and Osage, in which, however, the design is brought out in the weave and not by color, as the hair is a uniform dark reddish brown. The writer thinks this type of weaving is peculiar to the Southern Siouan tribes, if not indeed to those alone that are mentioned above. One specimen from the Canadian Potawatomi in the collection of Mr. Milford G. Chandler of Chicago seems on superficial examination to be similar. This example may have come into the hands

of the Potawatomi through the Kansas band of that people who could have secured it from some of the southern Siouans.

A tiny bag woven of glass "pony-trader" beads was obtained of Joe Springer, near Perkins, Oklahoma. This bag was used to contain a love medicine. While one side has a design showing figures representing the Thunder Bird, the other has two squares containing a central dash. The bag measures only two by one and one-half inches. I have seen similar bags used to contain medicine in an old and half rotten war bundle of the Pigeon gens, belonging to Mr. Milford G. Chandler.

LEATHER POUCHES

In plate XLIX, fig. 5, is shown an interesting buffalo leather pouch obtained of Frank Kent near Perkins, Oklahoma. It is rectangular in shape, and the two sides and cover flap are ornamented with transverse lines of porcupine quillwork in yellow, red, and black. The appearance is very much like the large leathern saddle bags of the Plains Indians, except that the ornamental lines upon these invariably run longitudinally. This is an old piece, and the sides are sewed with sinew thread. The corners are decorated with rawhide pendants covered with imitation quillwork made from what is thought to be dyed cornhusks. The bag measures ten and one-half by seven inches. Another buffalo skin wallet, plain, but evidencing long use, was obtained. At both ends bird quills dyed yellow have been used as a binding, but these have long since worn almost away. The sewing is heavy sinew. This bag is a foot long by eight inches deep. Both were found in use as work bags by Ioway women, and the plain example resembles similar specimens collected by the writer among the Winnebago.

BOWS AND ARROWS

Among the Ioway, bows and arrows are virtually things of the past, yet one very recently made set was obtained from Robert Small, near Perkins. (The bow is made of some smooth hard wood, apparently the "box hickory," *Hicoria alba*. It is four feet long and rather heavy. The string is white-man's twine.

The arrows are made of the wood of the sour gum, *Nyssa sylvatica*, and measure twenty-seven and one-half, and twenty-five and one-half inches long, respectively. Both, plate XLII, fig. 3, are

made without heads, the shaft itself being pointed, and not, in this instance, charred for additional hardening. The feathering is peculiar and not at all like that of the Sauk, nor indeed any other Central or Plains people with whom the writer is acquainted. The feathers seem to be split hawk feathers) and are attached an inch and a half below the nock with three sinew wrappings, one at either end, and one in the center, the latter being most unusual. The feathers are not shorn as close as is common, and are quite short, being only three and one-half inches long. This being a modern example, the bow and arrows may not have been made according to the old style, yet Robert Small is a man of middle age, and bears the reputation of being an expert bow and arrow maker. Irvin and Hamilton, writing in 1848 speak of iron tipped arrows that were "bearded" (barbed) for war, called "angry arrows."

Old time Ioway quivers are said to have been made of buffalo hide, with a separate case for a bow attached, as is seen among specimens from the Plains but not the Woodland Indians. This would make the type distinct from the quivers of the Sauk.

SHIELDS

These are said by several informants to have been made of buffalo hide, toughened, hardened, and heavy. They were circular. One with a horse painted upon it in blue was said to have survived until 1914 in Oklahoma, but when the writer caused search to be made for it in that year, it had disappeared. Shields are called *tcagre* in the Ioway Tongue.

VEGETAL FOODS

| | |
|---------------------|---------------------|
| White corn | <i>watujê'ka</i> |
| Blue corn | <i>watuto'kê</i> |
| Yellow corn | <i>watuthi'</i> |
| Red speckled corn | <i>greêsu'jê</i> |
| Blue speckled corn | <i>greêho'jê</i> |
| Corn, cut and dried | <i>watu'sheku</i> |
| Corn, on cob | <i>waha'ma</i> |
| Dried sweet corn | <i>wutujêku</i> |
| Parched corn | <i>wata'hu</i> |
| Beans, generic term | <i>u"yt</i> |
| Red speckled beans | <i>anyingêsu'jê</i> |

| | |
|-----------------------|--|
| Black speckled beans | <i>thêwê</i> |
| White pole beans | <i>anyingêno'waha^{gê}</i> |
| Yellow pole beans | <i>anyingêthino'waha^{gê}</i> |
| Long neck squash | <i>watwa'hasoka</i> |
| Little speckle squash | <i>watwa'inye</i> |
| Long sharp squash | <i>watwa'detcêthule</i> |
| Little round squash | <i>watwa'nkuye</i> |
| Crook neck squash | <i>wald'npagweye</i> |
| White squash | <i>watankah^h</i> |
| Large yellow squash | <i>watwanthi</i> |
| Indian tobacco | <i>nalcikihi or</i> <i>da'yikre^{nyt}</i> |

Corn was prepared for food in several different ways. Milk ears were taken and boiled until cooked through, then spread out on layers of their own husks. After an hour or two, when the corn had dried out a little, the kernels were scraped off with the edges of mussel shells. The corn was then spread on a buffalo hide and dried, and could be kept in this condition all the year. When desired for the meal, it was boiled and eaten, generally with meat. Ears of green corn were also roasted in the ashes or in little ovens dug out in the ground. Corn was also picked, partially husked and the husks braided together in long strings. When dried, this was pounded up in a log mortar. The corn was also crushed on a flat stone by means of a small discoidal stone corn crusher which was often pitted.

Squashes were sliced, braided and dried for winter consumption. (The root of the yellow water lily is still collected and dried for food, and I have seen it often in Ioway houses. (Berries and nuts were also collected in season), and the former were dried for winter consumption.

Wadwanetce, "squash bottoms," is a dish made of the last round piece left when squashes are cut into spirals for drying. These bottoms are boiled and esteemed as food.

HUNTING

The Ioway have so far abandoned their ancient ways, so many of their old people are dead, and so great has been the change of their habitat first from a game to a pastoral country, then to an agricultural, and finally to an oil country, that very little can be learned concerning their methods of hunting. However, it is possible to glean a few facts from data on their old tribal life. Obviously, they used the surround

and charge method of killing buffalo, for a few years ago the functions of the warrior police were still well remembered, and one of the chief duties of these officials was said to have been to hold back the people that no one might charge before the rest and thus stampede the herd before all had an equal opportunity.

The elk, antelope, deer, bear, and raccoon are all spoken of as desirable food animals. Ducks, geese and swans were also taken. Probably no living Ioway has much idea as to any but the most modern methods of hunting. Some few data concerning old time hunting medicines were gathered. A ball of felted hair taken from a deer's stomach was seen, and its owner told the writer that the night before setting out on a hunt a few wisps of hair taken from its core were burned, and the incense of these floated through the air and stupefied the deer so they were easily killed.

FISHING

When residing in Nebraska, the Ioway used to take fish by spearing them from the banks of rivers. The spears, or harpoons, called *hoikudje*, were of two types, three-pronged and two-pronged. Sometimes a long cord was attached to the shaft of the harpoon and held in the hand when the harpoon was thrown. The bow and arrow, hook and line, and net are said to have been unknown in fishing, though probably this idea of the writer's informants is due to poor traditions of olden times in this respect. It is probably true, as the Ioway state, that they were unacquainted with the method of poisoning fish as employed by their Sauk neighbors, for the Sauk themselves claim to have learned this device from the Creek with whom they have associated only since their exile in Oklahoma.

MEAT FOODS

All varieties of wild game animals were used by the Ioway as food, and dogs were eaten, at least ceremonially, for they were required for feasts of the Medicine Dance. Meat was both boiled and roasted, although, as among most North American tribes, boiling was preferred to all other methods of cooking.

A much esteemed food was termed *mⁱke dashla*, and was composed of the entire body of a raccoon with the fur singed off, and not skinned, so that the fat and juices were retained when the animal was cooked. It was called a "Chief's dish."

Naturally buffalo meat furnished the greatest part of the old time Ioway diet. Fish were also freely eaten when it was possible to obtain them.

The following is a brief list of some of the animals known to the Ioway with their native names:

| | | | |
|--------------|----------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------------|
| Buffalo | <i>tce</i> | Squirrel | <i>singê</i> |
| Elk | <i>homa</i> | Otter | <i>dostân'gê</i> |
| Deer | <i>ta</i> | Raccoon | <i>miⁿke</i> |
| Black Bear | <i>tunaⁿpîn</i> | Turkey | <i>wai^zhanjê</i> |
| Grizzly Bear | <i>maⁿto</i> | Barred Owl | <i>maⁿkoke</i> |
| Horse | <i>shun'ê</i> | Screech Owl | <i>pohri'nge</i> |
| Wolf | <i>shûn'ta</i> | Eagle | <i>hkra</i> |
| Coyote | <i>manyika'thi</i> | Snapping Turtle | <i>ke!ton'a</i> |
| Dog | <i>shunka'yi</i> | | |

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

The Ioway possessed nothing new or original in the way of musical instruments, using the well known instruments of precussion of their neighbors, and the whistle and flageolet. A brief list of these is:

| | |
|---------------------------|--|
| Deer dewclaw rattle | <i>tasagre</i> |
| Gourd rattle | <i>pe^zhe wisa'kê</i> |
| Ankle rattle | <i>withra'gê</i> |
| Medicine Dance water drum | <i>maⁿkaⁿye dehornutce</i> |
| Drum | <i>dehorutce</i> |
| Flageolet | <i>inyo'yoje</i> |

Plate XLII, fig. 1, shows a typical gourd rattle (said to have been used in the Ghost Dance), and plate XXXVIII, figs. 1, 2, and 5, deer hoof and dewclaw rattles.

TANNING

Green buffalo hides were stretched on rectangular wooden frames by thongs passed through holes made in the corners. Elkhorn hoe-shaped scrapers of Plains type were used to remove the adhering subcutaneous tissue and a wooden spatula was used to soften the skin. These are Plains rather than Woodland usages. A drawshave scraper or beaming tool was used to remove hair from deerhides, plate LIII, fig. 7.

The Ioway, unlike many of the true Plains tribes, generally decorated the elkhorn, or better elk antler, scrapers with symbolic or ornamental devices, a custom which has already been recorded as occurring among the related Oto³⁵.

Two typical Ioway elk antler scrapers are shown in plate LII, figs. 1 and 2. The most ornate of these is figure 1, a specimen which measures eleven and one-half inches in length, and is decorated with a handsome series of incised designs, (text fig. 1). The fan-shaped figures, six in number, are said to refer to coups struck by the father or husband of the woman for whom it was made, so that the emblems of his prowess might always be recalled to her mind, as she worked. It was obtained from an old Ioway doctress who resided near Black Bear Switch on the Oto Reservation. The rest of the design is purely esthetic. It will be noted that the distal end of the instrument is partly encircled by arrowhead-like figures similar to those occurring on some of the stone bowls of the peace pipes.

Plate LII, fig. 2, shows another scraper handle obtained from a woman on the great Nemaha Reservation in Nebraska. The design is purely geometrical and ornamental, (text fig. 2). The instrument is twelve and one-quarter inches long, and like the one just described, is polished from long handling, and rich yellow in color. (The Ioway name for these scrapers is *wi'ko homdhe*. These, and the elk antler quirts were made by boiling the horn and then carving it while soft. It hardened again on cooling.)

GAMES

LACROSSE

This game is called *ta'we*, and is played with sticks of two types like those used by the Central tribes, the netted part being very small. The rackets having the net on the same plane as the handle, are called *te'roji*, those where the mesh is set at one side are called *idu'ka*². The rules of the game resemble those of the Central tribes. The game is found in nearly identical form among the Oto.

WOMAN'S SHINNEY

This game is known to the Ioway as *tatci washtage*, and is played

³⁵Harrington, M. R., "A Visit to the Oto Indians," The Museum Journal, vol. IV, No. 3, p. 113, fig. 93, Phila., 1913.

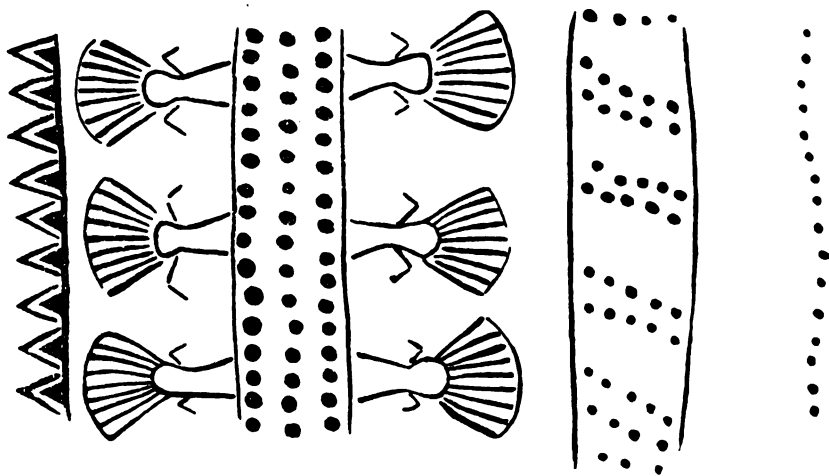


FIG. 1—Incised decoration shown on elkhorn scraper illustrated in plate LII, fig. 1.

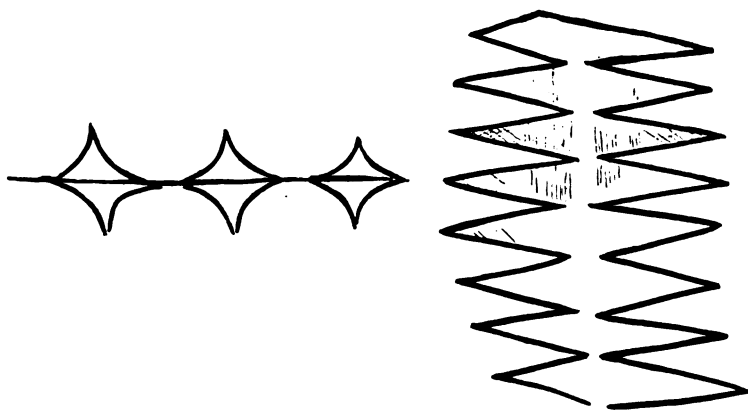


FIG. 2—Incised decoration shown on elkhorn handle illustrated in plate LII, fig. 2.

by women only. The ball is a double affair of stuffed deerskin, and the stick slightly curved or crooked at the distal end. As played by the Ioway, it seems to have been precisely of Central type.

HOOP AND JAVELIN

This game known as *ho'ikudjê*, was played by the Ioway much in the same manner and with the same types of tools as used by the Pawnee and Omaha. The utensils were a willow hoop about four inches in diameter netted with sinew and a lance or javelin six feet long with backward slanting barbs six inches in length at both distal and proximal ends. As usually played, the players contested in pairs, one running and rolling the hoop ahead of him while the other tried to spear it as it rolled. It counted one if caught with the front barbs of the lance, and more if stopped by those in the rear. After one player had rolled the hoop for one hundred yards, the players changed positions and rolled it back, and so on alternately. Sometimes the hoop was thrown in the air instead of being rolled on the ground, and this required more skill on the part of the javelin thrower to transfix it.

BOWL AND DICE

This is a woman's game, and is called *ka'su*. The dice, eight in number, are thrown in but not out of a wooden bowl which is tapped smartly upon a pillow or robe, causing the dice to dance and turn in the bowl. The dice are flat and thin (plate LIII, fig. 1), carved of bone, six being circular and two carved to represent horses' heads or turtles. They are white on one side and dark on the other. The count is as follows: 2 whites count 2, 1 white counts 3, all dark counts 8, all white counts 8, 2 tortoises or horses of one color and rest reverse ends the game and opponent wins.

MONTHS AND SEASONS

| | |
|----------|--|
| January | <i>Ma'tci'ta'we shuweinye</i> , Bear Jumping Moon |
| February | <i>Ma'tci'ta'we shuweinye kandje</i> , Big Bear Jumping Moon |
| March | <i>Pêskê deta'we</i> , Frog Moon |
| April | <i>Mek'xanyê</i> , Cultivating Moon |
| May | <i>Biwoâ'nyî'e</i> , Nothing To Do Moon |
| June | <i>Wizkra shu'wi</i> , Little Flowers Moon |
| July | <i>Wizkra kandje</i> , Big Flowers Moon |

| | |
|-----------|--|
| August | <i>Tce'kiruke</i> , Buffalo Rutting Moon |
| September | <i>To^hhinakremina</i> , Frost In Animal Beds Moon |
| October | <i>Homayo'tcinya</i> , Elk Whistling Moon |
| November | <i>Ta'kiruxe</i> , Deer Rutting Moon |
| December | <i>Minke'kiruxe</i> , Raccoon Rutting Moon |
| Winter | <i>Tanyi</i> |
| Spring | <i>Pehu</i> |
| Summer | <i>Maⁿstce</i> |
| Autumn | <i>Natohwanyi</i> |

Unlike some Indian tribes who recognize six seasons as opposed to our four, the Ioway only have four seasons.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XXVII.

Among specimens in the Museum of the American Indian, New Foundation.

Figure 1. *War* bundle with *war* club of flat type attached to the outside. (Catalog number 247814.)

Figure 2. *War* club of unusual and striking type. (Catalog number 247815.)

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XXVII.

Ioway Specimens in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation.

Figure 1. War bundle with war club of flat type attached to the outside. Catalog number 2/7814.

Figure 2. War club of unusual and antique type. Catalog number 2/3877.



REPLY TO THE EDITOR

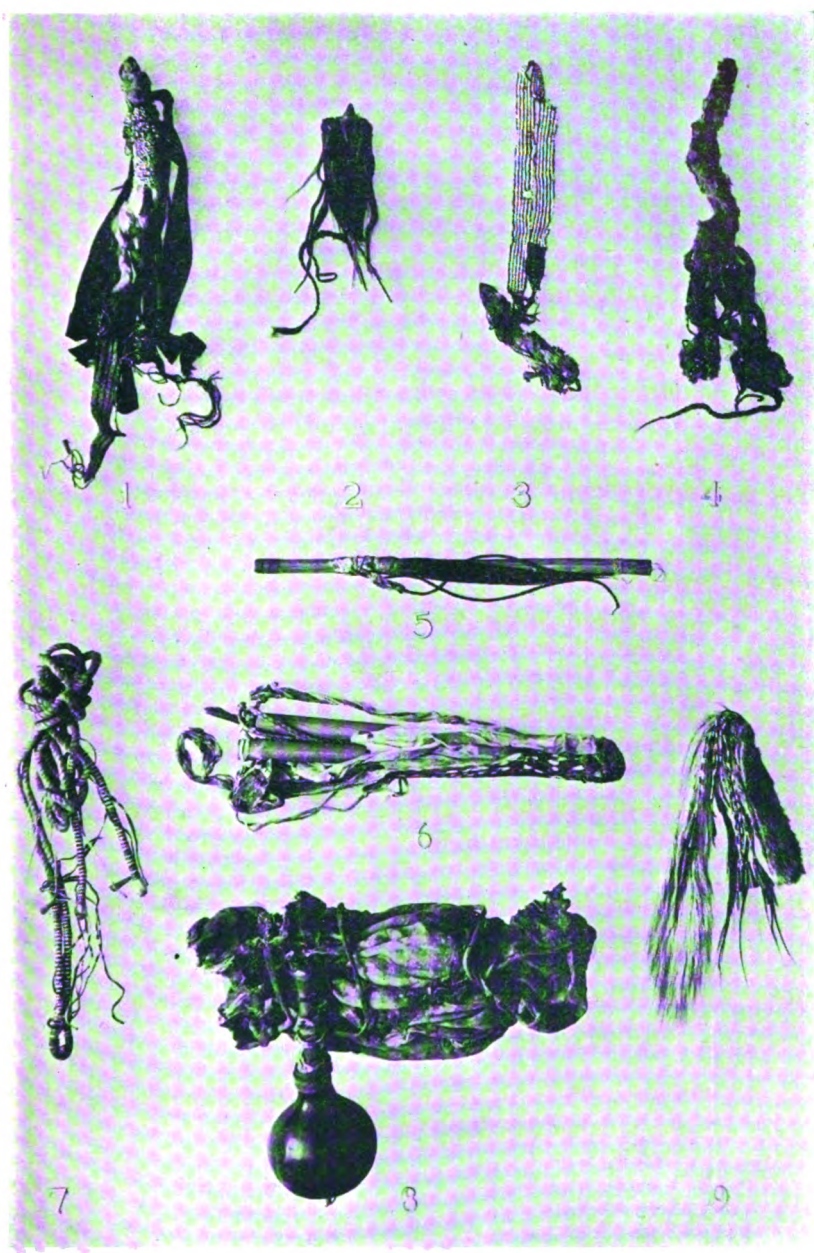
1. The first group of variables includes the following:

- [illegible]

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XXVIII.

Objects From an Ioway War Bundle.

- Figure 1.** Amulet consisting of a weasel skin attached to a snake skin. The latter has quilled ornaments on the head and tail, and a portion of a human scalp attached to the head. Catalog number 31539. Length 20 inches.
- Figure 2.** Amulet made of the scalps of an Ivory-billed Woodpecker and a hawk, with portions of human scalps attached. Catalog number 31503. Length 8 inches.
- Figure 3.** Amulet made of weasel skin attached to a beaded band. Catalog number 31509. Length 13 inches.
- Figure 4.** Amulet of otter fur and grizzly bear claws, with portion of a human scalp attached. Catalog number 31505. Length 23 inches.
- Figure 5.** Cane war whistle. Catalog number 31543. Length 16 inches.
- Figure 6.** Cane war whistles in fawnskin wrapper. Catalog number 31535a-c. Length 16 inches.
- Figure 7.** Prisoner tie of Indian hemp with quilled ornament. Catalog number 31515. Length as shown, 19 inches.
- Figure 8.** War bundle, unopened, with gourd rattle attached. Catalog number 31501. Length 15 inches.
- Figure 9.** Otter and deer fur amulet, with quilled ornament. Catalog number 31540. Length 13½ inches.



RECAPITULATION OF FACTS

(continued)

1. The first fact is that the Commission has found that the
evidence is not sufficient to establish that the

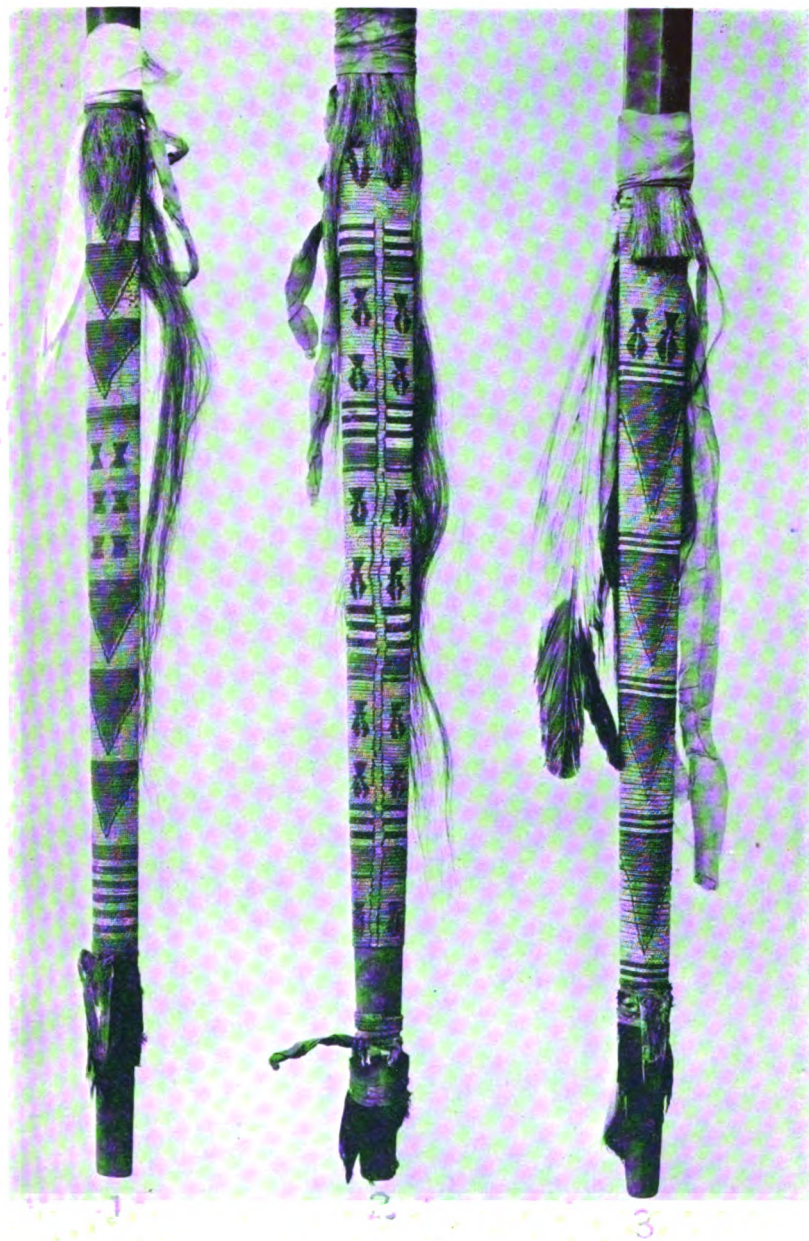
2. The second fact is that the Commission has found that the
evidence is not sufficient to establish that the

3. The third fact is that the Commission has found that the
evidence is not sufficient to establish that the

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XXIX.

Ioway Gens Pipes.

- Figure 1. Sacred peace pipe of the Female Buffalo gens. Catalog number 30135. Length of decorated portion 19 inches.
- Figure 2. Sacred peace pipe of the Female Buffalo gens. Catalog number 30133. Length of decorated portion 24 inches.
- Figure 3. Sacred pipe of the Male Buffalo gens. Catalog number 30536a. Length of decorated portion 18 inches.



THE STATE OF KENTUCKY,

County of _____

Know all men by these presents, that _____

of the County of _____ State of Kentucky,

do hereby certify that _____

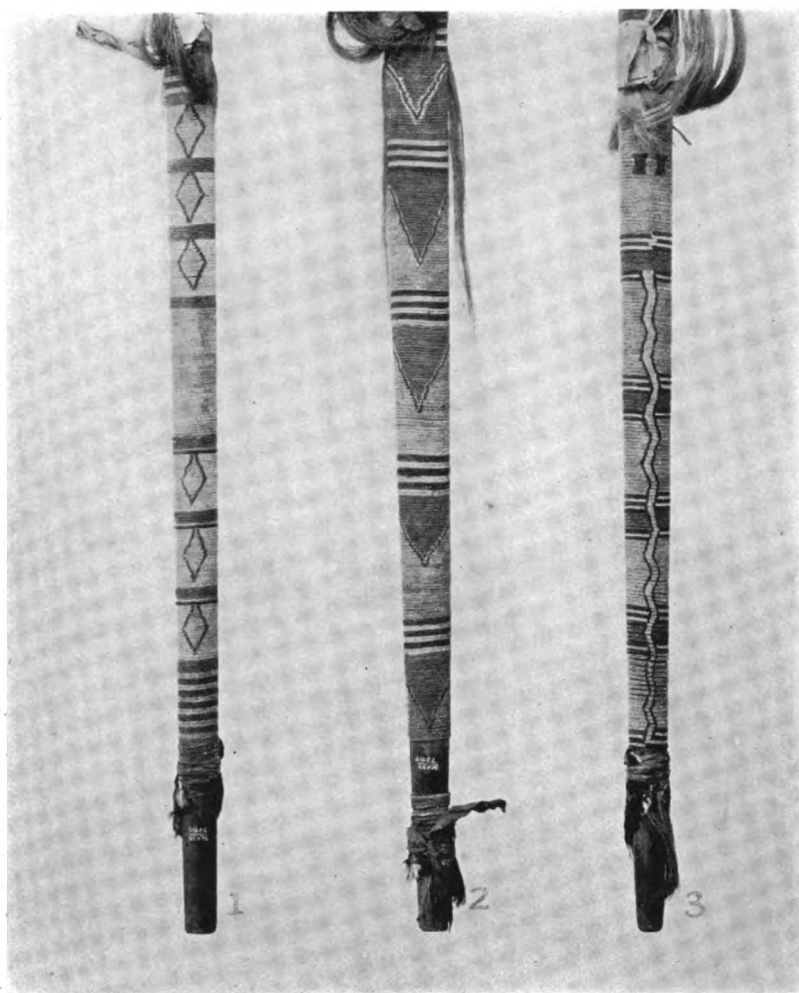
EXPLANATION OF PLATE XXX.

Reverse Sides of Ioway Gens Pipes.

Figure 1. Reverse or under side of figure 1, Plate XXIX.

Figure 2. Reverse or under side of figure 2, Plate XXIX.

Figure 3. Reverse or under side of figure 3, Plate XXIX.



EXPLANATION OF PLATE XXX

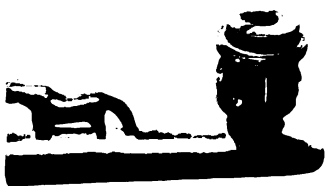
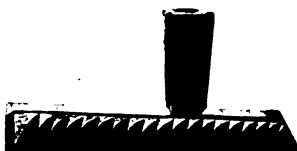
WATER-LEVEL RECORD

- Figure 1. Water-level record at station 1001, 1901-1902.
- Figure 2. Water-level record at station 1002, 1901-1902.
- Figure 3. Water-level record at station 1003, 1901-1902.
- Figure 4. Water-level record at station 1004, 1901-1902.
- Figure 5. Water-level record at station 1005, 1901-1902.
- Figure 6. Water-level record at station 1006, 1901-1902.
- Figure 7. Water-level record at station 1007, 1901-1902.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XXXI.

Bowls of Ioway Sacred Pipes.

- Figure 1. Chief's pipe, Wolf gens. Catalog number 30596b. Length $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches.
- Figure 2. Male Buffalo gens pipe. Catalog number 30536. Length 5 inches.
- Figure 3. Pigeon gens pipe. Catalog number 30137. Length $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches
- Figure 4. Wolf gens pipe. Catalog number 30532b. Length 6 inches.
- Figure 5. Missouri Buffalo gens pipe. Catalog number 30147. Length 6 inches.
- Figure 6. Black Bear gens pipe. Catalog number 30531b. Length $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches.
- Figure 7. Black Bear gens pipe. Catalog number 30143. Length 7 inches.



EXPLANATION OF PLATE XXXII.

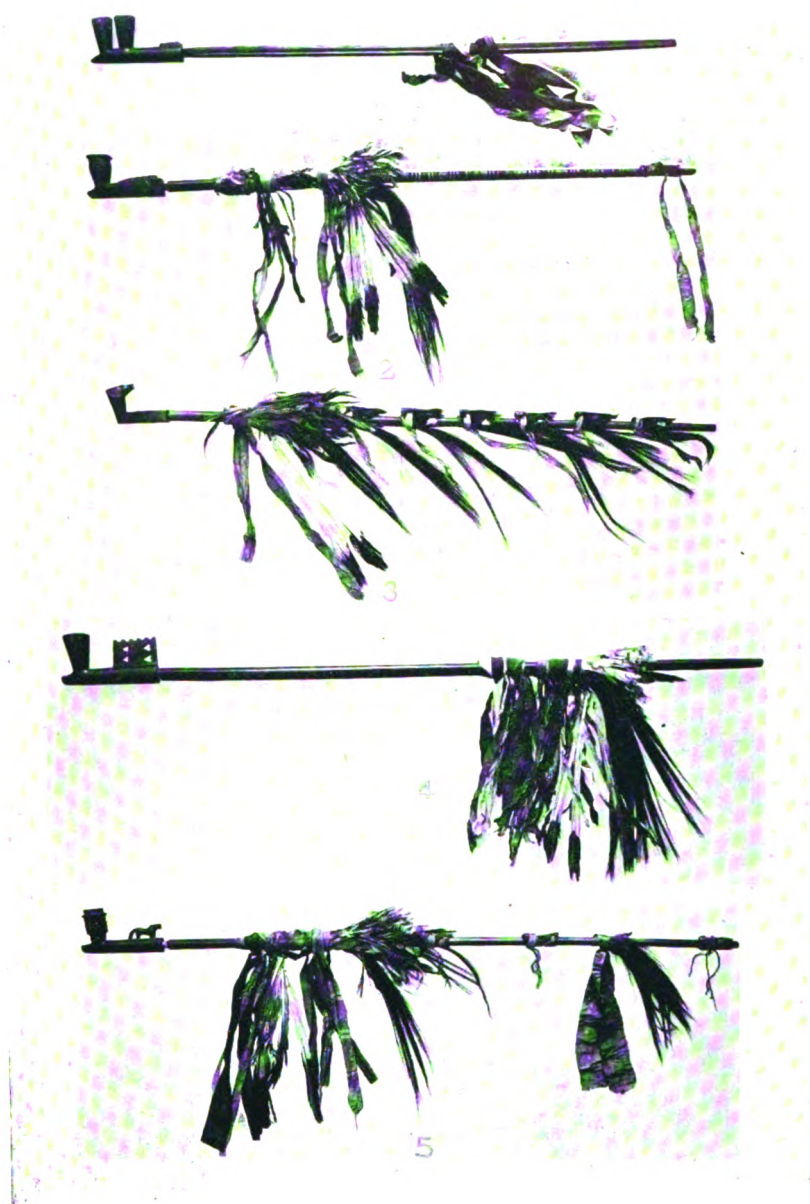
Twenty-two Pigeon Pipes.

- Figure 1. Fluted-necked-17 pipe. Catalog number 31402a-b. Length 45 inches.
- Figure 2. *Willow* pipe. Catalog number 31402c-d. Length 45 inches.
- Figure 3. Pigeon pipe. Catalog number 30137. Length 40½ inches.
- Figure 4. Pigeon pipe. Catalog number 30142. Length 45 inches.
- Figure 5. Pigeon pipe. Catalog number 30533. Length 38 inches.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XXXII.

Ioway Clan Peace Pipes.

- Figure 1. Thunder-and-Eagle gens pipe. Catalog number 31492a-b. Length 45 inches.
- Figure 2. Wolf gens pipe. Catalog number 30532a-b. Length 45 inches.
- Figure 3. Pigeon gens pipe. Catalog number 30137. Length 46½ inches.
- Figure 4. Bear gens (?) pipe. Catalog number 30142. Length 47 inches.
- Figure 5. Bear gens pipe. Catalog number 30538. Length 53 inches.



EXPLANATION OF PLATE XXXIII.

22. m of the original Press Paper.

Figure 1. Drawing of face showing of restoration. Cutting number 22. m of the original Press Paper.

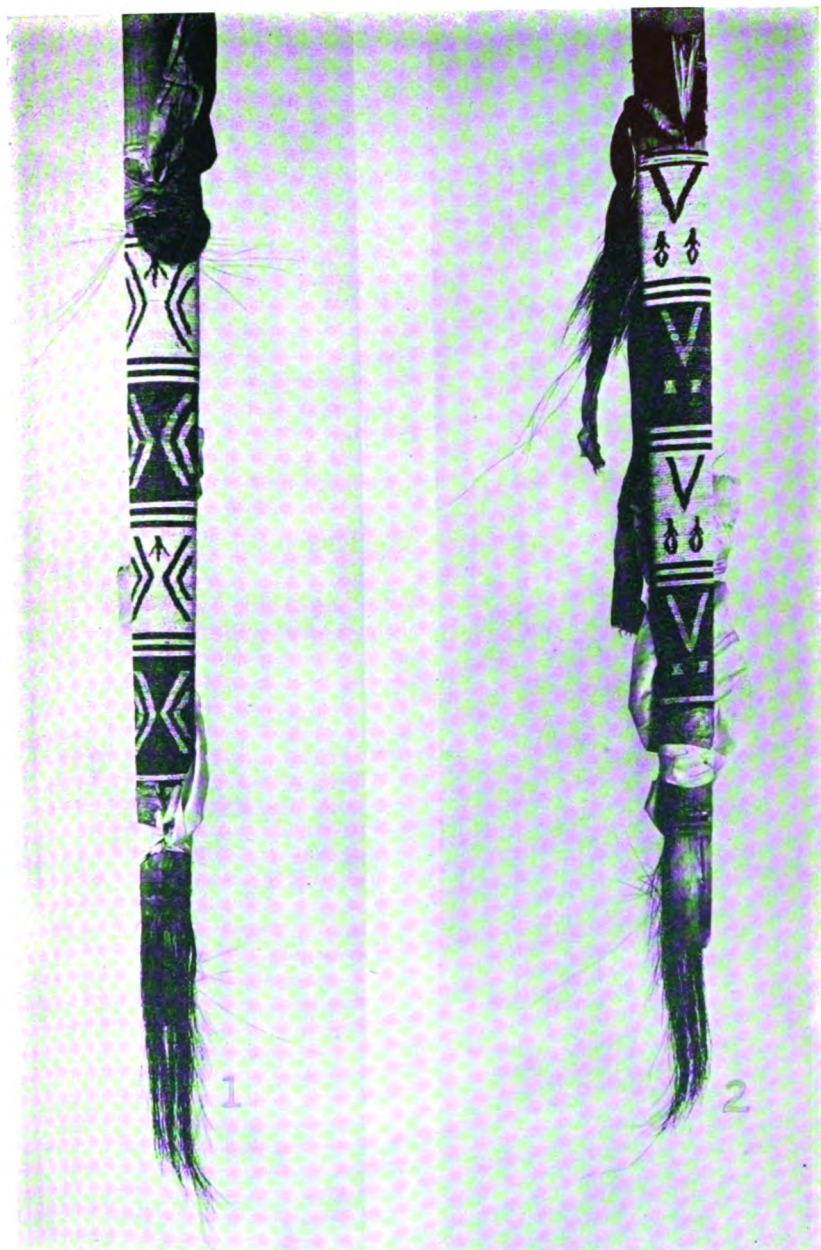
Figure 2. Drawing of face showing of restoration. Cutting number 22. m of the original Press Paper.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XXXIII.

Stem of the Owl Gens Peace Pipe.

Figure 1. Under surface showing decoration. Catalog number 31491a-b. Length as shown 22 inches.

Figure 2. Upper surface of same pipe.



EXPLANATION OF PLATE XXIV.

Massachusetts River.

Figure 1. Stem of *Juniperus* sp. Catalog number 30146.
Length of decorated portion 12½ inches.

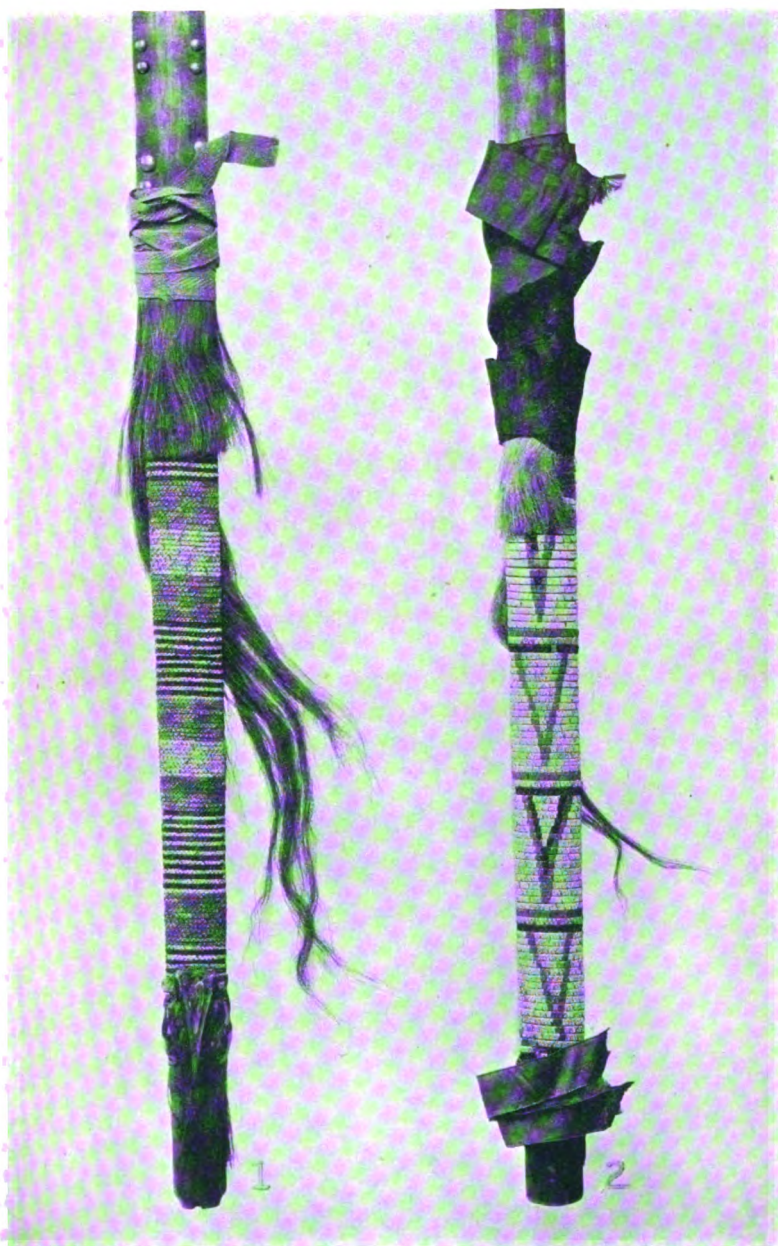
Figure 2. Stem of *Juniperus* sp. Catalog number 30145.
Length of decorated portion 13 inches.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XXXIV.

Missouri Gens Pipes.

Figure 1. Stem of Buffalo gens pipe. Catalog number 30146.
Length of decorated portion $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Figure 2. Stem of Buffalo gens pipe. Catalog number 30145.
Length of decorated portion 13 inches.



EXPLANATION OF PLATE XXXI.

Very small figures.

Figure 1. Reverse of under side of figure 1, Plate XXXIV.

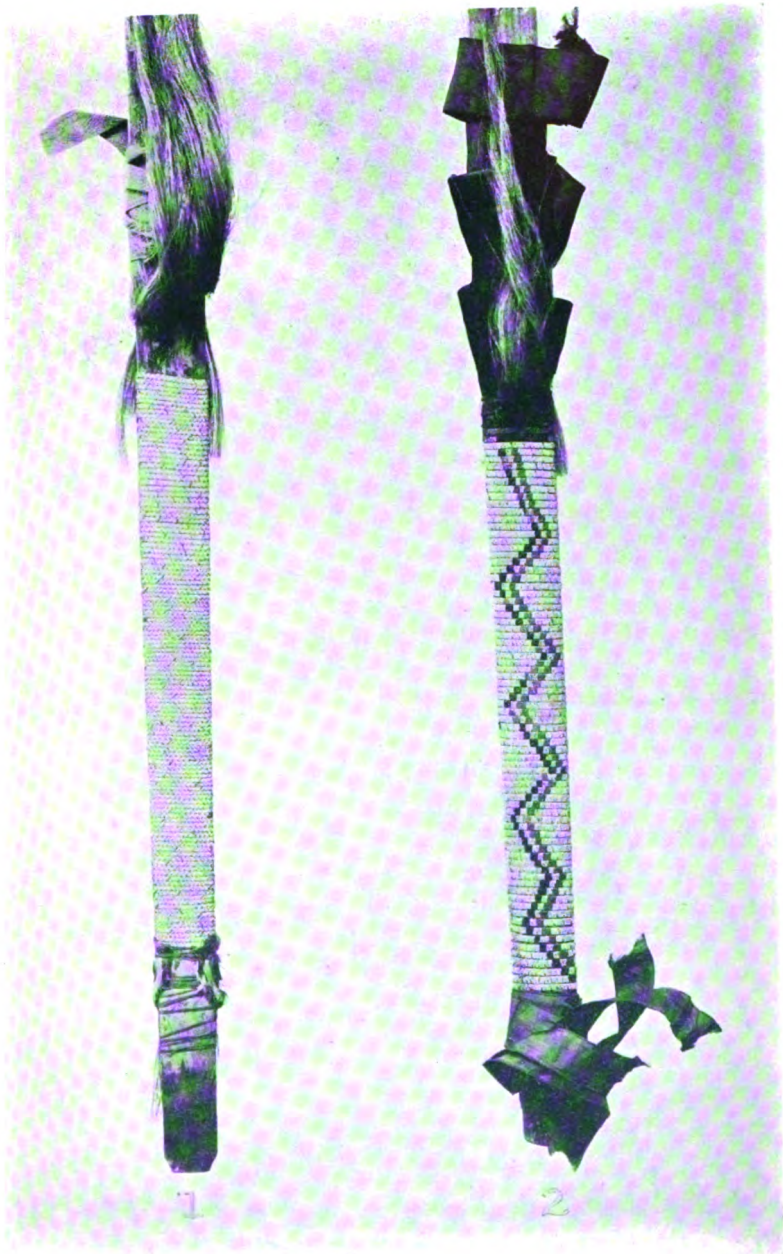
Figure 2. Reverse of under side of figure 2, Plate XXXIV.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XXXV.

Missouri Gens Pipes.

Figure 1. Reverse or under side of figure 1, Plate XXXIV.

Figure 2. Reverse or under side of figure 2, Plate XXXIV.



ALPHABETIC LIST OF PLATE XXXI

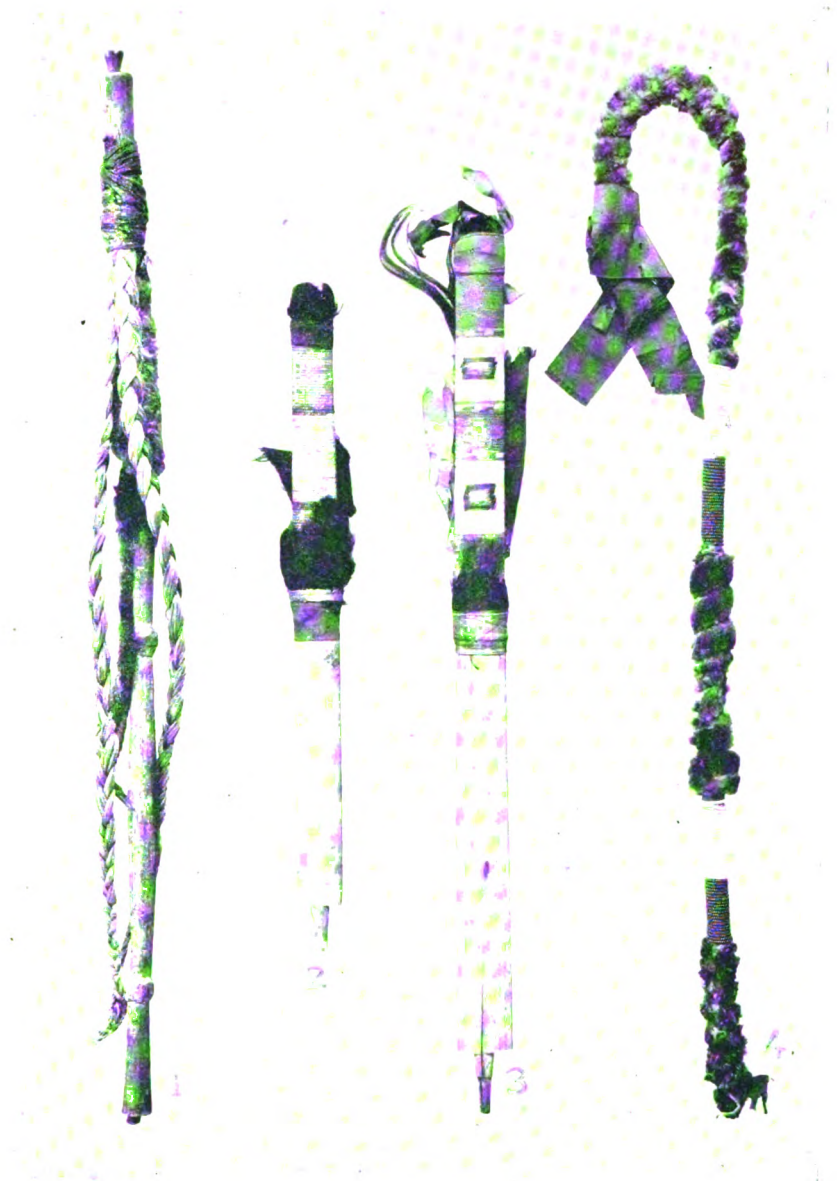
ALPHABETIC LIST OF PLATE XXXI

- Figure 1. *Alphabetic Plate XXXI*. Catalog number 307037.
Length 24 inches.
- Figure 2. *Alphabetic Plate XXXI*. Catalog number 307038.
Length 24 inches.
- Figure 3. *Alphabetic Plate XXXI*. Catalog number 307039.
Length 24 inches.
- Figure 4. *Alphabetic Plate XXXI*. Catalog number 307040.
Length 24 inches.
- Figure 5. *Alphabetic Plate XXXI*. Catalog number 307041.
Length 24 inches.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XXXVI.

Ioway Ceremonial Objects.

- Figure 1. A chief's baton. Wolf gens. Catalog number 30597.
Length 29 inches.
- Figure 2. Chief's pipe stem. Wolf gens. Catalog number 30596a.
Length 18½ inches.
- Figure 3. Chief's pipe stem. Black Bear gens. Catalog number
30540. Length 25 inches.
- Figure 4. Crooked staff. Badge of *Tatate* waci* society. Catalog
number 30152. Length 28 inches.



EXPLANATION OF PLATE XXXVII.

Objects shown in perspective.

Figure 1. 10-minute clock wand. Catalog number 31107. Length 23 inches.

Figure 2. 12-hour clock wand. Catalog number 31108. Length 24 inches.

Figure 3. 10-minute clock wand, used as support for the wands. Catalog number 31109. Length 27 1/4 inches.

Figure 4. 10-minute clock wand, typical of the type. Catalog number 31100. Length 12 inches.

Figure 5. 10-minute clock wand. Catalog number 31101. Length 10 inches.

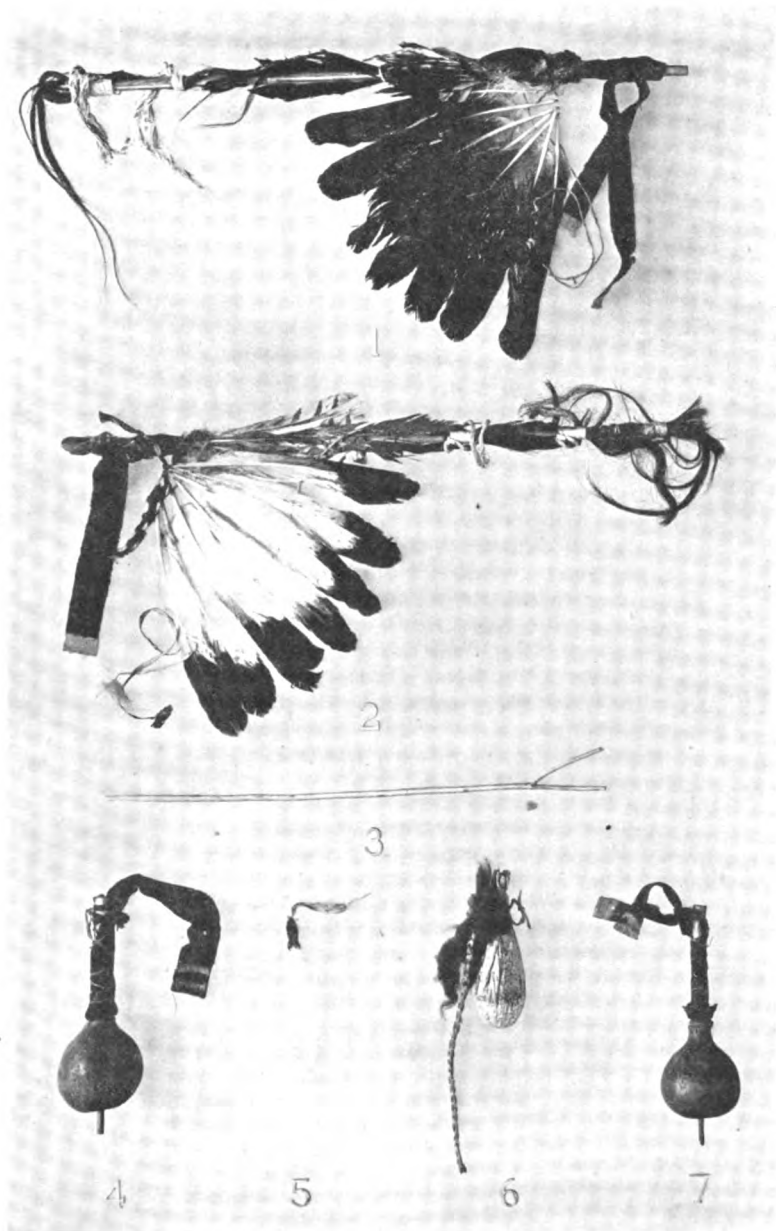
Figure 6. 10-minute clock wand of a different type, with typical 10-minute clock face, and 10-minute clock face. Total length 10 inches.

Figure 7. 10-minute clock wand. Catalog number 31102. Length 12 1/2 inches.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XXXVII.

Calumet Dancing Paraphernalia.

- Figure 1. 'Female' dance wand. Catalog number 31497. Length 33 inches.
- Figure 2. 'Male' dance wand. Catalog number 31498. Length 34 inches.
- Figure 3. Crotched dogwood stick, used as support for the wands. Catalog number 31486. Length $27\frac{1}{4}$ inches.
- Figure 4. Gourd rattle with typical calumet dance paint decoration. Catalog number 31499. Length 12 inches.
- Figure 5. Sacred plume. Catalog number 31495. Length 10 inches.
- Figure 6. Tobacco bag made of a buffalo's heart sack, with typical calumet dance paint ornament, and buffalo wool and sweet grass attached. Catalog number 31494. Total length 16 inches.
- Figure 7. Gourd rattle. Catalog number 31500. Length $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches.



REPERCUSSIONS OF THE REFORMATION

By JOHN CALVIN, Pastor of the Church of Geneva

THE REFORMATION OF THE CHURCH OF GENEVA, IN THE YEAR 1536. BY JOHN CALVIN, PASTOR OF THE CHURCH OF GENEVA.

THE REFORMATION OF THE CHURCH OF GENEVA, IN THE YEAR 1536. BY JOHN CALVIN, PASTOR OF THE CHURCH OF GENEVA.

THE REFORMATION OF THE CHURCH OF GENEVA, IN THE YEAR 1536. BY JOHN CALVIN, PASTOR OF THE CHURCH OF GENEVA.

THE REFORMATION OF THE CHURCH OF GENEVA, IN THE YEAR 1536. BY JOHN CALVIN, PASTOR OF THE CHURCH OF GENEVA.

THE REFORMATION OF THE CHURCH OF GENEVA, IN THE YEAR 1536. BY JOHN CALVIN, PASTOR OF THE CHURCH OF GENEVA.

THE REFORMATION OF THE CHURCH OF GENEVA, IN THE YEAR 1536. BY JOHN CALVIN, PASTOR OF THE CHURCH OF GENEVA.

THE REFORMATION OF THE CHURCH OF GENEVA, IN THE YEAR 1536. BY JOHN CALVIN, PASTOR OF THE CHURCH OF GENEVA.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XXXVIII.

Articles Selected From Ioway Buffalo Doctor's Bundles.

- Figure 1. Deer hoof rattle. Catalog number 30644. Length $19\frac{1}{2}$ inches.
- Figure 2. Rattle made of deer's hoofs attached to a buffalo tail. Catalog number 30638. Length 17 inches.
- Figure 3. Shaman's cape of felted buffalo wool with painted green spots. Catalog number 30654. Length 25 inches.
- Figure 4. Stick with glue of buffalo horns and hoofs at end. Catalog number 30651. Length $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches.
- Figure 5. Deer hoof rattle. Handle made of the penis of a buffalo. Catalog number 30628. Length $13\frac{1}{4}$ inches.
- Figure 6. Shaman's sweet grass necklace. Catalog number 30654. Length 16 inches.
- Figures 7 and 8. Shaman's reed whistles. Catalog numbers 30643 and 30636c. Length $21\frac{1}{2}$ and 21 inches, respectively.



EXPLANATION OF PLATE XXXIX

(Continued from Plate XXXVIII)

Figure 1. Gilded bowl, base, and rim. Catalog number 30022. Length 6 inches.

Figure 2. Ring-shaped rim of bowl. Catalog number 30023. Length 7½ inches.

Figure 3. Rim of bowl of a gilded bowl, base, and rim. Catalog number 30024. Length 6 inches.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XXXIX.

Contents of a Grizzly Bear Doctor's Bundle.

- Figure 1. Grizzly bear paw armband. Catalog number 30658.
Length 6 inches.
- Figure 2. Ring-shaped rattle of rawhide. Catalog number 30659.
Length $7\frac{1}{8}$ inches.
- Figure 3. Cap made of skin of a grizzly bear's head, with ears attached. Catalog number 30660. Length 10 inches.



THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

FROM THE FOUNDATION OF THE COLONIES

TO THE PRESENT TIME

BY

JOHN B. HENNING

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

CHICAGO: THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS, 1900

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XL.

Ioway Specimens in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation.

Figure 1. Prisoner tie with miniature war club attached.

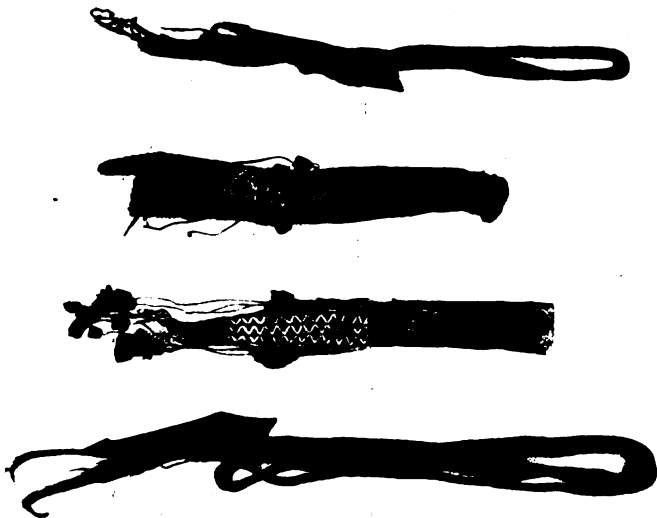
Figures 2 and 3. Snakeskin medicines with porcupine quill ornaments.

Figure 4. Prisoner tie, with miniature war club attached. All numbered 2/7814.

Figure 5. Plume with 'mescal' bean attached. From an Ioway 'Red Bean' war bundle.

Figure 6. Buffalo wool, with 'mescal bean' attached. From an Ioway 'Red Bean' war bundle.

Figure 7. Whistle of cane, smeared with white paint. From an Ioway 'Red Bean' war bundle. All numbered 2/8733.



EXPLANATION OF PLATE XII

PLATE XII. (See page 10.)

Figure 1. A photograph of the fossil specimen, showing the lateral view of the valve. The specimen is a small, oval-shaped object, approximately 1 mm in length and 0.5 mm in width. It is light brown in color and has a slightly irregular, pitted surface. The valve is shown in a slightly open position, revealing the interior of the shell.

Figure 2. A photograph of the fossil specimen, showing the dorsal view of the valve. The specimen is a small, oval-shaped object, approximately 1 mm in length and 0.5 mm in width. It is light brown in color and has a slightly irregular, pitted surface. The valve is shown in a slightly open position, revealing the interior of the shell.

Figure 3. A photograph of the fossil specimen, showing the ventral view of the valve. The specimen is a small, oval-shaped object, approximately 1 mm in length and 0.5 mm in width. It is light brown in color and has a slightly irregular, pitted surface. The valve is shown in a slightly open position, revealing the interior of the shell.

Figure 4. A photograph of the fossil specimen, showing the lateral view of the valve. The specimen is a small, oval-shaped object, approximately 1 mm in length and 0.5 mm in width. It is light brown in color and has a slightly irregular, pitted surface. The valve is shown in a slightly open position, revealing the interior of the shell.

Figure 5. A photograph of the fossil specimen, showing the dorsal view of the valve. The specimen is a small, oval-shaped object, approximately 1 mm in length and 0.5 mm in width. It is light brown in color and has a slightly irregular, pitted surface. The valve is shown in a slightly open position, revealing the interior of the shell.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XLI.

Animal Skin Medicine Bags.

- Figure 1. Large otterskin medicine bag, beaded ornament. Catalog number 30543. Length 46 inches.
- Figure 2. Small otterskin medicine bag. Double tail ornament of porcupine quillwork on cloth. Quilled ornaments on feet. Catalog number 30541. Length 34 inches.
- Figure 3. Otterskin medicine bag, beaded ornamentation. Catalog number 30542. Length 42½ inches.
- Figure 4. Medicine bag made of fox squirrel skin. Catalog number 30545. Length 20 inches.
- Figure 5. Medicine bag of fox squirrel skin, with quilled ornament. Catalog number 30544. Length 22 inches.

EXPERIMENTAL RESULTS

The results of the experiment are shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1. The results of the experiment are shown in Figure 1. The results of the experiment are shown in Figure 1.

Figure 2. The results of the experiment are shown in Figure 2. The results of the experiment are shown in Figure 2.

Figure 3. The results of the experiment are shown in Figure 3. The results of the experiment are shown in Figure 3.

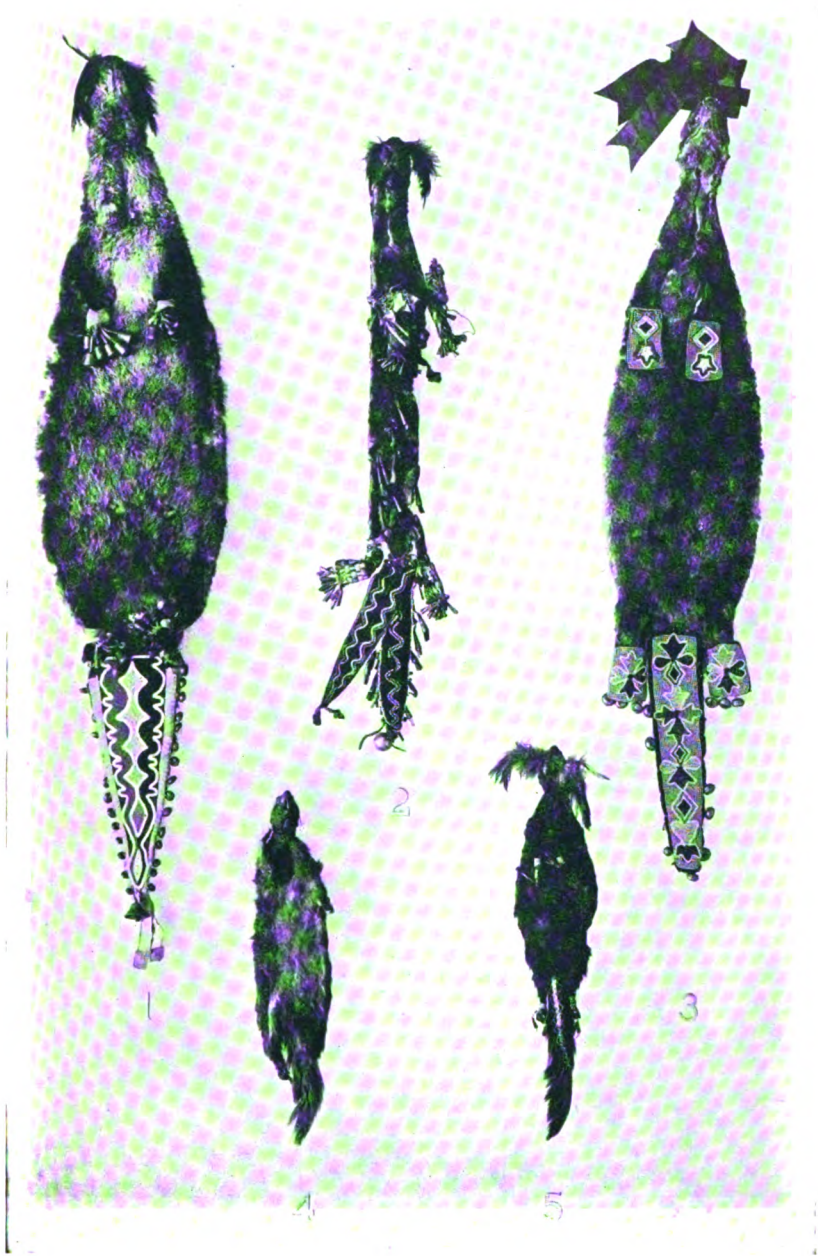
Figure 4. The results of the experiment are shown in Figure 4. The results of the experiment are shown in Figure 4.

Figure 5. The results of the experiment are shown in Figure 5. The results of the experiment are shown in Figure 5.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XLI.

Animal Skin Medicine Bags.

- Figure 1. Large otterskin medicine bag, beaded ornament. Catalog number 30543. Length 46 inches.
- Figure 2. Small otterskin medicine bag. Double tail ornament of porcupine quillwork on cloth. Quilled ornaments on feet. Catalog number 30541. Length 34 inches.
- Figure 3. Otterskin medicine bag, beaded ornamentation. Catalog number 30542. Length 42½ inches.
- Figure 4. Medicine bag made of fox squirrel skin. Catalog number 30545. Length 20 inches.
- Figure 5. Medicine bag of fox squirrel skin, with quilled ornament. Catalog number 30544. Length 22 inches.



THEORY OF THE EARTH

By J. H. VAN DIJK

Figure 1. Ground water level in the Great Dune, with the water level in the North Sea (1950-1951) and the water level in the North Sea (1952-1953).

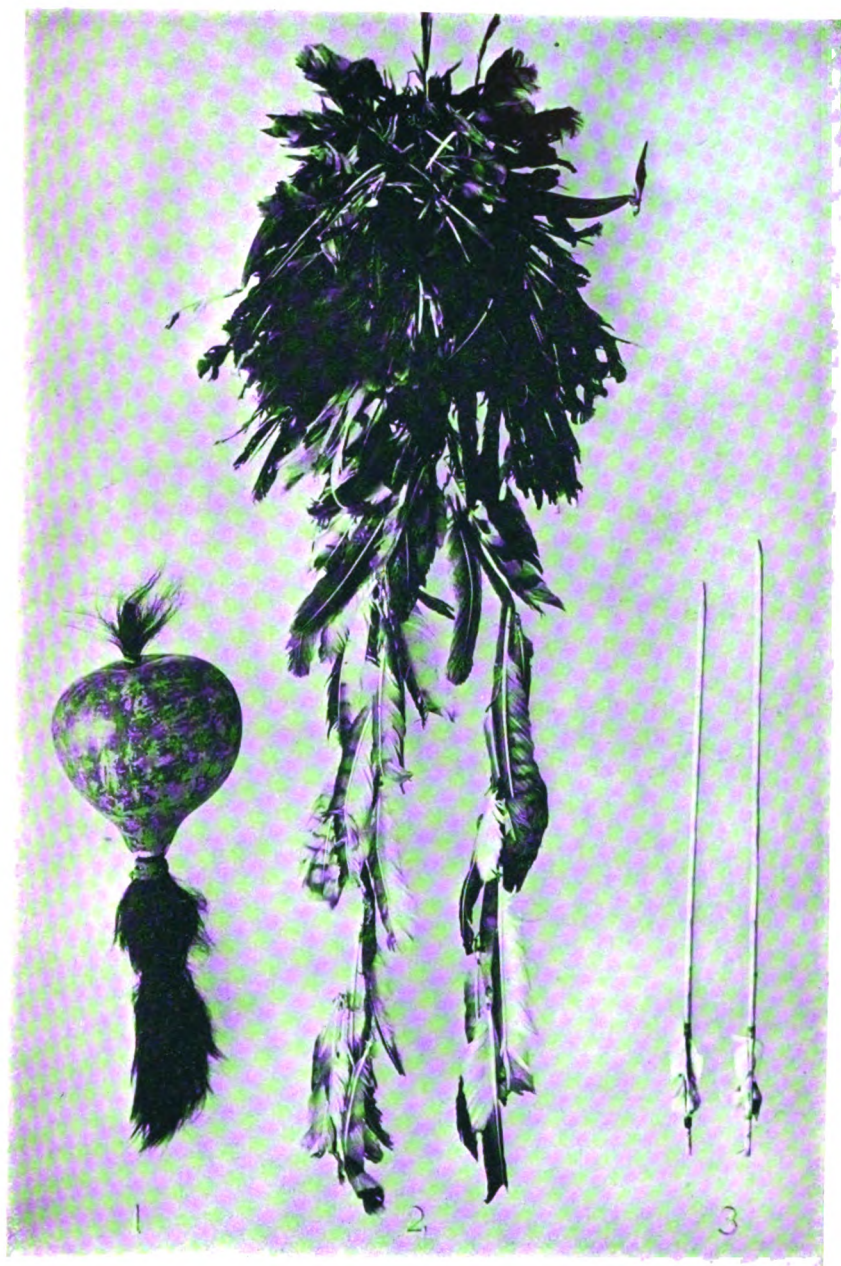
Figure 2. The water level in the North Sea (1950-1951) and the water level in the North Sea (1952-1953).

Figure 3. The water level in the North Sea (1950-1951) and the water level in the North Sea (1952-1953).

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XLII.

Specimens From the Ioway Indians.

- Figure 1.** Gourd rattle used in the Ghost Dance, with fur wrapped handle. Catalog number 30148. Length $22\frac{1}{2}$ inches.
- Figure 2.** Man's headdress of split feathers and buffalo horns. Catalog number 31451. Length 51 inches.
- Figure 3.** Pair of pointed, headless arrows. Catalog number 30599a-b. Length of longer specimen $27\frac{5}{16}$ inches, shorter specimen $25\frac{1}{2}$ inches.



संस्कृत-संस्कृत-संस्कृत-संस्कृत

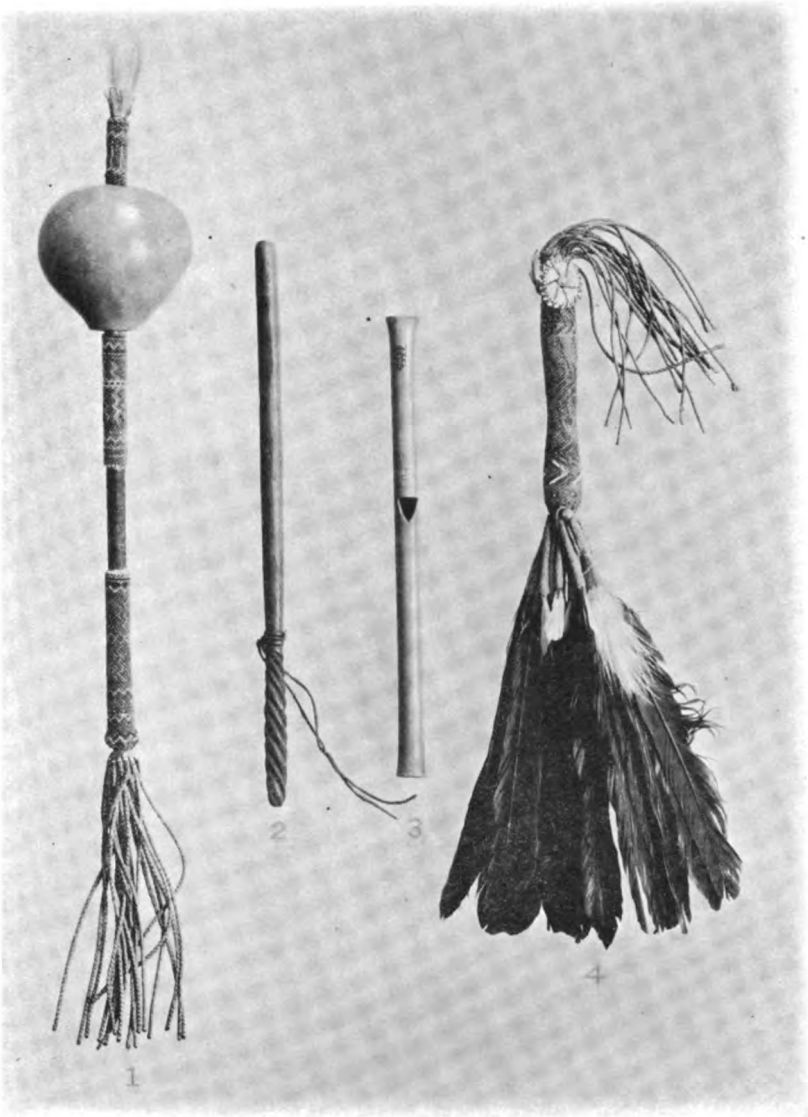
संस्कृत-संस्कृत-संस्कृत-संस्कृत

- Figure 1: (a) संस्कृत-संस्कृत-संस्कृत-संस्कृत (b) संस्कृत-संस्कृत-संस्कृत-संस्कृत (c) संस्कृत-संस्कृत-संस्कृत-संस्कृत (d) संस्कृत-संस्कृत-संस्कृत-संस्कृत
- Figure 2: (a) संस्कृत-संस्कृत-संस्कृत-संस्कृत (b) संस्कृत-संस्कृत-संस्कृत-संस्कृत (c) संस्कृत-संस्कृत-संस्कृत-संस्कृत (d) संस्कृत-संस्कृत-संस्कृत-संस्कृत
- Figure 3: (a) संस्कृत-संस्कृत-संस्कृत-संस्कृत (b) संस्कृत-संस्कृत-संस्कृत-संस्कृत (c) संस्कृत-संस्कृत-संस्कृत-संस्कृत (d) संस्कृत-संस्कृत-संस्कृत-संस्कृत
- Figure 4: (a) संस्कृत-संस्कृत-संस्कृत-संस्कृत (b) संस्कृत-संस्कृत-संस्कृत-संस्कृत (c) संस्कृत-संस्कृत-संस्कृत-संस्कृत (d) संस्कृत-संस्कृत-संस्कृत-संस्कृत

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XLIII.

Peyote Ceremonial Paraphernalia.

- Figure 1. Characteristic small gourd rattle. Catalog number 30589. Length 15 inches.
- Figure 2. Drumstick. Catalog number 30591. Length $12\frac{1}{4}$ inches.
- Figure 3. Whistle. Catalog number 30592. Length 10 inches.
- Figure 4. Fan or feather wand. Catalog number 30593. Length 14 inches.



ELEVATION OF PLATE XXV.

Old-Forest-Forest-Forest-Forest.

Figure 1. Lowy Indians from an old painting.

Figure 2. Lowy Indians in 1811. From a drawing by C. G. G.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XLIV.

Old-Time Ioway Indians in Costume.

Figure 1. Ioway Indians, from an old painting.

Figure 2. Ioway Indians in 1843. From a drawing by Catlin.



THE HISTORY OF THE

STATE OF NEW YORK

FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT OF THE STATE TO THE PRESENT TIME
BY JAMES M. SMITH

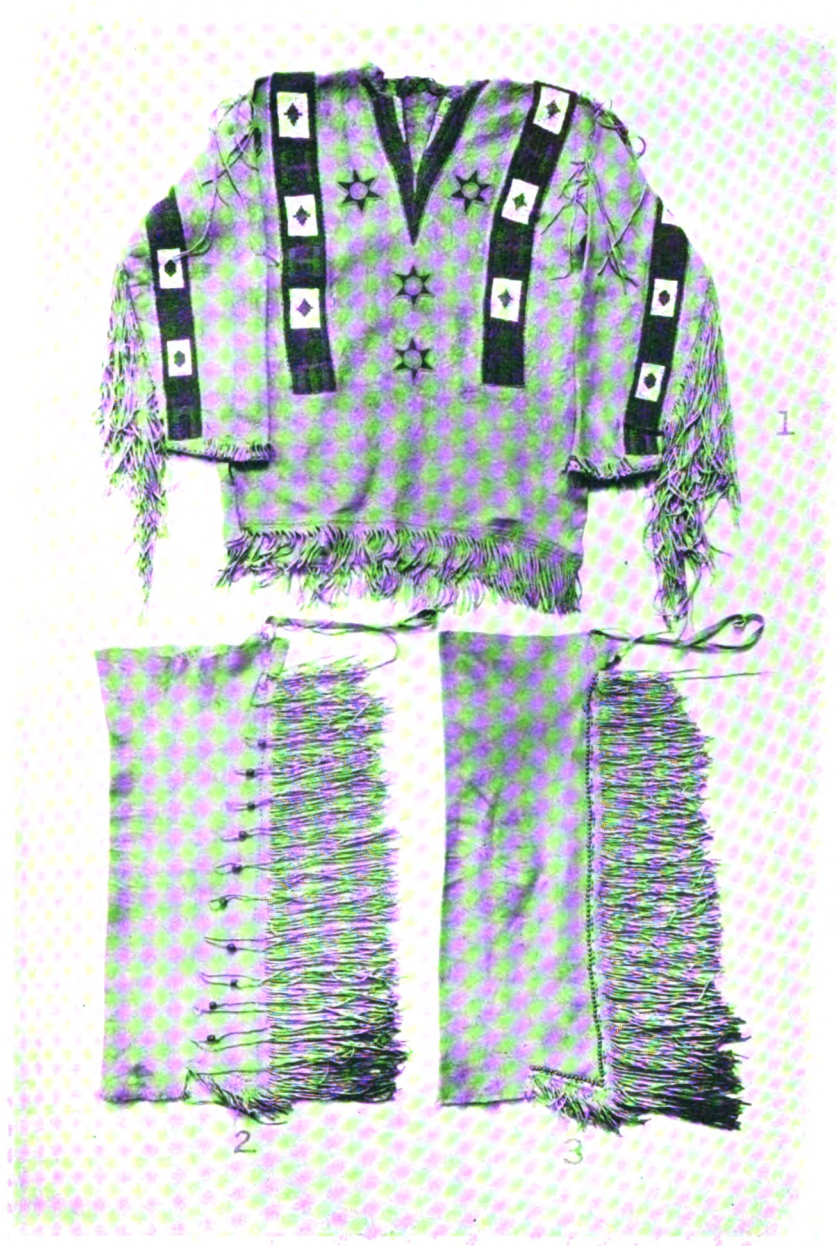
NEW YORK: PUBLISHED BY J. B. LIPPINCOTT & CO., 15 NASSAU ST.
1857

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XLV.

Modern Ioway Man's Garments.

Figure 1. Deerskin shirt with beaded ornamentation. Catalog number 30557. Length 33 inches.

Figures 2 and 3. Pair of man's deerskin leggings, obverse and reverse. Catalog number 30558a-b. Length 29 inches.

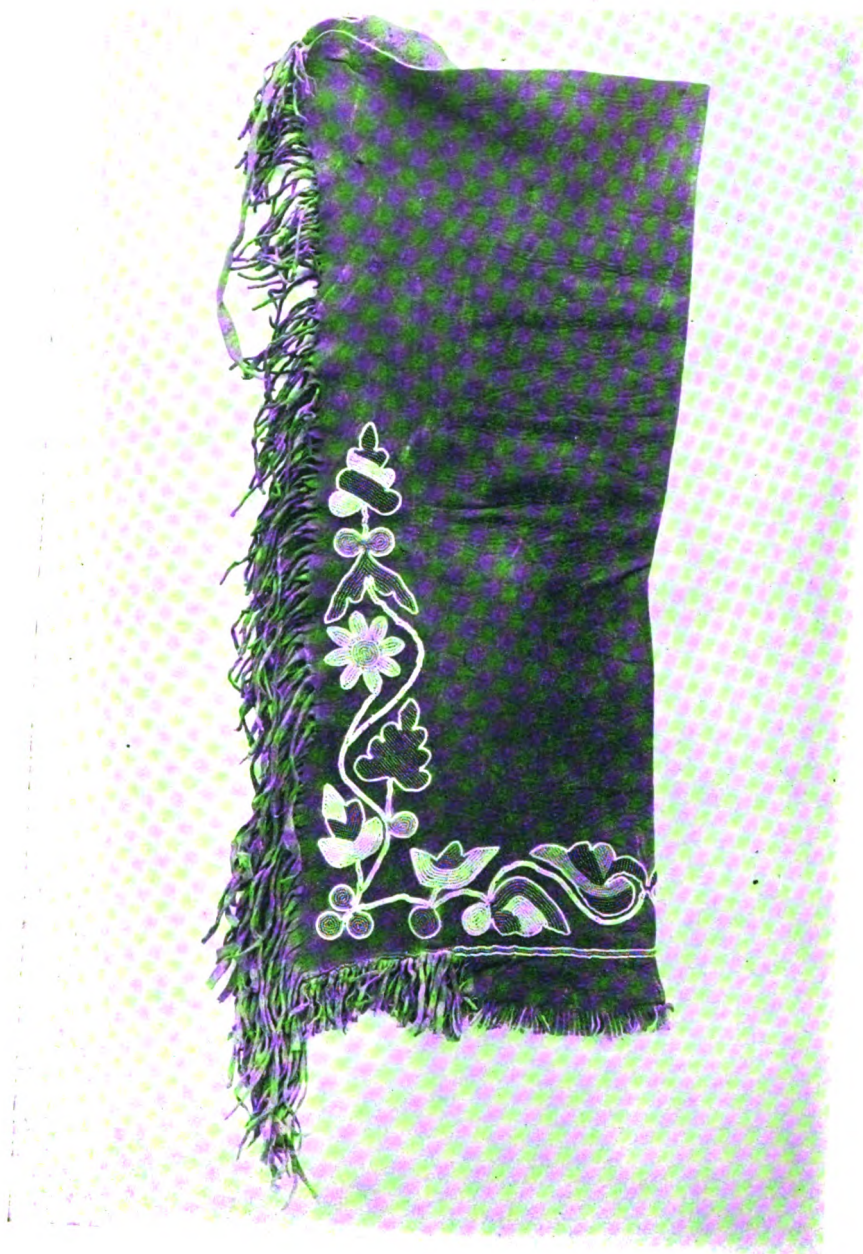


EXPLANATION OF PLATE XLVI.

The American Indian House Foundation. Catalog number 37163. Alan's Georgian legend with scroll and floral background. Museum of

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XLVI.

Man's deerskin legging with scroll and floral beadwork. Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation. Catalog number 2/7463.



EXPLANATION OF PLATE XLVI

The American Indian House Foundation. Catalog number 27103.
Plan's Greekish legend with steel and brass doorway. Museum of

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XLVI.

Man's deerskin legging with scroll and floral beadwork. Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation. Catalog number 2/7463.



EXPLANATION OF PLATE XLIII

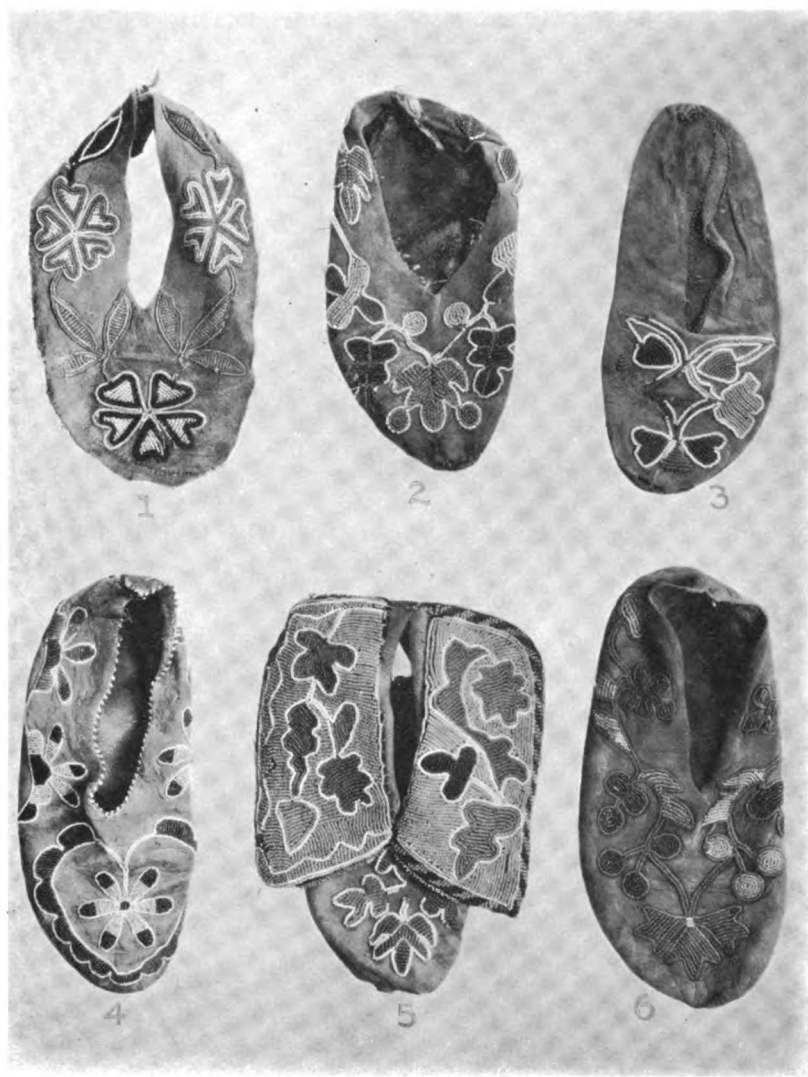
For the following

- Figure 1. *Alouatta* (Catag number 307579). Length 9 inches.
 Figure 2. *Alouatta* (Catag number 307580). Length 9 inches.
 Figure 3. *Alouatta* (Catag number 307581). Length 10 inches.
 Figure 4. *Alouatta* (Catag number 307582). Length 10 inches.
 Figure 5. *Alouatta* with decorative angle label. Catag number 307583. Length 10 inches.
 Figure 6. *Alouatta* (Catag number 307584). Length 10 inches.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XLVII.

Ioway Moccasins.

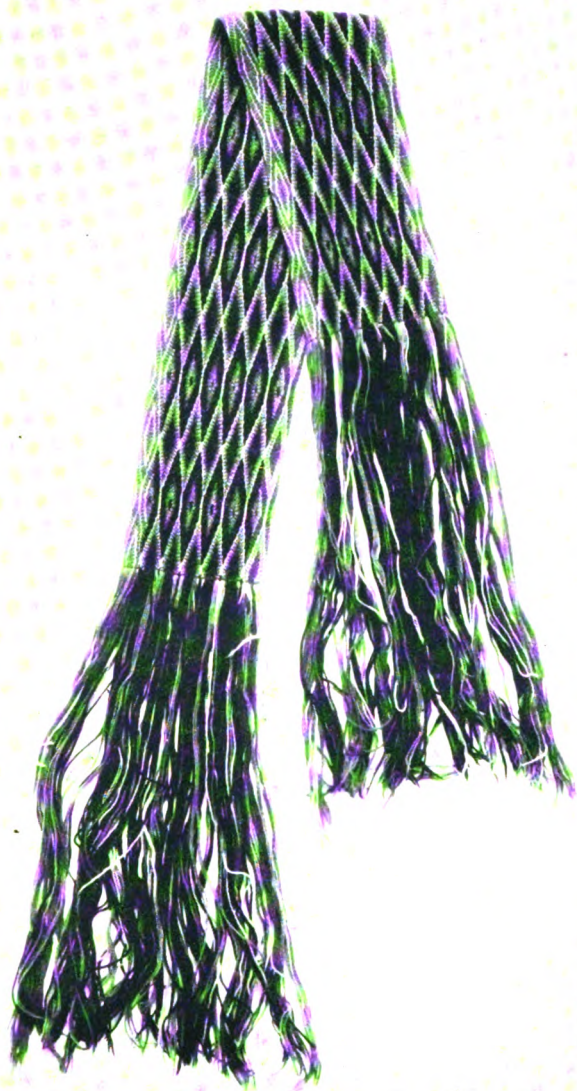
- Figure 1. Moccasin top. Catalog number 30570b. Length 9 inches.
- Figure 2. Moccasin. Catalog number 30566a. Length 9 inches.
- Figure 3. Moccasin. Catalog number 30565a. Length 10 inches.
- Figure 4. Moccasin. Catalog number 30564b. Length 10 inches.
- Figure 5. Moccasin with decorative ankle flaps. Catalog number 30569b. Length 9½ inches.
- Figure 6. Moccasin. Catalog number 30153b. Length 12 inches.



LOWRY, JAMES
THE LOWRY TRUST

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XLVIII

Ioway yarn sash in the private collection of Mr. Milford G. Chandler.



ANALYSIS OF PLATE ZINC

By J. H. HARRIS, JR.

Figure 1. *Analysis of plate zinc by the method of J. H. Harris, Jr.*
 (1907) *Journal of the American Chemical Society*, 29, 111-112.

Figure 2. *Analysis of plate zinc by the method of J. H. Harris, Jr.*
 (1907) *Journal of the American Chemical Society*, 29, 111-112.

Figure 3. *Analysis of plate zinc by the method of J. H. Harris, Jr.*
 (1907) *Journal of the American Chemical Society*, 29, 111-112.

Figure 4. *Analysis of plate zinc by the method of J. H. Harris, Jr.*
 (1907) *Journal of the American Chemical Society*, 29, 111-112.

Figure 5. *Analysis of plate zinc by the method of J. H. Harris, Jr.*
 (1907) *Journal of the American Chemical Society*, 29, 111-112.

Figure 6. *Analysis of plate zinc by the method of J. H. Harris, Jr.*
 (1907) *Journal of the American Chemical Society*, 29, 111-112.

1907

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XLIX.

Woman's Garments and Other Articles.

- Figure 1. Utility bag woven of nettle fibre. Catalog number 30589. Length 24 inches.
- Figure 2. Little girl's silk waist, with metal brooches. Catalog number 30561. Length 11 inches.
- Figure 3. Small woven bast bag, panther design. Catalog number 30157. Length $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches.
- Figure 4. Jinger to wear on moccasin during Medicine Dance. Catalog number 30550a. Length $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches.
- Figure 5. Woman's work bag of leather with porcupine quill ornamentation. Catalog number 30588. Length 11 inches.
- Figure 6. Woman's broadcloth skirt, silk applique ornament. Catalog number 30562. Length of vertical ornament 31 inches.



Generated at University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill through HathiTrust on 2025-07-05 13:34 GMT
https://hdl.handle.net/2027/inu.32000002901595 / Public Domain, Google-digitized

EXPLANATION OF PLATE II.

A. Tattling needles and bundles.

Figure 1. Bundle of needles with wrapper and embroidery. From
a Buffalo Doctor's bundle. Catalog number 31572.
Length 15 inches.

Figure 2. Tattling needles. Catalog number 31573. Length 12½
inches.

Figure 3. Piece of beaded work from a new tattling bundle.
Length 1½ and 1½ inches.

Figure 4. Bundle of needles with wrapper and embroidery as a bundle.
From a Buffalo Doctor's bundle. Catalog number 31571a.
Length 14 inches.

Figure 5. Small pieces used to mark circles for tattooing.
Catalog number 31573a-d. Length of longest specimen
½ of an inch.

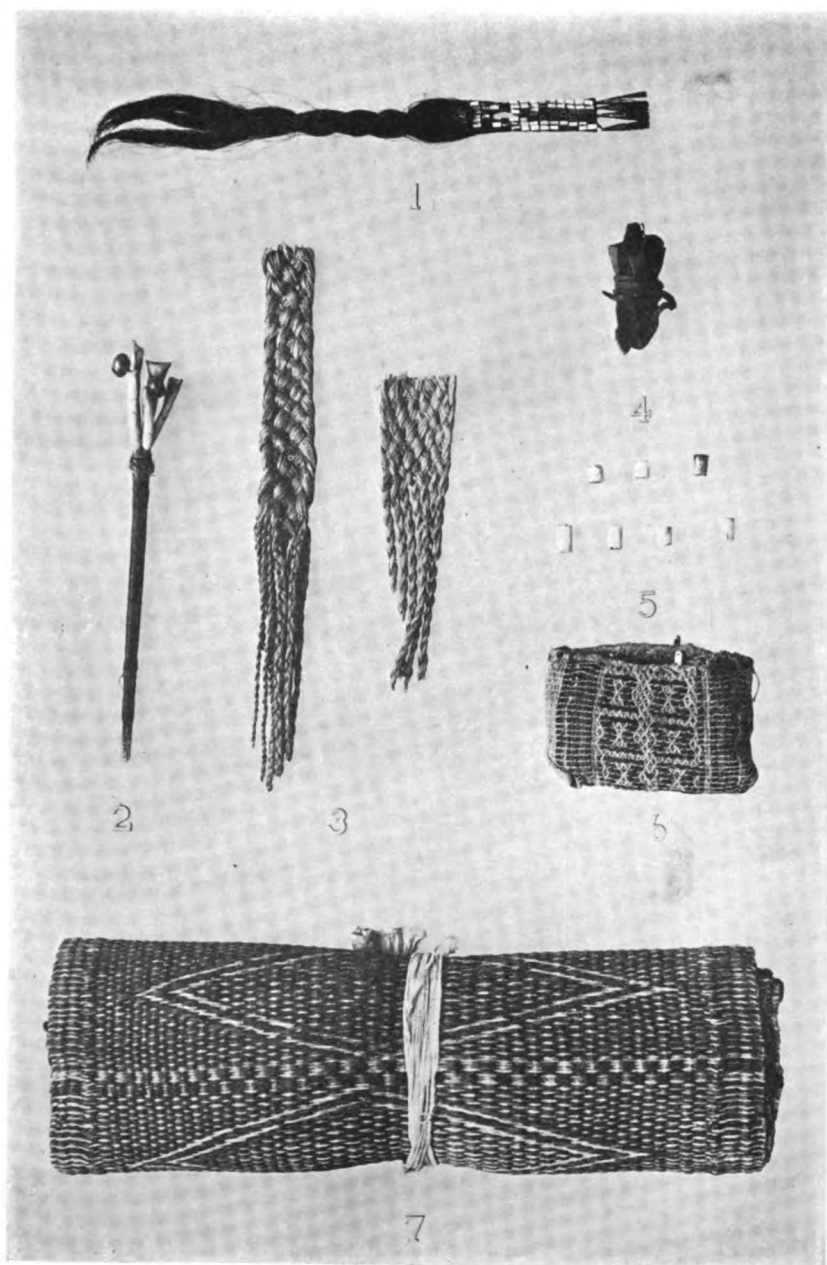
Figure 6. Small wove bag containing pigments and medicines.
From a Buffalo Doctor's bundle. Catalog number 31566.
Length 6½ inches.

Figure 7. Small wove bag containing needles. Catalog number 31567.
Length 14 inches.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE L.

A Tattooing Bundle and Part of Its Contents.

- Figure 1. Buffalo tail amulet with wampum bead embroidery. From a Buffalo Doctor's bundle. Catalog number 31572. Length 16 inches.
- Figure 2. Tattooing needle. Catalog number 31553. Length $12\frac{3}{4}$ inches.
- Figure 3. Pieces of plaited sweet grass from tattooing bundle. Length $16\frac{1}{2}$ and $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches.
- Figure 4. Bag of red pigment with hare's foot attached as a brush. From Tattooing bundle. Catalog number 31551a. Length 4 inches.
- Figure 5. Set of bone tubes used to mark circles for tattooing. Catalog number 31557a-h. Length of longest specimen $\frac{7}{8}$ of an inch.
- Figure 6. Small woven bag containing pigments and medicines, from Tattooing bundle. Catalog number 31556. Length $6\frac{1}{8}$ inches.
- Figure 7. Mat case for Tattooing Bundle. Catalog number 31552. Length 21 inches.



EXPLANATION OF PLATE III.

WASHINGTON

Figures 1 and 2. *Wooden spoons*. Catalog numbers 30101 and 30777. Length 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ and 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches respectively.

Figures 3 and 4. *Bull-horn spoons*. Catalog numbers 30778 and 31452. Length 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ and 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches respectively.

Figures 5, 6, 8, and 9. *Wooden bowls*. Catalog numbers 30780, 30779, 30110, 30102. Diameter 7 $\frac{3}{8}$, 3 $\frac{1}{4}$, 8 $\frac{3}{8}$, 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches respectively.

Figure 7. *Wooden mortar*, with point at base to fit in the earthen. Catalog number 31452. Length 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE LI.

Household Utensils.

Figures 1 and 2. Wooden spoons. Catalog numbers 30161 and 30577. Length $8\frac{1}{2}$ and $8\frac{7}{8}$ inches, respectively.

Figures 3 and 4. Buffalo horn spoons. Catalog numbers 30578 and 31455. Length $2\frac{3}{4}$ and $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches, respectively.

Figures 5, 6, 8, and 9. Wooden bowls. Catalog numbers 30580, 30579, 30149, 30162. Diameter $7\frac{3}{8}$, $3\frac{1}{4}$, $8\frac{3}{8}$, $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches, respectively.

Figure 7. Wooden mortar, with point at base to fix in the earth. Catalog number 31458. Length $11\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

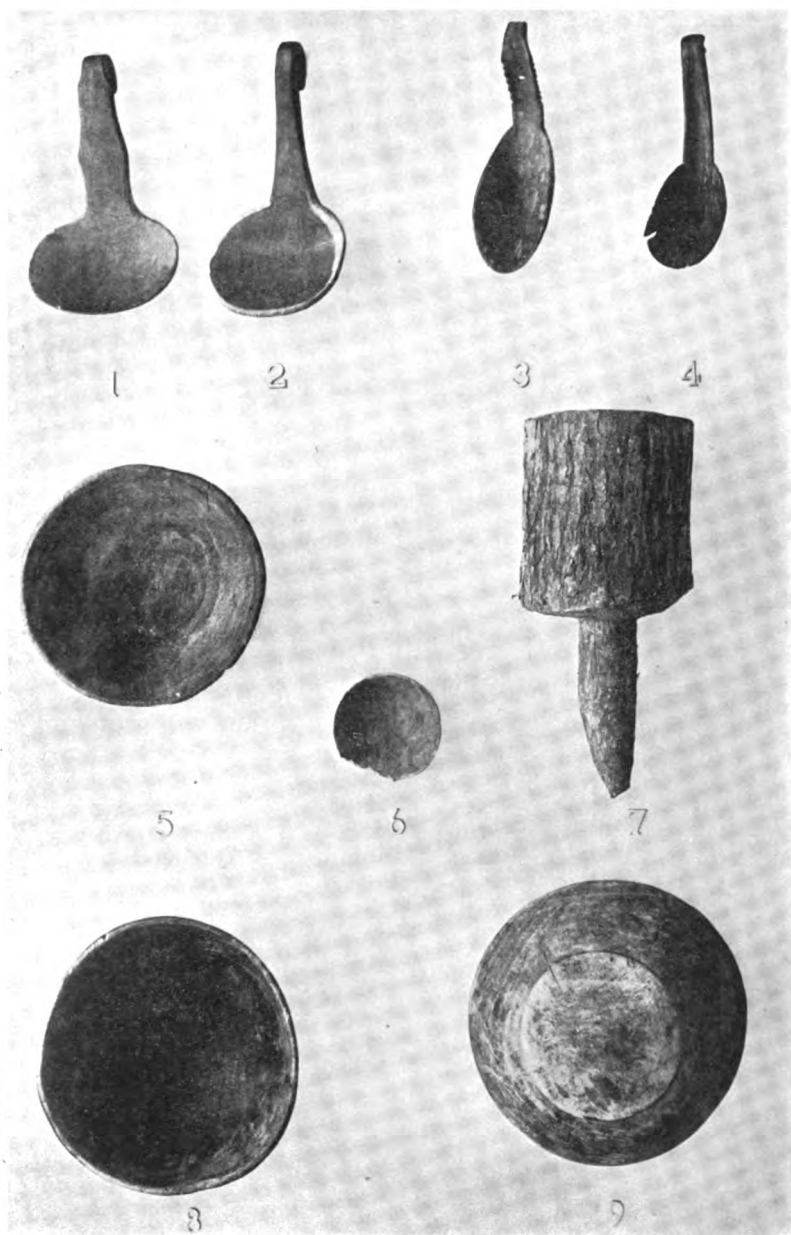


Figure 2. Litterfall in a temperate forest, 1990-1991. Litterfall was measured in 1990 and 1991 at 100 plots in a temperate forest in the Adirondack Park, New York. The data were analyzed using a two-way ANOVA with year and plot as factors. The results are shown in the figure. The y-axis represents the amount of litterfall in kg m⁻² year⁻¹. The x-axis represents the year (1990 and 1991). The error bars represent the standard error of the mean.

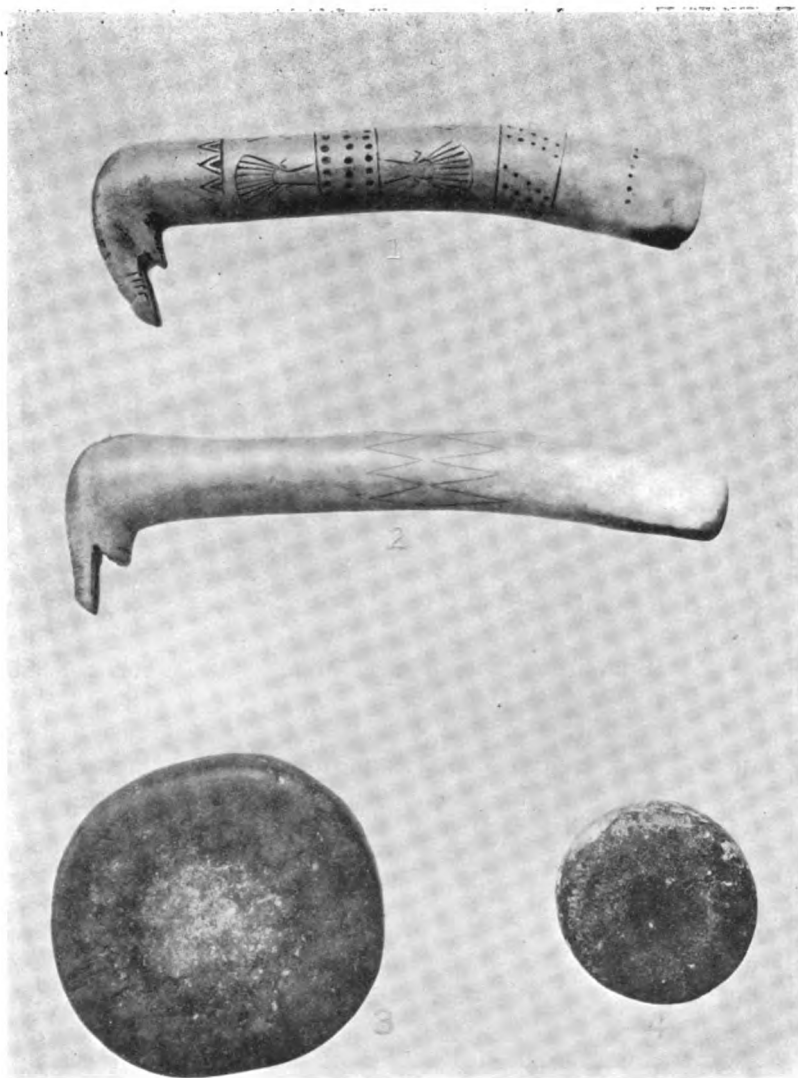
1768-1769 (continued) 1769-1770 (continued)

[illegible]

EXPLANATION OF PLATE LII.

Household Utensils.

- Figure 1. Elkhorn scraper handle with incised ornamentation symbolic of coups struck by the maker. Catalog number 30574f. Length $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches.
- Figure 2. Elkhorn scraper handle, incised ornamentation. Catalog number 30160. Length $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches.
- Figure 3. Hand grinder or muller of stone. Catalog number 30573. Diameter $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches.
- Figure 4. Stone mortar or metate for grinding corn. Catalog number 30571a. Diameter 6 inches.



JUL 31 1960 NORTH CAROLINA

Schizothorax nana, n. sp.

Figure 1. Plot of base effect (linear number 3026). Length of

Journal of Management Education 32(1) 2008

18768 99dmm g h 0 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100 101 102 103 104 105 106 107 108 109 110 111 112 113 114 115 116 117 118 119 120 121 122 123 124 125 126 127 128 129 130 131 132 133 134 135 136 137 138 139 140 141 142 143 144 145 146 147 148 149 150 151 152 153 154 155 156 157 158 159 160 161 162 163 164 165 166 167 168 169 170 171 172 173 174 175 176 177 178 179 180 181 182 183 184 185 186 187 188 189 190 191 192 193 194 195 196 197 198 199 200 201 202 203 204 205 206 207 208 209 210 211 212 213 214 215 216 217 218 219 220 221 222 223 224 225 226 227 228 229 230 231 232 233 234 235 236 237 238 239 240 241 242 243 244 245 246 247 248 249 250 251 252 253 254 255 256 257 258 259 260 261 262 263 264 265 266 267 268 269 270 271 272 273 274 275 276 277 278 279 280 281 282 283 284 285 286 287 288 289 290 291 292 293 294 295 296 297 298 299 300 301 302 303 304 305 306 307 308 309 310 311 312 313 314 315 316 317 318 319 320 321 322 323 324 325 326 327 328 329 330 331 332 333 334 335 336 337 338 339 340 341 342 343 344 345 346 347 348 349 350 351 352 353 354 355 356 357 358 359 360 361 362 363 364 365 366 367 368 369 370 371 372 373 374 375 376 377 378 379 380 381 382 383 384 385 386 387 388 389 390 391 392 393 394 395 396 397 398 399 400 401 402 403 404 405 406 407 408 409 410 411 412 413 414 415 416 417 418 419 420 421 422 423 424 425 426 427 428 429 430 431 432 433 434 435 436 437 438 439 440 441 442 443 444 445 446 447 448 449 450 451 452 453 454 455 456 457 458 459 460 461 462 463 464 465 466 467 468 469 470 471 472 473 474 475 476 477 478 479 480 481 482 483 484 485 486 487 488 489 490 491 492 493 494 495 496 497 498 499 500 501 502 503 504 505 506 507 508 509 510 511 512 513 514 515 516 517 518 519 520 521 522 523 524 525 526 527 528 529 530 531 532 533 534 535 536 537 538 539 540 541 542 543 544 545 546 547 548 549 550 551 552 553 554 555 556 557 558 559 560 561 562 563 564 565 566 567 568 569 570 571 572 573 574 575 576 577 578 579 580 581 582 583 584 585 586 587 588 589 590 591 592 593 594 595 596 597 598 599 600 601 602 603 604 605 606 607 608 609 610 611 612 613 614 615 616 617 618 619 620 621 622 623 624 625 626 627 628 629 630 631 632 633 634 635 636 637 638 639 640 641 642 643 644 645 646 647 648 649 650 651 652 653 654 655 656 657 658 659 660 661 662 663 664 665 666 667 668 669 670 671 672 673 674 675 676 677 678 679 680 681 682 683 684 685 686 687 688 689 690 691 692 693 694 695 696 697 698 699 700 701 702 703 704 705 706 707 708 709 710 711 712 713 714 715 716 717 718 719 720 721 722 723 724 725 726 727 728 729 730 731 732 733 734 735 736 737 738 739 740 741 742 743 744 745 746 747 748 749 750 751 752 753 754 755 756 757 758 759 760 761 762 763 764 765 766 767 768 769 770 771 772 773 774 775 776 777 778 779 780 781 782 783 784 785 786 787 788 789 790 791 792 793 794 795 796 797 798 799 800 801 802 803 804 805 806 807 808 809 810 811 812 813 814 815 816 817 818 819 820 821 822 823 824 825 826 827 828 829 830 831 832 833 834 835 836 837 838 839 840 841 842 843 844 845 846 847 848 849 850 851 852 853 854 855 856 857 858 859 860 861 862 863 864 865 866 867 868 869 870 871 872 873 874 875 876 877 878 879 880 881 882 883 884 885 886 887 888 889 890 891 892 893 894 895 896 897 898 899 900 901 902 903 904 905 906 907 908 909 910 911 912 913 914 915 916 917 918 919 920 921 922 923 924 925 926 927 928 929 930 931 932 933 934 935 936 937 938 939 940 941 942 943 944 945 946 947 948 949 950 951 952 953 954 955 956 957 958 959 960 961 962 963 964 965 966 967 968 969 970 971 972 973 974 975 976 977 978 979 980 981 982 983 984 985 986 987 988 989 990 991 992 993 994 995 996 997 998 999 1000 1001 1002 1003 1004 1005 1006 1007 1008 1009 1010 1011 1012 1013 1014 1015 1016 1017 1018 1019 1020 1021 1022 1023 1024 1025 1026 1027 1028 1029 1030 1031 1032 1033 1034 1035 1036 1037

(6760) redatum, goldsb') defined as goldsb' and goldsb' = goldsb' + goldsb'

52708 *Polyporus gilchristii* (Zangheri) B. & S. *Polyporus gilchristii* B. & S. 1954
Polyporus gilchristii B. & S. 1954

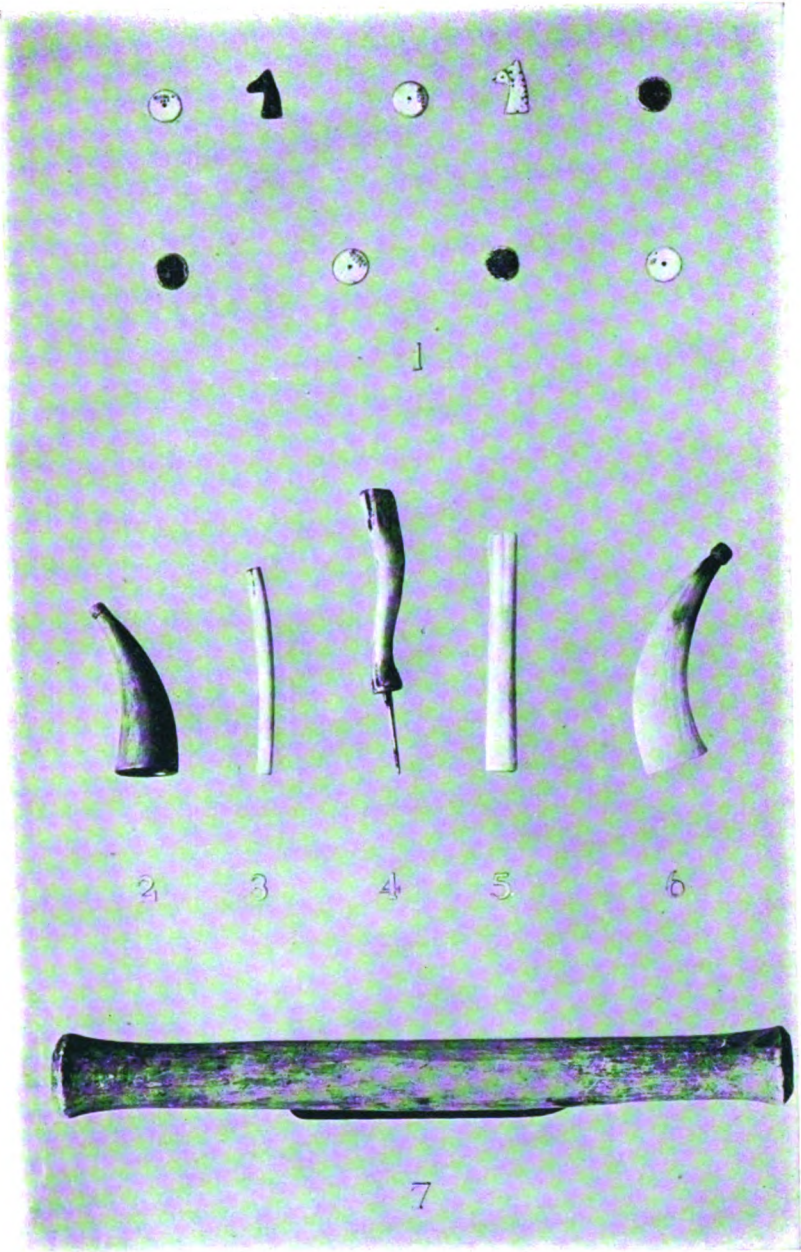
Journal of the American Statistical Association, Vol. 94, No. 427, December 1999, pp. 1311-1321
DOI: 10.1198/01621459900000040

Figure 1. Binding of 125 I- α -bungarotoxin to chick brain from developing. Catalog number 38075, length 11 inches.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE LIII.

Miscellaneous Articles.

- Figure 1. Set of bone dice. Catalog number 30586. Length of horses' heads 1 inch.
- Figure 2. Cupping horn. Catalog number 30583. Length $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches.
- Figure 3. Bone tube, used in doctoring. Catalog number 30581. Length 4 inches.
- Figure 4. Steel awl, beaver bone handle. Catalog number 30576. Length $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches.
- Figure 5. Bone tube, used in doctoring. Catalog number 30582. Length $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches.
- Figure 6. Cupping horn. Catalog number 30584. Length $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches.
- Figure 7. Beaming tool, for taking hair from deerskins. Catalog number 30575. Length 14 inches.



REPLY TO LETTERS

1900-1901

Figure 1. Graph of $\log_{10} \frac{dN}{dt}$ versus $\log_{10} N$. The curve is a straight line with a slope of 1.0. The y-axis is labeled $\log_{10} \frac{dN}{dt}$ and the x-axis is labeled $\log_{10} N$.

Figure 2. Graph of $\log_{10} \frac{dN}{dt}$ versus $\log_{10} N$. The curve is a straight line with a slope of 1.0. The y-axis is labeled $\log_{10} \frac{dN}{dt}$ and the x-axis is labeled $\log_{10} N$.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE LIV.

Ioway Baby Carriers.

Figure 1. Cradle of Central Algonkian type. Catalog number 30159. Length $26\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Figure 2. Cradle of Osage or Southern Siouan type. Catalog number 30158. Length 34 inches.



EXPLANATION OF PLATE III.

W. W. C. C. C.

Figure 1. Catalog number 89-002. Length 10.5 inches.

Figure 2. Catalog number 81-117. Length 12 inches.

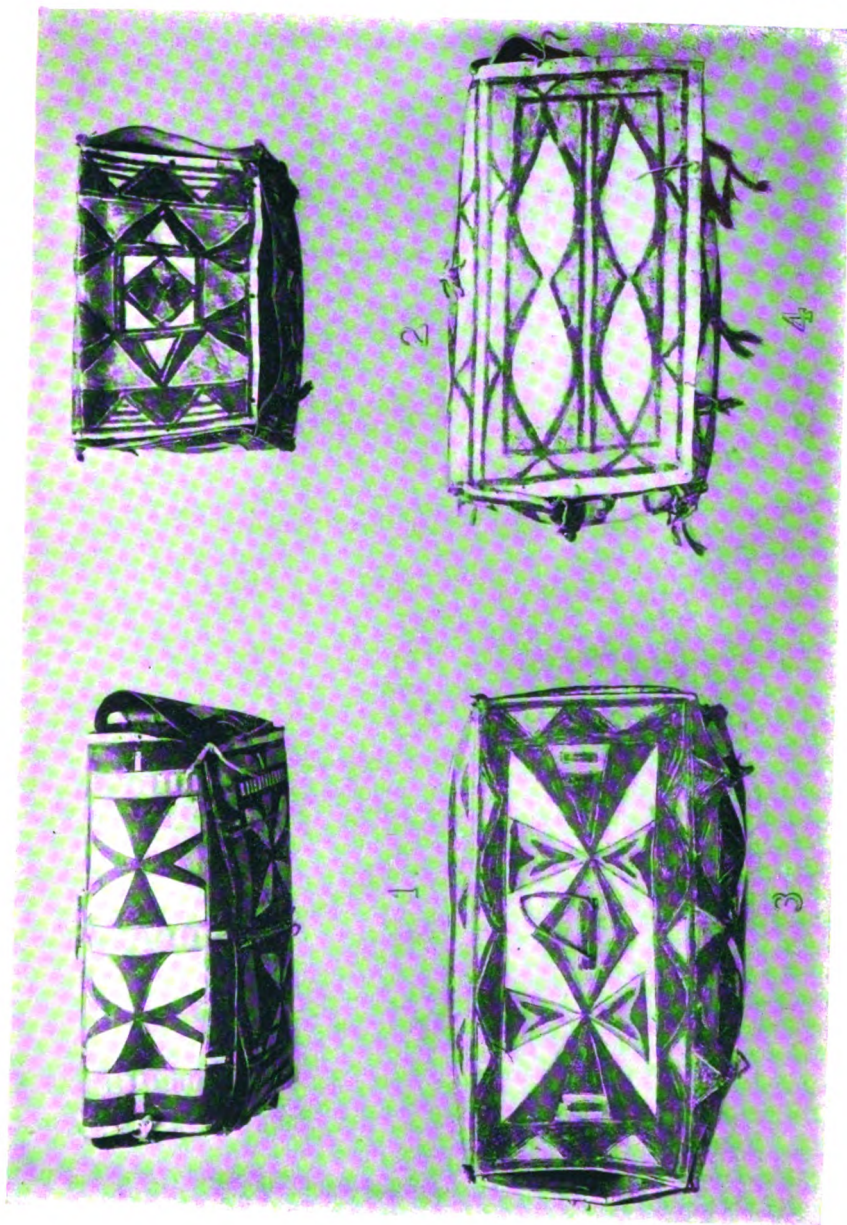
Figure 3. Catalog number 81-117. Length 10.5 inches.

Figure 4. Catalog number 81-117. Length 12 inches.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE LV.

Rawhide Trunks.

- Figure 1.** Catalog number 30608. Length $16\frac{1}{2}$ inches.
- Figure 2.** Catalog number 31447. Length 12 inches.
- Figure 3.** Catalog number 31445. Length 20 inches.
- Figure 4.** Catalog number 31446. Length 18 inches.



INDEX*

- Acting Dead, dance, 240.
 adoption, 15, 24.
 adultery, 32, 252.
 Afterworld, 36.
 Air God, 267.
 Aiyamwoy, 75.
 Algonkian, arrow-heads, 148;
 Atlantic, 130;
 beadwork, 261;
 bowls, 134;
 Central, 46, 124, 126, 133, 137,
 189, 203, 209, 242, 248, 261,
 280, 285;
 cradle-board, 137;
 culture, 209;
 Culture Hero, 80;
 doctors, 55;
 Dream Dance, 248;
 dress, 126, 256, 263;
 gods, 34;
 lodges, 124;
 mats, 285;
 medicine bag, 150;
 Medicine Dance, 46;
 mortar, 133;
 shooting mysteries, 242;
 swastika, 151;
 war bundle, 203;
 wealth, 190;
 Wisconsin, 148;
 witchcraft, 55;
 woodland, 83.
 Allouez, Father Claude, 7, 34, 144.
 amulets, 87.
 Andre, Father, 191.
 antler, arrow-heads, 148;
 spatula, 92.
 Arapaho, 90;
 Ghost Dance, 248.
 Arikara, necklace, 130.
 arrows, 93;
 headless, 148.
 arrow-heads, 147.
 art, 257.
 Athapasca, medicine bag, 150.
 awls, 279.
 axes, 279.
 Aztalan, site, 272.
 baby carriers, 280.
 bags, 136, 285.
 bandoliers, 131.
 bands, 12.
 beadwork, 259, 261.
 bean-potato, 138.
 beans, 138;
 red, 245;
 mescal, 246.
 Bear gens, bundle, 66, 87;
 Doctors, 242;
 dream, 33;
 gens, 84, 199;
 hair-dress, 262;
 hunting, 142;
 names, 20, 196;
 origin, 76, 218;
 pipe, 215, 219, 223;
 ruling, 200;
 sugar making, 138.
 Bear-Potato gens, amulet, 90;
 apparel, 71;
 bundle, 69, 84, 86, 89;
 ceremony, 84;
 names, 28;
 origin, 76;
 prisoner ties, 90;
 war belt, 88;
 war parties, 70.
 Beaver gens, 88;
 bundle, 87;
 names, 29, 198;
 prisoner tie, 91.
 belts, 137, 248.
 benches, 274.
 berdashes, 252.
 berries, 138.
 birch bark, 123.
 birds, feasts, 52;
 food, 144.
 Black Bear gens, pipe, 216, 232.
 black dye, 136.
 blackened faces, 33.
 Black Hawk, 8, 12;
 war, 93.
 black magic, 55.
 black sticks, 33.
 Blood-Clot-Boy, 254.
 blue dye, 135.
 bluebird, 151.

*Bull., Publ. Mus., Milw., Vol. V.

Index.

- boats, 136;
 - bull, 280;
 - canoes, 136, 280.
- Bois d'arc bows, 148.
- bone, awls, 279.
- Bone, dance, 241.
- bonnet, pigeon-feather, 240;
 - war, 73.
- bow, 147, 287;
 - Black Hawk war, 93;
 - fishing, 290.
- Bowl and Dice, game, 294.
- bowls, 134, 277.
- Bradbury, "villages," 275.
- Brain Taker, 36.
- braves, 205;
 - dance, 239.
- bread, 131.
- breech clouts, 86, 130.
- buffalo, albino, 92.
 - defeat by Tce, 216;
 - horns, 89;
 - hunts, 9;
 - meat, 291;
 - skin, 87;
 - tails, 90, 203;
 - tracks, decoration, 224.
- Buffalo gens, bundle, 87, 242;
 - coup, 74;
 - dance, 48, 207;
 - dream, 33;
 - gens, 199;
 - hunting, 140;
 - medicine bundle, 212;
 - names, 22, 196;
 - origin, 219;
 - pipe, 215, 223;
 - pipe bundle, 226;
 - planting, 201;
 - robes, 264;
 - ruling, 200;
 - shamans, 242;
 - war kilt, 90.
- Buffalo Doctors, 242;
 - bundles, 208;
 - Society, 242.
- Buffalo Tail Society, 244.
- bull-boats, 136, 280.
- bundle, 66, 84, 208, 242;
 - Charging, 66;
 - contents, 85;
 - Ghost, 199;
 - Hawk, 66;
 - house, 74;
 - keeper, 76;
 - Kite, 245;
 - Namesake, 65;
 - oath, 199;
 - opening, 220;
 - origin, 74;
 - Pipe, 222;
 - Red Bean, 245;
 - Red Medicine, 208, 245;
 - ritual, 69;
 - Sacred, 81, 203, 215;
 - Tattooing, 208, 265;
 - use, 209;
 - War, 85, 201, 207;
 - Witch, 208.
- burial, 37, 254.
- Bustle dance, 238.
- cakes, corn, 137;
 - sugar, 139.
- Calumet dance, 241.
- camp, circle, 277;
 - police, 206.
- cannibalism, 254.
- canoes, 135, 280.
- Carver, Jonathan, 125.
- Catlin, 201, 257.
- ceremony, adoption, 15;
 - attendants, 76;
 - large game, 80;
 - Bear-Potato, 84;
 - Thanksgiving, 139.
- Chapin, Dr., 229, 230.
- charging, 66, 206.
- chase, 141.
- Cheyenne, bonnets, 73;
 - dance, Ghost, 248;
 - garments, 263.
- Chiefs, 199;
 - dance, 241;
 - of the Dead, 256;
 - war, 199.
- Chieftains, ancestral, 76.
- Chieftainship, 15, 65.
- children, 32.
- clubs, 147.
- collars, 128.
- Comanche, 74.
- contests, doctors, 55.
 - eating, 12, 16, 73.
- corn, 289;
 - crushers, 278;
 - green, 137;
 - pop, 138;
 - parched, 138;

Index.

- sweet, 137.
- costumes, 126, 256.
- coup, 15, 74, 204, 255.
- cowrie shells, 46.
- cradle-boards, 137.
- cranes, 268.
- Created-from-feet, 254.
- creation, 81;
 - myth, 75.
- Cree culture, 20.
- Creek, 133, 143, 147.
- crow, 238;
 - legend, 211;
 - wearing, 206.
- cults, religious, 248.
- culture, Algonkian, 9, 209;
 - central, 123;
 - Cree, 20;
 - Ioway, 190, 209;
 - maritime, 123;
 - material, 256.
- Culture Hero, 35, 80.
- custom, Algonkian, 34;
 - ancient, 217;
 - gens, 15;
 - Iroquois, 8;
 - marriage, 31;
 - mortuary, 36;
 - naming, 16;
 - renaming, 17;
 - Sauk, 8;
 - war, 205.
- Dakota, 253;
 - Eastern, 82, 83, 239;
 - naming, 16;
 - Santee, 8, 129;
 - Teton, 245.
- dance, Acting Dead, 240;
 - Bone, 240;
 - Bone Shooting, 241.
- Bouncing, 240;
- braves, 239;
- Buffalo, 48, 84;
- buffalo shamans, 207;
- bustle, 238;
- Calumet, 241;
- Cheyenne, 248;
- Chiefs, 241;
- Chiefs Drum, 248;
- Dream, 51;
- Eagle, 245;
- Fire, 240;
- Ghost, 51, 248;
- Grass, 238;
- Green Corn, 52;
- Kite, 245;
- Medicine, 247;
- Night, 241;
- Omaha, 238;
- Pipe, 241;
- Red Bean, 245;
- Scalp, 66, 73, 204, 245, 257;
- Summer, 49.
- Turtle, 241;
- War, 201.
- Dead, Realm of the, 35.
- death, wife's, 32.
- deer, calling, 142;
 - meat, 144;
 - skin, 86, 128.
- Dear gens, 18;
 - attack song, 69;
 - bundle, 87;
 - head-dress, 127;
 - hunting, 142;
 - names, 30;
 - origin, 76.
- Deities, conception, 34.
- Delaware, 20, 189.
- deluge, myth, 81.
- Disease Maker, 253.
- divination, 55.
- divorce, 252.
- doctors, 54, 242.
- Door County, Sauk in, 7.
- Dore, 253.
- dream, Bear, 33;
 - Buffalo, 33, 250;
 - Dance, 51;
 - Grizzly Bear, 250;
 - Guardian, 33;
 - sacred, 43;
 - Wolf, 250.
- dress, 126, 256, 263.
- drink, reviver, 44.
- drum, 39.
- dyes, native, 135.
- eagles, 253;
 - feathers, 73, 206, 241;
 - Golden, 227, 229, 232;
 - plumes, 87, 88.
- Eagle gens, dance, 245;
 - hair-dress, 262;
 - names, 29;
 - origin, 76;
 - pipe, 215.
- Eagle-Thunder gens, names, 197.
- Earthmaker, 245, 247, 250, 252.
- Earth Woman, 38.

Index.

- Elk gens, 18;
bundle, 87;
names, 196;
pipe, 215, 223.
elm bark, lodges, 124.
Fairy of the Woods, 254.
fast, 80;
children, 32;
dream, 33;
mortuary, 36;
puberty, 33, 65, 249;
winter, 32.
father-in-law, 252.
feast, Adoption, 15, 74;
Bark House, 53;
braves at, 206;
Buffalo Dance, 49;
bundles at, 84;
conduct of, 51;
of the Dead, 52;
dog, 16, 52, 139;
Fall, 53;
fire, 77;
First Game, 33;
gens, 14;
instructions, 77;
Marriage, 31;
Medicine Lodge, 40, 45;
Mortuary, 37;
Naming, 16;
Night, 53;
service, order of, 52;
song, 78;
Summer Food, 52;
Thanksgiving, 52, 141;
Winter Quarters, 53.
feather, Eagle, 73.
fillets, 126.
fire, Dance, 240;
myth, 81;
origin, 75.
firearms, 63.
Fire Keeper, 53.
fireplace, 274.
firewood, 135.
fish, food, 144.
Fish gens, 84, 291;
bundle, 87;
chieftainship, 15;
names, 25;
war club, 93.
fishing, 140, 143, 290.
flint, arrowheads, 147.
flutes, 203.
folklore, 189.
food, animal, 144;
vegetal, 137, 288.
Fox gens, 7, 9, 11, 18, 64;
bundle, 86, 209;
culture, 123;
dress, 129, 263, 267;
gods, 34;
names, 30;
origin, 76;
roach, 127;
trunks, 281;
weapons, 94, 147.
Fox River, 7.
Fox Squirrel skins, 46.
functions, reciprocal, 68, 76.
Galland, 142.
games, 55, 292.
garden products, 137.
garments, 126, 132, 263.
garters, 131.
gens, adoption, 15;
affiliations, 151;
bundle, 198;
council, 19;
customs, 15;
father's, 15;
functions, 193;
host, 13;
Ioway, 193;
names, 11, 20, 198;
pipe, 198;
serving, 13;
song, 77;
tabus, 15;
titles, 19.
Gentes, 11;
ancient, 8;
extinct, 18, 193;
functions, 13;
list of, 13;
living, 193;
Menomini, 19;
names, 151;
order of, 193;
origin, 76.
Getci Munito, 34, 38.
Ghost, bundle, 199;
dance, 51, 248.
giants, 253.
gods, Algonkian, 34.
God of Gluttony, 253.
God of the sea, 33, 35.
God, winter, 77.

Index.

- gourd rattle, 40.
government, civil, 199;
 dividing of, 219;
 military, 201.
Grandfather, 33, 247.
Grandmother, 35, 71.
Grass, dance, 238.
Gray Eyes band, 12.
Great Dawn, 82.
Great Hare, 82, 254.
Great Sea, 26, 76.
Great Spirit, 16, 34, 52, 76, 81, 252.
green, 36, 136.
Green Corn, dance, 52.
Grizzly Bear, bundle, 242;
 Doctors Society, 244.
hair brush, 279;
 dress, 10, 239, 262.
Harrington, M. R., 265.
Harris, Rev. Wm., 6, 11, 18, 37, 73,
 92.
Hawk, 39, 66, 89.
head bands, 126.
head-dress, 89, 127, 256, 258, 263.
head-straps, 280.
head-throws, 264.
health, tattooing, 268.
Heloshka, 238.
Henghru, 218.
Hereafter, 36, 256.
Hewitt, J. M., 6.
Heyoka, Siouan, 240.
Hina, 220.
hominy, 137.
honors, 204.
Hoop and Javelin, game, 294.
horns, buffalo, 89.
Hompathrotci, 253.
horse, culture, 123;
 racing, 245;
 stealing, 249.
houses, 271.
household utensils, 133, 277.
hunt, buffalo, 9;
 Fall, 53.
hunting, 140, 206, 245, 289;
 medicine, 143.
incense, 46, 77, 267.
industries, 134.
Invitations, 14, 151.
Ioway, Buffalo Doctors, 242;
 bundles, 83, 209, 213;
 culture, 20, 123, 189, 209;
 dress, 129, 151, 256;
 fasting, 33;
 folklore, 189;
 founders, 199;
 Ghost dance, 51, 248;
 influence, 9;
 Kansas, 212;
 linguistic family, 189;
 medicine bag, 150;
 Medicine dance, 189;
 mental life, 189;
 names, 195;
 naming, 16;
 origin, 193;
 pipe, 223;
 Plains, 189;
 rule, 200;
 society, 190;
 trunks, 134;
 wealth, 190;
 weapons, 148;
 Wisaka, 82.
Iroquois, 7, 55, 63, 66, 72, 124, 137,
 189.
Irvin and Hamilton, 262.
Itopahi, 253.
Janus, 219, 253.
jars, earthen, 279.
joking, 252.
Jones, Dr., 11.
Kansa, 206, 209, 221, 224, 254.
Kansas, 128, 190.
Kaw, 257.
Keokuk, 8, 12.
Ketcikumi Manitu, 35.
Kickapoo, 10;
 bundle, 92;
 culture, 123;
 Dream Dance, 248;
 dress, 131;
 industries, 135;
 weapons, 94.
Kikikanu, 33.
kilts, war, 86.
Kiowa-Apache, 249.
Kiowa-Comanche, 261.
Kishko, 12, 16.
Kit Fox Society, 239.
Kite, fork-tailed, 245.
Kwaskwami's Band, 12.
Lacrosse, 55, 94, 292.
lances, 94, 147, 239.
leggings, 130, 133, 149, 258, 260, 264.
lodges, 10, 124, 272.
Lone walker, 242.

Index.

- love medicine, 287.
lying, 80.
Mackinaw straits, 7.
Mahikan, 20, 189.
maize, 137.
Mamishaumuk, 79.
Man-with-human-head-earrings,
254.
Mandan, 239, 272.
Mangrudge, 219.
Manituwesiu, 55.
manufactures, 136, 147.
Mao, 218, 252.
marriage, 31, 251.
Masakomigokwa, 35.
Massacre, Menomini, 8.
Master-of-fire, 35.
mats, 94, 134, 285.
Mawatani, 239.
meal, 137.
meat, 290.
Medicine, 203, 267;
bags, 46, 150, 248;
bundle, 203, 212;
Dance, 34, 37, 46, 149, 247, 252;
Lodge, 6, 38, 40, 80, 242, 247;
pouch, 91;
Red, 246.
Menomini, bluebird, 151;
bundle, 65, 85;
canoe, 136;
charms, 94;
culture, 123;
Culture Hero, 82;
customs, 32, 44;
deer calling, 142;
definition, 73;
Dream Dance, 51;
dress, 132, 151;
hunting, 82;
lacrosse, 56;
Land of the Dead, 36;
lodges, 124;
massacre, 8;
medicine, 143;
medicine bag, 150;
Medicine Lodge, 82;
names, 195;
naming, 16;
necklace, 129;
prisoners, 72;
renaming, 17;
rice, 139;
Thunderbird, 20;
war, 206;
villages, 125;
Wisaka, 34;
Yapata, 35.
menstruation, 80.
mescal, 245, 261, 263.
Mesiwuk, 65, 84.
Meskwaki, 130, 133, 150.
Messenger of the Gods, 52.
Miami, dress, 132.
Michigan, Sauk, 7.
Midewan, 247.
Miges, 43.
Milky Way, 36, 256.
misham, 65, 68, 80.
mishaum, 77.
Mississauga, culture, 20.
Missouri, 189, 217, 237.
Missouri River, 191.
moccasins, 131, 133, 151, 257, 264.
moieties, 12, 15, 50, 128.
Mokohoko Band, 12.
Monato-kush-a, 77, 79.
Montagnais, culture, 20.
months and seasons, 294.
Moon, 53.
mortars, 133, 278.
Mother Earth, 81, 220, 223, 250.
mother-in-law, 252.
mourning, 36, 255.
music, 291.
Muskoge, 133, 143.
muskkrat, myth, 76.
Muskwaki, 8, 10, 64.
myths, 38, 80.
names, 195;
band, 12;
Bear, 20, 196;
Bear-Potato, 28;
Beaver, 29, 198;
boys, 16;
Buffalo, 22, 196;
changing, 17, 72;
customs, 16;
Deer, 30;
derived from Sauk, 9;
dream, 19;
Eagle, 29;
Fish, 25;
Fox, 30;
gens, 11, 20;
gentes, 11;
girls, 16;
Great Sea, 26;

Index.

- Menomini, 18;
ordinal, 16;
Sauk, 19;
supernatural, 19;
Thunder, 27;
Turkey, 24;
Wolf, 23.
namesake, 65.
naming, 16, 80, 249.
Nampeshiwuk, 35.
nasatcikun, 44.
Nashin Waxogie, 254.
Naskapi, culture, 20.
Natchez, 190.
Nebraska, 190, 273.
necklaces, 91, 94, 128, 248, 262.
needles, 266.
Nemaha, 12, 190, 217, 260.
Nenemikiwuk, 34.
nephews, 203.
Niagara Falls, legend, 35.
Night dance, 241.
Night Man, 35.
Ninta Ha, 223.
North, God, 76.
Northwest Coast, 190.
nuts, food, 138.
Ogalala, culture, 19.
Ojibway, 7, 20, 44, 123.
Okemau-uka, 79.
Oklahoma, 9, 85, 92, 190, 254, 257,
261.
Old-Man-Wind, 254.
Omaha, 189, 191;
dress, 132;
government, 200;
taboo, 198;
war, 205.
Osage, 189, 217;
bundles, 209;
burial, 254;
culture, 123;
dress, 129, 132, 257;
pipe, 224;
roaches, 127;
signals, 71;
tattoo, 206, 265, 268.
Oskush, 12, 16, 129.
otter, 40, 46, 87, 94.
Oto, 82, 189, 191, 242, 245;
custom, 206, 249;
culture, 123;
dress, 129, 257, 260, 264;
pipe, 217, 219, 224.
owl pipe, 215, 229, 233.
Ozaukee County, 9.
packstraps, 136.
Paiashiwuk, 35.
painting, 73, 248, 255.
Panthers, 35, 134, 253.
Paroquet, Carolina, 229.
parturition, purification, 80.
Pau-kau-hau-moi, 76.
paunch, boiling, 145.
Pawnee, 51, 123, 129, 200, 245, 257,
259, 263, 272.
peace, making, 220.
pendants, 128, 221.
pestilence, relief, 222.
pestle, 133.
peyote, 10, 85, 190, 217, 246, 248,
261.
Pigeon gens, bonnet, 240;
moiety, 200;
names, 196, 228;
pipe, 215, 230.
pipe, Bear, 215, 223;
Black Bear, 216, 232;
Buffalo, 215, 223;
bundle, 222, 226;
description, 223;
false, 216;
Golden Eagle, 227;
Ivory Billed Woodpecker, 226;
origin, 218;
peace, 218;
personal, 237;
tattooing, 221.
pipe-pendants, 221.
pipe-stems, 224.
Pitoskah, 82.
Plains, 148, 246, 256, 259.
planting, 201.
Pokitapawa, 35.
police, 206.
polygamy, 251.
Ponca, 129, 132, 189, 191, 198, 257.
Poncho, 258.
Pond, Peter, 123, 126, 139, 141.
porcupine quills, 90.
potato, 138.
Potato gens, 18.
Potawatomi, 8, 34, 75, 94, 123, 151,
242, 263.
pottery, 278.
pouches, leather, 287.
Prairie du Sac, 9.
priests, 76.

Index.

- prisoners, 71.
- prisoner ties, 71, 87, 90, 93.
- puberty, fasting, 33, 65, 249.
- punishment, 32, 207.
- pumpkins, 52, 137.
- quirt, 123.
- quivers, 148, 258, 288.
- Raccoon, albino, 91;
 - food, 144;
 - gens, 216, 228, 290.
- rafts, 280.
- rattlesnake skin, 248.
- rattles, 86, 203, 240, 245, 248.
- raven skin, 89.
- Realm of Dead, 81.
- red, bean, 245;
 - dye, 135;
 - Earth, 10, 194, 215, 218;
 - medicine, 208, 245;
 - paint, 42, 79;
 - stone, 50.
- Renaming, 17.
- rice, gathering, 139.
- roaches, 127, 149, 238, 262.
- Road of the Dead, 256.
- robes, buffalo, 264.
- Rock River, 191.
- rules for guidance, 80.
- ruling, 200.
- sacred bundles, 65.
- Sacred Pipe, 196.
- Sacred Rock, 199.
- sacred shells, 247.
- sacrifices, 77, 84.
- saddles, 280.
- sagasu, 94.
- Saginaw Bay, 7.
- sashes, 131, 262.
- Sauk, 7, 256;
 - art, 133, 281;
 - bundles, 74, 82, 85, 209;
 - canoes, 136;
 - character, 64;
 - culture, 123;
 - customs, 8, 242;
 - dress, 73, 126, 129, 131, 132, 257, 262;
 - houses, 124, 126;
 - household, 134;
 - hunting, 142;
 - industries, 135, 139;
 - medicine, 150;
 - names, 16, 19, 151;
 - politics, 11;
 - religion, 64;
 - war, 90, 94, 147.
- Sauk County, 9.
- Saukville, 9.
- scalp dance, 73.
- scalplock, 63, 262.
- scoring sticks, 51.
- scrapers, 134, 292.
- Seneca, 8, 124.
- Serpents, 38.
- Serpent Woman, 53.
- servants, ancestral, 76.
- sexes, aloofness, 32.
- shafts, arrow, 148.
- shamans, 54, 203, 242.
- shaved head, 10.
- Shawanatasiu, 35.
- Shawanutasiu, 33.
- shell, sacred, 43.
- shields, 94, 147, 258, 288.
- shirts, 130, 132, 259, 264.
- shooting ceremony, 41, 242, 247.
- shoulder throw, 90.
- sick, curing, 242.
- signals, 71.
- singers, 238.
- Siouans, 20, 47, 50, 55, 123, 134, 189, 230, 256, 260.
- Sioux 74;
 - bonnets, 73;
 - dress, 132;
 - names, 195.
- Sisakieuk, 54.
- skirt, 132.
- Skutanasiu, 35.
- Skwaki Hill, 8.
- sky-blue, 220.
- slaves, 72.
- Small, Robert, 216.
- Smith, Frank, 6, 47, 150.
- Smoking ponies, 50, 223.
- snakes, 35.
- Snake, gens, 197, 215.
- snowshoes, 136.
- social system, 189, 193.
- societies, 238;
 - Buffalo Tail, 244;
 - Grizzly Bear Doctors, 244.
- soldier killing, 207.
- Something-sprouting-up, 10.
- songs, 73, 78, 201, 203, 238, 244.
- sore eyes, 268.
- souls, 254.
- soup, 144.

Index.

- South, God, 33.
spatula, antler, 92.
spears, 147;
 fishing, 290.
Spirit Rock, 199.
Spirits, Underworld, 54.
Splitting-the-pipestem, 219.
spoons, 134, 278.
Springer, Joseph, 209, 216, 242.
squash, 289.
squirrels, 144, 148.
staffs, crooked, 241.
Sturgeon gens, 76.
subgens, 193.
sugar, 138.
Sun, 241, 250.
swastika, 151.
sweat baths, 201, 247.
sweat lodge, 45.
sweet grass, 94.
sweets, 52.
taboo, 198.
Tama, Iowa, 9.
tanning, 134, 291.
tattooing, 206, 264;
 bundle, 208, 265;
 ceremony, 221;
 daughter, 221, 269;
 public, 265.
Tce, 216, 226.
Tciwere, 189.
Tepakinini, 35.
Thanksgiving, 139, 141, 241.
thunder, dream, 33, 250.
Thunder, gens, 19, 27, 76, 215, 233, 235.
Thunder gods, 214.
Thunderbird, 19, 91.
Thunderers, 34, 52, 253.
tipis, 126, 273, 277.
tobacco, 37, 47, 68, 81, 88, 139, 220.
Tohee, Chief David, 198, 209, 214, 216, 218, 242, 245, 267.
torture, 72.
tradition, 7, 13.
training, children, 32.
transportation, 136, 280.
travois, 280.
trunks, 133, 281.
Tukala, 239.
Turkey, gens, 37, 74, 76, 88;
 bundle, 87, 90;
 dress, 89, 127, 130;
 names 24.
Turtle, 80, 216, 241.
Twin Boys, 253.
Twin Brothers, 253.
Ukima Manetuwuk, 35.
us-kaup, duties, 78.
Uye, 253.
vengeance, 80, 206.
venison, 144.
villages, 125.
vision, fast, 80.
Wabano, 240.
Wabisepu, 36.
Wahredua, 253.
waiters, 14, 238.
Wakajihuk, 55.
Wakanda, 199, 218, 220, 222, 252.
Wamigohuk, 34.
wampum, 90.
Wanethunge, 83, 209, 242.
War, 202, 205;
 belt, 88;
 Black Hawk, 8;
 bonnets, 73;
 bundles, 84, 201, 245;
 Bundle Society, 213;
 chiefs, 199;
 clubs, 86, 93;
 dance, 201;
 dress, 258;
 honors, 72;
 kilts, 86, 89;
 parties, 66, 70, 202;
 plumes, 128;
 spears, 94.
Waruska, 253.
Watakwuna, 82.
Watasa, 73.
Water gens, 76.
Water Spirits, 34.
wealth, 190.
weapons, 93, 147.
weasel, 92.
weaving, 189.
whipping, 206.
whistles, 39, 48, 84, 86, 214, 244, 246.
white, 149, 213.
White Plume, 254.
White River, 36.
wier, fishing, 144.
wildcat, skin, 241.
Wind controller, 254.
Winnebago, 7, 82, 151, 189, 190, 198, 209, 285;
 culture, 20, 123, 189;

Index.

- dress, 131;
villages, 125.
- Winter, fast, 32, 80;
god, 77.
- Wisaka, 34, 38, 52, 75, 79, 82.
- witch bundle, 208.
- witchcraft, 55.
- Wolf gens, 18, 76;
 - amulets, 90;
 - bundles, 66, 69, 74, 86, 89;
 - dance, 49;
 - hair-dress, 262;
 - head-dress, 127;
 - feast, 53;
 - mat, 95;
 - medicine pouch, 91;
 - names, 23, 197;
 - pipe, 215, 217, 228;
- prisoner ties, 90;
song, 73.
- women, chiefs, 65;
garments, 132;
periods, 84;
shinny, 56, 292;
tattooed, 241.
- woodchuck, 144.
- Woodland, 94, 125, 130, 144, 147,
190, 256, 260, 273.
- Woodpeckers, 224, 226, 229;
scalps, 230.
- woodworking, 135.
- Wyandotte, dress, 132.
- Yapata, 35, 36.
- Yapatao, 38.
- yellow, dye, 135;
Earth, 10.
- Yuchi, mortar, 133.

A



3 2000 002 901 595

